An attachment framework for the study of shame: Associations between security, parenting, temperament and shame-proneness in early childhood

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A Thesis

In

The Department

of

Psychology

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctorate of Philosophy at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

September 2006

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-23835-6
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-23835-6

Abstract

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The current study investigated associations between parenting and children's shame-proneness, as well as the additive and moderating influences of temperament and attachment. A sample of 66 children 6- to 8-years-of age (36 females, 30 males) and their mothers participated. While mothers completed questionnaire measures related to parenting, children's self-conscious emotions and temperamental characteristics, the principal investigator worked with child participants to complete several measures, including self-report of self-conscious emotions using hypothetical scenarios and a semi-projective narrative task tapping internal working models of attachment.

Findings revealed that all three domains of parenting, temperament, and attachment played important and unique roles in the explanation of shame-proneness. An additive model across domains explained maternal report of children's shame-proneness, whereas findings for children's self-reported shame-proneness were more complex and included counter-intuitive moderating effects of attachment and, to a lesser degree, negative affectivity. Convergent results across the two informants indicated that, as predicted, coercive parenting practices (i.e., love withdrawal, power assertiveness, conditional approval) and unsupportive emotion coaching were related to greater shame-proneness. Divergent findings across mother and child informants included additional

main effects for mother-reported shame-proneness and parenting (i.e., authoritarian parenting, focusing on negative child characteristics, disgust) versus several interactive effects for child-reported shame-proneness. Specifically, higher levels of attachment intensified the shame-inducing impact of love withdrawal, maternal focus on negative child attributes, and power assertiveness; conversely higher levels of attachment appeared to intensify the negative association between permissive parenting and shame-proneness. Further, lower levels of negative affectivity were found to strengthen the relation between conditional approval and shame-proneness but for girls only. Some additional gender effects were also revealed in the prediction of child-reported shame-proneness and are discussed in light of growing recognition of differential socialization practices and their impact on boys and girls. Results are discussed in light of empirical research on parenting, temperament, attachment, and children's self-conscious emotions. Finally, potential limitations in the measurement of child reported self-conscious emotions are also discussed.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is one of my most significant accomplishments to date and it would not have been possible were it not for the support and faith extended to me along the way. I would like to express appreciation to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Nina Howe, for the guidance, support, and confidence in me she showed throughout the process of my doctoral thesis. I gratefully acknowledge my thesis committee for their valuable comments and suggestions and, in particular, Dr. Paul Hastings for his thoughtful reflection and input during key stages in the development and realization of this project.

To my friends and colleagues, I offer heart-felt thanks for your generous spirit, you kind words, and laughter. Thank you to Holly Recchia for assisting with the coding of data, for relaying computer files across distances, and for being there at key moments. A special thanks to Dr. Ryan Adams for providing statistical advice and for having the good sense to share a wonderful appreciation of the 'mewn'. I am grateful to Dr. Tanya Bergevin for the stimulating talks that touched our hearts and minds, for taking such good care of me in those final hours and for helping me to feel connected. I thank Dr. Sara Day for being an unwavering, responsive and dear friend in too many ways to put down on paper. And thank you to my non-psych friend, Nitika Dosaj for doing a little data checking here, a little romping around there, and for having a big heart.

I am indebted to my mother and father for being a constant source of love and support and for teaching me the ethic of hard work and tenacity. I am grateful to my sisters, Kris and Lily, for their love and unflagging encouragement. To my soon to be born bébé, I thank you for kicking me into high gear. I look forward to every precious moment with you. And above all, I thank my life partner, Abby Karos, for her endurance

and for being there every step of the way, for the love that she gives to me so freely, and for providing me with a warm place to come home to.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge and thank the many courageous people I have seen in therapy over the past several years. They have been my teachers and have inspired me to do my best to understand the hidden pain and to learn how to help heal it.

Table of Contents

List of Tables ix

List of Appendices xi

Introduction 1

Situating Shame within the Context of Self-Conscious Emotions 4

Primary versus Secondary Emotions 4

The Social Nature of Self-Conscious Emotions 7

Functionalist Approach to Emotions 9

Theoretical Perspectives on Shame: Past and Present 11

Psychoanalytic Conceptualizations: Shame as Affect and Defence 12

Self-Psychology and the "Ego-Ideal" 13

Parental mirroring and narcissistic vulnerability in shame:

The contribution of Kohut. 14

Shame as an Attachment Related Dynamic: The Contribution of H.B. Lewis 16

Attribution Theories 19

Summary on Theories of Shame 21

Research on the Induction of Shame: Parenting and Emotion Socialization 21

Parenting Practices 23

Developmental Research During Childhood 23

Adult Retrospective Data 29

Parental Socialization of Children's Negative Emotional Expression 30

Implications of Attachment and Child Temperament 36

Attachment 37

Table of Contents (cont'd)

Temperament 46

Rational for Present Study 54

Method 59

Participants & Procedure 59

Child Measures 60

Mother Measures 70

Results 77

Data Screening 77

Descriptive Statistics 78

Preliminary Analyses 79

Intercorrelations between Study Variables 79

Measurement of Self-Conscious Emotions. 81

Intercorrelations between Self-Conscious Emotions 81

Child-reported self-conscious emotions (SCEMAS) 81

Mother-report of children's self-conscious emotions

(My Child Shame & My Child Guilt) 82

Intercorrelations between SCEMAS and MY Child Scales of

Self-Conscious Emotions 82

Intercorrelations between Self-Conscious Emotions and Study Variables 82

Child-reported self-conscious emotions (SCEMAS) 82

Mother-report of children's self-conscious emotions

(My Child Shame & My Child Guilt) 85

Table of Contents (cont'd)

Intercorrelations between Child Reported Self-Conscious Emotions and Study Variables.....86

Test of Study Hypotheses.....92

Discussion.....105

Differentiating Shame-proneness from Other Self-Conscious Emotions.....106

The Role of Temperament and Attachment.....110

General Parenting Styles.....117

Parenting Behaviour.....120

Supportive and Unsupportive Emotion Coaching.....127

Limitations and Future Directions.....130

Conclusions and Implications.....138

References.....166

List of Tables and Figures

Table 1

Mean, Standard Deviation, Range, and Skewness with Transformations for Parenting Emotion Coaching, Temperament, and Attachment (N = 66) 142

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, Range, and Skewness for Self-Conscious Emotions (N = 66) 143

Table 3

Intercorrelations between Parenting Variables (N = 66) 144

Table 4

Intercorrelations between Temperament and Attachment Variables (N = 66) 145

Table 5

Intercorrrelations between Temperament and Attachment Variables and between Parenting and Emotion Coaching Variables (N = 66) 146

Table 6

Intercorrelations among Scales from the SCEMAS and My Child Measures of Self-Conscious Emotions (N = 66) 147

Table 7

Pearson Correlations for Child-report of Self-conscious Emotions (SCEMAS) and Study Variables (N = 66) 148

Table 8

Pearson Correlations for Mother-report of Child's Self-conscious Emotions (My Child) and Study Variables (N = 66) 149

List of Tables and Figures (cont'd)

Table 9

Partial Correlations for Child-report of Self-conscious Emotions (SCEMAS), Controlling for Basic Shame (N = 66) 150

Table 10

Partial Correlations for Child-report of Self-conscious Emotions (SCEMAS), Controlling for Maladaptive Shame (N = 66) 151

Table 11

Partial Correlations for Child-report of Self-conscious Emotions (SCEMAS), Controlling for Basic Guilt (N = 66). 152

Table 12

Partial Correlations for Child-report of Self-conscious Emotions (SCEMAS), Controlling for Maladaptive Guilt (N = 66) 153

Table 13

Summary of Hierarchical Regression for Parenting, Attachment, and Negative Affectivity Predicting Child-reported Shame-proneness (N = 66)..... 154

Table 14

Summary of Hierarchical Regression for Parenting, Attachment, and Negative Affectivity Predicting Mother-report of Children's Shame-proneness (N = 66) 159

Figure 1

Results of Regressions for Mother-report of Children's Shame-proneness 164

Figure 2

Results of Regressions for Child-reported Shame-proneness..... 165

List of Appendices

Appendix A

Demographic Information Sheet 191

Appendix B

Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-III, Form-A (PPVT-III; Dunn & Dunn, 1997) ... 192

Appendix C

Separation Anxiety Test (SAT; Slough & Greenberg, 1990) 193

Appendix D

Self-Conscious Emotions – Maladaptive & Adaptive Scales

(SCEMAS; Stegge & Ferguson) 194

Appendix E

Child Social Desirability Questionnaire (CSDQ; Crandall, Crandall, &

Katkovsky, 1965) 195

Appendix F

My Child-Shame (Ferguson, Barrett, & Stegge, 1997) 196

Appendix G

My Child-Guilt (Ferguson, Barrett, & Stegge, 1997) 197

Appendix H

Parenting Behavior Quesionnaire (PBQ; Robinson, Mandleco, Olsen, &

Hart, 1995) 198

Appendix I

Socialization of Moral Affect-Parent Report (SOMA-PC; Rosenberg et al., 1994) .. 199

List of Appendices (cont'd)

Appendix J

Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale (CCNES; Fabes, Eisenberg, & Bernzweig, 1990) 200

Appendix K

Child Behavioral Quesionnaire (CBQ; Rothbart, Ahadi, Hershey, & Fischer, 2001). 201

Appendix L

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Questionnaire (MCSDQ; Crown & Marlowe, 1964) 202

Appendix M

Partial Correlations for Mother Report of My child Ruminative Self-conscious Emtions 203

Appendix N

Partial Correlations for Mother Report of Child's Self-Conscious Emotions (My Child) Controlling for the Other Three 204

An attachment framework for the study of shame: Associations between security, parenting, temperament and shame-proneness in early childhood

Self-conscious emotions, such as shame and pride, have been highlighted as critical to psychological outcomes including identity development, self-esteem, agency, anger regulation, and affective disorders (Kohut, 1971, 1978; H.B. Lewis, 1971, 1987; Reimer, 1996) and physical health (Dickerson, Kemeny, Aziz, Kim & Fahey, 2004). Despite an extensive theoretical literature, only recently have researchers begun systematic investigation into the nature, causes and consequences of these self-referent emotions, as well as how to clearly differentiate between various types of self-conscious affect. As advances have been made in the understanding of self-conscious emotions, it has become increasingly apparent that both lay people and psychologists alike have long blurred the boundaries between the experiences of shame and guilt (H.B. Lewis, 1971; M. Lewis, 1992; Tangney, 1995). Often the concepts of shame and guilt are used interchangeably with the distinctions drawn between them frequently seeming vague and confusing. A working definition for shame is "the feeling we have when we evaluate our actions, feelings, or behaviour, and conclude that we have done wrong" and encompasses to "the whole of ourselves; it generates a wish to hide, to disappear, even to die" (M. Lewis, 1992, p.2). Similarly, the phenomenology of shame has been described as the impulse to withdraw and "bury one's face...force the world not to look at him...he would like to destroy the eyes of the world. Instead he must wish for his own invisibility" (Erikson, 1950, p. 252-253) when confronted by one's own failure, weakness, or defectiveness. The focus of guilt, on the other hand, is believed to center on remorse for having wronged or done harm to another and motivates a desire to make reparation for

one's behaviour. By adulthood, shame and guilt appear to be experienced as distinct emotions with unique intrapsychic and interpersonal consequences but these distinctions may be less differentiated in childhood (Horney, 1950). Nevertheless, research demonstrates that there are reliable individual differences in the degree to which people exhibit proneness to shame and that these differences become relatively stable by middle childhood (Tangney, Burggraf, & Wagner, 1995). Central to the present investigation is the identification of parent-child factors that are associated with children's shame-proneness.

Although shame is a normative experience that can serve adaptive functions (e.g., interrupting and adjusting one's behaviour based on alternate courses of actions), there is reason to believe that chronic and intense experiences with this emotion may increase its potential as a destructive force both intrapsychically and interpersonally (H.B. Lewis, 1987). From the perspective of developmental psychopathology, abnormal behaviour is best understood as resulting from normal processes that have been distorted by nonoptimal experiences rather than from distortions derived from abnormal processes (Sroufe & Rutter, 1984). Given the focus on a core aspect of one's self as defective and worthless associated with the affect of shame (e.g., Barrett, 1995; H.B. Lewis, 1971; M. Lewis, 1992; Tangney, 1992), it is conceivable that intense and repetitive experiences with this emotion carry important implications for how one comes to feel about one's self generally as well as one's relationship to others. Such consideration may be especially significant in the developmental context of early childhood when self-concept is being formed and the child's personality may be more open to influence along both adaptive and maladaptive trajectories. The experience of rejection by a significant other upon

whom a child depends to derive their sense of self is widely viewed as a prototypic experience of shame or, in other words, the affective experience of "unlovableness" (Karen, 1998; H.B. Lewis, 1971; M. Lewis, 1992; Thrane, 1979).

Given the relational nature of self-conscious emotions, the present research proposes to integrate understanding of how parental socialization promotes children's propensity to experience shame within an attachment framework. However, in addition to the contribution of socialization influences, a second source of individual differences in children's self-evaluative emotions is constitutional (Lewis & Wolan-Sullivan, 2005). Thus, in concert with parenting factors and attachment security, consideration will also be given to the potential role of temperament in relation to children's shame-proneness.

The following introduction situates shame within the broader context of self-conscious emotions, also referred to as secondary or higher order emotions, and presents a functionalist approach for the study of emotions. Several theoretical perspectives instrumental to the evolving conceptualization of shame will then be summarized, highlighting the potential role that primary caregivers play in children's shame-proneness, as well as how shame may be distinguished from guilt. Next, empirical findings will be reviewed in order to address the current state of knowledge pertaining to how parenting behaviour and socialization practices relate to children's expression of shame. This is followed by further discussion of how parents respond to children's negative emotions more generally and potential associations between these practices and shame-proneness during the early elementary school years. Finally, overviews of both attachment and temperament literatures will be presented in an effort to integrate processes involved at the relational and individual levels believed to have important

implications for the understanding of shame-proneness. In light of evidence suggesting that shame and guilt may represent overlapping constructs that may not be well differentiated during early elementary school years, or are at least commonly co-occurring emotions, the proposed research will examine whether these two self-conscious emotions are distinguishable at this age.

Situating Shame within the Context of Self-Conscious Emotions

Prior to beginning a discourse on the development of shame-proneness, it is helpful to achieve an understanding of how shame relates to the broader framework of self-conscious emotions. These higher order, complex emotions have been noted as particularly important in their potential role for either enhancement or injury to one's self-concept (M. Lewis, 1992).

Primary versus Secondary Emotions

Despite recognition that there may be multiple ways to specify boundaries between classes of emotions (see Kitayama, Marcus, & Matsumoto, 1995 for an elaboration on the influence of language and culture[1]), some developmental psychologists studying emotional processes distinguish between two types of emotions: primary emotions (e.g., joy, sadness, disgust, anger, and interest), the presence of which are identifiable early in life from facial cues, and secondary emotions that emerge after the second year of life. Self-conscious emotions (e.g., shame, guilt, embarrassment, pride) are generally viewed as falling within the latter category. Research suggests that it is after this period that cognitive maturation of objective self-awareness and the ability to

[1]Kitayama, Markus, & Matsumoto (1995) make strong arguments that, in light of cultural variations in the construction of self, the very definition and nature of self-conscious emotions may also vary across cultures and, as a consequence, so too their developmental and adjustment correlates.

internalize standards develop[2] (M. Lewis, 1992; Lewis & Brooks-Gunn, 1979; Lewis, Sullivan, Stranger, & Weisz, 1989; Fischer & Tangney, 1995; Stipek, 1995; Tangney, 1999; see Barrett, 1995 for opposing view[3]). These two cognitive abilities, in particular, allow for self-reflection and evaluation of one's behaviour against specific criteria. How one measures up to these standards and the internal attributions that are made are believed to influence the expression of these self-evaluative emotions (M. Lewis, 1992; Ruble, Eisenberg, & Higgins, 1994). Self-reflection and self-evaluation may be implicit or explicit, rudimentary or evolved, but fundamentally they are about the self and, thereby, promote feelings of pride, or in less affirming moments, shame and/or guilt over one's attributes or actions. In this way, self-conscious emotions can serve as cues for adjusting one's behaviour accordingly.

Researchers document the development of a sense of personal competence as emerging around three years of age. It is at this age that toddlers have been observed to exhibit pride and shame in response to their performance on competitive tasks (Heckhausen, 1984) and also in response to success on difficult tasks and failure on easy tasks, respectively (M. Lewis, Alessandri, & Sullivan, 1992). Another research group further demonstrated that if the set goal is methodologically made more obvious and intrinsic to the task at hand, children are able to exhibit pride and shame even earlier and

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[2]Evidence suggests that self-awareness, self-evaluation (Lewis, 1992; Lewis et al., 1992), the ability to mentally represent standards for comparison (Kagan, 1981), and the ability to reflect upon and attribute outcomes to personal competence (Dweck & Legget, 1988) emerge between two and two-and-a-half years of age (Lewis & Brooks-Gunn, 1979; Lewis, 1992).

[3]Cognitive understanding is neither necessary nor sufficient in determining emotion, although it does exert an important influence on the nature of emotional processes and contexts within which emotion is likely to emerge (Barrett & Campos, 1987). Barrett (1995) argues that the cognitive process involved is more basic than typically suggested by cognitive prerequisite theories of shame. Instead one only needs to have an "appreciation" of the personal significance of the environment for the self as it relates to adaptive functioning, but not "about the world or the self" per se. Moreover, from a functionalist perspective, even appreciations are unnecessary for shame to be experienced since brain stimulation or communication of

in line with standards for self-evaluations (Stipek, Recchia, & McClinton, 1992). This last series of studies revealed a developmental sequence in which toddlers as young as 13 months exhibited joy when they succeeded but had yet to develop the cognitive representational skills necessary for self-evaluation. By age 22 months, however, they were able to anticipate and seek adult reactions for their accomplishments. Further, by 24 months children avoided eye contact and held a closed posture when they failed and exhibited smiling and open posture following success, thus indicating signs of self-generated evaluation. Interestingly, Piaget (1965) proposed that at around age two individuals become able to take the perspective of another and, thereby, become capable of viewing the self as others might (i.e., a move from subjective to objective self-awareness). Finally, roughly by age three, children continue to show concern regarding adult approval-disapproval but begin to react to failure more independently, perhaps as a result of internalization of standards and values.

Largely consistent with the above view, research on moral development suggests that beginning in toddlerhood, children form a rudimentary sense of right and wrong in the context of interactions with their mothers (Smetana, 1989). By four years of age, they have developed distinct notions about the seriousness and punishability of transgressions, as well as contingency of rules. Further, it has also been demonstrated that standards that elicit shame and guilt are increasingly internalized with age. For example, between the ages of 5 and 8, children shift from focusing on the outcome of an action as good or bad to how others' might respond to their behaviour (e.g., parental approval) and, finally, to their reaction to their own behaviour (Harris, 1989). This suggests that earlier in development, children are more highly dependent upon parental approval, the absence of

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emotion from a significant other can trigger emotion directly.

which may contribute more strongly to a child's developing an internal emotional organization that supports a proneness to feel shame. It is hypothesized that if a caregiver's response to their child's failure, transgression, or short-coming is severe and rejecting, it communicates that the child is held in low regard, threatening the security of the attachment bond and, thereby, intensifying feelings of distress and shame. This may be especially true when the focus of disapproval or rejection is aimed at a characteristic of the child that is less amenable to change or is in some way beyond the child's realm of control.

The Social Nature of Self-Conscious Emotions

Although primary emotions may be experienced within social contexts, secondary emotions are seen as highly interpersonal, always involving a real or perceived other or, in some instances, a socially constructed objectified self (Barrett, 1995; Barrett & Nelson-Goens, 1997). It is within the earliest interpersonal attachment relationships with caregivers that the foundation for the development of self-conscious emotions is formed, as one succeeds or fails in meeting some goal or standard valued by the caregiver. In the case of shame, this involves awareness of the perception of the self from the vantagepoint of the other (whether real or imagined) as lacking, deficient, or substandard (H.B. Lewis, 1971; Kohut, 1971). This contrasts with feelings of pride that emerge from a sense of being prized and "good enough" in the eyes of the caregiver (Winnicott, 1965). It is believed that shame is induced by "loss of face" that can result from such instances as failure, defeat, invasion of privacy, ridicule or rejection (H.B. Lewis, 1987). Such circumstances arguably threaten the bond in this primary relationship, undermining one's confidence in the availability and responsiveness of the caregiver and of one's self as

competent in attaining nurturance and worthy of love. The cognitive-affective attachment schemas children form, in turn, may increase their ongoing vulnerability to experience negative self-conscious emotions, shame in particular. The manner in which this may unfold is more fully articulated later in the introduction.

Moreover, it is through socialization experiences with parents and significant others that a set of social rules for appropriate behaviour and standards for achievement are established and eventually internalized (Barrett, 1995; M. Lewis, 1992). In this way, self-conscious emotions can serve important regulatory functions for behaviour and motivate different patterns of interpersonal relating (Barrett, 1995; Barrett & Nelson-Goens, 1997; M. Lewis, 1992; Lindsay-Hartz, de Rivera, & Mascolo, 1995; Tangney, 1995). For example, the affective behaviour that accompanies the experience of shame[4] serves to distance the individual from significant others and to reduce the risk of being negatively evaluated. By minimizing one's physical presence (e.g., avoiding others' gaze, sloping one's shoulders with head bowed and face concealed), an individual may improve the likelihood of escaping harmful consequences that may result from exposure (Barrett & Nelson-Goens, 1997; H.B. Lewis, 1971; Tangney, 1995). The phenomenological response of shame contrasts with guilt[5] cues thought to result from

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[4]Given children's inability to consciously identify or reliably communicate about their emotions, research on shame in early childhood has largely relied upon observational methods to measure affective behaviour such as body movements and facial expressions (e.g., collapse of body, cessation of activity, gaze aversion, lowered head, sadness and tension in facial features, reduced vocal activity and/or negative self-statements) observed to accompany the experience of shame (Geppert, 1986 in Lewis, Alessandri, & Sullivan, 1992; Stipek et al., 1992). However, limitations in using overt behaviour as an accurate means of inferring internal states has been highlighted, particularly when the social context within which these behaviours arise is not well accounted for (Barret, 1995). Emotion-functionalism stresses the importance of viewing emotions in terms of functional consequences that morphologically different behavioural repertoires can achieve. For example, in the experience of shame, withdrawal as well as rapid speech patterns can be used to distract others from attending to one's flawed behaviour.

[5]A substantial body of research including intricate data analysis of case studies (H.B. Lewis, 1971; Lindsay-Hartz, 1984; Lindsay-Hart et al., 1995), content analysis of narratives (Tangney, 1992), quantitative ratings of personal shame and guilt (Ferguson et al., 1991; Tangney, 1993; Tangney et al.,

potential or actual damage caused to another that motivates reparation aimed at preserving the relationship (e.g., see Barrett, 1995). Thus, shame has been more closely linked to interpersonal avoidance, hostility, and aggression whereas guilt has been related to apology, reparation, and prosocial behaviour (H.B. Lewis, 1971; Lindsay-Hartz, 1984; Tangney, 1995). These ideas are powerfully reflected in the following conceptualization of the difference between these two affective experiences, "guilt limits strength; shame covers weakness. Guilt follows and blocks the expansion of power; shame is caused by and stops the reduction of power" (Wurmser, 1981, p.62). From this perspective, shame is viewed as functionally communicating through self-protective behaviours of withdrawal and/or violent rage that one's inner-most boundaries are being infringed upon, whereas guilt functions to protect the boundaries of others from one's self.

Functionalist Approach to Emotions

The present research adopts a functionalist approach to the study of emotions. The functionalist perspective consists of several assumptions, including the following: (1) emotions are social and fundamentally adaptive in promoting successful human functioning; (2) appraisal of the meaning of events influences emotional processes as well as one's view of self and others; affective experience can include "emotion about emotion" (e.g., feelings of shame can lead to anger toward others for making one feel ashamed, which can further lead to fear or guilt over anger); (3) emotions can be described in terms of social scripts (i.e., including characteristic cognitions, affect, motivation, behaviour); (4) emotions are organized into families of related affect; (5) socialization plays a crucial role in emotional development (Barrett, 1995; Barrett &

1996; Wicker, Payne, & Morgan, 1983), and analysis of counterfactual thinking (Niedenthal, Tangney, & Gavanski, 1994) demonstrates that shame and guilt are distinct constructs that differ along cognitive,

Campos, 1987; Fischer & Tangney, 1995). From this perspective, as a state emotion, the painful affect of shame can serve several adaptive functions including social communication, behavioural regulation and internal regulation (e.g., signalling that rejection is imminent, helping to regulate daily interaction, communicating deference and feelings of unworthiness, preventing wrongdoing, motivating efforts at self-improvement and adherence to group standards and values). However, despite the adaptive potential of emotions, repeated exposure to particular affect can lead to the formation of an affective style or disposition that influences perceptions, interpretations, and actions (Malatesta & Wilson, 1988). Thus, repetitive emotional experiences can lead to either too much of an emotion ("surfeit pathology") that becomes organized in terms of a specific affective style, or too little of an emotion ("deficiency pathology") that results in the failure to develop the ability to access the particular emotion. The focus of the proposed research is "surfeit" shame or shame-proneness (i.e., pervasive feelings of worthlessness, incompetence, helplessness), taken to be maladaptive by virtue of being indiscriminately experienced across time and situation[6]. Given its potential role as a risk factor in the development of psychopathology, identification of potential antecedents of shame is warranted.

In attempting to understand the development of individual differences in shame-proneness, several models can be used to conceptualize how shame-provoking scenarios within the parenting context can move an individual along the continuum from responding in an emotionally flexible manner at a state level to the internalization of

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affective, and motivational lines.

[6] Similarly with guilt, it is argued that despite its adaptive value of taking responsibility for the impact of one's actions on others and motivating reparation, inflexibility in either the ability to access this emotion at one extreme or proneness to feel guilt indiscriminately at the other is viewed as maladaptive.

shame into a trait-like disposition. From a social information processing perspective, repetitive patterns of experience can eventually serve as a cue, alerting the child to attend to stimuli that may present similar threat in future situations. As Rothbart et al. (1995) explain, "affective states associated with an attentional focus either on threatening stimuli or on the self may make access to information about others less accessible" (p. 319). As a result of defensive processes such as interpretive distortions and rigid responding, trait-like affective characteristics hold the risk for maladjustment in both interpersonal and intrapersonal realms. A compatible conceptualization comes from Tomkins' affect theory (1963), which stipulates how frequently experienced affects become "structuralized" in the personality and organize responses to incoming sensory information. Such organizations are similar to what others have described as "scripts" or strategies for processing affectively laden events (Magai, 1999). From a slightly different perspective, Bowlby (1969, 1973, 1980) theorized that parental patterns of responding to children's negative affect can shape attentional processes toward deactivation or hyperactivation of affect, such as those observed in the attachment strategies of avoidantly and ambivalently attached children, respectively. Although these affect regulation strategies are rooted in the early caregiving context, they are gradually internalized into working models of self and other and carried forward to guide future interpersonal transactions. Potential implications of attachment processes in children's emotional experience of shame are considered further below.

Theoretical Perspectives on Shame: Past and Present

Several theories have, to greater and lesser degrees, offered important insights in understanding the experience of shame and development of shame-proneness. However,

no single theory to date has been able to account successfully for its causes, mechanisms, and consequences. As a result, a unifying framework for organizing the study of shame has yet to be established, rendering both theory and empirical endeavours somewhat diffuse and challenging to integrate. The following summarizes major theoretical perspectives that have made significant contributions to present conceptualizations of shame.

Psychoanalytic Conceptualizations: Shame as Affect and Defence

Consideration of shame and its underlying causes in normative and pathological development has perhaps received greatest attention in the psychoanalytic literature. Freud originally viewed shame as a defence (i.e., reaction formation) against sexually exhibitionistic impulses (Freud, 1905), as well as an affect to signal the threat of overexposure, thus propelling one to conceal inadequacies as a means of avoiding impending rejection (Freud, 1914). Conversely, when provided with acceptance rather than rejection, the individual is capable of feeling pride, a sense of well-being and self-esteem. Freud subsequently abandoned further elaboration of shame in lieu of expanding his conceptualization of guilt and its role in dynamic conflicts (see H.B. Lewis, 1971 and Tangney, 1994 for further elaboration). In light of current knowledge, compelling arguments have been made suggesting that in developing his theories, Freud like many after him overgeneralized the role of guilt and, thereby, misidentified many instances that might more accurately reflect shame.

Later psychoanalysts also focused on themes of shame and the self-consciousness that result from overexposure - most commonly those related to bodily functions and toilet training (e.g., Fenichel, 1945; Erikson, 1950). Perhaps most popular was Erikson's

eight-stage theory of psychosocial development. It is during the second stage in early childhood that the conflict between autonomy and shame emerges where successful autonomy is derived from the child's ability to achieve and do for the self, resulting in the emergence of pride. Shame and doubt, on the other hand, arise from the inability to succeed, in this case, at the developmental task of gaining full control over bodily functions. However, close examination of Erikson's model reveals that each successive stage introduces salient developmental milestones that implicitly carry the risk of shame if the individual experiences failure in mastering them (H.B. Lewis, 1987). Therefore, shame conceivably can emerge at various points throughout the life cycle. More directly relevant to the present thesis, parenting that fails to support the development of children's age-appropriate autonomy and an ongoing sense of competence in procuring needed nurturance, as well as in regulating their emotional expression, will likely contribute to a poorer self-concept and greater vulnerability to feel shame.

Self-Psychology and the "Ego-Ideal"

With the emergence of self-psychology, the importance of shame gained greater prominence in psychodynamic theory, emphasizing its critical role in a range of psychological disorders (e.g., Kohut, 1971; Morrison, 1998). Several post-Freudian theorists focused on clashes between the "ego-ideal" (i.e., internalized values, idealizations, grandiose fantasies, parental representations) and the ego. In particular, many viewed shame as resulting from a failure of the actual self to measure up to the standards of the ego-ideal, or ideal-self, with consequent feelings of inferiority and fear of abandonment (e.g., Horney, 1950; Piers & Singer, 1953). The ideal-self does not necessarily represent a healthy standard. In some instances, it may instead serve as a

defensively grandiose response in an effort to overcompensate for deep-rooted feelings of shame and inadequacy. Following from this, the more worthless one feels, the more perfectionistic and rigid the ideal becomes, ultimately reinforcing one's sense of inadequacy and shame (Horney, 1950; Kohut, 1971). However, recent research suggests that shame may be more related to a negative ideal or "anti-ideal" whereby the individual perceives him/herself as being who s/he does not wish to be as opposed to failing to achieve some higher ideal self (Lindsay-Hartz, 1984; Lindsay-Hartz, De Rivera, & Mascolo, 1995). Together, these ideas elucidate the paradoxical nature of shame in the struggle between failure to establish autonomy and authenticity on the one hand, and the self as loveable and worthy of affection on the other (Thrane, 1979).

Parental mirroring and narcissistic vulnerability in shame: The contribution of Kohut. Although more implicit than explicit, some particularly relevant insights in the understanding of parental contributions to the development of shame-proneness emerge from Kohut's conceptualizations of the construction of the self and narcissistic injuries suffered as the result of failures in parental mirroring (1971, 1972, 1977). He proposed that a coherent sense of self consists of the internalization of two main elements, a grandiose sense of self ("I am perfect") and an idealized parent who is all-powerful ("You are perfect and I am part of you"). In the case of optimal development, the child's exhibitionistic tendencies and self-esteem are fostered by empathic parenting (e.g., reflecting, approval, validation, admiration) as evidenced, for example, in the "gleam of the mother's eye" as she positively mirrors the child's greatness. Such caregiving allows this "primary narcissism" to be gradually tamed and internalized, thus allowing a mature personality structure to emerge, including a sense of control over one's own mind and

body critical to self-esteem and the purposeful pursuit of ambitions and pleasurable activities. The complement to this grandiose self, and equally important to the positive development of self, is the availability of an idealized parent figure that is internalized in the form of values, ideals, and standards important for the development of empathy, creativity, humour and wisdom. It is contended that gradually children will inevitably confront their inability to exercise absolute control over their own functions as well as those of their caregiver. The parent's response to these early awakenings can, in turn, either facilitate or hinder development. Ideally, these experiences will be met with empathy through parental sensitivity that provides loving support and comfort that assuages the child's distress and fosters the discovery of her/his own capacity to perform for the self functions that were previously provided by the caregiver. Once a more coherent self-structure is established, small "shame signals" serve to indicate disapproval of aspects of this grandiose-exhibitionism by the internalized standards of the idealized parent. This clash between exposure and inhibition of unadmired or unmirrored aspects of the self give rise to the manifestation of shame in the more chronic sense.

Alternatively, a failure to experience and internalize the two ideals of the grandiose self and ideal parent in early childhood leads to the development of an incoherent self-structure that disrupts the balance between one's actual self and their ego-ideal (Kohut, 1971, 1972, 1977). This then results in a narcissistic vulnerability that is denoted by a rigid and persistent demand on the self to prove its perfection and/or ongoing pursuit of idealized transitional self-objects to meet one's dependency needs. Similar to ideas of other self-psychologists, Kohut focused on discrepancies between unrealistic and perfectionistic expectations between the actual and ideal self observed in

individuals who have experienced a lack of empathic parenting (characterized by, for example, ridicule, threat of or actual physical punishment, emotional or physical abandonment) that positively mirrors the child as a whole human being rather than as a collection of objectified parts. Ultimately, this unempathic parenting fails to create a feeling in the child of the inherent lovableness of the self; instead it creates a persistent feeling of being in some way fundamentally defective, increasing the risk for insecurity, anxiety and, more directly relevant to the present investigation, a predisposition to shame. Perhaps the most significant contribution of Kohut's theory to the understanding of shame-proneness is the value he placed on positive mirroring of the child by the caregiver during early childhood (Miller, 1996). This dynamic is also reflected in the more prominent attachment theory that articulates how the expressiveness and interactive behaviour of the child requires consistent responsiveness and sensitivity from the caregiver to establish a secure bond and correspondingly positive internal working models of self and other (e.g., Bowlby, 1979; H.B. Lewis, 1971; M. Lewis, 1992).

Shame as an Attachment Related Dynamic: The Contribution of H.B. Lewis

By successfully integrating ideas from psychoanalytic theory, self-psychology, and cognitive theory, H.B. Lewis (1971, 1987) has arguably made the most substantial contribution to empirical efforts and current understanding of the development of shame and its implications for adjustment (M. Lewis, 1992; Reimer, 1996; Tangney, 1998). Central to her theory is the differential emphasis on the self in the experience of shame (e.g., "*I* did a horrible thing" or "*I* am thinking of doing a horrible thing") versus the focus on behaviour in the case of guilt (e.g., "I *did* a horrible thing" or "I am *thinking of doing* a horrible thing"). As articulated by Lewis (1971), "The experience of shame is

directly about the *self*, which is the focus of evaluation. In guilt, the self is not the central object of negative evaluation, but rather the *thing done or undone* is the focus" (p. 30). Lewis further described shame as an acutely painful emotion that is experienced as a sense of shrinking in size, worthlessness, and powerlessness. The shamed individual also feels exposed, whether or not in the presence of observing others, since one need only imagine how some defective part of the self would be viewed by others. In so doing, the individual is at once observing and denigrating the whole self as flawed and unlovable, giving rise to a desire to escape or hide the self and one's shortcoming. As such, it is argued that shame attacks core identity in a way that other self-emotions, including guilt, do not.

Lewis further emphasized the fundamental sociability of human nature and the primacy of the attachment relationship in the understanding of shame since, in her view, shame is the inevitable and appropriate response to the loss of love (H.B. Lewis, 1987). To illustrate her point, Lewis highlights the association between parental behaviour that threatens the attachment bond and a propensity to feel shame due to insecurity surrounding one's perceived lovableness and fear of abandonment. The experience of shame is inevitably accompanied by "humiliated fury" as a means of protesting loss of love while demanding its reinstatement. In cases where there is a consistently available and affectionate attachment figure, guilt for hostility toward the significant other serves as a reminder of the affectional bond (H.B. Lewis, 1987). However, in the face of ongoing rejection, humiliated fury is rendered nonfunctional and instead sets off a shame-rage cycle whereby feelings of shame are magnified and intensify feelings of rage. This downward spiral continues to engender (through shame) and inhibit (through guilt) the

expression of anger, creating an impossible situation where rage is ultimately turned inward or misdirected toward an innocent other while the true injury and its source are denied. Lewis claims that problems in adjustment result from such cycles that go unresolved. Despite the conceptual links between attachment and shame, there are as yet no empirical efforts to directly investigate these associations during childhood.

Nevertheless, evidence supports Lewis's conceptualization of shame and how it differs from guilt in terms of the primary focus being the self versus the thing done. One investigation, for example, used an inventive methodological design to overcome problems lay people have in making abstract distinctions between attributing blame for negative events to one's behaviour versus to one's personality or self (Niedenthal, Tangney, & Gavanski, 1994). Rather than requiring participants to make behavioural versus self-distinctions, counterfactual thinking was assessed whereby people were asked to specify how they would correct situations in which they felt guilty versus those in which they felt ashamed. Findings indicated that in the case of guilt, participants were more likely to make statements regarding changing some aspect of their behaviour whereas those that involved shame required undoing some aspect of the self.

In sum, H.B. Lewis (1971) highlights the fundamental difference between shame and guilt as involving the role of self, where shame is linked to global, negative evaluations of self ("Who *I* am") and guilt focuses on condemnation of a particular action or behaviour ("What I *did*"). This conceptualization does not preclude instances whereby one's unacceptable behaviour carries with it negative implications regarding one's character or self whereby it is conceivable that both guilt and shame co-occur. Regardless, the distinction between self versus behaviour has potentially far-reaching

implications for emotional responses in immediate situations, as well as for subsequent emotional, behaviour, and cognitive adjustment.

Attribution Theories

H.B. Lewis' conceptualization of shame stimulated research efforts by attribution theorists who operationalized and extended many of these earlier ideas (e.g., M. Lewis, 1992). A main focus of attribution frameworks in the study of shame has been global statements by the self about the self (e.g., feeling that the total self is no good, inadequate, and unworthy) whereby the individual is at once the subject and the object of their own scrutiny and degradation. Consistent with empirical evidence (e.g., Ferguson & Stegge, 1995; Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996), M. Lewis contends that there are no specific elicitors of shame. He goes on to propose a theoretical framework whereby success or failure with regard to standards, rules, or goals triggers self-reflection, the content of which includes self-attributions that give rise to the specific type of self-conscious emotion experienced. In the case of shame, this translates into internal and global self-attributions in the context of negative events. These types of attributions provide a link between the experience of shame and learned helplessness (Seligman, 1975) where global (tendency to focus on total self) versus specific (some situations some of the time) attributions are believed to be central[7]. M. Lewis further emphasizes

[7]Attribution researchers provide evidence for shame's relation to internal, stable, and global attributions of negative events (i.e., bad self) in contrast to guilt, which is associated with internal but unstable and specific attributions for negative events (i.e., bad behaviour) (Ferguson & Stegge, 1995). Within achievement contexts, shame has been associated with self-attributions of lower ability and, thus, a lack of controllability with an accompanying tendency to respond with withdrawal and behavioural inhibition (Tangney, 1992; Wicker, Payne, & Morgan, 1983). On the other hand, guilt has been linked to attributions involving lack of effort and, thus, a sense of controllability with an associated tendency to respond with increased behavioural involvement. Evidence for such a distinction between shame and guilt is further corroborated by individuals' qualitative descriptions of guilt as resulting from situations where there is a greater sense of controllability and shame from situations that are beyond one's control (Lindsay-Hartz et al., 1995).

the importance of socialization in the development of individual differences in establishing standards that are personally relevant and, thereby, are hypothesized to be more likely to elicit shame when one falls short in these domains.

A main criticism of attribution theory's conceptualization of shame and other self-conscious emotions is its reliance on a well-differentiated ability to make conscious cognitive appraisals (e.g., self-awareness, development of standards, evaluation of self in relation to standards, distinction between a focus on the self as opposed to one's actions). These cognitive abilities may not be adequately developed at early ages, yet evidence suggests that shame emerges fairly early on in childhood (Barrett, 1995). Although the cognitive demand is high, there is general consensus that these abilities, at least at a rudimentary level, emerge between the second and third year of life as described previously. Nevertheless, perhaps a more interesting and useful focus for future research than that of onset involves how developmental changes in cognitive maturation *influence* transitions in the nature and functions of self-conscious emotions across the lifespan (Barrett, 1995; Mascolo & Fischer, 1995). It is further noted that a basic assumption of attribution theory contends that cognitive interpretations lead to emotion yet this causal ordering has not been empirically demonstrated. Conceivably, one's pre-existing affective organization based on past emotional experience provides the underlying structure that generates automatic emotional responses to subsequent events (Greenberg, 2002). This emotional organization may then lead to specific types of cognitive interpretations that are "rationally" consistent with one's emotional response to events. Despite considerable theory on the complex interactions between thought and emotion, clarification of the above debate is needed.

In sum, from an attribution perspective, shame results from negative global self-evaluation of one's shortcomings in relation to a set of standards or expectations. This presents a threat to the self-system that can result in the experience of intense affect that is painful, disrupts behaviour, and causes thought confusion. However, given that the attack is on the global self, it may be difficult to overcome. Thus, as indicated by many of the physical cues believed to accompany shame, this affective experience gives rise to the impulse to withdraw and conceal one's self in order to hide the source of one's shame.

Summary on Theories of Shame

The various theories reviewed above are not interpreted as mutually exclusive. In fact, there appears to be considerable overlap and complementarity between them, perhaps because they focus their conceptualizations of shame at different levels of analysis. Generally, they all suggest that shame is linked to concerns regarding the global self, or some core aspect of self, with the quality of parental responses to the child's expressions exerting an important influence on inducing and/or exacerbating feelings of shame. Which of these will prove to have the greatest predictive validity and power in explaining individual differences in the experience of shame-proneness awaits future research efforts. Until then, each theory provides meaningful conceptualizations that help further understanding of the significance of the shame experience.

Research on the Induction of Shame: Parenting and Emotion Socialization Practices

Empirical evidence indicates that there are reliable individual differences in the degree to which people exhibit a propensity to experience shame (e.g., Harder & Lewis, 1987; Tangney, 1990, 1992; Tangney, Wagner, & Gramzow, 1992). It has been demonstrated that shame-proneness is well established by middle childhood (Tangney,

Burggraf, & Wagner, 1995), moderately stable from childhood into adolescence and highly stable over at least 3-year intervals in adulthood (Tangney, 1999). In light of evidence suggesting that shame-proneness may become an increasingly stable characteristic with age, investigation into individual differences during the early elementary school years may be particularly informative since this is the period during which self-conscious emotions become more differentiated and self-concept more fully developed. So far, research has largely focused on the role of immediate situational factors (e.g., achievement failure) and phenomenology with less attention directed toward individual differences in the experience of shame despite its association with maladjustment (e.g., Ferguson & Stegge, 1995; H.B. Lewis, 1971; M. Lewis, 1992; Tangney, 1998). Nonetheless, inquiry into the sources of individual differences in shame-proneness has begun over the past decade, the primary focus of which has been parenting (Barrett, 1995; Ferguson & Stegge, 1995; Lewis, 1992; Mills, 2003; Zahn-Waxler & Robinson, 1995). Although individual differences in shame-proneness are likely to be influenced by innate factors, it is reasonable to imagine how early parenting behaviour, as well as an underlying vulnerability contingent upon attachment dynamics, can influence the extent and facility with which shame is likely to emerge both proximally and longitudinally.

The introduction, thus far, has focused on theoretical conceptualizations of the relation between parenting and shame. Below, an overview of empirical research that has bearing on possible associations between parenting practices and children's experience of shame is presented, along with hypothesized links between the socialization of children's emotions more broadly and shame-proneness specifically. This is followed by additional

elaboration of how attachment dynamics and child temperament, in concert with parenting, can contribute to the understanding of children's propensity to feel shame.

Parenting Practices

Developmental research during childhood. The importance of caregivers in the socialization of children's emotions is noted throughout the developmental literature (e.g., Dunn, 1988; Hinde, 1979; Howe, Bukowski, & Aquan-Assee, 1997; Zahn-Waxler, Kochanska, Krupnick, & McKnew, 1990). Parents can accomplish goals of socialization through several means such as: (1) evaluation in the form of praise or disappointment regarding how one measures up to expectations; (2) the types of attributions, behaviours and emotional reactions to the child when a transgression or failure occurs; (3) fostering of children's self-evaluation and concern over personal competence; (4) and feedback provided in emotion-eliciting situations regarding how the child ought to feel (Heckhausen, 1984; Alessandri & Lewis, 1993, 1996; Barnett, 1995; Ferguson & Stegge, 1995; Stipek et al., 1992). By providing explicit or implicit messages regarding the acceptability of the self, parental socialization has been identified as a strong eliciting force behind shame.

A large number of studies have focused on parenting behaviour as critical to children's social and emotional outcomes (Baumrind, 1989; Denham, Workman, Cole, Wiessbrod, Kendziora, & Zahn-Waxler, 2000; Hart, Nelson, Robinson, Olsen, & McNeilly-Choque, 1998; Rothbaum & Weisz, 1994), although few have focused specifically on children's experience of shame. The various strategies used to socialize children vary widely both in terms of their effectiveness and also in their positive and negative developmental consequences. The empirical literature on child-rearing and

disciplinary practices indicates that parenting techniques that emphasize the significance of appropriate behaviour in a way that does not impair the parent-child relationship are most effective for the internalization of parental standards (see Barrett, 1995). The importance of maintaining the integrity of the emotional bond is elucidated more fully within an attachment framework below. In the case of parenting, sensitivity to the child's communications and needs, combined with utilization of reasoning and the setting of clear limits and expectations for age-appropriate behaviour, conveys to the child that he or she is loved and valued. This style of parenting, referred to as authoritative parenting, is believed to promote greater adherence to the goals and standards of the parent (Baumrind, 1971, 1991) and consistently has been associated with better adjustment across a range of cognitive, behavioural, emotional and interpersonal outcomes (e.g., Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Interestingly, authoritative parenting has been hypothesized as more closely linked to guilt than to shame (Barrett, 1995; Tangney, 1998). This stands to reason given its use of induction that focuses on the harmful effects of one's actions on others, sets appropriate limits and expectations, while providing high degrees of warmth and valuing the child's autonomy.

Although little research exists to establish the association between parenting style and self-conscious emotions empirically, some authors contend that discipline that focuses on the parent's negative feelings toward the child is more likely to result in the experience of shame since it threatens the relational bond (Barrett, 1995). As Karen (1998) has argued, parental rejection may be directed at the child's global self or limited to specific characteristics of the child that the parent disapproves of or responds to with

anxiety, coldness, punishment or ridicule. Rather than facilitating feelings of acceptance and inherent lovability as one is (e.g., slow, frail, effeminate, dirty, silly, angry, needy), such treatment induces shameful feelings in the child and results in a sense of helplessness in repairing the apparent wrongdoing. In contrast, reasoning with a child about their transgression may be more likely to lead to guilt than to shame since it explains to the child the nature of their specific action, presents potential ways for initiating reparation, and can promote a sense of agency.

Evidence evaluating inductive practices is provided by an investigation that tested the relation between measures of parents' behaviour and reported socialization practices during disciplinary encounters and shame and guilt exhibited in the stories created by elementary school children on a hypothetical picture task (Ferguson & Stegge, 1995). Although both shame and guilt overlapped in their relation to positive and negative parental reactions, shame was uniquely predicted by the absence of authoritative parenting strategies, a lack of positive response to appropriate behaviour, and hostile emotional expressions toward the child (e.g., love withdrawal, power assertion, and anger). Not only did children who generated stories with more shame receive more hostile parenting that provided little in the way of concrete feedback regarding what they had done correctly or incorrectly, but parents' strongest expressions of disappointment focused on personal attributes of the child not amenable to change (e.g., temperament, athletic or academic ability). Also relevant is research demonstrating the association between emotion-laden explanations regarding general standards for behaviour when not excessively harsh or authoritarian and children's tendency to make reparation in the immediate and long-term; use of coercive practices such as love withdrawal, on the other

hand, were associated with reparative behaviour in the short-term only (Zahn-Waxler, Radke-Yarrow, & King, 1979). Although the authors conceptualized this action tendency toward reparation as related to guilt, they did not formally differentiate guilt and shame. A more recent investigation of girls in early childhood focused on the link between authoritarian parenting, defined by low levels of warmth and high degrees of control and punitive practices, and shame (Mills, 2003). Results indicated that authoritarian parenting at age 3 predicted shame-proneness at age 5, especially when both parents exhibited this controlling and dominant parenting style. Thus, it appears that socialization practices linked to shame may not only be those previously identified as least effective in achieving compliance but are also practices that may also be most detrimental to children's developing self-concept and cognitive-affective organization. Whereas guilt seems more strongly related to personal responsibility and concern for others in a manner more likely to strengthen social bonds, shame appears to be more tied to a view of one's self as defective and incompetent that may engender a strategy of avoidance (Tangney, 1990; Zahn-Waxler & Kochanska, 1990).

Permissive parenting is a third parenting style that has not received empirical attention in relation to self-conscious emotions. Permissive parenting is characterized by a lax approach to limit setting and follow through and has been associated with less serious forms of delinquency (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991). Therefore, it is conceivable that children parented in a highly permissive manner, may fail to develop a propensity to internalize a sense of blame or accountability for their actions and, thereby, may be less prone to shame or guilt.

Researchers working within an attribution framework have looked at parents' influence in children's construction of internal self-attributions and focus on the global self in response to negative events and the implication of such attributions for shame vulnerability. In a nonclinical sample, evaluation of parental responses to 3-year-olds' achievement during free play and structured tasks demonstrated that some parents were more inclined to attribute the outcomes of the child's performance to external forces while others were more inclined to identify the child's efforts as critical to their success or failure (Alessandri & Lewis, 1993). Findings indicated that the more critical parents' comments were regarding the child's functioning in these contexts, the more likely their child was to exhibit behavioural responses associated with shame. Sex differences also indicated that, overall, boys received more positive and girls more negative evaluations from parents. Further, both mothers and fathers used more specific achievement comments that focused on actions with sons than with daughters. This evidence of greater shame-inducing socialization directed toward girls may help explain findings reported on girls greater proneness to exhibit shame in response to failure (Alessandri & Lewis, 1996; Lewis, Alessandri, & Sullivan, 1992), tendency to make internal, global self-attributions when faced with negative events (M. Lewis, 1992), and greater vulnerability to feel shame across development (e.g., Belsky, Domitrovick, & Crnic, 1997; H.B. Lewis, 1987; Tangney, 1990). These findings support attribution theory's conceptualization of how negative parenting and consequent shame can contribute to the development of attribution styles that mediate further shame-proneness.

The same researchers replicated these findings in one of the only studies to look systematically at shame in maltreated children (Alessandri & Lewis, 1996). Despite

comparable performance on a laboratory task among maltreated and normally treated groups and between girls and boys, maltreated girls showed the highest expression of shame in response to failure whereas maltreated boys exhibited the least emotional response. Correspondingly, the maltreated group, and girls especially, received more negative and less positive maternal treatment following failure and success, respectively. Shame was found to relate to negative maternal behaviour and lack of positive responses for all groups, thus supporting the conclusion that in the context of failure the perpetuation of shame is, in part, a function of differential socialization practices for both normative and at risk samples. In contrast to parenting that provides comfort and support, negative evaluative behaviour from parents serves to amplify negative affective responses that may further propel the child toward developing shame-proneness.

Some additional parenting factors that can induce shame include nondisciplinary strategies that involve the tendency to place an extreme emphasis on achievement, especially when the message being transmitted interferes with a positive parent-child relationship (Barrett, 1995). Thus, parents who adopt inappropriately high achievement standards for their child may cause the child to internalize unrealistic goals that increase their probability of encountering failure and to experience shame as a consequence. Despite the commonly held notion of extremely high standards placing children at risk for shame, others have suggested that it may be more prudent to consider parental responses to failures in the attainment of such high standards as opposed to the high standard themselves (M. Lewis, 1992). Further, it may be that individual differences in standards will determine the contexts in which shame is most likely to arise (e.g., family

values focused on academic achievement, athletic performance, sex role adherence), although this has not been empirically tested.

Adult retrospective data. Despite problems of reliability and validity of research findings introduced by retrospective data[8], they can provide some valuable insights both in terms of substantiating theoretical conceptualizations and also in focusing future research efforts aimed at revealing the precursors and sequelae of shame-proneness. Examples of findings from this literature include evidence supporting the association between higher degrees of shame-proneness and self-report of early caregiving experiences characterized by high levels of demanding and over-controlling maternal care, in addition to a lack of warmth and affection from both mothers and fathers (Lutwak & Ferrari, 1997). In addition, associations have been found between shame-proneness and individual's memories of active shaming and ridicule by parents (Gilbert, Allan, & Gos, 1996). Other research that distinguished between three forms of parental control (inductive, affective, and coercive) found associations between affective control (e.g., love withdrawal) and shame and between inductive control (e.g., rational explanation for expectations, limit setting) and guilt (Abell & Gecas, 1997). Investigation into the relation between perceived early dysfunctional family environment and shame-proneness found that lower levels of cohesiveness (e.g., lower commitment and support among members) and expressiveness (e.g., encouragement toward open expression of feelings) was related to higher degrees of shame-proneness (Pulakos, 1996). Self-reports of higher

[8]Psychologically important phenomenon concern subjective meanings ascribed to subjective events that only individuals involved have access to. Despite several criticisms that can be waged against the validity of retrospective self-report data (e.g., introduction of confounds based on individual differences in reporting biases, selective memory, denial, etc.), these methods arguably provide valuable information regarding the individual's impressions that are meaningful, valid, and predictive of various aspects of individuals' experiences (Clark & Reiss, 1988; Miller & Jang, 1977).

degrees of conflict and hostility between family members also have been related to shame-proneness (Hadley, Holloway, & Mallinckrodt, 1993). Guilt, however, in both of these studies was unrelated to dysfunctional family factors. Despite methodological limitations of retrospective reports regarding the early child-rearing environment, findings are consistent with available research using child samples, as well as with theoretical conceptualizations of the link between perceptions of inadequate parenting that fails to mirror empathically the child's expression, thereby increasing his/her vulnerability to feel shame.

Parental Socialization of Children's Negative Emotional Expression

An area that is conceivably related to shame but that has received minimal empirical attention involves parental responses and attitudes toward children's emotional expression, particularly negative emotions such as anger, fear, and sadness. Given that it is within the parent-child relationship that children initially express their feelings and needs and that it is within this context that these expressions are socialized, studying parental reactions to children's emotional expression may be especially relevant. Indeed, investigation into parental attitudes and responses to children's emotions can allow for greater understanding of shame formation with respect to emotional expression itself. Researchers have begun to focus on the role that parenting practices play on children's emotional expression and regulation and, although these studies have not focused specifically on shame, they have looked at parental reactions to children's negative emotions (e.g., Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998; Eisenberg, Fabes, & MacKinnon, 2002; Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1996, 1997). Because of the aversive nature of negative emotions, parents may utilize a variety of ways to cope with and help

their children cope with these emotions with some parents being prone to use control strategies such as punishment (Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, & Madden-Derdich, 2002).

Parents have been noted to transmit biases through articulating ideologies about affect, modeling their own reactions, and in their responses to their child's display of emotions. Tomkins (1991) highlighted two main emotion socialization practices - *rewarding* and *punitive*. *Rewarding practices* involve affective engagement with the child, validation of the child's emotional experience, assisting the child to cope with sources of negative affect and to learn how to tolerate and regulate their emotions. Such practices may include positive, accepting, and supportive responses when the child is experiencing negative emotions or coaching the child in problem solving and effectively managing negative feelings. *Punitive practices*, on the other hand, amplify the child's negative affect and escalate conflict by minimizing or belittling the child's feelings, failing to help the child find effective ways to cope with distress, as well as communicating negative attitudes about specific affects. Such practices include punishment for the expression of negative emotion in a manner that may increase distress and undermine the child's ability to effectively regulate his or her emotion; such an association has been demonstrated empirically (e.g., Denham et al., 1997; Gross & Levenson, 1993). Although punitive practices have been argued to heighten children's experience and expression of negative emotions, children can gradually learn to mask these reactions (Buck, 1994) or, in other words, to cover up shameful feelings. A question that the proposed study aims to address is whether parents who utilize more punitive and less rewarding responses to negative emotions have children who are more shame-prone.

Parallel to punitive and rewarding practices, other authors have described *emotion-coaching* (e.g., value the child's negative emotions as an opportunity for intimacy, show empathy and tolerance of the child's negative emotions, help the child to identify feelings, teach appropriate modes of expression) and *emotion-dismissing approaches* (e.g., lack of awareness of child's emotional world, dismissing or ignoring child's emotion as a means of extinguishing it, and invalidating the child's feelings) in the socialization of emotions (Lagacé-Séguin & Coplan, 2005). Interestingly, emotion-coaching has been linked to children's greater trust in their own feelings, higher self-esteem, peer competence, and better emotion regulation and problem-solving ability whereas the emotion-dismissing approach has been associated with children's pervasive belief that their negative emotions are inappropriate and invalid (Gottman et al., 1996, 1997). It is therefore plausible that children who receive low levels of emotion-coaching and high levels of emotion-dismissing responses are also more shame-prone, at least in response to their negative emotions.

Eisenberg and her research group demonstrated that parents who were punitive and minimizing toward their children's negative emotions had children who displayed situational and dispositional proneness toward, as well as frequent and intense, negative emotions (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1994; Eisenberg, Fabes, Carlo, & Karbron, 1992). In contrast, parental support exhibited by both emotion-focused and problem-focused approaches in helping preschoolers cope with negative affect predicted lower degrees of negative emotionality. Because conversations about emotional and conflictual issues provide an opportunity for parents to impart their values and preferences regarding emotions and emotional expression, they are likely to continue to play a significant role

in children's development throughout childhood and perhaps even into adulthood. Nevertheless, little work in this area has been done with school-aged children and findings that do exist are generally inconsistent (Eisenberg et al., 2002). An issue that may help explain inconsistencies at older ages, highlighted by these authors and in need of empirical attention, involves developmental shifts and changes in the meaning of parental behaviour as children mature. For example, a curvilinear relationship has been hypothesized between certain aspects of rewarding practices and regulation/expression of negative affect such that at moderate levels there is a positive relation but not at higher and lower levels. Such a relation has been observed between rewarding practices, particularly encouragement of expression, and children's social competence (e.g., Roberts & Strayer, 1987). The manner in which a parent encourages expression may also be an important factor both in how children learn to express their negative emotions (e.g., in a controlled manner vs. unregulated and potentially harmful way), and also children's acceptance of and ability to cope with their own negative feelings. For example, although it may be adaptive to encourage externalization of emotions (e.g., fear, sadness, anger), unbridled expression may become increasingly less acceptable as children mature indicating a need for establishing limits.

Shame is particularly interesting in socialization of emotions because it constitutes a building block for the development of emotional traits other than simply shame-proneness (Magai, 1999). For example, children may learn to inhibit certain emotions, such as fear, when they are induced by others to feel shame for having displayed those emotions. Thus, shame can bind itself to any emotion that is repetitively associated with it such that each time the emotion socialized through shame is activated,

shame is experienced and the forbidden affect inhibited (Tompkins, 1963). Clearly, a child's formative experience with their caregiver provides a key context for their emotional development. As Magai (1999) has noted, "emotion socialization occurs within the most affectively charged relationship, and individual differences in the manner in which caregivers attend to specific affects will forge distinctive emotion biases" (p. 800).

An important factor both in soothing and preventing the escalation of shame is parenting that permits children to continue to feel okay about themselves despite incidents of feeling uncooperative, disgruntled or aggressive while simultaneously setting firm limits without resorting to coercive measures. As Cassidy and Kobak (1988) propose, secure attachment is linked to the child's ability to express negative emotions and still be responded to in a manner that, despite the need to curtail potentially destructive behaviour, is nonetheless supportive and does not undermine the feelings behind the child's expression and ultimately the child him/herself. Providing relational security in the context of emotional expression helps children work through difficult emotions by preventing them from becoming overwhelmed by shame for these feelings.

In essence, effective parenting is demonstrated through responsiveness and sensitivity by instilling in the child a sense that his or her feelings are understandable, are taken seriously, without cause for ridicule, judgment, or punishment, and ultimately leaves the child feeling validated and acceptable as they are (Karen, 1998). Parents of securely attached children have been noted as less threatened by their child's negativity and more capable of expressing concern regarding their child's feelings. Moreover, differences in the fluidity and freedom of communication between parent and child have previously been hypothesized as key in understanding individual differences in children's

adjustment, as well as in the development of security (Bowlby, 1988). Particularly harmful are situations in which children's accurate perceptions of painful events are negated or distorted by adults who insist upon how they feel or should feel. Unfortunately, this type of socialization may be more frequent in contexts where the child experiences negative or conflictual emotions that are difficult to make sense of and conceivably require greater parental support for effective coping. For example, children with anxious-ambivalent attachments have been described as failing to develop a sense that the caregiver is there to contain their overwhelming emotions, that she or he can have a tantrum, feel hate toward her, and still have her be there for reassurance and soothing. As a result, the parent fails to convey a sense that the tantrum will pass without devastating consequences and does not allow the child to develop the confidence that one day she or he will learn to manage these powerful feelings autonomously. Instead the child is left with unresolved conflict regarding negative feelings and a sense of being ashamed and unworthy of being close to others (Karen, 1998). This is similar to Winnicott's (1965) ideas of the importance of parenting that performs a "holding function", the failure of which can lead either to overdependence or defensive autonomy parallel to anxious-ambivalent and avoidant styles.

Clearly more research is needed to elucidate the multiplicity of parenting factors as they relate to the development of shame-proneness in childhood. The relatively small empirical literature investigating these associations leaves open a range of parenting behaviours (e.g., disciplinary, nondisciplinary, and general attitudes and nurturance) for consideration by future researchers across various domains of child functioning (e.g., compliance, aptitude, emotional expression) and age ranges. Findings that exist presently

provide some preliminary evidence that parenting that fails to positively mirror the child as a whole person, tends to emphasize the child's deficiencies, threatens the parent-child bond (especially the utilization of love withdrawal) and induces shame. Gradually repetition of such experiences may be internalized and organized into cognitive-affective schemata that interfere with a child's ability to respond in an emotionally flexible manner across a range of situations. Instead, it is more likely the child will respond rigidly in a shame-prone and, arguably, maladaptive manner.

Implications of Attachment and Child Temperament

Further understanding of the induction of shame may be obtained by exploring insecure attachment styles and emotional dysregulation that can result from highly negative or coercive parent-child interactions that threaten security in the parent-child bond. For example, practices of power assertion and love withdrawal are by their nature intense and, therefore, are apt to arouse a nonoptimal degree of distress that leaves little room for attending to the content and consequences of behaviour or to the feelings of others (Ferguson & Stegge, 1995). To the contrary, intense threats to the relationship create concern for one's immediate self-interest and focus the child's energies toward regaining the parent's affection rather than on understanding rules and expectations. Parenting strategies that overwhelm the child's coping ability are likely to result in internal attributions of blame due to some personal flaw. Such strategies have also been linked to avoidance, anger inhibition, and low self-esteem, all of which phenomenologically describe what psychologists are coming to understand as shame (Ferguson & Stegge, 1995). It is argued that attachment and temperament are resources available to the child for regulating affect and coping with stress. Investigation into the

role of both attachment and temperament, in conjunction with parenting, holds potential for furthering current understanding of the development of shame-proneness.

Secure attachment is fostered by sensitive and reliable caregiving and involves feelings of safety, the dependability of the caregiver, and a sense of one's self as valuable and worthy of nurturance (Sroufe, 1979). Temperament, on the other hand, is viewed as evolving from the interaction between a child's innate characteristics and environmental influences. Temperament has further been hypothesized to influence development indirectly through the behaviour it elicits from the caregiver (Rothbart & Bates, 1998). Despite lively debate and considerable research regarding the boundaries and relations between temperament and attachment, no clear relationship has been demonstrated between these two domains (Rothbart & Bates, 1998). Evidence seems to suggest that sensitive caregiving that is reliably responsive to the child's needs regardless of his or her temperament is critical to establishing secure attachment (Sroufe, 1985). Nevertheless, this does not preclude the potential influence children may have on the type of caregiving they ultimately receive. An interesting conceptualization to consider in the following discussion of attachment security and temperament, views these two constructs as falling along a continuum between intrinsic characteristics of the child at one extreme and relationship experiences at the other (Vaughn, 1992). Temperament is posited as falling closer to the intrinsic pole and attachment closer to the relationship pole.

Attachment

A theme reflected in many theories on shame involves the view of shame as a normative experience that naturally arises in situations where children must confront their imperfection or inadequacy. Within the context of the parent-child relationship, the

caregiver's response is believed to be critical in promoting acceptance and a sense in the child that her shortcomings do not render her unlovable. Alternatively, parental response may induce insecurities whereby the child's inadequacies threaten the availability of affection and potential abandonment. In this way, shame can be linked to parental behaviours that arouse fear of abandonment and undermine the lovability of the self. Rejection by a loved one results in the affective experience of "unlovableness", a state noted as the prototypic experience of shame that mobilizes efforts to maintain the affectional bond even at the expense of the self (H.B. Lewis, 1987). As a central affect in the attachment process, important links can be made to the emerging view of one's self in relationship to others; "it seems indisputable that shame is about the self and its social context and is reflective of a disturbance in the sense of self as well as a disturbance in the nature of the relationship with the other" (Broucek, 1991 cited in Miller, 1996, p. 21).

In his review of the literature, Karen (1998) concluded that there is a preponderance of evidence supporting the claim that securely attached children are better adjusted and score higher across every measure of self-esteem than those who are insecurely attached. A major tenet of attachment theory contends that receiving love, reliably and consistently, promotes a sense of one's self as being worthy and as having the agency necessary to attain what one needs from significant others (e.g., Sroufe, 1985). In contrast, when needs for care and nurturance are not met, one is left with feelings of being ineffective, rejected, and unworthy. Despite the association hypothesized between shameful feelings about the self and relational insecurity, research on attachment and shame during childhood have yet to be formally conducted.

In formulating attachment theory, Bowlby (1969, 1973, 1977) borrowed principles from ethology to explain how emotional bonds are formed between mother and child and how loss of love poses a threat to individual survival. Over three decades of research have demonstrated that the ability of the primary attachment figure to respond to their child's signals with sensitivity, acceptance, and availability without being overly intrusive provides the foundation for secure attachment during the first few years of life (e.g., Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978; van IJzendoorn, 1995). The quality of the primary attachment relationship, in turn, has important cognitive, emotional, and behavioural sequelae (for reviews see Goldberg, 1991; Rice, 1990). Bowlby further hypothesized that as children cognitively mature, they gradually internalize early patterns of caregiving experience into working models (IWMs), or cognitive-affective representations, of the attachment relationship that guide future expectations of the self and of intimate others. More specifically, IWMs consist of (a) the responsiveness and emotional availability of the attachment figure, and (b) the corresponding worthiness and competence of the self to attain love and nurturance (Bowlby, 1988; Bretherton, 1990; Main, 1991; Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985). Evidence demonstrates that children who receive reliable and sensitive maternal care form a secure attachment gradually develop IWMs of the attachment figure as accessible and responsive to their needs and a complementary view of the self as acceptable in the eyes of the caregiver and deserving of love (Bowlby, 1973; Main, 1991). In contrast, children who are insecurely attached present a history of having their basic attachment needs largely neglected or inconsistently tended to and form IWMs of the caregivers as unreliable and rejecting and/or a complementary view of the self as unworthy of nurturance and affection. It is

hypothesized that insecure IWMs present a situation whereby the message that has been conveyed and internalized by the child is that their attachment needs are unimportant, bolstering an ongoing vulnerability to shame, particularly in terms of basic needs for nurturance.

Empirical findings analyzing reunion behaviour after separation during the Strange Situation, has demonstrated that securely attached youngsters showed some gaze aversion and blank expression but also a great deal of joy and affection (Main & Weston, 1982). Children who are ambivalently attached responded with anger and had difficulty being consoled (i.e., "humiliated fury"). This contrasts with avoidantly attached children who did not show anger or closeness (i.e., "bypassed shame"), but did exhibit aggression toward their mother once outside the immediate situation. More recent research utilizing physiological measures show that these avoidantly attached children are in fact stressed during separation-reunion but are behaviourally masking their distress (e.g., Grossmann & Grossmann, 1991). In each of these instances, evidence suggests that children are coordinating their attachment strategy in order to optimize the responsiveness of the caregiver based on the quality of caregiving they receive. For children who are insecurely attached, this biologically adaptive strategy may come with a psychological cost. Some degree of shame and "humiliated fury", followed by guilt for expressions of rage, in the context of parenting that is affectionate and responsive, is seen as adaptive in that it affords the child an opportunity to develop confidence that the caregiver will respond to communications of distress, that not every separation is a rejection, and that the self is able to temporarily tolerate and cope with distress (Shouldice & Stevenson-Hinde, 1992). However, in a context that fails to provide this sensitivity, a youngster's ability to find an

optimal balance between autonomy and connectedness is compromised. In the case of ambivalent attachment where security needs are inconsistently responded to, there is an intensification of "humiliated fury" potentially as a strategy to protest loss of nurturance and to regain the attention of the caregiver (H.B. Lewis, 1971). Once the bond is re-established, feelings of guilt over the fury are believed to serve as a reminder of the affectional bond, allowing the fury to subside. In some instances this exaggerated expression fails to elicit a sensitive response and may intensify, leaving in its wake feelings of unresolved shame and rage. The amplification strategy, however, will not work with a caregiver who is consistently rejecting, as is typically the case for avoidantly attached children, but rather a strategy is taken up whereby attachment needs are denied and suppressed to prevent further rejection. This strategy of avoidance has been described as an attempt to bypass the shame of rejection by "turning the tables" and rejecting the rejecting mother.

The effort to bypass shame through repression (memory blocking, emotion substitution -hostility, rage, guilt, depression) due to the threat it may pose to the self, is conceptually similar to Bowlby's (1980) idea of *defensive exclusion* (pushing memory out of conscious awareness to relieve anxiety). From an attachment framework, defensive exclusion results in situations where a child's attachment behaviour is intensely aroused but not assuaged or, in more extreme circumstances, punished or ridiculed. Bypassed shame or defensive exclusion can present challenges to the empirical study of shame since there may be ongoing motivations to avoid confrontation and conscious experience with it (H.B. Lewis, 1987).

Despite the importance of the first few years of life and the disproportionate attention focused on this early period by attachment researchers, attachment theory posits, and evidence supports the notion, that IWMs continue being open to the influence of ongoing parent-child dynamics throughout children's development. Thus, attachment style becomes more than the quality of a specific relationship, yet is not a purely intrapsychic and historical product of early experiences impervious to outside influence (Kobak & Hazan, 1991). It is argued that within secure attachment relationships, children can accommodate infrequent, perhaps adaptive, shame without modification to secure IWMs. However repetitive, chronic, and/or sufficiently intense shame expriences may be incorporated into a child's developing self-other schemas, thereby increasing vulnerability to subsequent and chronic shame (Barrett, 1995). In other words, failure to provide love and acceptance despite the child's imperfections may result in shame-inducing situations that threaten the child's developing model of self and security in the availability of the attachment figure. This resulting cognitive-affective organization can present an ongoing risk factor for responding in a shame-prone way, even under ambiguous circumstances, and perhaps increased difficulty resolving these affective experiences.

Research has provided strong support for the enduring effects of attachment both in terms of personality development and in perpetuating relational patterns through IWMs. According to Discrete Emotions Theory (Magai & McFadden, 1995), emotionally salient attachment experiences are "structuralized" in personality as emotional traits that subsequently result in the cognitive processing of information in affect-specific ways. Insecure IWMs are hypothesized to serve as a liability for experiencing persistent

feelings of unresolved shame over one's unworthiness. For example, ambivalent attachment can be viewed as related to core feelings of shame with a desperateness that is tied to feelings of being unworthy of love (Karen, 1998). In contrast, avoidant attachment may represent a tendency to defend against feelings of shame about the self and instead hone in on inadequacies of intimate others to buffer against one's own self-doubt. Research that addresses some of these ideas has indicated that secure 6-year-olds possessed a stronger sense of self-worth and competence while being able to acknowledge imperfections (Cassidy, 1990). As such, these children did not appear overwhelmed with shame nor did they rigidly defend against it. In contrast, avoidant youngsters presented themselves as being perfect and exhibited great difficulty admitting to any shortcomings whatever, while those with an ambivalent attachment disclosed low self-worth quite readily. These findings suggest that by the early elementary school years the quality of attachment may have an important relation to the degree of shame formation.

It is further noted that the pattern of interactions between parent and child across time not only establishes the quality of the primary attachment bond, but both sensitive parenting and secure attachment also influence the degree to which children are inclined to accept and comply with parental requests and standards (see Barrett & Nelson-Goens, 1997; Matas, Arend, & Sroufe, 1978; Stayton, Hogan, & Ainsworth, 1971). Complementary evidence has demonstrated that, in contrast to sensitive caregiving and optimal disciplinary strategies, parenting that threatens the parent-child bond is more likely to prove ineffective in promoting self-regulation in line with social expectations over the long-term, in addition to potentially compromising the child's developing self-

concept (Zahn-Waxler, Radke-Yarrow, & King, 1979). Together, the above findings suggest that ineffective parenting practices and insecurity within the attachment relationship are interrelated and that both compromise learning during disciplinary encounters and compliance with subsequent demands and expectations. The manner in which parenting and attachment jointly relate to shame-proneness, however, remains an open question. The current research proposes to test the association between shame-proneness and IWMs underlying attachment and also whether attachment has a moderating effect on the association between parenting and children's shame-proneness.

As previously mentioned, there is an absence of research testing associations between attachment and shame-proneness in childhood. Nevertheless, initial findings from the adult literature support the negative association between self-reported secure attachment style and shame-proneness (Gross & Hansen, 2000; Lopez et al., 1997). Preoccupied and fearful-avoidant attachments styles both include a negative IWM of self and were positively associated with shame-proneness. Contrary to the researchers' prediction, but consistent with the idea of by-passed shame, the link between dismissive-avoidant attachment and shame was not significant.

In line with a more flexible style of functional emotional responding, secure IWMs of attachment in childhood (i.e., positive view of caregivers as reliable and responsive and a complementary view of the self as lovable and self-reliant) that appropriately balances seeking support from others during times of heightened stress and self-reliance during more mildly stressful events are predicted to be negatively related to shame-proneness. Stated differently, insecure IWMs of self and other related to insensitive and/or inconsistent parenting are expected to relate to a heightened

vulnerability to shame-proneness since attachment insecurity is associated with anxiety and hyper-attention to potential threats to the parent-child relationship. An avoidant style linked to consistently harsh and unresponsive parenting, however, is likely to be associated with a strategy of defending against feelings of shame (i.e., bypassed shame) and, therefore, is predicted to be unrelated to children's outward expression/acknowledgement of shame. Further, attachment is hypothesized to moderate the association between parenting and shame – a lack of reliance on others during times of heightened stress is expected to amplify the association between negative parenting and shame-proneness, whereas a willingness to seek the comfort of others when distressed will buffer the impact of shame-inducing parenting.

Parenting is a complex activity involving beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours that work individually and in combination to affect child development, including a disposition to feel shame. The context provided by the attachment relationship and children's IWMs of self and other has been hypothesized to provide a further basis for children's vulnerability for shame-proneness. Although theory and research has been reviewed to elucidate potential links between parenting, as well as attachment, and shame, the role of child characteristics such as temperament has yet to be considered. Research has demonstrated that child outcomes depend on complex interactive influences among all three levels (i.e., parent, interpersonal, and child factors). For example, gentle, nonpower oriented maternal discipline has been linked with lower levels of anxiety among temperamentally fearful children (Kochanska, 1991, 1995). Nonfearful children's ability to internalize control, on the other hand, seems to be facilitated by secure attachment. Given that temperament, attachment, and parenting, are all major areas in the study of

child development, the present investigation integrates all three domains in order to provide a fuller understanding of their unique and interrelated connections to shame-proneness.

Temperament

In addition to the influence of parenting and attachment on the development of shame-proneness, it is likely that characteristics inherent to the child also have implications for the manner in which children construe, respond to, and internalize their experiences. There is increasing recognition of bi-directional influences between children and their parents in mutually affecting one another's behaviour and the importance of accounting for their joint influences in explaining children's development (Ladd, 1996; Lollis & Kuczynski, 1997). As Cicchetti and Aber (1986) have pointed out, individual development includes genetic, constitutional, neurobiological, behavioural, psychological, environmental, and social factors that are in constant dynamic interaction. Thus, the emergence of dispositional traits such as shame-proneness are not strictly products of biological processes or of particular patterns of socialization and relationship history but, instead, are contingent upon their joint influences. Temperament is a central construct considered in socioemotional development and the study of interactions between these innate dispositions and parenting allows for closer examination of the reciprocal nature of parent-child relationship in the understanding of shame-proneness.

Temperament has been conceptualized as "constitutionally based individual differences in emotional, motor, and attentional *reactivity* and *self-regulation*", showing trait-like consistency in terms of intensity, quality and duration across time and situations (Rothbart & Bates, 1998, p. 109). Reactivity is defined as "the excitability or arousability

of behavioural, endocrine, autonomic, and central nervous system," whereas self-regulation refers to processes such as attention, approach, and avoidance that serve to modulate reactivity (Susman et al., 2001, p.633). Key research has demonstrated that infant emotional reactivity is at the core of infant temperament and that emotional regulation is a powerful mediator of socio-emotional adjustment in early childhood (e.g., Calkins & Fox, 1992; Thompson, 1998). As others point out, "if children's experiences in social situations can be seen to vary depending upon their temperament, then it will be likely also that the affective meaning of past, present, and future events will be coloured by the child's temperament" (Rothbart, Ahadi, & Hershey, 1994, p. 23). Although temperament is viewed as having a constitutional basis with biological underpinnings (e.g., genetic heritability, prenatal and postnatal events), it is important to highlight that biological responses occur within social contexts and, therefore, are also dependent upon an individual's history and interpersonal experiences (Rothbart & Bates, 1998). As such, temperament is taken to involve an affective-motivational system whose nature and expression is, therefore, open to environmental influences throughout the course of development.

In their pioneering efforts, Thomas and Chess and their colleagues identified 9 dimensions of temperament that defined more general constructs of "easy", "difficult", and "slow to warm-up" (Thomas, Chess, Birch, Hertzig, & Korin, 1963). However, problems with this categorization have been cited including wide variability in the operationalization of the constructs and their openness to social perceptions and labelling rather than accurate description of underlying temperament factors (Rothbart, 2004). In more recent years, the dimensions of temperament have undergone considerable revision

largely as a result of efforts by Rothbart and her colleagues whose empirical efforts have consistently identified three broad temperament factors during the preschool and elementary school years (Rothbart et al., 1994; Rothbart, Ahadi, Hershey, & Fisher, 2001; Rothbart & Bates, 1998). These include: (1) *extraversion/surgency* (impulsivity, high-intensity pleasure or sensation seeking, activity level, approach, with a negative contribution by shyness); (2) *negative affectivity* (sadness, discomfort, anger/frustration, fear, with a negative contribution by soothability); and (3) *effortful control* (inhibitory control, attentional focusing, low-intensity pleasure, perceptual sensitivity). Although the current research focuses primarily on negative affectivity and effortful control, associations between shame and extraversion/surgency are also explored.

Empirical evidence demonstrates the significant effect of temperament on children's developmental trajectories (Caspi, Henry, McGee, Moffitt, & Silva, 1995; Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Petit, 1998; Eisenberg, Cumberland, Spinrad, Fabes, et al., 2001; Guerin, Gottfried, & Thomas, 1997; Houck, 1999; Fox & Henderson, 1999). Negative affectivity, for example, has been linked to higher degrees of internalizing problems, including anxiety and depression whereas effortful control has been associated with lower levels across these symptoms and surgency only with lower levels of depression (Lonigan, Vasey, Phillips, & Hazan, 2004; Muris & Ollendick, 2005). When examining externalizing difficulties, negative emotionality has been a positive predictor and effortful control a negative predictor of these problems (Kochanska & Knaack, 2003; Muris & Ollendick, 2005; Olson, Sameroff, & Kerr, 2005; Valiente, Eisenberg, Smith, Reiser, et al., 2003). Thus, it appears that dysregulated affect associated with negative affectivity puts children at risk for both forms of maladjustment while the self-regulatory

capacity of effortful control, including the detection of errors and self-correction, serves as a protective factor for both types of difficulties.

Although these findings may indicate a pathway through which development occurs, they often fail to take into account the social context in which temperament operates. Thomas and Chess (1977) have long argued that interactions between temperament and the social environment are central to normal and abnormal development. They introduced the idea of "goodness of fit" between parenting behaviour and child temperament to explain why some children with difficult temperaments exhibit positive outcomes whereas others do not. Therefore, temperament is not viewed as exerting its influence in a deterministic fashion (i.e., the same set of traits may have multiple outcomes and different traits may lead to similar outcomes). Along similar lines, an objective environmental event does not provide essential information as to the manner in which an individual may react to that event. Instead, individual reactions are more likely to be contingent upon multiple factors. In the current study, parenting and temperament, as well as attachment, are three key factors identified to elucidate individual differences in children's shame-proneness.

Some authors conceptualize parenting as mediating the negative influence of adverse temperament qualities (Reid & Patterson, 1989). In this case, temperament is seen as exerting its influence through the type of responses it elicits from caregivers. However, empirical evidence provides stronger support for direct effects models for explaining the impact of parenting and temperament than for indirect models (Rothbart & Bates, 1998). Alternatively, temperament may serve to moderate the relationship between parenting and the characteristic manner in which children emotionally respond to

transgressions, however it is noted that it has been more difficult for researchers to detect the presence of such relations due to issues of statistical power (Plomin & Daniels, 1984). Nonetheless, interactions between individual characteristics and the social environment have been argued to be the main cause of normative and abnormal development (Fox, 2003; Thomas & Chess, 1977). One way to conceptualize the interaction between temperament and parenting is through a vulnerability model. Some authors propose that children with difficult temperaments (i.e., more reactive, high in negative emotion, more dysregulated) are also more susceptible to rearing influence (e.g., Belsky, Hsieh, & Crnic, 1998; Jones, Eisenberg, Fabes, & MacKinnon, 2002). For example, hostile and coercive parenting may more adversely impact children who are temperamentally vulnerable (Morris, Silk, Steinberg, Sess, Avenevoli, & Essex, 2002). Ethological research has identified temperamental traits in rhesus monkeys similar to those observed in humans; it has been experimentally demonstrated that monkeys who were most highly reactive were more vulnerable to caregiving style (Suomi, 1995). Although such experimental manipulation is not ethically feasible, empirical efforts have begun to study similar vulnerability models in humans. Toward that effort, the current study considers both direct and moderation effects of temperament in the understanding of shame-proneness.

Negative affectivity is of central interest in efforts to understand shame-proneness given the negative behavioural correlates they share in common, the negative emotion associated with both, as well as common links to internalizing and externalizing problems. Empirical findings demonstrate positive associations between shame and both types of adjustment difficulties (e.g., Ferguson, Stegge, Eyre, Vollmer, & Ashbaker, 2000; see Mills, 2005, for comprehensive review of research on adjustment correlates of

shame). It is plausible that children who are high in negative affectivity may be more strongly affected by parental reactions in the context of transgressions due to associations they may form from previous experiences of punishment or disapproval. Indeed, automatic attentional biases are noted to be operating for children high in negative affectivity and are hypothesized to impact daily experiences and proneness to experience future negative experiences (Lonigan et al., 2004). Therefore, it is argued that higher levels of negative affectivity predispose the individual to be more likely to respond to situations of transgression, mishap, or failure in a shame-prone manner. Moreover, children who are higher in negative affectivity may experience a lower threshold, intensity, duration of response, and thus have greater difficulty resolving shameful feelings of unworthiness and unlovability. In addition, individual differences in negative affectivity may interact with parenting such that higher levels of negative affectivity exacerbate the association between shame-inducing parenting and shame-proneness. Thus, the current study investigated direct associations between temperament and shame-proneness, as well as whether differences in children's negative affectivity exacerbates or buffers the effect of shame-inducing parenting.

Effortful control has previously been underscored as important for children's socialization and their internalization of values (Rothbart & Bates, 1998) and, therefore, is highlighted as a child factor that may predispose a child to be especially attuned and responsive to parental influence. Effortful control has been conceptualized as an active control system that develops during the preschool years, allowing children to respond to verbal instruction, to approach situations under the threat of punishment, and to avoid situations in the face of reward (Kochanska, 1993; Posner & Rothbart, 2000). It is

anticipated that children lower in effortful control are more likely to have difficulty adhering to parental rules and expectations, thus putting them at greater risk for falling short in the eyes of their caregivers and, therefore, more prone to encounter shaming experiences whereas children higher in effortful control can better succeed in adjusting to external demands. As with negative affectivity, lower levels of effortful control may result in a string of associations with experiences whereby the child has failed to meet expectations, thus increasing the likelihood of developing shame-proneness.

A hypothesis was not advanced for the third temperament factor of extroversion/ surgency. Gray (1987) argues that motivation for reward is likely to be greater for extroverts than introverts, however, there is no clear basis for whether this aspect of temperament serves as a protective versus risk factor for shame-proneness in the face of failure or transgression. It is possible that a failure to achieve desired positive reinforcement and reward may be more threatening to extroverted children's developing sense of self and, further, that impulsivity, sensation seeking and activity level associated with this factor may be more likely to elicit punitive responses from parents. Alternatively, it is observed that behavioural correlates associated with extroversion (e.g., approach, high intensity sensation seeking, low shyness) are in opposition to those noted for shame (e.g., withdrawal, avoidance) and that the negative association between extroversion and depressive symptoms further suggests possible divergence from shame. Therefore, it remains unclear whether extroversion/surgency would relate positively or negatively to shame-proneness, or perhaps even be orthogonal to it.

Although little evidence exists for the relation between temperament and shame, findings that provide some hints as to these links include those demonstrating both direct

and indirect effects of temperament on developmental adjustment. However, in one study, negative affectivity and effortful control were found to be positively associated with guilt/shame in 6- to 7-year-olds (Rothbart et al., 1994). However, this research failed to distinguish between shame and guilt and, although it stands to reason that negative affectivity may be related to both negative self-conscious emotions, there is reason to believe that effortful control may be differentially related to these two self-conscious emotions. In the same study, effortful control was also linked to empathy and the authors argued that effortful control promotes empathy by allowing the child to attend to the thoughts and feelings of others without being overwhelmed by his or her own reactive distress. Thus, this capacity may evoke guilt by allowing the child to be aware of others' negative feelings and relate these to a sense of responsibility for one's own actions and their negative impact on others (Rothbart, 2004). In line with this reasoning and by virtue of a core distinction between shame and guilt, shame's focus on one's internal distress and self-protection versus guilt's focus on concern for the negative impact of one's actions on the well-being of others, it is hypothesized that the above finding may be attributable to guilt rather than shame. Further, it is anticipated that difficulty with the self-regulatory ability provided by effortful control is associated with greater difficulty resolving distress due to threats to the self and therefore greater shame-proneness.

Other findings highlight interactive effects between temperament and parenting in predicting children's psychological adjustment, although no studies have examined such interactions in relation to shame-proneness. For example, children high in negative emotionality who received mothering that was negatively dominant and intrusive exhibited higher degrees of aggression (Rubin, Hastings, Chen, Stewart, & McNichol,

1998; Calkins & Johnson, 1998). Harsh discipline has also been related to externalizing and internalizing problems for temperamentally fearful-inhibited (a subscale of negative affectivity) but not for fearless children (Colder et al., 1997). Poor parental monitoring among fearful-inhibited children has also been related to poorer internalization of rules (Kochanska, 1991, 1995). Further interactions have been demonstrated whereby maternal emotion coaching was related to prosocial behaviour among preschoolers who were more temperamentally dysregulated but to greater anxiety among well-regulated children (Lagacé-Séguin & Coplan, 2005). This provides some support for the notion that children higher in negative affectivity may require more gentle and facilitative parenting approaches and be more negatively impacted by high power parenting practices, including perhaps greater proneness to experience shame in response to such strategies. Thus, it appears that the association between parenting practices and shame-proneness may vary according to children's temperament. In considering shame-proneness, failure or transgression leads to emotional/physiological arousal, that when met with negativity or rejection may be enhanced by children's temperamental disposition to experience negative affect and may also be exacerbated beyond the child's regulatory ability, setting off a vicious cycle of shame. Parallel to attachment security, the present research examined the direct association between temperament and shame-proneness in addition to examining the moderating effect of negative affectivity on parenting factors in furthering our current understanding of shame-proneness.

Rationale for Present Study

Shame, like any emotion, can be experienced as a normative reaction with adaptive functions. In the case of shame, the individual experiences painful affect that

can facilitate social cooperation and the internalization of standards. However, a key factor worthy of study is the role caregivers play in the development of more rigid affective organization and, in particular, how parenting influences children's shame-proneness. For example, parenting that facilitates children's ability to cope effectively with emotional reactions and nurtures a sense of security and connectedness while maintaining clear expectations and limits, not only aids children in meeting parental expectations but also helps them to resolve negative feelings and maintain a healthy sense of self. This approach contrasts with parenting that amplifies children's distress and expresses disapproval in a manner that compromises attachment security. This nonoptimal parenting is hypothesized to promote feelings of unworthiness, undermining children's confidence in procuring affection and, thereby, perpetuates feelings of shame. As Ferguson and Stegge (2002) point out, biological, social, and coping processes can combine and interact in ways that dampen the adaptive value of shame, such that, rather than being able to resolve feelings of shame, one's affective experience "moves to the next level in which s/he ruminates about past mistakes or desires to remake the self" (p. 56). Under conditions in which children are unsuccessful in resolving negative feelings and interpersonal distress, emotional development may subsequently move to a more organized level that leaves the individual vulnerable to the negative impact of maladaptive shame more generally.

A primary goal of the present investigation was to identify parenting practices associated with shame-proneness in childhood. Although empirical evidence of the relation between shame and specific socialization factors remains sparse, findings reviewed previously provide important insights largely consistent with theoretical

conceptualizations. Common to several frameworks is the view of unresponsive and/or misattuned parenting in relation to children's needs, as well as parenting that focuses on deficiencies, as playing a key role in the development of shame-proneness. Such parenting is apt to send persistent messages to the child that s/he is unworthy and that the self or some core aspect of the self is flawed, leaving little hope of being perceived as "good enough" (Kohut, 1971; Wurmser, 1981; Winnicott, 1965). This type of experience may result in developing the conviction, at a schematic level, of one's inherent unlovability – such a condition is believed to underlie both insecure attachment and shame-proneness (H.B. Lewis, 1971; Karen, 1998). Behaviourally, parents' efforts to exert control through both passive and active shaming practices (e.g., love withdrawal, expressions of contempt or disgust, ridicule) are likely to foster fears of abandonment widely noted as a central feature of shame since it implicates rejection of the entire self (Erikson, 1963; H.B. Lewis, 1971; Piers & Singer, 1953). In response to such feelings, the child is likely to search for ways to make the self acceptable but, given that this requires changing some core aspect of the self, it is doomed to fail and to compound feelings of worthlessness and attachment insecurity. Although researchers have alluded to the affective experience of shame within attachment dynamics, there has been no empirical investigation into this association in the child development literature.

Also important in the effort to understand shame-proneness is consideration of the role played by child temperament. Thus, in evaluating the parental correlates of shame, the current study investigated the contribution of internal working models (IWMs) of attachment and two broad factors of temperament, as well as how insecure attachment

and negative affectivity may moderate children's vulnerability to shame-inducing parenting and shame-proneness.

The following questions are addressed by the present study:

I. Are normative and maladaptive forms of shame differentiable constructs for children in the early elementary school years (i.e., 6-8 year-olds)? Further, can guilt (normative and maladaptive forms) be distinguished from shame for this age group?

In the event that evidence supported the differentiability of these self-conscious emotions, the following questions were aimed at the study of maladaptive shame (i.e., shame-proneness). However, to the extent that they were not distinguishable, composite score(s) will be used in place of shame-proneness to study associations with parenting, temperament, and attachment.

II. What parenting factors, styles, and emotional socialization practices predict individual differences in children's shame-proneness?

Consistent with extant theory on shame, shame-proneness was expected to relate positively to the following parenting factors: love withdrawal, power assertion, focusing on children's negative attributes, neglect, public humiliation, conditional approval, and disgust/teasing. Furthermore, authoritarian parenting style was expected to relate positively to shame. Although authoritative parenting has been argued to be more closely and positively associated with guilt, given the high autonomy granting, warmth and appropriate limit setting, as well as links to more optimal adjustment, it is anticipated that it would be negatively correlated with shame-proneness. Permissive parenting was also expected to be negatively related to shame-proneness given its laxness with limit setting

and follow-through. In terms of maternal coaching of children's negative emotions, supportive and unsupportive approaches were expected to be negatively and positively associated with shame-proneness, respectively.

III. Are children who possess insecure working models of attachment more shame-prone?

Shame-proneness was expected to be positively associated with insecure internal working models of attachment (i.e., characterized by lower likelihood to turn to others during severe separations from parents; lower self-reliance during milder separations; higher overall avoidance). Secure attachment is seen as allowing the individual to optimally balance needs for closeness and autonomy. During times of heightened distress attachment behaviour is activated in order to solicit nurturance and protection, whereas during less stressful events, secure children are expected to exhibit confidence in their inherent coping abilities. Conversely, underlying a failure to turn to others and a failure to exhibit appropriate self-reliance are believed to tap insecure working models of attachment.

IV. How do children's temperamental characteristics relate to shame-proneness?

Negative affectivity (a broad scale encompassing fearfulness, sadness, reactivity, anger/frustration) was hypothesized to relate positively with overall shame-proneness. Effortful control was predicted to be a negative correlate of shame-proneness since this temperament characteristic represents adaptive self-regulatory abilities and is also likely to circumvent coercive parent-child interactions believed to perpetuate shame-proneness. A hypothesis for extroversion/surgency was not advanced since there was no clear rationale for how it would relate to shame, although its association with shame-proneness

was explored.

V. Do attachment and/or negative affectivity moderate the relationship between parenting and shame-proneness? Further, are there sex differences with respect to the association between parenting and shame-proneness?

Insecure attachment was hypothesized to play a moderating role, strengthening the observed association between shame-inducing parenting factors and shame-proneness. It was further hypothesized that negative affectivity would strengthen the observed association between shame-inducing parenting and shame-proneness. Although females are generally found to score higher in shame than males, little work has investigated gender differences in the association between parenting and shame and was investigated in the current study.

Method

Participants & Procedure

Six to 8-year-old children and their mothers were recruited through advertisements in a local newspaper and flyers posted at YMCA bulletin boards in Montreal that provided a brief description of the study and contact information. Upon contacting the principal investigator, parents were provided with additional information regarding the project and verbal consent was obtained. Identifying demographic information was then collected and the laboratory visit was scheduled (see Appendix A). During the visit, the researcher provided both mother and child with an explanation of the purpose of the study and the activities in which they would each participate. During this time, the researcher also engaged mother and child in conversation to establish rapport and increase the child's comfort level. Participants were encouraged to ask questions and

request clarification as needed throughout the investigation. Written consent from the parent and verbal consent by the child were obtained prior to commencing with the data collection. The mother was then provided with instructions for completing a questionnaire packet and escorted to an adjacent room. While the mother completed the packet, the researcher worked with the child to complete the child measures described below.

Of the 68 children who participated, two males were excluded from the analyses due to developmental difficulties (i.e., aphasia and Asperger's Syndrome). As a result, a total of 66 child-mother dyads were included in the study (36 female and 30 male children). The mean age of the sample was 7.8 years (*SD* = 9 months); 14 were in grade 1, 27 in grade 2, 23 in grade 3, and 2 in grade 4. Eighty-four percent of the sample came from two-parent homes (2 of which included step-fathers) and the large majority of children's mother-tongue was English (91%). Ninety percent of mothers and 77% of fathers were born in Canada or the United States. Mean age for mothers and fathers was 38.5 years (*SD* = 5.4) and 41.3 years (*SD* = 6.2), respectively. All mothers had a minimum of a high school education with a mean of 15.7 (*SD* = 2.6) years of schooling; 35.3% had an undergraduate degree, 13.8% a Master's and 7.7% a Doctorate. All but one father had a high school degree with a mean of 15.2 years of schooling (*SD* = 2.8); 26.6% had an undergraduate degree, 12.7% a Master's and 9.1% a Doctorate. Six percent of mothers were students and 66.2% were employed; 4% of fathers were students and 90.7% were employed. Mean annual family income fell in the range of $65-75,000 (*SD* = $35-45,000).

Child Measures

Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-III (PPVT-III; Dunn & Dunn, 1997). The PPVT-III was the first measure administered to child participants to provide them with a non-threatening task and increase their comfort level prior to asking more affectively laden questions (see Appendix B). The PPVT-III is a well-established measure of receptive vocabulary and verbal ability with standardized norms established for 2 ½ to 90 years-of-age (M = 100, SD = 15). Instructions include practice items prior to administration of the test. Children were shown four black and white drawings and asked to point to or indicate the number corresponding to the picture that best illustrated the meaning of the word that was read aloud by the examiner. The test includes 17 sets of 12 items and rules for establishing basal and ceiling points were followed as established in the administration manual for the test.

The authors of the PPVT-III report excellent internal consistency (*alpha* = .92 to .98) and high test-retest reliability (Dunn & Dunn, 1997). Excellent validity is also evidenced by it high correlations with other well-established verbal intelligence tests (i.e., r = .91 with the WISC-III Verbal IQ; r = .81 with the K-BIT Vocabulary; r = .69 with Listening Comprehension and .74 with Oral Expression scales of the OWLS).

Attachment: Separation Anxiety Test-Revised (SAT; Slough & Greenberg, 1990). Empirical study of attachment between early childhood and pre-adolescence confronts several challenges, perhaps the most significant being the construction of reliable measures for this period of development. It has previously been noted that during this period of children's development: (a) observational paradigms become less reliable in revealing individual differences than during early childhood while (b) children remain less aware and less able than adults to reveal their attachment representations directly in

interviews or on questionnaires (Greenberg, 1999). In moving away from behavioural measures to infer attachment quality, researchers have developed methods to measure children's attachment representations by capitalizing on their improved verbal abilities (e.g., Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985; Bretherton, Ridgeway, & Cassidy, 1990; Slough & Greenberg, 1990). The present research used the SAT to measure attachment security indirectly through examining children's cognitive-affective representations in response to depicted scenarios of parent-child separation (see Appendix C).

The SAT, originally developed by Klagsbrun and Bowlby (1976), is a semi-projective measure used to assess children's representations in response to six photographs with captions, depicting a range of mild to severe separations. For each picture, the situational context is designed to be clear while emotional expression of individuals depicted is ambiguous. The revised SAT (Slough & Greenberg, 1990) uses modified pictures to adjust for problems in consistency between boy and girl sets from the original Klagsbrun-Bowlby measure. The new pictures also show both mother and father in all but two pictures and only the profiles or backs of children's heads to maintain ambiguity of emotional expression. The photos for the SAT depict the following scenarios: (1) parents go out for the evening, leaving the child at home; (2) parents go away for the weekend leaving child at aunt and uncle's; (3) child's first day at school, moment of parting from mother; (4) parents go away for two weeks and give child a present prior to departure; (5) park scene, parents tell child to go off and play alone for awhile because they want some time alone to talk; (6) mother tucks child in bed and leaves the room.

As each photo was presented, participants were asked the following series of questions to tap their thoughts, feelings and behaviour in response to separations: "How does the boy/girl feel?" "Why does he/she feel that way?" "What's the boy/girl going to do?" If responses were unclear or ambiguous, prompts were used such as "tell me more" or "just tell me what you think; remember there are no right or wrong answers". Finally, using the procedures for the revised SAT, participants were also asked how she or he would feel if they were the child in the picture. Children's stories were tape recorded and transcribed for coding. Mean scores were used for hypothetical child and self referent scores.

Following the coding scheme by Slough and Greenberg (1990), three dimensions were derived for children's responses: (1) attachment based on emotional openness of vulnerability and reliance on others during the more stressful separations (rating of 1 to 4 for each photo); (2) self-reliance based on coping in the milder separations (rating of 1 to 4 for each photo); and (3) avoidance of expression in response to all photos (rating of 1 to 3 for each). Individual differences in how children cope with mild and severe separations are believed to reflect their IWMs of attachment. Secure IWMs are exhibited by attachment behaviour demonstrating the ability to seek the comfort of others and to express feelings of fear and/or sadness when confronted with anxiety-provoking separations while balancing this interdependence with self-confidence and well-being in the context of milder separations. This pattern is deemed indicative of the internalization of the attachment figure as available and responsive to attachment signals and of the self as competent in regulating affect resulting from less extreme situations. Interrater

reliability was calculated for 25% of the transcripts, yielding kappas of .84 and .91 for responses referring to the hypothetical child and to the child's self, respectively.

Klagsbrun and Bowlby considered photos (1), (5), and (6) as milder stressors and easier to cope with than others. However, Slough and Greenberg (1990) identified photo (1) as more severe and (3) as milder separation stressors, arguing that many children appeared to assume that the child was left alone when parents went out and that most children in their study had already experienced their very first day of school. To avoid ambiguous interpretation of figure (1) in the current study, participants were told that the child in the picture was left in the care of a babysitter. Based on coded responses (i.e., higher attachment and lower self-reliance scores), participants in the current study appeared to interpret both scenarios (1) and (3), as well as (2), as most stressful, followed by scenario (4). Although scenario (4) was intended to be the most severe separation, children's responses appeared to centre on the gift parents give the child before leaving on their trip. It is conjectured that the salience of the gift precluded greater attention to attachment themes in children's narratives and exaggerated scores for self-reliance. As a result, scenario (4) was eliminated. Scenarios (1), (2), and (3) were used to calculate attachment scores, scenarios (5) and (6) were used for self-reliance, while all five scenarios were used to calculate avoidance. Of these three scales, the attachment scale has been shown to be the most strongly correlated to attachment behaviour (positively) and avoidance behaviour (negatively) during brief separation-reunion scenarios (Slough & Greenberg, 1990). Therefore, the attachment scale was selected to test for joint contributions and moderating effect of attachment on parenting in relation to shame-proneness.

The SAT has received empirical support as a valid measure reflecting children's IWMs of attachment (e.g., Bohlin, Hagekull, & Rydell, 2000; Main et al., 1985; Slough & Greenberg, 1990; Shouldice & Stevenson-Hinde, 1992). Concordance between reunion behaviour and SAT demonstrated that the way children discuss feelings regarding separations provides a valid index of how they perceive the parent-child relationship. In line with Bowlby's (1979) original conceptualization, children's ability to express concern over stressful and prolonged separations without denial demonstrates confidence in the responsiveness and reliability of the attachment figure to their communication of need and vulnerability. A complementary view of self as autonomous and competent in being able to handle feelings effectively during less stressful situations is demonstrated by the expression of self-reliance when confronted with milder separation. Likewise, SAT responses demonstrating avoidance are also believed to reflect the insecure IWMs of the parent-child relationship.

It is noted that the SAT allows for classification of attachment security along a continuum in accounting for differences among participants who would otherwise be categorized within prototypes. Prototypes have been criticized for requiring judgments on the borderline between categories whereas use of dimensional measures can reduce potential for measurement error and refine the measurement of attachment (Cicchetti, Cummings, Greenberg, & Marvin, 1990) while also allowing for greater statistical power. Increasingly, dimensional ratings are being used in attachment research in later childhood and adulthood literatures (e.g., Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Kerns, Tomich, Aspelmeier, & Contreras, 2000). Thus, although the SAT does not directly distinguish between types of insecure attachment, it would be expected that ambivalently attached

youngsters would show deficits in appropriate self-reliance whereas avoidantly attached children would have greater difficulty in communicating attachment needs.

Shame: Self-Conscious Emotions - Maladaptive & Adaptive Scales (SCEMAS; Stegge & Ferguson, 1994). The SCEMAS is a self-report instrument intended for use with 5- to 12-year-olds and includes 13 written and pictorial scenarios followed by a series of possible behavioural and emotional reactions (see Appendix D). Eight of the scenarios (4 failure and 4 transgressions) are written in a way that clearly implicates the child as responsible for the mishap. Five additional scenarios involve ambiguous situations in which the child is publicly praised for outperforming others and/or behaves admirably despite conflicting feelings. Scenarios are followed by several descriptors of possible reactions.

The SCEMAS utilizes a 5-point Likert scale and asks children to respond to precoded questions that represent shame (e.g., "I am a mean kid for not helping"), non-ruminative guilt (e.g., "I did something wrong"), ruminative guilt (e.g., "You worry lots about not helping the little girl"), pride (e.g., "You're proud of yourself for having done a good drawing"), defensive externalization (e.g., "He should learn to take better care of his things"), and anger (e.g., "You feel mad that your lines were so hard to remember"). A scale for maladaptive shame is derived from the five ambiguous scenarios that may also evoke feelings of pride (e.g., "You feel ashamed and wish your friend hadn't said that in front of the other children" i.e., that you got him the best present of all).

Having observed that the SCEMAS utilizes a narrow definition of maladaptive shame (i.e., tapped by ambiguous scenarios involving exposure to praise that may be responded to with pride and/or shame) rather than instances of wrongdoing or mishap

that provoke pervasive feelings of defectiveness and lingering shame, the original measure was revised to include a ruminative shame scale in an attempt to capture a broader definition of pathological shame (e.g., ruminative, focus on self as flawed, difficulty resolving feelings). Toward this end, two additional scenarios were added that involved (1) being negatively exposed and (2) being picked last. In addition, one item was added to each of the thirteen original scenarios in an effort to measure more pervasive and defective feelings of shame. Although the internal reliability of the scale was excellent, it was highly correlated with established scales and appeared to contribute little beyond the original measure and was therefore abandoned[9].

Following recommendations of the authors for use of the SCEMAS with younger children, the measure was administered to participants in an individual interview format. Prior to administering the measure, children were trained on using rating scales. They were presented with series of five boxes graduating in size on a sheet of paper and were told that we were going to practice using these boxes to answer questions. A second sheet of paper was then presented that included labels (i.e., "not at all", "just a little bit", "so-so/in the middle", "a lot", and "a whole lot") to correspond with the size of the boxes. Children were asked to point to the box indicating what they would think or feel as they

[9] The new ruminative shame scale created for the current study bordered on being redundant with the established basic shame scale ($r = .83$, $p < .01$) and ruminative guilt ($r = .83$, $p < .01$), and was highly correlated with but more distinct from the original maladaptive shame scale ($r = .71$, $p < .01$) and basic guilt ($r = .73$, $p < .01$). This high correspondence may suggest that participants did not distinguish between what, on the face of it, would appear to be more normative versus more severe/ruminative forms of shame, as well as between this ruminative form of shame and ruminative guilt, on the SCEMAS. Moreover, the new ruminative scale's higher concordance with basic shame than with maladaptive shame was noted and raised questions regarding the validity of the maladaptive shame scale in measuring a more pathological form of shame; this issue was considered in more detail previously.

Despite its high correlation with basic shame, correlations between the new ruminative shame scale and study variables were explored to determine whether observed associations provided any meaningful information beyond the previously established scales. The only significant finding was a negative relation with mothers' self-focus in response to children's behaviour ($r = -.23$, $p < .05$), which was contrary to prediction. As a result, the ruminative shame scale failed to provide meaningful information

practiced responding to questions (e.g., how strong different family members are, how scary various animals are, and how much they like different foods). Finally, participants were presented with a practice scenario requiring them to rate different emotional and behavioural reactions to being called names. Once it was clear that the child understood how to use the scales, they were instructed to use the same format to answer questions from the SCEMAS, that it was okay to respond in different ways to the same situations or in only one way, and to respond with what they would really think and feel.

The scales in response to the failure and transgression scenarios have been shown to have high internal reliability (Ferguson, Stegge, Miller, & Olsen, 1999; Stegge & Ferguson, 1994). The authors also reported the five ambiguous scenarios formed a homogeneous scale. Internal reliabilities for scales used in the current study, after dropping items that had corrected item-total correlations below .30, were as follows: shame (5 items, *alpha* = .82); maladaptive shame (4 items *alpha* = .79); non-ruminative guilt (10 items, *alpha* = .89); and ruminative guilt (10 items, *alpha* = .86).

Guilt and shame in response to the failure and transgression scenarios have been conceived as representing more consensual and functional forms of these self-conscious emotions (Ferguson & Stegge, 2000). In support of this view, authors of the measure reported that shame and guilt in response to these eight scenarios were positively correlated with pride in response to the five ambiguous scenarios, peer ratings of social competence, and parental report of adherence to proper norms of conduct and negatively related to regular violations of moral norms (Ferguson & Stegge, 2000). On the other hand, the five ambiguous situations are intended to tap more rigid, pervasive, and maladaptive emotional styles (i.e., shame-prone and guilt-prone); along these lines, these

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beyond existing scales and was, therefore, not retained for further consideration in the current study.

scales were positively correlated with depression and negatively with self-perceived competence. Further, shame-proneness but not guilt-proneness in response to the ambiguous scenarios was positively correlated with social anxiety and peer ratings of shyness.

Social Desirability: Children's Social Desirability Questionnaire (CSDQ; Crandall, Crandall, & Katkovsky, 1965). Children, as well as adults, are known to be less likely to admit to negative than positive affect or behaviour, however, little attention has been given to response biases in the construction of shame and guilt measures. It is conceivable that measures tapping negative self-conscious emotions elicit socially desirable response sets. The CSDQ questionnaire consists of 20 items (e.g., "I have never felt like saying unkind things to a person") used to assess positive self-presentation and has been validated as a reliable measure for children in grades 3 through 12 (see Appendix E). The authors specify that elementary school children complete questionnaires by indicating whether or not they agree with each statement by circling "yes" or "no" for each item. However, given the slightly younger age of the present sample, questions were read out loud to participants who were instructed to circle "yes" or "no" in response to the number corresponding to each question on their sheet of paper.

Several corrected item-total correlations fell below .30, identifying items that were less coherently and reliably related to the overall scale and were therefore dropped. This resulted in a 8-item scale for social desirability with good internal reliability (Cronbach *alpha* = .82). A mean score was computed such that higher scores indicated greater social desirability. This score was used to test for social desirability in relation to study variables and, potentially, to statistically control for its effect.

Mother Measures

My Child-Shame and My Child-Guilt (Ferguson, Barrett, & Stegge, 1997). The My Child Shame and Guilt measure asks mothers to report on ways their child would react in various situations of mischief, failure, or falling short using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from never to always (see Appendix F and G). Of the original 52 items, 34 items were used to derive scales for shame, ruminative shame, as well as concern over good feelings with parents, rationalizing behaviour, and mastery motivation. The My Child Guilt measure uses the same format as above; 32 items used to derive scales for basic guilt, ruminative guilt (or guilt-proneness), reparation, internalized conduct, and empathy were selected from the 50 original items. The authors report good internal reliability and validity in relation to child outcomes (Ferguson, personal communication, June 2003). Cronbach *alphas* for basic shame (10 items) and ruminative shame (7 items) were .84 and .91, respectively, and for basic guilt and ruminative guilt were .74 and .68, respectively.

Parenting Behaviour Questionnaire (PBQ; Robinson, Mandleco, Olsen, & Hart, 1995). The PBQ was developed as a parent self-report measure of parenting of preschoolers and elementary school children (see Appendix H). An important advantage of this instrument over previous efforts to develop a parent self-report of parenting style is that the authors moved beyond a conceptual rationale for measurement of parenting styles to provide an empirical basis supporting the scales that were derived. The questionnaire originally consisted of 133 items, including 80 from the Block Child Rearing Practices Report (Block, 1965) and 53 new items that were rated on a 5-point Likert scale from "never true" to "always true". Using factor analytic techniques, three factors were extracted from this pool of items that corresponded with authoritative (27

items), authoritarian (20 items), and permissive (15 items) typologies originally defined by Baumrind (1971). The 62 items that were retained loaded highly onto these factors for both mothers and fathers and for parents of preschoolers and school-aged children. The Cronbach *alphas* reported by the authors for the scales were .91, .86, and .75, for authoritative, authoritarian and permissive parenting, respectively. In addition, examination of the dimensional and internal structure within each style yielded the following factors: authoritative - includes subscales for warm involvement, reasoning, democratic discipline, good natured/easy going orientation; authoritarian - includes subscales for verbal hostility, corporal punishment, nonreasoning/punitive, directiveness; permissive - includes subscales for lack of follow through, ignore misbehaviour, low self-confidence in parenting. In the current study, items with corrected item-total correlations below .30 for each of the subscales were dropped, resulting in a 23-item scale for authoritative parenting (*alpha* = .85), a 14-item scale for authoritarian parenting (*alpha* = .82), and a 12-item scale for permissive parenting (*alpha* = .73).

Socialization of Moral Affect-Parents of Children Inventory (SOMA-PC; Rosenberg et al., 1994). Some researchers have argued that the most commonly used parenting inventories fail to tap some of the specific, sometimes subtle, parental behaviours believed to be relevant for the socialization of self-conscious emotions, including shame. As a result, measures have been developed that more specifically assess parenting indices believed to be most relevant to self-conscious emotions (e.g., Ferguson & Stegge, 1995; Rosenberg et al., 1994). The SOMA-PC is a scenario-based format consisting of 19 vignettes that depict situations of children's success, failure, or transgression (see Appendix I). Each scenario is followed by a subset of possible parental

reactions (i.e., love withdrawal, power assertion, victim-focused induction, parent-focused induction, teaching reparation, behaviour-focused positive and negative scenarios, person-focused positive and negative scenarios, neglect/ignoring, public humiliation, conditional approval, disgust/teasing) believed to relate to self-conscious emotions such as guilt, shame, pride and empathy. The authors report good internal consistency, good item distribution, and minimal correlation with social desirability.

The SOMA-PC measures mothers' self-reported parenting behaviour. Caregivers were asked to respond to items describing common day-to-day encounters that can evoke a range of potential reactions. They are first asked to imagine being in the given situation and to then indicate how likely they would be to react in each of several ways described using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "not at all likely" to "very likely". Scales of particular interest due to their hypothesized relation with shame and their Cronbach *alphas* after dropping items with corrected item-total below .30 are as follows: conditional approval (6 items, *alpha* = .81); disgust (2 items, *alpha* = .60); love withdrawal (7 items, *alpha* = .72); neglect (7 items, *alpha* = .85); power assertion (7 items, *alpha* = .75); focusing on positive child attributes (8 items, *alpha* = .82); focusing on child's negative attributes (7 items, *alpha* = .78); mothers' self-focus (7 items, *alpha* = .74); and public humiliation (3 items, *alpha* = .67).

Socialization of Children's Negative Emotions: Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale (CCNES, Fabes, Eisenberg, & Bernzweig, 1990). The CCNES measures parental coping responses to children's negative emotions (age range is 4 to 12 years). Respondents are presented with 12 hypothetical scenarios in which children are likely to display negative affect (e.g., anger, fear, anxiety, disappointment) and each scenario is

followed by six possible parental responses (see Appendix J). Three additional scenarios were designed specifically for the current study that involved negative affect of distress and shame in the context of scenarios involving being teased, a mishap, and a failure.

Mothers were asked to rate themselves on a 7-point Likert scale according to how likely they would be to respond in each of the ways described. Responses were totalled across the scenarios to produce six subscales for mothers' approach to their child's emotions. Three subscales reflect unsupportive maternal responses: (1) punitive - degree to which mother reacts punitively in an attempt to control child's emotion (e.g., "get angry at my child"); (2) minimizing - degree to which mother attempts to minimize seriousness of the situation or devalue child's distress (e.g., "tell my child she is overreacting"); and (3) distress reactions – degree to which mother becomes personally distressed by child's emotions (e.g., "feel upset or uncomfortable because of my child's reaction"). The three remaining subscales reflect supportive maternal responses: (4) expressive encouragement - degree to which mother validates and encourages child to express negative emotion (e.g., "tell my child it is okay to cry when he feels unhappy"); (5) emotion-focused - degree to which mother responds to child with emotion-oriented strategy as means of comforting child (e.g., "try to make child happy by talking about the fun things she can do with friends"); and (6) problem-focused - degree to which mother attempts to use practical strategies to help child solve problem causing distress (e.g., "help my child to think of something else to do"). Mean scores were used to derive broader subscales of supportive and unsupportive emotion coaching.

The authors provide evidence supporting the psychometric properties of the measure (i.e., good internal reliability, 4-month test-retest reliability and construct

validity). Additionally, none of the scales except distress reactions correlated with social desirability (Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, Maden-Derdich, 2002). In the current study internal reliability scores for scales, after dropping corrected item-total below .30, ranged from .74 to .90. Cronbach *alphas* after dropping items with corrected item-total below .30 are as follows: punitive (12 items, *alpha* = .88); minimizing (14 items, *alpha* = .90); distress (9 items, *alpha* = .74); expressive encouragement (15 items, *alpha* = .89); emotion-focused (11 items, *alpha* = .83); problem-focused (8 items, *alpha* = .80).

Child Temperament: Child Behavioural Questionnaire (CBQ; Rothbart, 1996; Rothbart et al., 1994; 2001). The CBQ is a highly differentiated measure based on current theory on child temperament and is designed for early through middle childhood. The current research used the CBQ Short-Form (37 items) and an additional 30 items from the CBQ Very Short Form needed to derive the following three broad scales along with several more precise subscales within each: extraversion/surgency (approach, high intensity pleasure, activity level, impulsivity, shyness), negative affectivity (sadness, anger/frustration, reactivity/soothability, discomfort, fear), and effortful control (inhibited control, attention focusing, low intensity pleasure, perceptual sensitivity). The CBQ asks parents to rate their child on each item using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from "extremely untrue" to "extremely true" (see Appendix K). The potential moderating influence of negative affectivity on parenting was of particular interest given potential links between shame-proneness and affective trait-like problems of depression and anxiety.

The psychometric properties of the numerous scales have received extensive validation, including convergence between the CBQ scales and socialization-relevant

traits, substantial parental agreement in CBQ ratings, and adequate internal consistency ranging from .67 to .94 (see Rothbart et al., 2001). Cronbach *alphas* after dropping items with corrected item-total below .30 are as follows for each subscale: approach (5 items, *alpha* = .72); high intensity pleasure (2 items, *alpha* = .76); activity level (3 items, *alpha* = .51); impulsivity (6 items, *alpha* = .73); shyness (6 items, *alpha* = .90); sadness (5 items, *alpha* = .65); anger (6 items, *alpha* = .80); soothability (5 items, *alpha* = .83); discomfort (3 items, *alpha* = .75); fear (6 items, *alpha* = .86); inhibited control (6 items, *alpha* = .51); attention focusing (3 items, *alpha* = .79); low intensity pleasure (3 items, *alpha* = .66); perceptual sensitivity (3 items, *alpha* = .86). Internal reliability for the broad scales of the CBQ used in the current study were as follows: .80 for extraversion (9 items), .73 for negative affectivity (9-items), and .80 for effortful control (9-items). Three items were dropped from each broad scale due to low corrected item-total correlations.

Parent reports of child temperament are valued as a rich source of information based on the caregiver's extensive knowledge of their child resulting from countless observations across a range of situations over a long period of time (Rothbart & Bates, 1998). They also provide the added advantage of being cost-effective and easy to administer. Although parent reports have been criticized for potential biases of informants, several studies provide evidence for their reliability and validity in measuring child temperament, as well as convergence with observer ratings (see Rothbart & Bates, 1998 for review). In addition, items on questionnaires, such as the CBQ, refer to children's behaviour in concrete situations over a protracted period of time and, thereby, avoid asking parents to make global judgments in a way that would be more open to bias. Some variance in parent report has been shown to involve subjective factors such as

social desirability (Slabach, Morrow, & Wachs, 1991). However, these relations have been shown to be modest at best, while a more prominent degree of objectivity has been demonstrated for caregiver reports of child temperament (Putnam, Sanson, & Rothbart, 2002; Rothbart & Bates, 1998). Nevertheless, scales were correlated with social desirability and significant effects controlled for in the present study.

Social Desirability: Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Measure (MCSD; Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). As mentioned previously, individuals are less likely to admit to negative than to positive affect or behaviour. In the case of self-reported parenting practices, parents may be hesitant to admit to undesirable and negative parenting behaviour and attitudes and instead attempt to present themselves in a socially desirable light. Similarly, social desirability may also relate to the manner in which they respond to questions regarding their children's characteristics and behaviours. Therefore, to control for this bias, mothers were asked to complete a subset of 15 true/false items from the original MCSD measure (e.g., "No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener") (see Appendix L). One point was scored for each response in the socially desirable direction such that the higher the score received the greater the tendency to portray one's self in a favourable light. Items on this abbreviated version have received empirical support as the most reliable (Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972) and as providing the most coherent construct for defensive social responding (Fischer & Fick, 1993). Four items demonstrated low corrected item-total correlations and were dropped, resulting in an 11-item scale with a Cronbach *alpha* = .67.

Results

Data Screening

Prior to conducting analyses, data were screened for accuracy of entry, missing values, univariate and multivariate outliers. Values that fell beyond three standard deviations from the mean for each variable were considered univariate outliers and these scores were manually converted to three standard deviations from their group mean in order to reduce their potentially disproportionate influence on the results (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Mahalanobis distance, in conjunction with Cook's distance criterion (degree of influence of a given case on regression coefficients), were used to identify multivariate outliers in regressions; none were identified.

In addition, univariate normality was assessed by evaluating histograms, skewness, and kurtosis for each study variable. Tables 1 and 2 show means, standard deviations, skewness and transformations for each variable. Significant positive skew was observed for the following variables: disgust, neglect, power assertion, focus on the child's negative attributes, public humiliation, and SAT avoidance. Transformations were performed in order to improve the distributional characteristics of significantly skewed variables (skewness/*SE* skew > 3.0), therefore resulting in closer adherence to the assumption of normality for regression analyses (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Neglect and SAT avoidance remained significantly positively skewed even after undergoing transformations and were therefore dropped from further consideration. Kurtosis for all remaining variables was below 10.0. Following each regression, residual scatterplots were examined to confirm that assumptions of linearity and homoscedacsticity were met. For interaction terms used in multiple regressions, variables were centered in order to

eliminate potential multicollinearity between main effects and interaction terms. Pearson correlations and the Dubsin-Watson statistic were also evaluated to rule out the problems of singularity and multicollinearity. No variables included within the same regression had a bi-variate correlation above .85 and none had a tolerance value less than .10. Analyses were conducted using nontransformed variables and then repeated using transformed variables to determine whether any discrepancies emerged.

Descriptive Statistics

Sex, age, and child social desirability, as well as mother social desirability effects were tested. There were no significant correlations for child social desirability in relation to variables derived from child report. A single trend for sex and one for age emerged in relation to child reported variables, indicating that females (r = -.23, p = .07) and younger children (r = -.23, p = .07) were more likely to seek out others to cope with attachment distress in their narratives regarding stressful separations from parents. Several findings emerged for sex, age and social desirability in relation to mother reported variables. In comparison to mothers of female children, mothers of male children reported being more permissive (r = -.33, p < .01) with a trend toward providing more supportive emotion coaching (r = -.23, p = .06). A trend emerged indicating that mothers of female children reporting that they used more conditional approval (r = .21, p = .09). They also rated their female children as higher in effortful control (r = .30, p < .05) and as less extroverted (r = -.24, p = .05). Child age was positively correlated with mothers' self-report of conditional approval (r = .25, p < .05), power assertion (r = .29, p < .05), focusing on negative child attributes (r = .21, p < .05); a positive trend was also apparent for unsupportive emotion coaching (r = .21, trend, p = .09). In addition, mothers' social desirability was negatively

correlated with their self-rating of authoritative parenting ($r = -.40, p < .01$) and positively related to authoritarian parenting ($r = .28, p < .05$); a positive trend was also evident for permissive parenting ($r = .23, p = .06$), as well as being self-focused with respect to the impact of their child's behaviour ($r = .40, p < .01$). A negative trend for the link between social desirability and mothers' ratings of children's extraversion was also revealed ($r = -.21, p = .09$).

Given that the methodologies of the SCEMAS and SAT arguably place high verbal demands on participants, Pearson correlations for children's verbal intelligence in relation to the scales of these measures were evaluated. Verbal IQ scores were normally distributed with a mean IQ score of 105.5 ($SD = 12.4$), falling squarely within the average range for the sample as a whole. Results indicated that there were no significant correlations between verbal IQ and (1) self-conscious emotions and (2) attachment indices.

Preliminary Analyses

Intercorrelations between Study Variables

Pearson correlations were computed among study variables in order to evaluate the strength of their association and to avoid the use of redundant variables in multivariate analyses. These correlations were also used to verify that the relations between variables were in the expected directions. Tables 3 to 5 show matrices of all bi-variate Pearson correlations coefficients between parenting/emotion coaching, temperament, and attachment variables. Correlations demonstrated that variables measured separate constructs and that associations for the most part were in the expected directions, thus providing validation for the measured constructs. Exceptions included

permissive parenting's positive correlations with authoritarian parenting and supportive emotion coaching (see Table 3). In the first case, although permissive parenting involves a more lax style and authoritarian a more overbearing style, both represent nonoptimal parenting strategies that may share common variance. In the latter instance, it is possible that permissive parenting represents a more indulgent rather than inattentive style toward the children, perhaps explaining positive association with supportive emotion coaching.

Table 4 shows correlations among temperament and attachment variables. Results indicated a negative association between extroversion and negative affectivity and a negative association between SAT attachment and self-reliance. Furthermore, mothers' report of extraversion was positively related to children's narratives of being self-reliant during mildly stressful separations, whereas children's negative affectivity was negatively related to self-reliance. Negative affectivity was also positively related to SAT attachment (i.e., seeking connection with others in narratives of more severe separations from parents). The negative correlation between SAT attachment and self-reliance was unexpected since both are intended to represent an aspect of security. Also unexpected was the positive association between self-reliance and love withdrawal since this parenting strategy is believed to undermine children's independence (see Table 5). Thus, whether the SAT self-reliance scale taps a secure model of self is unclear and, therefore, results for this variable are interpreted with caution.

Finally, Table 5 provides further validation of temperament and parenting measures. Associations suggest that maternal report of children's extroverted temperament is positively related to their report of more coercive parenting practices (i.e., conditional approval, love withdrawal, power assertion, and focusing on negative child

attributes). In contrast, their report of children's negative affectivity was positively related to supportive emotion coaching and focusing on positive child attributes, and negatively related to love withdrawal (trend). Trends also emerged suggesting that mothers were less likely to parent children higher in effortful control in either an authoritarian or permissive manner.

Measurement of Self-Conscious Emotions

I. Are normative and maladaptive forms of shame differentiable constructs for children in the early elementary school years (i.e., 6-8 year-olds)? Further, can guilt (normative and maladaptive forms) be distinguished from shame for this age group?

As an initial step toward establishing whether the scales for self-conscious emotions represent different constructs, Pearson correlations between (a) basic and maladaptive forms of shame, (b) basic and maladaptive forms of guilt, (c) as well as shame and guilt were examined. Second, inter-correlations were examined to verify the correspondence between two different methodologies used to measure self-conscious emotions - child report using the SCEMAS and mother report of children's emotions using the My Child questionnaire. Third, Pearson correlations testing the pattern of associations between self-conscious emotions and study variables were examined to establish both convergent and divergent validity.

Intercorrelations between Self-Conscious Emotions

Child-reported self-conscious emotions (SCEMAS). Correlations among child-reported self-conscious emotions indicated that the scales measuring basic and maladaptive shame were highly correlated (50% shared variance), as were basic guilt and

ruminative guilt (64% shared variance), yet each captured enough independent variance to potentially represent different constructs (see Table 6). In examining the SCEMAS' ability to differentiate between forms of self-conscious emotions, results indicated that although basic shame and basic guilt (59% shared variance) and maladaptive shame and ruminative guilt (49% shared variance) overlapped considerably, they also measured unique variance. Interestingly, basic shame and ruminative guilt shared 77% of their variance in common, calling into question the ability to clearly distinguish between these two variables.

Mother-report of children's self-conscious emotions (My Child Shame & Guilt). As expected given the nature of negative self-conscious emotions, correlations among children's self-conscious emotions based on mother report were moderately to strongly correlated (shared variance ranged from 14% to 46%). Findings indicated that, in addition to the expected overlap between these self-conscious emotions, basic and maladaptive forms of both shame and guilt appeared to be differentiable constructs, as were shame and guilt (see Table 6). It is noted that although ruminative shame and ruminative guilt were highly correlated, over 50% of their variance was independent of the other.

Intercorrelations between SCEMAS and My Child Scales of self-conscious emotions. Measurement of self-conscious emotions based on child self-report using hypothetical scenarios and mothers' report of children's self-conscious emotions in common day-to-day situations was entirely uncorrelated (see Table 6).

Intercorrelations between Self-Conscious Emotions and Study Variables

Child-reported self-conscious emotions (SCEMAS). To further examine whether the SCEMAS scales represent distinct constructs with convergent and divergent validity,

the pattern of Pearson correlations with study variables was compared across each scale (see Table 7). A notable lack of significant bi-variate correlations emerged between child-reported self-conscious emotions and study variables. No significant associations emerged in relation to parenting, although several trends were apparent. Specifically, mothers' self-focus in response to children's behaviour was positively related to both maladaptive shame and ruminative guilt. Although, significant negative trends emerged for ruminative guilt with both permissive parenting and disgust, it was questionable whether these were substantially different than correlations for other self-conscious emotions and, in the case of disgust, the trend was not in the anticipated direction. Similarly, the negative trend between maladapative shame and power assertive behaviour, did not appear to be substantially different than the correlation for ruminative guilt and was also not in the anticipated direction. When temperament variables were considered, the significant negative association between basic shame and effortful control appeared to distinguish basic shame from other self-conscious emotions. Maladaptive shame and basic guilt both exhibited negative correlations with SAT self-reliance, whereas this was not the case for basic shame and ruminative guilt.

Although participants responded to items on the SCEMAS reliably, the sparse associations between its scales and study variables, along with some counterintuitive trends, raised concern regarding the validity of the SCEMAS' measurement of self-conscious emotions in the current study. Also troubling was the lack of concordance between the SCEMAS scales and mothers' report of children's self-conscious emotions. The above findings may suggest that children's level of ability to introspect about their self-conscious emotions, as well as to differentiate between shame and guilt and their

basic and maladaptive forms, is poorly developed in the early elementary school years. Alternatively, the methodology of the SCEMAS may not offer a valid or sufficiently sensitive means for adequately tapping negative self-conscious emotions for this age group. Regardless, the overwhelming lack of expected associations raised doubt as to the validity of the SCEMAS in measuring 6- to 8-year-olds self-conscious emotions. Therefore, a composite score was derived based on the mean of the four SCEMAS scales (see Table 7). Not surprising given the null findings for each subscale, associations between the composite score and study variables were equally unimpressive.

Keeping in mind the above stated reservations regarding the SCEMAS, it is noted that children responded in a reliable manner and it is possible that the scales may measure variance unrelated to their actual emotional responses to hypothetical scenarios but may be responding in some other, unaccounted for way. Thus, what the variance captured by these scales actually represents is unclear and open to debate. Examination of correlations between the SCEMAS scales and child sex, age, social desirability, verbal intelligence, and additional scales from the My Child that measured aspects of interpersonal sensitivity (i.e., internalized conduct, empathy, reparative behaviour) were not significant, failing to provide any insight. Moreover, partialling out variance of these indices from the self-conscious emotions did not alter the observed correlations between self-conscious emotions and study variables. It is further noted that, given the nature of negative self-conscious emotions, considerable overlap between these constructs is expected. Nevertheless, it is also possible that the unique variance attributable to each scale may allow for differential associations to emerge. Therefore, in an effort to better understand how participants may have interpreted and responded to the SCEMAS, a series of partial

correlations controlling for the common variance between scales was carried out and findings are discussed below. Clearly, this served as a post-hoc effort to explore the meaning of the scales and, thus, results should be interpreted with caution.

Mother-report of children's self-conscious emotions (My Child Shame & My Child Guilt). The anticipated interrelatedness of each self-conscious emotion, as well as distinctions among scales, was evident based on the overall pattern of Pearson correlations with study variables (see Table 8). Specifically, whereas basic shame (trend) and basic guilt were related to authoritative parenting, trends emerged between both ruminative shame and ruminative guilt with authoritarian parenting and disgust. In addition, basic shame and ruminative shame (trend) were associated with permissive parenting and love withdrawal; this was not the case for either form of guilt. Moreover, although all four emotions related to mothers' focus on positive child attributes and supportive emotion coaching, only basic guilt was unrelated to mothers' focus on negative child attributes, self-focus with respect to the impact their child's behaviour, and unsupportive emotion coaching. Further, basic shame was the only scale unrelated to conditional approval. Conversely, only basic guilt was associated with neglect and public humiliation while only ruminative guilt was related to power assertiveness (trend). Further overlap and differentiation was observed in relation to temperament variables. Although all four scales related to negative affectivity (trend for basic guilt), only basic guilt was linked to extroversion. Both types of guilt were positively related to effortful control. Finally, only ruminative shame was negatively related to self-reliance in narratives involving milder separations from parents.

In sum, the inter-correlations of the scales of the My Child mother report of children's self-conscious emotions and the above pattern of associations provided validation for both the convergent and discriminant validity of each scale[10]. As such, findings support consideration of each emotion measured by the My Child as separate constructs and, therefore, ruminative shame was used to test hypotheses for shame-proneness.

Partial Correlations for Child Reported Self-Conscious Emotions (SCEMAS)

There has been ongoing debate in the developmental literature regarding the ability to differentiate between shame and guilt in childhood, as well as between functional and maladaptive forms. Although current findings suggest that mothers are able to differentiate between these emotions, by the early elementary school years, this was not born out for children's self-report using the SCEMAS. Given that children approached the measure in a reliable manner, additional analyses were conducted in an effort to better understand what these scales represent. To that end, a series of partial correlations that controlled for the overlapping variance of each self-conscious emotion, in turn, were used to determine whether these scales could be teased apart. Specifically, the residual that remained for each scale was correlated with study variables to determine whether the unique variance explained would provide insight. In light of the

[10] Given the high correlation between ruminative shame and ruminative guilt and several converging findings with study variables, partial correlations that controlled for their common variance were used to examine the unique relations of each with study variables (see Appendix M). Results indicated that, ruminative shame was uniquely and positively associated with permissive parenting and negative affectivity and negatively related to effortful control (positive trends also emerged for authoritarian parenting, love withdrawal, supportive emotion coaching), whereas ruminative guilt was uniquely positively related to conditional approval, focusing on positive attributes of the child, and effortful control. Appendix N provides further evidence for the divergent validity of the My Child scales. In this case, the highly stringent test of testing the unique associations between self-conscious emotions after controlling for the variance of all three of the other scales is presented. Divergent relations with temperament scales are particularly noteworthy.

predominantly null findings reported above, the emergence of relations would indicate the presence of a suppression effect.

A. Controlling for basic shame (Table 9). When the variance explained by basic shame was controlled for, maladaptive shame became negatively related to love withdrawal and focusing on the child's negative attributes. Power assertiveness and mothers' self-focus in response to children's behaviour became significant negative correlates of maladaptive shame. Finally, SAT attachment became positively correlated with maladaptive shame while SAT self-reliance remained a negative correlate. These findings revealed suppressor effects once the variance explained by basic shame was removed, demonstrating that a unique aspect of "maladaptive" shame was negatively associated with several coercive parenting factors. These counterintuitive findings and speculation regarding the meaning of the maladaptive shame scale of the SCEMAS are discussed in detail below.

Controlling for basic shame also revealed suppressor effects whereby basic guilt was negatively related to power assertiveness and extroversion (trend). Basic guilt's suppressed relation with SAT attachment was also revealed (trend) while SAT self-reliance continued to be negatively correlated with it. Ruminative guilt was negatively related to love withdrawal and mothers' self-focus, and positively related to effortful control. Again, results indicated that once basic shame was controlled for, unique associations between guilt and parenting were revealed.

B. Controlling for "maladaptive" shame (Table 10). Suppressor effects were also evident when controlling for "maladaptive" shame, thereby, suggesting the presence of mutual suppression. However, in this instance, unique variance from the basic shame

scale was positively related to love withdrawal, power assertiveness, focus on children's negative attributes, conditional approval (trend), extroversion (trend), and self-reliance (trend); a negative association emerged for attachment. In addition, the negative association for basic shame and effortful control dropped to a trend. These findings provide evidence indicating that, once variance explained by "maladaptive" shame was controlled, independent variance measured by the basic shame scale related to coercive socialization practices hypothesized to contribute to shame-proneness. Again, in light of these findings, interpretation of the shame scales is discussed below.

Basic guilt correlated positively with focusing on children's negative attributes once "maladaptive" shame was controlled for. In the case of ruminative guilt, a positive association emerged for power assertiveness and a negative relation for negative affectivity. Positive trends also were revealed between ruminative guilt and focusing on the child's negative attributes and between both forms of guilt and conditional approval.

C. Controlling for basic guilt (Table 11). Partialling out variance explained by basic guilt resulted in positive correlations between basic shame and power assertiveness and love withdrawal (trend), as well as extroversion and self-reliance (trend). A negative trend with attachment also emerged while the negative association between basic shame and effortful control remained significant. For "maladaptive" shame, negative associations were found for focusing on the child's negative attributes and mothers' self-focus; its association with power assertion remained a negative trend. Thus, controlling for a functional form of guilt produced divergent findings, although given the direction of associations, results raised questions regarding the validity of the maladaptive shame scale of the SCEMA, in particular. Finally for ruminative guilt, a positive association was

found with power assertiveness and a negative correlation with mothers' self-focus; a negative trend also emerged for negative affectivity.

D. Controlling for ruminative guilt (Table 12). Similar to the above findings, controlling for ruminative guilt resulted in positive associations between basic shame and love withdrawal, mothers' self-focus, and extroversion (trend); the negative correlation with effortful control remained significant. "Maladaptive" shame was negatively related to power assertiveness, mothers' focus on children's negative attributes (trend), and attachment (trend); the correlation with self-reliance remained significant. Basic guilt was also negatively related to power assertiveness and parent self-focus (trend) and was positively related to supportive emotion coaching (trend) while maintaining its negative relation to self-reliance.

Summary. Overall, findings from the above series of partial correlations indicated the likely presence of suppression effects whereby after systematically controlling for each self-conscious emotion, "maladaptive" shame consistently exhibited unique and negative associations with coercive parenting strategies (i.e., love withdrawal, power assertiveness, focusing on children's negative attributes, and mothers' self-focus in response to the impact of their children's behaviour). These associations were counter to hypotheses generated from the theoretical and empirical literatures on shame-proneness. The reverse pattern emerged for basic shame (except in the case of focusing on the child's negative attributes, which was not significant). In addition, basic shame demonstrated unique associations with effortful control (negative) and extroversion (positive). Findings for the guilt scales were more varied, depending on which of the self-conscious emotions was controlled for.

Particularly noteworthy is the comparison of the two columns of partial correlations for the "maladaptive" shame and basic shame scales after controlling for the other emotion (Tables 9 and 10). Specifically, both the shame scales were significantly related to the same five study variables but in opposite directions; relations across several other variables were also strengthened in opposing directions but not enough to achieve significance. Despite being unable to ascertain precisely what the independent variance captured by the basic shame scale represents, its associations were clearly in line with expectations for shame-proneness or perhaps shame more generally (note: although not as prominent, associations for the basic shame scale converged with relations for ruminative shame using the My Child mother-report). A tentative interpretation of this evidence is that the residual of basic shame, after controlling for "maladaptive" shame, indeed may be tapping shame.

Conversely, evidence failed to support the "maladaptive" shame scale as capturing the pathological form of shame it was intended to measure or perhaps shame more generally. In fact, controlling for basic shame revealed that there might be an aspect of the "maladpative" shame scale that taps some positive response or quality, although such an interpretation remains speculative. In reviewing the ambiguous scenarios intended to distinguish maladaptive shame, an alternative hypothesis is that the residual variance remaining after controlling for basic shame may be getting at discomfort under circumstances in which the individual feels ambivalent in their feelings of pride (e.g., being openly judged more positively than one's peers) and in behaving in a prosocial manner when it conflicts with one's underlying wishes and desires. As such, these situations may bring with them a moral sensibility compelling the individual to quiet self-

promoting positive attributes/accomplishments or to feel badly for self-centred feelings and desires when they may compromise others.

To further explore the above conjectures regarding the shame scales on the SCEMAS, partial correlations were conducted to examine the association between the unique variance captured by each shame scale and the prosocial indices of the My Child measure (i.e., making amends, empathy, internalized values). Although first-order correlations between the shame scales of the SCEMAS and these prosocial factors were not significant, once basic shame was partialled out, "maladaptive" shame positively correlated with internalized values ($r = .22, p > .05$). This was not the case in the reverse. In other words, basic shame was not correlated with internalized values once "maladaptive" shame was partialled out ($r = -.10$). This finding provides some additional support for the notion that the "maladaptive" shame scale may capture variance that reflects an internalized consciousness of how one ought to respond in situations of social comparison or when one's desires conflict with the needs of others. Clearly further work is required to investigate this speculation.

Together, the above partial correlations between the shame scales of the SCEMAS and parenting variables suggested the presence of reciprocal suppression. Similar effects, whereby controlling for one emotion strengthened the observed association for the other scales, also emerged for guilt scales, although overall to a lesser degree. Although it is not possible to pinpoint what the suppression effect represents, one plausible explanation may be that all four scales shared variance in common that was attributable to a generalized self-consciousness, or alternatively a general approach by participants to hypothetical scenarios on the SCEMAS, that white-washed the ability to

observe associations. If this is indeed the case, then accounting for this common effect across scales may have freed suppressed variance, allowing links between scales and study variables to emerge. For the "maladaptive" shame scale, accounting for this effect suggested the possibility that it captured a more functional aspect of moral consciousness previously shown to relate negatively to coercive parenting practices (Kochanska & Aksan, 1995) and, further that the basic shame scale, in the least, may tap general shame.

Consequently, although Pearson correlations did not provide support for the validity of the SCEMAS, partial correlations demonstrated that its scales are differentiable in a reliable and meaningfully way despite considerable shared variance among these factors. Although the precise meaning of these scales remains open to debate, there is some tentative support to suggest that, after controlling for reciprocal suppression noted above, the residual of the basic shame scale does tap variance attributable to shame. Thus, subsequent analyses testing study hypotheses for shame-proneness utilized the residual score for basic shame after controlling for the "maladaptive" shame scale. Shame-proneness in this instance is conceptualized in terms of degree along a continuum rather than by distinguishing between normative and maladaptive forms of the emotion. However, given the inability to proceed with the SCEMAS in a straightforward manner, and a lack of previous empirical evidence to support the current approach, findings using child-report of shame in the current study are deemed exploratory in nature and interpreted with caution.

Test of Study Hypotheses

Pearson correlations were initially evaluated in relation to hypothesized associations between children's shame-proneness and (1) parenting, (2) attachment, and

(3) temperament (Part II through IV). This was followed by hierarchical regressions to test for the combined and interactive effects of parenting, attachment, and temperament in relation to shame-proneness, as well as differences between male and female children in the associations between parenting and shame-proneness (Part V). As Plomin and Daniels (1984) explain, testing for interactions using multiple regression analyses allows for the examination of the joint influence of two factors on a third variable. Therefore, in addition to predicting main effects, the current research investigated how the strength of the relationship between parenting and shame-proneness is modified as a function of attachment and temperament.

In the interest of maximizing statistical power to detect meaningful effects given the relatively small sample size, regressions were conducted separately for each parenting variable.

The first step of each regression included sex and maternal social desirability. In addition to removing variance attributable to positive reporting bias, inclusion of maternal social desirability also allowed statistical control for shared method variance for regressions involving primarily mother reported variables. In addition, in light of findings suggesting the presence of a suppressor effect, exploratory analyses for child-reported shame-proneness using the SCEMAS were conducted using the residual of the basic shame scale after controlling for "maladaptive" shame on the first step of regressions. The second step of each regression included the parenting variable, followed by negative affectivity and attachment on the third step. Interaction terms (i.e., parenting by attachment, parenting by negative affectivity, and parenting by sex) were entered on the final step of each regression. A significant ΔR^2 between the third and fourth steps of the

regressions indicated the presence of moderation. Statistically significant interactions were interpreted using post-hoc procedures advocated by Aiken and West (1991), such that the association between the predictor variable (i.e., parenting) and the outcome variable (i.e., shame-proneness) was estimated by the beta coefficient for the slope at three levels of the moderator (i.e., attachment or negative affectivity); high (one *SD* above the mean), medium (the mean), and low (one *SD* below the mean).

II. What parenting factors, styles, and emotional socialization practices predict individual differences in children's shame-proneness?

Child Reported Shame (SCEMAS)

As previously indicated, Pearson correlations between shame-proneness and love withdrawal, power assertiveness, and focus on the child's negative attributes were positive (see Table 10) as predicted. A positive trend also emerged for conditional approval. Predictions for authoritarian, permissive and authoritative parenting, disgust, humiliation, supportive and unsupportive emotion coaching were not confirmed.

Mother Report on Children's Shame (My Child Shame)

As expected mothers' reports of children's shame-proneness was related to authoritarian parenting, conditional approval, focusing on the negative child attributes, and unsupportive emotion coaching (see Table 8). Trends were also revealed for disgust and love withdrawal. Findings were not confirmed for authoritative parenting, power assertiveness, and humiliation. Contrary to prediction, a positive correlation was identified between supportive emotion coaching and shame-proneness. Also unexpected were the significant correlations between both permissive parenting and mothers' focusing on positive child attributes and shame-proneness.

III. Are children who possess insecure working models of attachment more shame-prone?

Results demonstrated that child reported shame-proneness was negatively related to SAT attachment (i.e., children's tendency to seek the comfort of others in narratives of severe separations from parents), confirming the hypothesized association (see Table 10). Mother- reported ruminative shame, however, did not relate to SAT attachment, although the correlation was in the predicted direction. The positive trend between child-reported shame-proneness and self-reliance, however, was contrary to prediction, whereas the negative association between mother-reported ruminative shame and SAT self-reliance supported hypothesis (see Table 8).

IV. How do children's temperamental characteristics relate to shame-proneness?

Child-reported shame-proneness was unrelated to negative affectivity, failing to support prediction (see Table 10). However, a negative trend did emerge for effortful control as expected, in addition to the positive trend for extroversion. The hypothesized positive association between mother-reported shame-proneness and negative affectivity was confirmed, whereas it was uncorrelated with effortful control (see Table 8). Mother-reported shame-proneness was unrelated to extroversion.

V. Do attachment and/or temperament moderate the relationship between parent variables and shame-proneness? Further, are there sex differences with respect to the association between parenting and shame-proneness?

Hierarchical regressions tested the hypotheses that attachment and negative affectivity would strengthen the observed associations between shame-inducing parenting and shame-proneness. In addition to controlling for sex and social desirability,

differences between males and females in the relation between parenting and shame were tested within these regressions.

Predicting Child-Reported Shame[11] *(SCEMAS) (Table 13)*

Authoritative parenting. The overall equation testing for authoritative parenting was significant, F (9, 54) = 7.02, $p < .01$, allowing for further interpretation of the regression. Although the first step was significant, the covariate of maladaptive shame was the only unique predictor and captured virtually all the variance for the step (sr^2 = .49). The remaining three steps, however, were not significant. Thus, main effects for authoritative parenting, attachment and negative affectivity did not emerge, nor did the latter two variables moderate the relationship between authoritative parenting and shame-proneness.

Given that the first step of each regression is identical in parallel analyses predicting to child reported shame-proneness, these statistics will not be repeated for each of the following regressions to avoid redundancy.

Authoritarian parenting. The overall equation was again significant, F (9, 54) = 8.10, $p < .01$. Other than the first step of the regression, remaining steps were not significant. Again, neither main effects nor moderation were observed.

Permissive parenting. Although the overall regression was significant, F (9, 54) = 12.04, $p < .01$, the main effects on the second and third steps were not. The final step, however, was significant, explaining 7% of the variance for shame-proneness. The only

[11] Although Pearson correlations were not significant, it was reasoned that interaction terms in regression analyses may reveal significant results for parenting variables at high and low levels of attachment and/or temperament. Therefore, regressions were repeated using the composite score for the SCEMAS as the dependent variable, as well as the maladaptive shame scale. Regressions failed to reveal any significant results.

unique predictor for that step was the interaction between permissive parenting and attachment (sr^2 = .03). Thus, attachment moderated the relationship between permissive parenting and shame-proneness, whereas negative affectivity did not. Sex differences were not evident.

Follow-up analyses revealed that at high levels of attachment, the negative association between permissive parenting and shame-proneness was significant (β = -.32, $p < .05$) whereas at mean levels (β = -.11) and low levels (β = -.02) of attachment, permissiveness was unrelated to shame-proneness.

Conditional approval. Again, the overall equation was significant, F (9, 54) = 9.39, $p < .01$, while main effects on the second and third steps were not. Step 4 was significant, explaining 8% variance for shame-proneness. In this case two interactions involving attachment and sex added uniquely to the step.

To follow up the interaction between conditional approval and sex, the regression was re-run separately for boys and for girls. Findings demonstrated that, although the overall regression was significant, F (7, 22) = 3.46, $p < .05$, steps testing for the effects of conditional approval, attachment and negative affectivity, and interactions were not significant for boys: ΔF (1, 26) = 1.53, ΔF (2, 24) = 1.09, and ΔF (2, 22) = .22, respectively. However, interpretation of the significant overall equation for girls, F (7, 26) = 11.22, $p < .01$, revealed significant effects on the second, ΔF (1, 30) = 4.28, and final steps, ΔF (2, 26) = 4.54, p's < .05. The third step containing attachment and negative affectivity was not significant, ΔF (2, 26) = .82. Evaluation of the significant steps revealed a positive relation on the second step whereby conditional approval added 5% variance and an interaction between conditional approval and negative affectivity

explained 7% of the 9% variance on the final step. Thus, in addition to the positive association between conditional approval and shame-proneness, negative affectivity further moderated this relation for girls.

Post-hoc regressions were used to evaluate the moderating effect of negative affectivity for girls. Findings demonstrated that the association between conditional approval and shame-proneness was significant at low levels ($\beta = .59, p < .01$) and mean levels ($\beta = .24, p < .05$) of negative affectivity. At high levels of negative affectivity, however, conditional approval was unrelated to shame-proneness ($\beta = .02$). Thus, both the sex of the child and temperament qualified the association between conditional approval and shame-proneness whereby conditional approval was positively related to shame-proneness for girls, particularly at low and mean levels of negative affectivity.

Disgust. Although the overall equation was significant, $F(9, 54) = 7.45, p < .01$, steps containing main effects and interactions were not. Thus, neither main effects nor moderation were found.

Love withdrawal. In predicting shame-proneness, the overall equation was significant, $F(9, 54) = 10.31, p < .01$, while a positive trend was revealed for love withdrawal on the second step, explaining 2% of the variance. Again, the third step containing attachment and negative affectivity was not significant, while the final step with interaction terms was. The interaction between love withdrawal and attachment was a unique predictor ($sr^2 = .06$) and a trend also emerged for the interaction between love withdrawal and negative affectivity ($sr^2 = .02$). The main effect for love withdrawal remained a trend on the final step of the equation ($\beta = .15, t = 1.69, sr^2 = .02, p < .10$). Thus, in addition to the direct effect between love withdrawal and shame-proneness,

attachment, and to a lesser degree negative affectivity, moderated the observed association.

Follow-up analyses for attachment found that at high levels ($\beta = .42, p < .01$) and mean levels ($\beta = .15, p < .10$) of attachment, love withdrawal was positively related to shame-proneness. This association was not significant at low levels of attachment ($\beta = -.16$).

Although follow-up analyses for the moderating effect of negative affectivity, revealed differences in the strength of the association at different levels of the moderator, these did not achieve significance but the direction of effects were as follows: $\beta = .20$ at low levels of negative affectivity, $\beta = .15$ at mean levels, and $\beta = .06$ at high levels. Thus, findings suggest that the relationship between love withdrawal and shame-proneness becomes stronger as the degree of children's negative affectivity lessens.

Power assertiveness. In addition to the overall regression equation being significant, $F(9, 54) = 11.34, p < .01$, so too was the main effect for power assertiveness on the second step and explained 5% of the variance. Although the third step with main effects for attachment and negative affectivity was not significant, the final step was and shared 7% variance uniquely with shame-proneness. On this step the interaction between attachment and power assertiveness was the only significant unique interaction ($sr^2 = .04$).

Follow-up analyses revealed a significant association between power assertiveness and shame-proneness at high levels ($\beta = .50, p < .05$) and mean levels ($\beta = .24, p < .05$) of attachment. The effect was not significant at low levels of attachment ($\beta =$

.00). Thus, the association between power assertiveness and shame-proneness was moderated by attachment.

Focus on positive child attributes. The overall regression was significant, F (9, 54) = 11.16, $p < .01$, however remaining steps testing main effects and interactions were not significant.

Focus on negative child attributes. In addition to the overall regression being significant, F (9, 54) = 9.31, $p < .01$, focusing on negative attributes of the children showed a positive trend on the second step, explaining 3% of the variance. Although the third step again was not significant, the final step was with the interaction for attachment and parenting adding uniquely to prediction ($sr^2 = .02$). The trend for focusing on the negative child attributes did not remain on the final step ($\beta = -.15$, $t = -.56$, $sr^2 = .00$).

Follow-up analyses demonstrated a positive association between focusing on negative attributes of the child at high ($\beta = .44$, $p < .01$) and mean levels ($\beta = .17$, $p < .10$) of attachment but was not significant at low levels ($\beta = -.10$). Therefore, attachment was again moderated in the association between parenting and shame-proneness, this time with respect to mothers' focus on children's negative attributes.

Mothers' self-focus. Despite the overall equation being significant, F (9, 54) = 7.19, $p < .01$, steps 2 through 4 were not. Therefore, mothers' tendency to attend to the impact that their children's behaviour has for them did not relate to shame-proneness, nor did attachment and temperament influence this association.

Public humiliation. Again, despite the overall equation being significant, F (9, 54) = 7.28, $p < .01$, remaining steps were not. Thus, main effects and moderation were not found.

Supportive emotion coaching. Likewise, the overall equation was significant, F (9, 54) = 7.76, $p < .01$, and the remaining steps were not, indicating that supportive emotion coaching was unrelated to shame-proneness and its effect was not moderated by attachment or temperament.

Unsupportive emotion coaching. Finally, the overall regression predicting shame-proneness was significant, F (9, 54) = 8.97, $p < .01$ and, whereas steps 2 and 3 containing main effects were not, the final step was significant. Unique trends emerged for both the interaction between unsupportive emotion coaching and attachment ($sr^2 = .03$) and unsupportive emotion coaching and sex ($sr^2 = .02$).

To follow-up the sex effect, regressions were run separately for males and females. Findings for girls revealed that, in addition to the significant overall regression, F (7, 26) = 8.35, $p < .01$, the second step of the regression was also significant, ΔF (1, 30) = 7.93, $p < .01$, explaining 9% variance for the positive main effect of unsupportive coaching. However, the final step containing the interaction between unsupportive coaching and attachment was not significant for girls, ΔF (2, 26) = .56. For boys, although the overall regression was significant, F (7, 22) = 4.32, $p < .01$, the step containing the main effect for unsupportive coaching was not, ΔF (1, 26) = .71, nor was the step containing the interaction between attachment and unsupportive coaching, and ΔF (2, 22) = 2.00. It is suspected that, due to the relatively small number of participants, there was insufficient power to detect the potential moderating effect of attachment.

Predicting Mothers' Report of Children's Shame (My Child Shame) (Table 14)

Authoritative parenting. The overall equation predicting shame-proneness was significant, F (8, 55) = 4.00, $p < .01$, whereas the first and second steps were not. The

third step, however, was significant, revealing a unique and negative main effect for attachment (sr^2 = .05) and a unique and positive effect for negative affectivity (sr^2 = .31). The final step with interaction terms was not significant, indicating that attachment and negative affectivity did not moderate authoritative parenting nor were any sex differences apparent.

Given that the first step is identical in each regression predicting mother reported shame-proneness, it will not be repeated for the following analyses to avoid redundancy.

Authoritarian parenting. Again, the overall regression was significant, F (8, 55) = 4.92, $p < .01$, as were the second and third steps. The positive main effect for authoritarian parenting on the second step captured 9% of the variance, while attachment and negative affectivity were both unique predictors and together explained an additional 31% of the variance for shame-proneness. The association for authoritarian parenting remained significant at this step ($\beta = .28$, $t = 2.45$, $sr^2 = .06$, $p < .05$). The final step was not significant. Thus, only main effects for authoritarian parenting, attachment, and negative affectivity were evident.

Permissive parenting. In addition to the overall equation being significant, F (8, 55) = 3.97, $p < .01$, a positive trend emerged for permissive parenting on the second step and explained 5% variance. The third step again was significant, revealing a negative main effect for attachment (sr^2 = .06) and positive main effect for negative affectivity (sr^2 = .28). The association for permissive parenting when considered alongside attachment and temperament on the third step was no longer significant ($\beta = .13$, $t = 1.11$, $sr^2 = .01$). The final step was not significant, therefore, moderation was not found.

Conditional approval. Similarly, the overall regression was significant, F (8, 55) = 4.13, $p < .01$, and a trend emerged for the second step, with conditional approval positively relating to shame-proneness and explaining 5% variance. Again the third step was significant, with unique contributions by both attachment ($sr^2 = .06$) and negative affectivity ($sr^2 = .30$); also, conditional approval remained significant on this step (β = .20, $t = 1.89$, $sr^2 = .04$, $p < .05$). The final step with interactions terms was not significant, again showing that moderation was not present.

Disgust. The overall equation was significant, F (8, 55) = 4.33, $p < .01$, however, the second step containing disgust was not. The third step was significant with main effects of attachment ($sr^2 = .03$, trend, $p < .10$) and negative affectivity ($sr^2 = .33$); further, disgust emerged as a significant unique predictor when considered with attachment and temperament at this step ($\beta = .22$, $t = 1.99$, $sr^2 = .04$, $p < .05$). The final step was not significant. Thus, although main effects were evident for all three domains, attachment and temperament did not moderate the association.

Love withdrawal. In addition to the overall equation, F (8, 55) = 5.32, $p < .01$, the third step containing main effects for attachment and negative affectivity was significant. Interestingly, although love withdrawal was not significant on the second step, it did emerge as significant when considered on the third step with attachment and temperament ($\beta = .24$, $t = 2.27$, $sr^2 = .03$, $p < .05$). Moderation was not identified on the final step which was not significant. Thus, only main effects were found.

Power assertiveness. The overall regression was significant, F (8, 55) = 4.13, $p <$ .01, while the second step was not, failing to demonstrate a main effect for power assertiveness. The third step, however, was significant, not only with main effects

emerging for attachment and temperament, but also with a significant positive trend being revealed for power assertiveness ($\beta = .18$, $t = 1.70$, $sr^2 = .02$, $p < .10$). The final step testing for moderation was not significant. Thus, main effects for attachment, temperament, and power assertive parenting were identified as significant predictors of shame-proneness.

Mothers' focus on positive child attributes. In addition to the overall equation being significant, $F(8, 55) = 4.15$, $p < .01$, the second step revealed a significant positive association whereby focusing on positive child attributes explained 14% variance. The third step was also significant, with attachment and temperament explaining 22% variance above and beyond parenting. Focusing on positive child characteristics continued to be a unique trend when considered together with attachment and temperament on the third step; however, it explained considerably less variance independently ($\beta = .20$, $t = 1.70$, $sr^2 = .03$, $p < .10$). The final step was not significant. Thus, findings revealed main effects for focusing on positive attributes, attachment and negative affectivity, and an absence of moderation.

Mothers' Focus on Negative Child Attributes. Similarly, the overall regression was significant, $F(8, 55) = 4.90$, $p < .01$, as were the second and third steps, with focusing on negative child attributes positively explaining 7% and attachment and negative affectivity 32% variance in shame-proneness. Focusing on negative child attributes remained an independent predictor ($\beta = .25$, $t = 2.44$, $sr^2 = .06$, $p < .05$) along with attachment and temperament on the third step. The final step with interactions was not significant, thus moderation was not evident.

Mothers' Self-Focus. The overall regression equation was significant, F (8, 55) = 4.47, $p < .01$. The second and final steps were not significant. The third step with attachment and negative affectivity was again significant, explaining 32% of the variance for shame-proneness.

Public Humiliation. Parallel to the findings reported above, the overall equation was significant, F (8, 55) = 4.28, $p < .01$, with the third step with attachment and negative affectivity being the only significant one to emerge.

Supportive Emotion Coaching. The overall equation was significant, F (8, 55) = 4.02, $p < .01$, as was the second step, demonstrating a positive main effect for supportive emotion coaching that explained 8% variance in shame-proneness. The third step was again significant, with attachment and negative affectivity explaining a total of 26% variance above and beyond parenting. The main effect for supportive emotion coaching became nonsignificant at this step ($\beta = .13$, $t = 1.12$, $sr^2 = .01$). The final step was not significant, thus moderation was not present.

Unsupportive Emotion Coaching. The overall regression was significant, F (8, 55) = 4.66, $p < .01$, as was the second step with unsupportive emotion coaching explaining 7% of the variance for shame-proneness. Likewise, the third step was significant, with main effects for attachment ($sr^2 = .04$) and negative affectivity ($sr^2 = .30$) while the final step was again not significant. Unsupportive coaching remained a significant unique predictor on the third step ($\beta = .23$, $t = 2.17$, $sr^2 = .05$, $p < .05$).

Discussion

The central purpose of the present research was to investigate how parenting relates to children's shame-proneness in the early elementary school years. Doing so

required establishing whether the maladaptive, ruminative affective organization underlying shame-proneness could be differentiated from more normative and functional shame, as well as from its closely related cousin, guilt. Furthermore, to advance understanding of shame-proneness, the current study considered the joint contribution of temperament and the relational context of attachment.

Formulation of hypotheses relied upon previous conceptualizations from the development literature on shame-proneness, as well as extant research on the links between parenting and shame. Findings suggested that mothers were able to differentiate shame-proneness from other self-conscious affect in their 6- to 8-year-olds, and results pointed to an additive model that included several indices of parenting, attachment, and temperament in the understanding of children's shame-proneness (see Figure 1). Results using child self-reported self-conscious emotions were less straightforward and may be attributable to limitations with measurement used in the current study. However, post-hoc analyses identified the presence of a suppressor effect that, once accounted for, revealed findings for child reported shame-proneness that in several instances diverged from mothers' perceptions of their children's emotions and suggested a more complex, and at times counter-intuitive, set of interactions between domains (see Figure 2). Due to the exploratory nature of the analyses conducted for children's report of shame-proneness, caution is urged in drawing conclusions based on this set of results. Specific findings for each domain are explicated in the following discussion.

Differentiating Shame-proneness from Other Self-conscious Emotions

The current research utilized two methods for measuring children's self-conscious emotions – one based on maternal perceptions (My Child Shame and Guilt; Ferguson et

al., 1997) and the other based on child self-report in response to hypothetical scenarios (SCEMAS; Stegge & Ferguson, 1994). Despite predictable overlap between mother-reported self-conscious emotions, each scale captured sufficient independent variance to support distinctions between normative and ruminative forms of shame and guilt. Child-reported shame-proneness, however, proved to be highly correlated with and less readily distinguishable from other self-conscious emotions. Although children responded to the measure in a highly reliable manner, Pearson correlations between the SCEMAS scales and study variables, including mother report of self-conscious emotions, were largely nonsignificant. At least in part, this appeared to be due to the presence of reciprocal suppression between scales. Interestingly, once the effect of suppression was accounted for between shame scales, the residual for the scale originally constructed to capture the maladaptive shame appeared to be associated with interpersonal sensitivity or some general aspect of moral consciousness when one's own self-interest conflict with the needs and feelings of others. It is also noted that the residual variance for this scale negatively related to coercive parenting factors in a manner that paralleled previous research findings for negative associations between moral consciousness and nonoptimal parenting practices (Kochanska & Aksan, 1995). Conversely, the residual for the basic shame scale positively related to several study variables in a predictable way. Therefore it was reasoned that this shame scale may indeed capture variance attributable to shame, although it was not possible to determine whether it categorically represented normative versus pathological shame. Thus, the residual score for shame was evaluated along a continuum from lesser to greater shame-proneness.

Nevertheless, the above speculations regarding the nature of the variance partialled from the SCEMAS scales and the interpretation of residuals that remained were verifiable using the current data set. Thus, for example, although it was hypothesized that the suppressed variance identified was due to a general self-consciousness in response to hypothetical scenarios presented that masked associations between scales and study variables, it is also possible that common variance related to negative self-conscious emotions vital to the current investigation was removed. Future research that includes a sample large enough to investigate the underlying structure of the SCEMAS using factor analytic procedures, as well as an established measure of general self-consciousness, will help to clarify some of these issues. Until then, caution in the interpretation of the SCEMAS and findings based on it in the current study is warranted.

In addition to the measurement concerns mentioned previously, several methodological issues may help to explain the discrepancy between mother and child report, including the different perspective, focus, understanding, beliefs, attitudes, and experiences of different informants (i.e., mothers and children). As external observers, mothers were presented with the challenge of inferring children's internal states largely based on behavioural correlates of shame. Certainly, individual differences in mothers' ability to attune to and have insight into their children's internal states, as well as individual differences in the clarity of children's emotional expression and motivation to mask emotional responses, present challenges in the measurement of emotions, and of self-conscious affect in particular. Nevertheless, mother report of young children's guilt versus shame has been found to systematically relate to observational measures of guilt-related and shame-related behaviour in response to a social infraction (Barrett et al.,

1993). Additional issues relate to developmental factors in the differentiation between self-conscious emotions by early elementary school, including between adaptive and maladaptive forms of shame. As previously noted, between ages 5 and 8 children shift from focusing on the outcome of an action as good or bad, to consideration of how others might respond, and finally to their own internalized reaction to their own behaviour (Harris, 1989). Therefore, it is possible that the current sample was in the process of undergoing this yet to be completed developmental transition. Normative developmental factors are also important to consider in light of the substantial emotional-cognitive demands placed on children asked to engage at a sophisticated level of introspection in order to report on how they would feel based on hypothetical scenarios and in a manner that distinguishes between a complex set of related emotions. As a result, it is difficult to determine: (1) the extent to which suppression was operating and the sensitivity of the SCEMAS in identifying and distinguishing between self-conscious emotions for 6- to 8-year-olds, (2) the degree of children's emotional differentiation and organization with respect to self-conscious affect at this stage of development, and (3) the validity of children's self-report of emotions using hypothetical scenarios as it relates to their actual affective responses in day-to-day situations.

Thus, the current research provided validity data for the use of mother-report of shame-proneness by early elementary school, extending previous evidence on reliable individual difference in shame-proneness by middle childhood downward (Tangney et al., 1995). However, challenges in readily drawing clear boundaries between child self-report of self-conscious emotions using the SCEMAS awaits replication and future efforts that address whether this is the result of methodological versus natural

developmental phenomenon in the unfolding of children's emotional organization. In the mean time, some tentative evidence was provided for children's emerging ability to self-report on their self-conscious emotions and was used to explore hypothesized associations with temperament, attachment, and parenting factors.

The role of temperament and attachment

In addition to investigating the associations between parenting and shame-proneness, the current study considered the role of temperament and attachment, each representing innate and relational resources important in affect regulation. A growing body of literature points to the importance of accounting for the joint influence of both parent and child factors in understanding children's development (e.g., Ladd, 1996; Lollis & Kuczynski, 1997). Thus, efforts to explain the emergence of trait-like emotional organizations such as shame-proneness, must consider the joint influence of innate child characteristics, socialization, and attachment. Doing so requires consideration of both main effects, as well as interactions, in trying to account for the reciprocal nature of the parent-child relationship.

Temperament is viewed as a dispositional characteristic inherent to the individual and has been noted for its importance in children's developmental trajectories (Caspi et al., 1995; Deater-Deckard et al., 1998; Guerin et al., 1997; Eisenberg et al., 2001; Fox & Henderson, 1999; Hastings, Rubin, & DeRose, 2005; Rubin, Burgess, & Hastings, 2002; Serbin & Stack, 1998). Present findings revealed that mothers' perception of their children's shame-proneness related strongly to negative affectivity, but was unrelated to extroversion and effortful control. However, for child-reported shame-proneness the strength of the correlations fell short of achieving significance for all three broad

temperament scales, although a negative trend for effortful control and a positive trend for extroversion were revealed. Thus, main effects predicted for temperament were generally supported, although this was contingent upon the informant of shame-proneness.

As anticipated, negative affectivity, characterized by a tendency toward distress (fear, frustration/anger, sadness) and accompanying difficulty in being soothed, was associated with shame-proneness (mother-report). Developmental researchers have consistently demonstrated the increased risk of negative emotionality and children's adjustment problems, including both internalizing and externalizing symptoms (Lonigan et al., 2004; Muris & Ollendick, 2005; Olsen et al., 2005). Past research investigating relations between temperament and self-conscious emotions, however, found positive associations for a composite score of guilt/shame and both negative affectivity and effortful control (Rothbart et al., 1994). Findings from this previous study parallel current results for mother's report on children's guilt. Thus, it is argued that the composite factor used in this previous research failed to differentiate between self-conscious emotions and may have captured variance more closely associated with guilt. This discrepancy highlights the importance of efforts aimed at clearly delineating shame from other self-conscious emotions in order to gain more precise and accurate understanding of its development and outcomes.

The negative trend between shame-proneness and effortful control suggests that greater difficulty responding to verbal instruction and in regulating behaviour in accordance may increase the risk of shame-proneness, perhaps due to the increased likelihood of encountering disapproval, punishment, and frustration in achieving

compliance and success. Although a hypothesis was not advanced, it is conjectured that the positive trend for extroversion and shame-proneness may involve extroverted children's tendency toward high intensity pleasure seeking, greater dependence on external reinforcement, higher levels of activity and impulsivity, potentially leading to more conflictual dynamics. The positive correlations between extroversion and several coercive parenting factors (i.e., conditional approval, love withdrawal, power assertiveness, and focus on negative child characteristics) provides some support for this notion. Although the finding for effortful control is consistent with prediction, replication of these findings with a larger sample is required to achieve sufficient power to detect smaller effects and to also determine the stability of these two trends.

Given the cross-sectional nature of the current data, it is not possible to infer the direction of these effects. Thus, it is possible that children's shame-proneness exacerbates their tendency toward negative emotionality, and perhaps overwhelming feelings of shame interfere with the ability to attend to and comply with expectations or higher levels of dysregulated and attention seeking behaviour. Future research using longitudinal designs are needed to reveal the direction in which these factors influence one another.

Results for attachment indices revealed that children's tendency to seek out others in narratives of stressful separations from parents was negatively correlated with child-reported shame-proneness, thus supporting the hypothesis. Although the first order correlation was not significant for maternal report of children's shame-proneness, when considered alongside temperament in regression analyses, it was also negatively related to attachment (see below for elaboration). Understandably, if children form representations of others as unavailable, unresponsive, and/or rejecting, and of one's self

as unlovable they may be less likely to seek comfort in connection with others to resolve their feelings of separation distress (Bowlby, 1973, 1988; Main et al., 1985). A failure to effectively use interpersonal relationships as a way of regulating one's distress may perpetuate vulnerable feelings of being unwanted and shameful, particularly in relation to one's attachment needs. Although a strategy of not turning to others may be optimal in the context of unsupportive or hostile others, fear of rejection may contribute to a vicious cycle whereby shame-proneness blocks the individual from seeking the reassurance and resolution of painful affect on the one hand, while self-protective isolation serves to confirm a sense of being unlovable and reinforces a propensity to feel shame, on the other hand.

Although securely attached children exhibit a willingness to seek comfort in interpersonal relationships during highly stressful situations, they are also expected to be capable of exercising autonomy and effective self-regulation during relatively less stressful experiences (Bowlby, 1973, 1998). Thus, it is not surprising that self-reliance during milder separations was negatively related to mother-report of children's shame-proneness. The conflicting finding in which self-reliance was positively related to child-reported shame-proneness is more difficult to interpret but may be complicated by measurement issues involving (1) a failure in clearly distinguishing healthy autonomy from compulsive self-reliance (discussed further under the limitations of the current study), (2) limitations of the child measure of shame-proneness, and/or (3) the presence of bypassed shame specifically in relation to attachment needs. In the latter instance, children who are shame-prone may be attempting to blunt their unresolved feelings of shame associated with negative attachment experiences by 'going it alone' and protecting

against potential rejection as witnessed in the attachment behaviour of avoidantly attachment youngsters (Grossmann & Grossmann, 1991). Defensive exclusion, involving memory blocking and emotion substitution, in an effort to escape painful feelings and anxiety is a process hypothesized to relate to bypassed shame (H.B. Lewis, 1971).

There remains an absence of research testing relations between self-conscious emotions and attachment in childhood. However, results from the adult literature show a secure attachment style to be negatively related to shame-proneness and preoccupied and fearful-avoidant styles (both sharing in common a negative IWM of self) as positively related to shame-proneness (Gross & Hansen, 2000; Lopez et al., 1997). Interestingly, dismissive-avoidant attachment, which involves a defensive approach to maintaining a positive sense of self, was unrelated to shame-proneness. Discrete Emotions Theory posits that emotionally salient attachment experiences over time are structuralized in personality as emotional traits (Consedine & Magai, 2003; Magai & McFadden 1995). Insecure IWMs are seen as presenting a risk factor in the experience of unresolved shame over one's worthiness and competence. Avoidantly insecure children attempt to minimize affect and bypass feelings of shame through defensive exclusion of upsetting events and affect, both consciously and unconsciously, which presents significant methodological challenges to measurement (Bowlby, 1998; Cassidy, 1994). Nevertheless, this defensive organization would be expected to downplay the need for others to regulate distress. Conversely, ambivalently attached youngsters use a strategy of maximizing affective expression in an attempt to procure responsiveness from their caregiver; this strategy is expected to relate to a decreased ability to rely on the self even in situations that are mildly stressful. Thus, findings generally support the hypothesized negative link between

the ability to appropriately balance one's needs for connectedness and autonomy underlying attachment security and shame-proneness for children in early elementary school.

Based on conceptual reasons as well as previous empirical findings, negative affectivity and attachment (turning to others for comfort during stressful separations from parents) were highlighted as being of particular interest for advancing current understanding of shame-proneness. Therefore, both this innate disposition toward negative emotionality and the internal representation of the attachment relationship were considered in conjunction with parenting to test their joint contribution, as well as their potential as moderators of parenting.

Thomas and Chess (1977) proposed a goodness of fit model that considers the interactions between child and parenting factors to explain why some children with difficult temperament have positive outcomes while others do not. Results of analyses predicting mother-reported shame-proneness suggested a main effects model in which negative affectivity and attachment added to the explanation of shame-proneness above and beyond the contribution of significant parenting factors alone. Interestingly, a suppressor effect appeared to be operating whereby, in accounting for the variance explained by temperament, variance from the attachment scale demonstrated a negative association with shame-proneness as originally predicted. It is speculated that in accounting for the variance of shame-proneness shared with children's negative affectivity, the relationship between attachment and shame-proneness was allowed to emerge. Thus, rather than qualifying the associations between parenting and children's shame-proneness as reported by mothers, negative affectivity and a failure to view others

as a source of comfort each contributed independently and directly to the explanation of mothers' perceptions of their children's shame-proneness. This is consistent with previous findings on the direct and additive influence of parenting and temperament on child outcomes (Rothbart & Bates, 1998). Conversely, children play an active role in constructing and co-constructing their interpersonal experiences, including influencing parental behaviour. Thus, it may be that children who are more shame-prone are less likely to elicit sensitivity and responsiveness from others necessary for establishing secure attachment; further, their shame-proneness may exacerbate their negative emotionality and preoccupation with their internal distress. Certainly, these interpretations are not taken to be mutually exclusive, and although not testable in the current study, it is likely that complex and dynamic processes of reciprocal and bi-directional effects are continuously operating within the parent-child dyad.

Analyses testing for the joint and moderating effects of both negative affectivity and attachment in relation to child-reported shame-proneness revealed several notable findings. Although the direct effect of both temperament and attachment was not present, the degree of children's negative affectivity qualified the positive associations for both conditional approval and to a lesser extent love withdrawal. Likewise, attachment interacted with several parenting indices (i.e., permissiveness, love withdrawal, power assertiveness, focusing on negative child attributes, and unsupportive emotion coaching) in predicting child-reported shame-proneness. The details of these moderating influences are discussed more specifically in the following section. In general, however, rather than contributing in an additive way as observed for maternal report, results demonstrated that negative affectivity and attachment contributed to the understanding of shame-proneness

indirectly through their interaction with parenting factors. However, significant interactions did not support a vulnerability model for the understanding of shame-proneness, both with respect to temperament and attachment. Rather, lower levels of negative affectivity and higher degrees of attachment behaviour seemed to amplify the association between several coercive parenting factors and shame-proneness. These results diverge from previous findings on the greater adverse impact of hostile and coercive parenting for temperamentally vulnerable children (e.g., Morris et al., 2002; Rubin et al., 1998). The counter-intuitive nature of these findings, limitations already mentioned regarding the current index of child-reported shame-proneness and, thus, the exploratory nature of these analyses again suggest that findings be interpreted with appropriate caution.

General Parenting Styles

The anticipated positive association between authoritarian parenting and mother report of children's shame-proneness was supported; however a significant result did not emerge for child-reported shame-proneness. The punitive, hostile, and intrusive control that characterizes authoritarian parenting has been noted for its failure to foster a sense of self-efficacy, to encourage children's emerging independence, and security in the attachment relationship (Karavasilis, Doyle, & Markiewicz, 2003). Thus, authoritarian parenting is interpreted as contributing to children's negative self-orientation and vulnerability to shame-proneness when confronted by situations of failure, transgression, or mishap. Findings from the current research are consistent with results from a recent study using a different methodology with a sample of girls during early childhood (Mills, 2003). Authoritarian parenting (measured using a parent Q-sort) of 3-year-olds predicted

greater shame-proneness (measured using an observational paradigm) at age 5, with a stronger effect when both parents demonstrated this domineering style. Results are also consistent with adult retrospective findings of the link between having experienced parenting that was demanding, overly controlling, and lacking warmth and greater shame-proneness (Lutwak & Ferrari, 1997). Authoritarian parents place a high demand on obedience and conformity, are insensitive and unresponsiveness to children's individual needs, and are rejecting and/or punitive when children fall short of expectation. As such, it is argued that authoritarian parenting fails to provide empathic mirroring highlighted as critical in the development of children's emerging autonomy, competence, and positive identity development (e.g., Erikson, 1963; Kohut, 1971).

Contrary to prediction, a positive correlation was observed between permissiveness and mothers' reports of their children's shame-proneness, however, the effect did not remain significant when considered alongside attachment and negative affectivity. Nevertheless, the unexpected direction of this finding may be understood as resulting from the impact of shame-proneness in evoking leniency and/or feelings of helplessness from mothers in their efforts to manage their shame-prone child. Alternatively, failure to be appropriately attentive, self-assured, and firm in following through with limits may fail to inspire confidence in the parent and/or may convey to the child a sense of being under-valued and uncared for. This is consistent with Kohut's notion of the importance of viewing the caregiver as powerful and competent, in addition to receiving positive mirroring, for the development of a coherent and positive sense of self that is less prone to shame (1971, 1972, 1977).

Interestingly, children's shame-proneness as reported by mothers was positively related to both permissive and authoritarian parenting as noted above. This combination of nonoptimal parenting strategies may represent an inconsistent and misattuned style of parenting highlighted as particularly detrimental to child development (Pettit, 2004), including children's self-confidence in their emerging autonomy and preoccupation with the responsiveness of caregiver. As a result, their sense of self-worth and confidence in attaining nurturance and protection may be undermined, thereby, increasing their vulnerability to develop shame-proneness.

Although a main effect for permissive parenting was not revealed for child-reported shame-proneness, attachment interacted with this lax parenting style, demonstrating a negative relation between permissiveness and shame-proneness (in line with prediction) but only at high levels of attachment. Thus, it appears that children who are overindulged and are not provided with clear and firm limits, are less likely to exhibit a propensity to feel shame when they are also highly likely to seek comfort from others to sooth their distress. Given the negative association as opposed to a lack of association, it is conceivable that this link may be mediated by a failure to make internal attributions or to appropriately internalize a sense of consequence or accountability for their missteps, thereby, exhibiting a deficit in the feelings of shame. Alternatively, it may be that at high levels of attachment, children are more inclined to internalize their parents' values and standards - in this case a more laissez-faire attitude. However, given the cross-sectional nature of the current study, the direction of associations implied by these interpretations is tentative and will require further investigation using a longitudinal design that also examines the role of internalized standards.

The hypothesis for a negative link between authoritative parenting and shame-proneness was not confirmed for both child and mother report. Interestingly, this optimal parenting style was uniquely related to maternal report of children's normative guilt, an emotion noted for its adaptive qualities (Barrett, 1995; Tangney, 1998). Guilt focuses on one's behaviour, the impact of one's actions on others, and motivates empathy and reparation in response to transgressions or mishap. This contrasts with the profile for shame, which is characterized by a focus on one's self as flawed and unlovable, motivating a desire to hide. Parenting that involves high degrees of warmth and acceptance, affirmation of children's autonomy, while setting clear limits without resorting to coercive measures conveys to the child a sense of being loved and valued. This finding is consistent with research pointing to authoritative parenting as the most effective parenting style for promoting a secure parent-child relationship (Karavasilis et al., 2003), the internalization of standards (Barrett, 1995; Baumrind, 1991), and better adjustment outcomes. Guilt and internalization has also been positively related to warm and close parent-child relationships (Kochanska & Aksan, 1995).

Parenting Behaviour

Conditional approval, love withdrawal, power assertiveness, and focus on negative attributes. In addition to evaluating relations between general parenting styles and shame-proneness, consideration was given to several specific parenting factors noted in the developmental literature as particularly relevant to the induction of shame. In support of hypotheses, positive associations were revealed for both child- and mother-reported shame-proneness and several parenting factors, including: conditional approval, love withdrawal, power assertiveness, and mothers' focus on their children's negative

attributes (although the main effect for the latter variable and child-reported shame dropped out when considered jointly with negative affectivity and attachment). These results are consistent with findings from a study with early elementary school children using an observational measure of parenting and narrative task to measure children's shame-proneness (Ferguson & Stegge, 1995). Findings using this different methodology demonstrated that hostile emotional expression (i.e., love withdrawal, power assertiveness, and anger) and disappointment focused on the child's personal qualities that were not amenable to change were positively linked to children's shame-proneness. It is noteworthy that these types of coercive parenting strategies have been shown to be the least effective for the internalization of standards and for gaining compliance over the long-term (Zahn-Waxler et al., 1979).

As with authoritarian parenting, it is argued that socialization that relies on coercive parenting practices for gaining compliance (i.e., conditional approval, ridicule, criticism, threat of punishment, emotional and physical abandonment) fails to empathically mirror the child as a whole rather than as a collection of parts. As such, it increases the child's awareness of the perceptions of the self from the vantage point of their caregiver as lacking, deficient, substandard, or unlovable, thereby provoking persistent feelings of inferiority and fear of abandonment (Horney, 1950; Kohut, 1971, 1972, 1977). Placing contingencies on the child's acceptability or lovability fails to instil a sense of being "good enough" and of inherent worthiness in the eyes of their mother (Winnicott, 1965). As Lewis explains, shame is induced by a "loss of face" that can result from instances of failure, defeat, invasion of privacy, ridicule, and rejection that threaten the parent-child bond and exacerbate feelings of shame due to insecurity surrounding

one's inherent lovability and responsiveness of the caregiver (H.B. Lewis, 1987). Parental rejection can be aimed at the child's global self or limited to specific characteristics; in either case it fails to instil feelings of acceptance and self-worth (Karen, 1998). Attribution theory further contends that negative attributions conveyed by caregivers through these practices may be internalized by children as negative global and/or stable attributions regarding aspects of the self that are not amenable to change and therefore may contribute to irresolvable shame (Lindsay-Hartz et al., 1995; Tangney, 1992). Thus, although from a functionalist perspective shame may be adaptive in communicating deference to regain connection with significant others and/or motivate avoidance to protect against exposure and risk of harm to one's self, its adaptive value may be limited by the extent to which repetitive and chronic experiences of shame result in a more fixed emotional organization that supports the development of a subsequent trait-like disposition to shame. However, given the correlational nature of the data, direction of effects can not be determined and, therefore, findings may indicate that children who are shame-prone reinforce and/or evoke coercive reactions inherent in these parenting strategies. Certainly, some parents may exploit the power of this affect to gain power and/or to influence child behaviour. Although it is likely that bi-directional and transactional relations are operating, future research using longitudinal designs will help to elucidate these issues.

In addition to these direct associations, moderating effects of temperament and attachment in the explanation of child-reported shame-proneness were identified. Both temperament and the gender of the child qualified the effect for conditional approval. Specifically, the positive association between conditional approval and shame-proneness

held only for girls and, in particular, at low to moderate levels but not high levels of negative affectivity. Thus, rather than exacerbating the association between conditional approval and shame-proneness as expected, higher degrees of negative affectivity dampened the impact of conditional approval on shame. One possible explanation for this counter-intuitive finding is that at lower levels of negative emotionality, girls more readily attend to and/or internalize the potentially shaming and sometimes subtle messages inherent in their parents' use of conditional approval whereas children who are more emotionally dysregulated to begin with may not experience the same level of attunement to and consequent impact of these messages. It is also conceivable that the impact of conditional approval exerts a less powerful influence on inducing shame for children who are already highly emotionally reactive. Although the current study did not find that girls were more shame-prone than boys, it appears that there may be some differences in socialization practices and the meaning they have for boys and girls. It has been argued that shame may be more related to a negative ideal or "anti-ideal" whereby the individual perceives herself as being who she does not wish to be as opposed to failing to achieve some higher ideal self (Lindsay-Hartz, 1984; Lindsay-Hartz et al., 1995). It is plausible that socialization pressures for girls to be compliant and to please others increases their vulnerability to shame when confronted with conditional approval. Such differences in sex role socialization in the prediction of shame-proneness have previously been hypothesized, including a failure of studies to include factors that may be more relevant for shame induction in boys (e.g., physical weakness vs. interpersonal insensitivity) (Ferguson, Eyre, & Ashbaker, 2000; Mills, 2005)

Although the moderating effect of negative affectivity was not powerful enough to achieve significance, a pattern emerged for love withdrawal parallel to that of conditional approval. Specifically, movement along a continuum toward greater negative affectivity appeared to minimize the association between love withdrawal and child-reported shame-proneness. The direct effect of love withdrawal, however, continued to contribute to the explanation of shame-proneness. It is anticipated that with a larger sample that power may have been sufficient to achieve a significant result for moderation, however, confidence in whether this effect is enhanced for children lower in negative emotionality awaits replication using a larger sample size. If this is the case, as argued above, children who are more even tempered in terms of their negative emotionality may be generally more attuned to parental communication, whether positive or negative, and therefore may be more likely to internalize these messages into their feelings of self-worth and proneness to shame. Children already highly emotionally dysregulated, however, may experience less of a differential impact of such strategies in predicting shame-proneness. Nevertheless, love withdrawal in and of itself was found to contribute directly to the understanding of shame-proneness, likely due to increasing insecurity regarding one's inherent lovability and fear of rejection.

In addition to temperament, the moderating effect of attachment was also observed for love withdrawal, power assertiveness, and mothers' focus on negative child attributes on child-reported shame-proneness. In each case, the link between parenting and shame-proneness was stronger at high and moderate levels of attachment. Thus, the more likely children were to seek the comfort of others in constructing narratives of stressful parent-child separations, the more shame-prone they were in relation to these

coercive parenting behaviours. In addition to these moderating effects, the direct effects for love withdrawal and power assertiveness continued to add independently to the understanding of shame-proneness, whereas the association for mothers' focus on negative child attributes was fully mediated by attachment.

Although the moderating effect of attachment operated in the reverse direction of what was anticipated, it is conceivable that children who exhibit secure IWMs of attachment are more attuned to their attachment figures and more readily internalize the messages conveyed by threats of having love withdrawn, being overpowered, and having attention focused on their flaws. Indeed, securely attached children have been found to more readily internalize the values and standards of their caregivers, perhaps increasing their vulnerability to messages conveyed by them (Barrett & Nelson-Goens, 1997; Matas et al., 1978; Stayton et al., 1971). In contrast, children who scored lower in attachment (i.e., less likely to seek support from others in narratives of separation distress) may have developed an adaptive strategy for protecting against hurtful experiences by limiting exposure to potentially insensitive attachment figures. This defensive style has been highlighted as an adaptive strategy underlying avoidant attachment that attempts to minimize rejection and negativity of the attachment figure (Cassidy, 1994; Grossmann & Grossmann, 1991). Alternatively, it is possible that the measure of attachment used in the current study did not adequately separate out the overly preoccupied and enmeshed attachment style characteristic of anxiously attached children. If it is the case that the Separation Anxiety Test attachment scale taps variance attributable to overly dependent/insecure attachment, the moderation effect may suggest that the impact of love withdrawal, power assertiveness, and attention to the child's negative attributes on

shame-proneness is aggravated when children are more anxiously dependent and insecure. Clearly this conjecture requires further study.

A link between mothers' focus on positive child attributes was not hypothesized, however, exploratory findings revealed a positive association for maternal report of children's shame-proneness. However, this association was reduced to a trend in the context of regressions. Nevertheless, it is conjectured that although the focus and intention is positive, this parenting behaviour may emphasize achievement of high standards in a way that pressures the child to meet up to parental expectations and/or contributes to apprehension in children of being objectified more generally. Failure to meet up to parental expectations and desires may be experienced as falling short in the eyes of their mothers and contribute to feelings of shame. Interestingly, both positive and negative global feedback can convey a message of contingent self-worth that fosters self-blame in the face of failure and, thereby, increases vulnerability to shame. Support of this idea comes from a study with 5- and 6-year-olds that showed when praise or criticism was directed at the child's person, youngsters were more likely to blame themselves in response to failure compared to those that children who were given ongoing feedback that focused on their efforts and strategies (Kamins & Dweck, 1999). However, an alternate interpretation for this finding is that mothers may also be responding to their children's shame-proneness and painful affect by attempting to reassure and increase their children's sense of self-worth by highlighting their positive traits. This interpretation is also highlighted below for supportive emotion coaching.

Disgust and public humiliation. The hypothesis for disgust was only partially supported. Although child-reported shame-proneness was unrelated to disgust, a positive

relation emerged for mothers' perception of their children's shame-proneness. Disgust is a direct and intense form of rejection, communicating to the other that they are not only unacceptable but that they are vile and abhorrent. Thus, it is not surprising that it would be associated with shame-proneness. It is interesting to consider that the direction may also operate in the reverse, whereby some mothers may respond to their shame-prone children in an intensely rejecting manner.

Public humiliation, however, did not relate to either child or mother reported shame-proneness. It was predicted that this coercive strategy, like disgust, by its very nature would relate to shame-proneness by directly imbuing in the child with a sense of worthless and unacceptability. Two possible interpretations are offered to explain the null finding. One possibility is that the intense negativity of humiliation may result in defensive exclusion described previously. Alternatively, it is plausible that mothers' active efforts to humiliate their children in front of others may be perceived as so extreme that children fail to ascribe self-blame for their caregivers reaction but rather may project such negative attributions and feelings toward the parent. However, the above is purely conjecture and not verifiable in the current study.

Supportive and Unsupportive Emotion Coaching

Parallel to the finding for mothers' focus on positive child attributes, a direct effect for supportive responding on children's negative emotions did not emerge in relation to child-reported shame-proneness and, counter to hypothesis, a positive association was observed for mothers' report of shame-proneness. Although, it is possible that mothers' tendency to focus on and attend to children's negative emotions, including shame, may serve to reinforce and amplify these emotional states, it is more likely that

mothers who perceive their children as highly shame-prone feel compelled to respond to their children's distress in a supportive and compassionate fashion (e.g., attempt to understand, soothe, validate, problem solve). Although findings of parental support in response to preschoolers' negative affect predicted children's emotional awareness, trust in their emotions, social competence, emotion regulation and problem solving ability (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1994; Eisenberg et al., 1992; Gottman et al., 1996, 1997), results for older children have produced inconsistent findings and may require investigation into developmental transitions and changes in the meaning of parental behaviours (Eisenberg, 2002). Future studies with greater power to test curvilinear effects between rewarding or supportive emotion coaching are needed to determine whether moderate, high, or low levels yield different outcomes. Such a relation has been found for rewarding practices and social competence (Roberts & Strayer, 1987). It will also be important for such efforts to consider the manner in which emotional expression is encouraged (e.g., in a contained versus unbridled way) and confidence expressed by parents in their child's own ability to regulate and cope with affect. Given the cross sectional nature of the current study, teasing apart the direction of these effects was not possible. It is noteworthy that when considered in conjunction with temperament, the link between supportive emotion coaching and shame-proneness did not remain significant. This suggests that children's negative affectivity may prevail as a more powerful factor in understanding children's shame-proneness than is the potential role of supportive emotion coaching. In fact, the overlap in variance between supportive emotion coaching and shame-proneness may be due to common variance shared with children's temperament.

It was hypothesized that unsupportive responses to children's negative emotions would be positively related to children's shame-proneness; this was confirmed in relation to maternal report of children's shame-proneness. So, it appears that a failure to provide effective parenting that allows the child "to be understood instead of punished, to express anger and not be rejected, to complain and be taken seriously, to be frightened and not have one's fear trivialized, to be depressed or unhappy and feel taken care of, to express self-doubt and feel listened to and not judged" (Karen, 1998, p. 247) was related to greater shame-proneness. Such experiences have been conceptualized as being for later childhood what sensitive responsiveness to a baby's cries and other distress signals are for infancy (Karen, 1998).

Results were more complex for children's self-reported shame with a different pattern emerging for boys and girls. A direct and positive association was identified between unsupportive emotion coaching and shame-proneness for girls. Unsupportive emotion coaching has been found to amplify emotion through minimizing, noninstrumental, negative attitude, and parent distress and to undermine the child's ability to learn how to effectively regulate their emotions (Denham et al., 1997; Gross & Levenson, 1993). From the adult literature, low levels of expressive encouragement has also been linked to greater shame-proneness (Pulakos, 1996).

These findings add to growing evidence on differences in the socialization of boys and girls and in the meaning of these practices for their adjustment outcomes (e.g., Pomerantz & Ruble, 1998). For example, in addition to girls receiving more parental criticism and boys more positive evaluations, a study comparing maltreated and nonmaltreated youngsters revealed that maltreated girls scored highest and maltreated

boys lowest in shame-proneness (Alessandri & Lewis, 1993, 1996). It remains an open question whether boys who receive unempathic responses to their negative emotions learn to mask their feelings in an attempt to bypass shame. A dismissive style of viewing emotions as negative, invalid, and inappropriate has been found for children who experience unsupportive reactions to their negative emotions (Gottman et al., 1996, 1997). Punitive parental responding to children's negative emotions also has been associated with learning to gradually mask emotion (Buck, 1994). Alternatively, boys who experience an unempathic response to their emotional expression may fail to develop self-conscious affect more generally.

Limitations and Future Directions

Overall, findings suggest that parenting, attachment, and temperament are all critical factors that were meaningfully related to shame-proneness for 6- to 8-year-old children. Results for direct associations were generally consistent with the theoretical literature and empirical findings on the correlates of shame at different ages. Nevertheless, an area of concern involves measurement issues related to the SCEMAS measure of self-conscious emotions. As mentioned previously, the degree to which emotional organization and the ability to self-report about self-conscious emotions using hypothetical scenarios is developed by 6 to 8 years of age remains somewhat unclear. Although post-hoc analyses provided some justification for use of the SCEMAS as a measure of shame-proneness, findings are exploratory due to some reservations regarding the validity of the scales. In light of the high correlation among its scales, the lack of correlation with mother-report of children's self-conscious emotions, how to interpret scales after controlling for the presence of a suppressor effect, and counter-intuitive

interaction effects, further work is required to clarify these developmental and methodological issues. Differences, at least in part, are likely to be attributable to different perspectives of child versus mother reporters (e.g., focus, attitudes, beliefs, understanding, and experience). As other researchers have demonstrated, discrepancies are often found between child self-report and mother report of the same behaviour yet both informants provide crucial information concerning individual functioning (e.g., Achenbach, 2006; Furman, Jones, Buhrmester, & Adler, 1988).

Despite convergence between mother-report and the residual used for child-report of shame-proneness in their direct associations with study variables (i.e., love withdrawal, power assertiveness, conditional approval, unsupportive emotion coaching), there was also divergence in additional direct associations for mother report and interactions for child report (see Figures 1 and 2). Some of this divergence may be attributable to each method tapping somewhat different aspects of the affective experience of shame, however, it must also be acknowledged that this divergence may be attributable to prediction to nonparallel dependent variables (ruminative shame for mother report and the residual score for child report).Yet, the only contradictory finding between measures emerged for the positive and negative associations with SAT self-reliance for child versus mother report, respectively. Some problems with the self-reliance scale are discussed further below.

Attachment beyond early childhood and prior to adolescence continues to be understudied, in part due to difficulty in establishing reliable and valid measurement for this age group. Although the SAT has received validation (Bohlin et al., 2000; Main et al., 1985; Slough & Greenberg, 1990), some caution is warranted in drawing firm

conclusions based on its scales. In particular, clarification is needed regarding whether the self-reliance scale captures the healthy autonomy and self-regulating capacity underlying secure attachment as opposed to the premature and compulsive self-reliance stemming from a lack of confidence in the availability and responsiveness of the caregiver (e.g, Grossmann & Grossmann, 1991). Although the attachment scale (i.e., seeking others when highly distressed) generally related to study variables as expected and has been most closely associated with earlier attachment behaviour in the Strange Situation (Slough & Greenberg, 1990), a similar issue is raised regarding the degree to which the SAT draws clear boundaries between healthy interdependence through seeking connection with others in regulating high distress believed to underlie secure attachment and the enmeshed, overly dependent orientation exhibited by anxious-ambivalent youngsters during early childhood (Main & Weston, 1982). The SAT attempts to delineate these boundaries by relying on the use of highly stressful versus mildly stressful separation scenarios to distinguish between situations that appropriately pull for responses reflecting greater interdependence versus self-reliance, thereby, tapping IWMs underlying attachment security. However, the relative differences in the manner in which children responded to this mild versus severe distinction was subtle and the extent to which these scenarios succeed in sufficiently delineating these boundaries requires further refinement and study.

Moreover, in utilizing a semi-projective measure to tap internal working models underlying attachment security along two dimensions (i.e., willingness to turn to others and self-reliance), the current study did not categorize children into discrete attachment styles typically used for earlier and later periods of development. While progress has

been made in the measurement of attachment in preschoolers and in adolescents, there has been considerably less advancement during middle childhood (Karavasilis et al., 2003). Challenges to developing reliable measures during this period of life are related to observational approaches being less likely to reveal individual differences than at earlier ages due to developmental changes in autonomy and the activation of the attachment system. At the same time, children remain less capable than adolescents and adults of revealing their attachment styles directly through interviewing methods or questionnaires (Greenberg, 1999). Establishment of a well-validated measure of attachment style at this age is vital, particularly if researchers are to make progress in understanding less easily accessible phenomenon of "humiliated fury" and associated shame vulnerability believed to emerge from anxious-ambivalent attachment or the masking of attachment needs characteristic of "bypassed shame" conceptualized for avoidant attachment. Identification of bypassed shame may be particularly difficult to measure methodologically since it is exceedingly challenging to distinguish between defensive processes that mask shame and the absence of this emotion. Clearly, additional work is needed in order to establish valid measurement for middle childhood (i.e., 6 to 12 years) for which efforts are currently under way (see Kerns & Richardson, 2005).

Incorporating both observational paradigms and physiological indices of affect regulation are likely to be important in unravelling complex emotional responses and their relation to attachment processes. In addition, microanalytic and longitudinal research is also required to determine ways in which dynamic and transactional processes impact associations between parenting and children's emotional organization and how factors influence shame-proneness as development unfolds. Furthermore, it is

conceivable that shame and guilt often co-occur, whereby one emotion may trigger the other. In trying to understand the boundaries between shame and guilt, it has been put forth that "guilt limits strength; shame covers weakness. Guilt follows and blocks the expansion of power; shame is caused by and stops the reduction of power" (Wurmser, 1981, p.62). From this perspective, shame is viewed as functionally communicating through self-protective behaviors of withdrawal and/or violent rage that one's inner-most boundaries are being infringed upon, whereas guilt functions to protect the boundaries of others from one's self. Although these emotions may be distinct, the potentially complex interplay between shame and guilt may make it exceedingly challenging to delineate the boundaries between them using self-report measures, as in the case of shame-rage spirals whereby feelings of shame are magnified and intensify feelings of rage that can then lead to guilt for one's anger. Likewise, it is conceivable that as guilt over the impact of one's actions becomes more extreme or chronic, it may trigger or become fused with feelings of shame; this may explain the higher correlation between ruminative forms of shame ang gult. Research using process focused, microanalytic procedures in vivo may help to tease apart and map out the interplay between these self-conscious affects and the factors that induce them.

The correlational nature of the present research did not allow for interpretation of the direction of effects and prospective research that controls for initial levels of shame-proneness in predicting later shame-proneness from hypothesized antecedents is needed. However, current findings elucidate promising avenues for future longitudinal research. Although parenting is usually conceived of as exerting its influence on child development, the converse may also be true. In other words, while it is possible that

children develop their shame-proneness based on their temperamental disposition and their experience of the caregiving context within which they develop, it is also possible that children's shame-proneness elicits certain kinds of responses from caregivers, such as sensitivity, responsiveness, frustration, and helplessness. Children's shame-proneness may also contribute to exacerbating the temperamental disposition toward negative affectivity and inhibit the likelihood of seeking the comfort of others when experiencing separation distress. As mentioned previously, bi-directional and transactional processes are likely operating between the child and his/her environment throughout development and a growing body of empirical findings support the transactional interplay between parents' perceptions of their children's characteristics and the parenting styles they adopt (Hastings & Rubin, 1999; Rubin et al., 1999). Further, attention needs to be directed toward the meanings children attached to parental messages, particularly research that investigates moment-by-moment processing of these messages (Mills, 2003, 2005) and immediately following shaming experiences.

The current research tested moderating effects of temperament (i.e., negative affectivity) and attachment. However, alternate models that test potential mediating pathways between these domains, as well as their relation to child outcomes is needed. For example, shame may mediate the pathway between parenting and IWMs of attachment, as well as other outcomes such as anxiety and depression. Alternatively, IWMs of attachment may mediate the link between parenting and shame-proneness. It is also important to consider additional moderating and/or mediating factors (e.g., negative, global, and stable attribution styles; additional and more narrow-band temperamental factors) not accounted for in current study, as well as whether shame-proneness shows

domain specificity contingent upon the value and importance placed on a child's performance across different contexts (e.g., academic, athletic, outward appearance). Empirical efforts to understand these specific processes and their relation to children's developmental trajectories are underway. For example, a recent study found that parental rejection mediated the pathway between harsh parenting in childhood and higher shame-proneness but lower guilt-proneness in adolescence and, further, that shame-proneness predicted higher subsequent depression and guilt-proneness predicted lower delinquency (Stuewig & McCloskey, 2005). A failure to provide acceptance despite one's faults has been argued to result in shame-inducing experiences that threaten a child's developing model of self and security in the availability and responsiveness of significant others. Whether such a cognitive-affective organization presents ongoing risk to experience shame, especially under ambiguous situations, awaits future research endeavours. Moreover, how cognitive maturation influences the nature, expression, and function of motions across development requires further study (Barrett, 1995; Mascolo & Fischer, 1995).

The normative sample of Caucasian two-parent families, including mothers who were highly educated, and likely over-representation of well-functioning families limits the generalizability of findings from the present study. At risk populations are important to consider in shame theory and research given evidence of less physical affection, high neglect, high controlling, more punitive and less positive behaviour by parents of these children (e.g., Alessandri & Lewis, 1996; Bousha, & Twentyman, 1984; Burgess & Conger, 1978; Lahey, Conger, Atkeson, & Treiber, 1984). A separate body of research has demonstrated the link between maltreatment and negative self-concept (Coster,

Beeghly, Gersten, & Cicchetti, 1989); links between parental treatment of children, cognitive factors and emerging affective organization await future investigation. Moreover, it will be important for future work to include the potential role of other caregivers, including fathers, as well as children's experiences within their peer group and broader contextual factors (e.g., ethnicity, culture) to elucidate the meaning and impact of various domains on the development and outcomes of self-conscious emotions. Further elaboration of differences between males and females in the meaning and impact of parental socialization on the development of self-conscious emotions is also needed, including differences in sex role socialization and identity development.

The relatively small sample size limited the power and, therefore the complexity of analytic procedures that could be used. In some instances, greater power may have resulted in significant findings, including both main and interactive effects (i.e., Type II error). The challenge of detecting interactions due to issues of statistical power has been previously highlighted (Plomin & Daniels, 1984). Greater power would also have permitted inclusion of all parenting variables in regressions models simultaneously, as well as testing for potential curvilinear effects (e.g., association between high and low levels in contrast with moderate levels of emotion coaching and shame-proneness). It will be important for current findings to be replicated using a larger and more diverse sample. A related issue involves the problem of Type I error given the number of analyses conducted. A total of 26 regressions and an additional 6 correlations (extroversion, effortful control, self-reliance x 2) were performed in the evaluation of study hypotheses. With respect to regressions, findings were only interpreted when the overall equation emerged as significant which takes into account degrees of freedom, thus guarding

against the possibility of chance findings. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that, at a significance level of .05, one or two of the significant findings may be attributable to chance. In addition to regressions, correlations were used largely in an effort to establish the differentiability of scales and to then proceed with testing of study hypotheses. It will be important for future research to include larger samples in order to achieve sufficient power to test for complex models as well as to ensure confidence in the stability of findings.

Finally, the problem of shared method variance when correlating mother report of parenting, child temperament, and mother-reported child shame was addressed statistically by partialling out mothers' social desirability to control for both the effect of bias in reporting on their own behaviour and their child's characteristics, as well as variance attributable to shared method variance of questionnaire data. It is further noted that empirical evidence has been put forth validating the constructs of parenting style used in the current study and their independence of child characteristics (Baumrind, 1971), as well as the correspondence between maternal report of children's temperament and observational methods (Rothbart & Bates, 1998).

Despite aforementioned limits, strengths of the current research include the use of a multi-method and multi-informant approach that integrated multiple domains important for children's emotional development, including parenting, attachment, and temperament in an effort to identify correlates of shame-proneness during an understudied period of child development.

Conclusions and Implications

The prototypical experience of shame is rejection by a significant other upon whom the child depends to derive his or her sense of self (Karen, 1998; H.B. Lewis, 1971; M. Lewis, 1992). A major contention in the developmental literature on shame-proneness identifies parenting and the primary attachment relationship as central to the development of children's vulnerability to shame. The potential role of child temperament has also been underscored as central to such considerations. Nevertheless, little work has been done to elucidate the joint and interactive effects between these different domains in the understanding of shame-proneness, particularly beyond the preschool years. Furthermore, only recently have researchers begun to clearly distinguish between shame and guilt, in addition to differentiating maladaptive from functional forms of these emotions. The current investigation extended the study of shame-proneness into the early elementary school years and broadened the framework typically used to identify potential antecedents of shame-proneness by including a range of parenting factors including general parenting styles, more specific parenting behaviours conceptualized as particularly relevant to shame, and mothers' responses to children's emotional expression more generally. In addition, the direct and moderating influence of both temperament and attachment were considered. Furthermore, shame-proneness was measured using both child and mother report of children's self-conscious emotions and distinctions between shame and guilt, as well as between normative and maladaptive forms of each emotion, were made.

Findings revealed that all three domains of parenting, temperament, and attachment played important and unique roles in furthering current understanding of shame-proneness. In particular, results consistently revealed that harsh and coercive

parenting strategies and a failure to provide acceptance despite a child's shortcomings were related to higher degrees of shame-proneness. The potential role of temperament and attachment was contingent upon the informant of children's shame-proneness. Results suggested that both 6- to 8-year-old children and their mothers could reliably report on children's self-conscious emotions, and that direct associations converged for several parenting factors across the two methods, while each informant provided a unique perspective. This divergence was most pronounced in relation to moderating effects of attachment and temperament. Mother-reported shame-proneness suggested that negative affectivity positively, and attachment negatively, related to shame-proneness in a direct manner whereas child-reported shame-proneness revealed interactive effects whereby higher attachment and lower negative affectivity scores accentuated effects for several parenting indices. Although definitive conclusions regarding the potential role of each of these domains as antecedents that contribute to the development of shame-proneness await findings from longitudinal research efforts, current findings provide promising avenues for future investigation. Likewise, considerable empirical work remains in revealing additional moderating factors and mediating pathways in the development of shame-proneness and in understanding the impact of shame-proneness on children's developmental trajectories and adjustment outcomes.

In light of growing evidence supporting the notion that shame-proneness presents a risk factor for individual well-being, including affective disorders of depression and anxiety, personality disturbance (e.g., narcissism), interpersonal distress, and general health problems (see Mills, 2005 for review), efforts aimed at better understanding its antecedents are critical. Although a functionalist framework was adopted in the

conceptualization of emotions, there is ongoing debate regarding the relatively maladaptive nature of shame and persistent feelings of low self-worth in comparison to guilt and the associated heightened sense of personal agency (Barrett, 1995). The current study appeared to successfully delineate between normative versus maladaptive forms of these emotions; however, endeavours that include measurement of adjustment outcomes are needed to further understanding of the proximal versus longer-term consequences of such affective experiences. Greater confidence in the validity of maternal report of children's self-conscious emotions, including shame-proneness, was established while additional research is required to better understand the developmental and methodological limitations in employing child self-report with early elementary school children.

Given that shame-proneness does emerge as a risk factor for the development of psychopathology, it is reasonable to assume that intervention and prevention will be most effective within the family environment in which children's sense of self develops. Once such programs are established, intervention that demonstrates successful changes in specific targets (e.g., parenting) that correspond with predictable changes in shame-proneness and/or in children's adjustment will provide further validation of hypothesized pathways. Findings also demonstrated some differences in the observed associations for boys and girls. Thus, it appears that the interpretation, meaning and impact of parental socialization, as well as attachment and temperament, may differ for males and females and, thus, it will be important for future research to continue to delineate such differences.

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, Range, and Skewness with Transformations for Parenting, Emotion Coaching, Temperament, and Attachment Variables ($N = 66$).

Variable Name	*M*	*SD*	Range	Skew/*SE*	Skew Transform
Authoritative	15.83	1.57	7.91	-.61	--
Authoritarian	7.76	1.53	6.33	1.53	--
Permissive	5.70	1.08	4.50	1.50	--
Conditional Approval	2.95	1.00	3.83	.96	--
Disgust	1.50	.76	2.88	6.25	3.56 (log)
Love Withdrawal	1.76	.61	2.14	1.79	--
Neglect	1.30	.41	1.83	10.99	6.16 (log)
Power Assertiveness	1.54	.58	2.31	4.54	1.99 (log)
Positive Child Focus	3.84	.79	3.25	-2.31	--
Negative Child Focus	1.42	.52	2.05	5.86	3.58 (log)
Mother Self-focus	2.54	.90	3.57	1.46	--
Public Humiliation	1.39	.62	2.40	5.00	2.58 (log)
Supportive Coaching	5.57	.72	2.84	.08	--
Unsupportive Coaching	2.29	.74	3.75	2.30	--
Extroversion/Surgency	4.67	1.05	4.78	-.45	--
Negative Affectivity	4.23	.94	4.33	-1.83	--
Effortful Control	5.60	.88	3.89	-2.88	--
SAT Attachment	20.78	2.70	8.00	-.91	--
SAT Self-reliance	11.66	2.55	9.00	.22	--
SAT Avoidance	11.11	1.64	6.00	6.45	4.96 (log)

Note: -- indicates that skewness was within acceptable limits, therefore, transformations were not performed.

Table 2

Mean, Standard Deviation, Range, and Skewness for Self-Conscious Emotions ($N = 66$).

Variable Name	*M*	*SD*	Range	Skew/*SE* Skew
Child Report (SCEMAS)				
Basic Shame	3.29	1.09	4.00	-1.70
Maladaptive Shame	3.24	1.19	4.00	-.26
Basic Guilt	3.80	.87	3.20	-1.96
Ruminative Guilt	3.41	.93	4.00	-.88
Mother Report (My Child)				
Basic Shame	3.48	1.11	5.04	.40
Ruminative Shame	2.80	1.38	5.29	2.32
Basic Guilt	4.58	.97	4.00	-2.20
Ruminative Guilt	2.75	1.11	4.67	2.98

Note: Skewness for all variables within was acceptable limits, therefore, transformations were not performed.

Table 3

Intercorrelations between Parenting Variables ($N = 66$).

Variable name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Authoritative	---	-.24*	-.01	.01	-.23*	-.33**	-.24*	.13	-.07	-.08	-.16	.31**	-.26*
2. Authoritarian		---	.41**	.28*	.23*	.49**	.46**	.25*	.30**	.42**	-.03	.01	.41**
3. Permissive			---	.04	.05	-.02	.00	.04	-.04	.14	.06	.28*	.06
4. Conditional Approval				---	.03	.26*	.40**	.62**	.41**	.46**	.22*	.14	.32**
5. Disgust					---	.34**	.30**	-.10	.33**	.17t	.19t	-.05	.36**
6. Love Withdrawal						---	.65**	.17t	.64**	.56**	-.02	-.03	.64**
7. Power Assertiveness							---	.20	.61**	.47**	-.01	.07	.52**
8. Positive Child Focus								---	.22*	.32**	.05	.35**	.31**
9. Negative Child Focus									---	.49**	.00	-.07	.60**
10. Mom Self-focus										---	-.03	.25*	.37**
11. Public Humiliation											---	.15	-.15
12. Supportive Coach												---	-.08
13. Unsupportive Coaching													---

t$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$ (1-tailed).

Table 4

Intercorrelations between Temperament and Attachment Variables ($N = 66$).

Variable Name	1	2[a]	3[a]	4	5
1. Extroversion/Surgency	---	-.20[t]	-.07[a]	-.16	.21*
2. Negative Affectivity	---	---	.02[a]	.24*	-.33**
3. Effortful Control			--	.04	.02
4. SAT Attachment				---	-.36**
5. SAT Self-reliance					---

[t]$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$ (1-tailed).

Table 5

Intercorrrelations between Temperament and Attachment Variables and between Parenting and Emotion Coaching Variables ($N = 66$).

Variable Name	Extroversion Surgency	Negative Affectivity	Effortful Control	SAT Attachment	SAT Self-reliance
Authoritative	-.07	.15	.13	-.08	-.09
Authoritarian	.14	-.03	-.17^{t}	-.03	-.04
Permissive	-.02	.12	-.21^{t}	-.02	-.06
Conditional Approval	.33**	.08	.11	.00	-.13
Disgust	.14	-.14	.01	-.22*	.11
Love Withdrawal	.44**	-.18^{t}	-.14	-.08	.20^{t}
Neglect	.11	-.31**	-.04	-.07	.14
Power Assertiveness	.23*	-.04	-.03	.10	.15
Positive Child Focus	.10	.32**	.07	-.06	-.17^{t}
Negative Child Focus	.37**	.00	-.13	-.09	.02
Mother Self-Focus	.09	-.08	-.08	-.03	.09
Public Humiliation	.09	-.07	-.13	.01	-.07
Supportive Coaching	-.06	.31**	.10	.01	-.05
Unsupportive Coaching	.14	.01	.08	-.08	-.08

$^{t}p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$ (1-tailed).

Table 6

Intercorrelations among Scales from the SCEMAS and My Child Measures of Self-conscious Emotions ($N = 66$).

Variable Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
SCEMAS								
1. Basic Shame	---	.71**	.77**	.88**	.02	-.06	-.03	.01
2. Mal Shame		---	.76**	.70**	-.06	-.09	.03	-.08
4. Basic Guilt			---	.80**	.05	-.00	.08	.05
5. Rum Guilt				---	-.11	-.07	.05	-.00
My Child								
6. Basic Shame					---	.54**	.41**	.47**
7. Rum Shame						---	.37**	.68**
8. Basic Guilt							---	.53**
9. Rum Guilt								---

** $p < .01$ (1-tailed).

Table 7

Pearson Correlations for Child-report of Self-conscious Emotions (SCEMAS) and Study Variables ($N = 66$).

Variable Name	*Basic Shame*	*Maladaptive Shame*	*Basic Guilt*	*Ruminative Guilt*	*Self-Conscious Total*
Parenting					
Authoritative	.05	.11	.14	.10	.10
Authoritarian	-.07	-.08	-.11	-.13	-.09
Permissive	-.13	-.12	-.13	-.16^{t}	-.15
Conditional approval	.13	.02	.13	.14	.13
Disgust	-.16	-.15	-.15	-.20^{t}	-.19^{t}
Love withdrawal	.13	-.08	.01	-.01	.03
Power assertiveness	.13	-.17^{t}	-.05	.12	.02
Positive child focus	.12	.08	.15	.11	.14
Negative child focus	.14	-.07	.09	.09	.05
Mother self-focus	-.04	-.17^{t}	-.04	-.17^{t}	-.12
Public humiliation	.09	.11	.15	.08	.11
Emotion Coaching					
Supportive response	.03	.08	.11	.02	.06
Unsupportive response	.08	-.04	-.03	.02	.01
Temperament					
Extroversion/Surgency	.13	-.01	-.01	.04	.07
Negative affectivity	-.11	-.01	-.05	-.16	-.08
Effortful control	-.22*	-.15	-.10	-.09	-.16^{t}
Attachment Security					
SAT attachment	-.06	.15	.07	.02	.04
SAT self-reliance	-.07	-.28*	-.24*	-.12	-.20^{t}

$^{t}p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$ (1-tailed).

Table 8

Pearson Correlations for Mother-report of Child's Self-conscious Emotions (My Child) and Study Variables ($N = 66$).

Variable Name	*Basic Shame*	*Ruminative Shame*	*Basic Guilt*	*Ruminative Guilt*
Parenting				
Authoritative	.18^{t}	.13	.28*	.14
Authoritarian	.14	.28*	-.08	.23*
Permissive	.26*	.23*	-.08	.11
Conditional approval	.13	.21*	.17^{t}	.31**
Disgust	.06	.20^{t}	-.07	.19^{t}
Love withdrawal	.21*	.17^{t}	-.08	.08
Power assertiveness	.04	.12	.05	.16^{t}
Positive child focus	.28*	.33**	.32**	.38**
Negative child focus	.23*	.28*	.10	.24*
Mother self-focus	.25*	.18^{t}	.16	.21*
Public humiliation	.05	.04	-.21*	.00
Emotion Coaching				
Supportive response	.31**	.30**	.21*	.26*
Unsupportive response	.25*	.27*	.15	.27*
Temperament				
	.04	.06	-.24*	.08
Extroversion/Surgency				
Negative affectivity	.34**	.50**	.20^{t}	.31**
Effortful control	-.03	-.04	.27*	.21*
Attachment				
SAT attachment	-.13	-.10	.05	-.03
SAT self-reliance	-.09	-.21^{t}	-.15	-.16

$^{t}p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$ (1-tailed).

Table 9

Partial Correlations for Child-report of Self-conscious Emotions (SCEMAS), Controlling for Basic Shame ($N = 66$).

Variable Name	*Maladaptive Shame*	*Basic Guilt*	*Ruminative Guilt*
Parenting			
Authoritative	.11	.16	.11
Authoritarian	-.04	-.08	-.14
Permissive	-.04	-.05	-.10
Conditional approval	-.11	.05	.06
Disgust	-.05	-.04	-.12
Love withdrawal	-.24*	-.14	-.26*
Power assertiveness	-.37**	-.24*	.01
Positive child focus	-.01	.09	.02
Negative child focus	-.25*	-.04	-.06
Mother self-focus	-.21*	-.01	-.29**
Public humiliation	.06	.13	.00
Emotion Coaching			
Supportive response	.08	.14	-.02
Unsupportive response	-.14	-.13	-.10
Temperament			
Extroversion/Surgency	-.14	-.18^{t}	-.15
Negative affectivity	.10	.06	-.12
Effortful control	.01	.11	.23*
Attachment Security			
SAT attachment	.27*	.18^{t}	.15
SAT self-reliance	-.33**	-.29*	-.13

$^{t}p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$ (1-tailed).

Table 10

Partial Correlations for Child-report of Self-conscious Emotions (SCEMAS), Controlling for Maladaptive Shame ($N = 66$).

Variable Name	*Basic Shame*	*Basic Guilt*	*Ruminative Guilt*
Parenting			
Authoritative	-.04	.08	.03
Authoritarian	-.02	-.07	-.10
Permissive	-.06	-.06	-.11
Conditional approval	.17^{t}	.18^{t}	.18^{t}
Disgust	-.08	-.05	-.13
Love withdrawal	.26*	.10	.06
Power assertiveness	.35**	.12	.33**
Positive child focus	.09	.14	.08
Negative child focus	.28*	.22*	.20^{t}
Mother self-focus	.12	.15	-.07
Public humiliation	.02	.11	.01
Emotion Coaching			
Supportive response	-.03	.08	-.05
Unsupportive response	.15	.02	.07
Temperament			
Extroversion/Surgency	.19^{t}	-.01	.07
Negative affectivity	-.15	-.06	-.21*
Effortful control	-.16^{t}	.01	.02
Attachment			
SAT attachment	-.23*	-.06	-.12
SAT self-reliance	.19^{t}	-.04	.11

$^{t}p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$ (1-tailed).

Table 11

Partial Correlations for Child-report of Self-conscious Emotions (SCEMAS), Controlling for Basic Guilt ($N = 66$).

Variable Name	*Basic Shame*	*Maladaptive Shame*	*Ruminative Guilt*
Parenting			
Authoritative	-.09	.01	-.02
Authoritarian	.02	.00	-.08
Permissive	-.05	-.03	-.10
Conditional approval	.04	-.13	.06
Disgust	-.07	-.06	-.13
Love withdrawal	.19^{t}	-.13	-.03
Power assertiveness	.26*	-.20^{t}	.26*
Positive child focus	.00	-.06	-.01
Negative child focus	.12	-.21*	.04
Mother self-focus	-.02	-23*	-.24*
Public humiliation	-.04	-.01	-.07
Emotion Coaching			
Supportive response	-.09	-.01	-.12
Unsupportive response	.15	-.04	.06
Temperament			
Extroversion/Surgency	.22*	.00	.09
Negative affectivity	-.12	.04	-.20^{t}
Effortful control	-.22*	-.11	-.01
Attachment			
SAT attachment	-.18^{t}	.14	-.06
SAT self-reliance	.18^{t}	-.16	.11

$^{t}p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$ (1-tailed).

Table 12

Partial Correlations for Child-report of Self-conscious Emotions (SCEMAS), Controlling for Maladaptive Guilt ($N = 66$).

Variable Name	*Basic Shame*	*Maladaptive Shame*	*Basic Guilt*
Parenting			
Authoritative	-.07	.06	.11
Authoritarian	.09	.02	.00
Permissive	.03	-.01	.00
Conditional approval	.01	-.12	.03
Disgust	.03	-.02	.01
Love withdrawal	.28*	-.10	.02
Power assertiveness	.05	-.35**	-.24*
Positive child focus	.04	.00	.10
Negative child focus	.12	-.20^{t}	.02
Mother self-focus	.24*	-.08	-.17^{t}
Public humiliation	.04	.07	.14
Emotion Coaching			
Supportive response	.04	.09	.16^{t}
Unsupportive response	.13	-.07	-.06
Temperament			
Extroversion/Surgency	.19^{t}	-.05	-.08
Negative affectivity	.06	.14	.13
Effortful control	-.30*	-.12	-.06
Attachment			
SAT attachment	-.15	.19^{t}	.10
SAT self-reliance	.08	-.28*	-.24*

$^{t}p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$ (1-tailed).

Table 13

Summary of Hierarchical Regression for Parenting, Attachment, and Negative Affectivity Predicting Child-reported Shame-proneness ($N = 66$).

Variable	β	*t*	ΔR^2	ΔF	*df*
Step 1			.50	19.91**	3, 60
Maladaptive Shame	.71	7.65**			
Sex	-.12	-1.25			
Mothers' Social Desirability	.01	.13			
Step 2			.00	.88	1, 59
Authoritative	-.02	-.16			
Step 3			.02	.25	2, 57
Attachment	-.11	-1.13			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	-.09	-.93			
Step 4			.02	.60	3, 54
Authoritative X Attachment	-.06	-.53			
Authoritative X NA	-.03	-.31			
Authoritative X Sex	-.09	-.92			
Step 2			.01	.72	1, 59
Authoritarian	-.08	-.85			
Step 3			.02	1.40	2, 57
Attachment	-.11	-1.14			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	-.09	-.91			
Step 4			.05	1.96	3, 54
Authoritarian X Attachment	.11	1.12			
Authoritarian X NA	-.11	-1.12			
Authoritarian X Sex	.10	1.04			

Variable	β	*t*	ΔR^2	ΔF	*df*
Step 2			.01	1.15	1, 59
Permissive	-.11	-1.07			
Step 3			.02	1.20	2, 57
Attachment	-.11	-1.12			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	-.08	-.77			
Step 4			.07	2.76*	3, 54
Permissive X Attachment	-.22	-2.12*			
Permissive X NA	-.11	-.98			
Permissive X Sex	.13	1.39			
Step 2			.00	.42	1, 59
Conditional Approval	.06	.64			
Step 3			.03	1.56	2, 57
Attachment	-.11	-1.15			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	-.10	-1.01			
Step 4			.08	3.78*	3, 54
Cond. Approv. X Attachment	-.02	-.23			
Cond. Approv. X NA	-.20	-2.11*			
Cond. Approv. X Sex	.23	2.45*			
Step 2			.00	.39	1, 59
Disgust	-.06	-.63			
Step 3			.03	1.90	2, 57
Attachment	-.14	-1.36			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	-.10	-1.06			
Step 4			.02	.83	3, 54
Disgust X Attachment	.12	1.18			
Disgust Focus X NA	-.10	-.92			
Disgust Focus X Sex	-.40	-1.08			

Variable	β	*t*	ΔR^2	ΔF	*df*
Step 2			.02	2.75 ^{t}	1, 59
Love Withdrawal	.15	1.66 ^{t}			
Step 3			.02	1.08	2, 57
Attachment	-.10	-1.04			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	-.07	-.77			
Step 4			.09	4.57**	3, 54
Love w/drawal X Attachment	.29	3.08**			
Love w/drawal X NA	-.16 ^{t}	-1.86 ^{t}			
Love w/drawal X Sex	.02	.23			
Step 2			.05	7.33**	1, 59
Power Assertiveness	.24	2.71**			
Step 3			.03	1.97	2, 57
Attachment	-.15	1.60			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	-.07	-.72			
Step 4			.07	3.68*	3, 54
Power Assert X Attachment	.22	2.44*			
Power Assert X NA	-.13	-1.57			
Power Assert X Sex	.21	.76			
Step 2			.00	.00	1, 59
Positive Focus	.00	.01			
Step 3			.03	1.49	2, 57
Attachment	-.11	-1.07			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	-.10	-1.01			
Step 4			.05	1.95	3, 54
Positive Focus X Attachment	.15	1.48			
Positive Focus X NA	-.11	-1.07			
Positive Focus X Sex	.15	1.66			

Variable	β	*t*	ΔR^2	ΔF	*df*
Step 2			.03 [t]	3.33 [t]	1, 59
Negative Focus	.17	1.83 [t]			
Step 3			.02	1.33	2, 57
Attachment	-.10	-1.04			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	-.09	-.96			
Step 4			.06	2.81*	3, 54
Negative Focus X Attachment	.20	2.06*			
Negative Focus X NA	-.09	-1.01			
Negative Focus X Sex	.35	1.23			
Step 2			.01	.86	1, 59
Mom Self-focus	.09	.93			
Step 3			.02	1. 40	2, 57
Attachment	-.11	-1.10			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	-.09	-.95			
Step 4			.02	.63	3, 54
Mom Self-focus X Attachment	.13	1.12			
Mom Self-focus X NA	-.03	-.26			
Mom Self-focus X Sex	.01	.04			
Step 2			.00	.03	1, 59
Public Humiliation	.02	.16			
Step 3			.02	1.42	2, 57
Attachment	-.11	-1.12			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	-.09	-.94			
Step 4			.03	.99	3, 54
Humiliation X Attachment	.09	.85			
Humiliation X NA	-.04	-.34			
Humiliation X Sex	-.51	-1.69			

Variable	β	*t*	ΔR^2	ΔF	*df*
Step 2			.00	.16	1, 59
Supportive Emt Coaching	-.04	-.40			
Step 3			.02	1.35	2, 57
Attachment	-.11	-1.12			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	-.09	-.89			
Step 4			.04	1.70	3, 54
Supportive X Attachment	.05	.54			
Supportive X NA	-.10	.98			
Supportive X Sex	-.10	-1.57			
Step 2			.01	1.61	1, 59
Unsupportive Emt Coaching	.12	1.27			
Step 3			.02	1.36	2, 57
Attachment	-.10	-.99			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	-.10	-1.03			
Step 4			.07	2.91*	3, 54
Unsupportive X Attachment	.18	1.73 ^{t}			
Unsupportive X NA	-.03	-.29			
Unsupportive X Sex	.17	1.83 ^{t}			

^{t} $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Note: Child social desirability was substituted for mother social desirability and results remained consistent.

Table 14

Summary of Hierarchical Regression for Parenting, Attachment, and Negative Affectivity Predicting Mother-report of Children's Shame-proneness ($N = 66$).

Variable	β	*t*	ΔR^2	ΔF	*df*
Step 1			.01	.19	2, 61
Sex	-.02	-.15			
Mother's Social Desirability	.08	.59			
Step 2			.03	1.62	1, 60
Authoritative	.18	1.27			
Step 3			.31	13.83**	2, 58
Attachment	-.25	-2.19*			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	.58	5.18**			
Step 4			.02	.68	3, 55
Authoritative X Attachment	-.07	-.56			
Authoritative X NA	.18	1.41			
Authoritative X Sex	.02	.15			
Step 2			.09	6.14*	1, 60
Authoritarian	.33	2.48*			
Step 3			.31	15.06**	2, 58
Attachment	-.25	-2.35*			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	.58	5.39**			
Step 4			.01	.33	3, 55
Authoritarian X Attachment	-.10	-.88			
Authoritarian X NA	.05	.47			
Authoritarian X Sex	.06	.50			

Variable	β	*t*	ΔR^2	ΔF	*df*
Step 2			.05	3.22 ^{t}	1, 60
Permissive	.25	1.80 ^{t}			
Step 3			.29	12.85**	2, 58
Attachment	-.25	-2.26*			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	.56	4.95**			
Step 4			.02	.57	3, 55
Permissive X Attachment	-.02	-.12			
Permissive X NA	.17	1.26			
Permissive X Sex	-.03	-.29			
Step 2			.05	3.34 ^{t}	1, 60
Conditional Approval	.24	1.83 ^{t}			
Step 3			.31	14.42**	2, 58
Attachment	-.26	-2.39*			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	.58	5.25**			
Step 4			.00	.13	3, 55
Cond. Approv. X Attachment	.04	.36			
Cond. Approv. X NA	.05	.42			
Cond. Approv. X Sex	-.04	-.32			
Step 2				1.99	1, 60
Disgust	.18	1.41			
Step 3				15.66**	2, 58
Attachment	-.20	-1.77 ^{t}			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	.61	5.57**			
Step 4				.33	3, 55
Disgust X Attachment	-.03	-.21			
Disgust Focus X NA	.12	.96			
Disgust Focus X Sex	.20	.47			

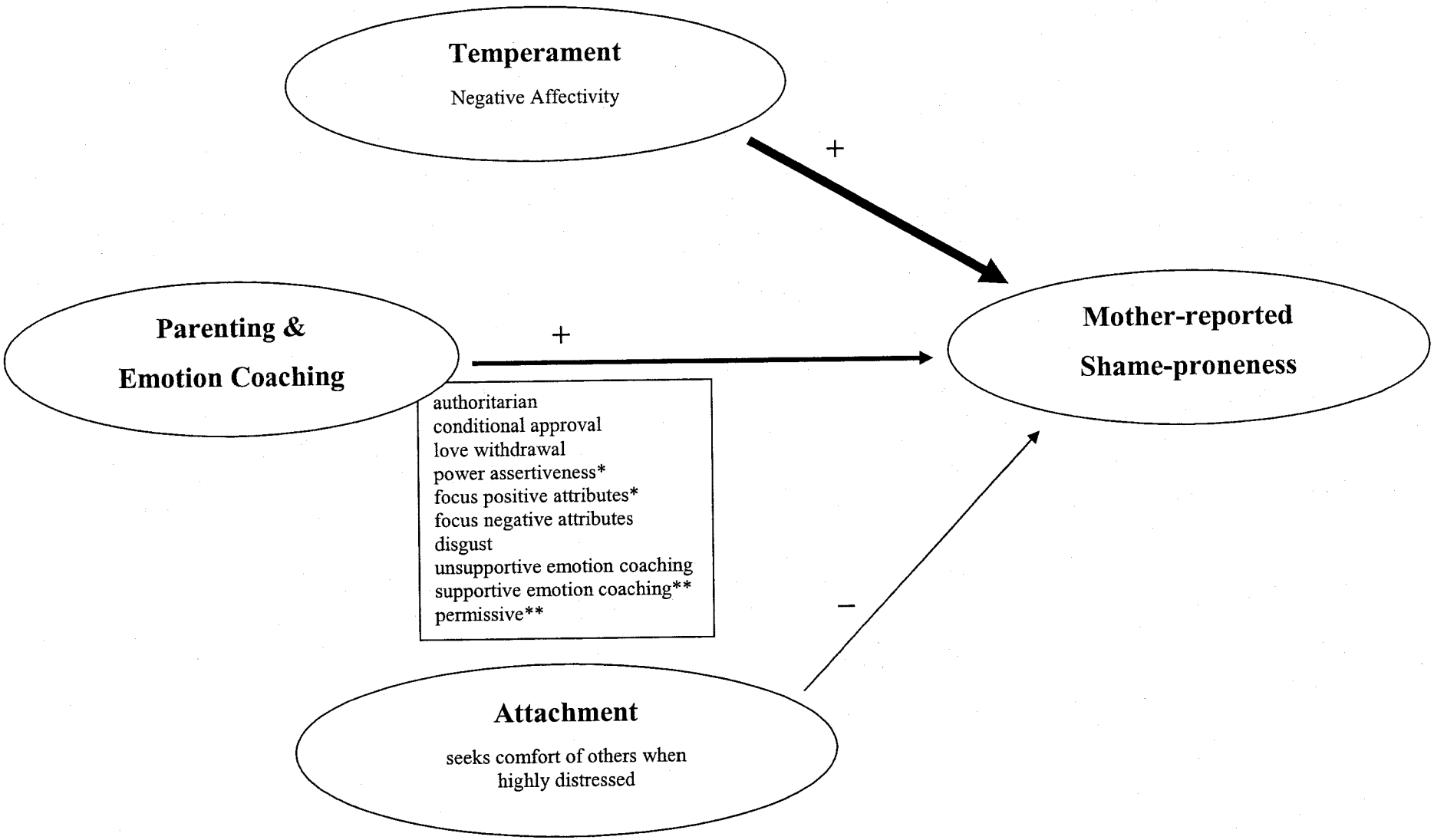
Variable	β	*t*	ΔR^2	ΔF	*df*
Step 2			.03	1.69	1, 60
Love Withdrawal	.17	1.30			
Step 3			.35	16.74**	2, 58
Attachment	-.24	-2.17*			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	.62	5.72**			
Step 4			.05	1.60	3, 55
Love w/drawal X Attachment	-.19	-1.64			
Love w/drawal X NA	-.12	-1.08			
Love w/drawal X Sex	.01	.07			
Step 2			.01	.77	1, 60
Power Assertiveness	.11	.88			
Step 3			.35	15.76**	2, 58
Attachment	-.28	-2.49*			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	.61	5.50**			
Step 4			.01	.33	3, 55
Power Assert X Attachment	.00	-.03			
Power Assert X NA	-.05	-.46			
Power Assert X Sex	-.27	-.74			
Step 2			.14	9.66**	1, 60
Positive Focus	.38	3.12**			
Step 3			.22	10.06**	2, 58
Attachment	-.24	-2.10*			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	.52	4.38**			
Step 4			.01	.35	3, 55
Positive Focus X Attachment	.03	.22			
Positive Focus X NA	.08	.66			
Positive Focus X Sex	-.08	-.71			

Variable	β	*t*	ΔR^2	ΔF	*df*
Step 2			.07	4.17*	1, 60
Negative Focus	.26	2.04*			
Step 3			.32	15.53**	2, 58
Attachment	-.24	-2.18*			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	.59	5.51**			
Step 4			.02	.67	3, 55
Negative Focus X Attachment	.05	.45			
Negative Focus X NA	-.07	-.66			
Negative Focus X Sex	-.45	-1.32			
Step 2			.02	1.50	1, 60
Mom Self-focus	.17	1.22			
Step 3			.33**	14.66**	2, 58
Attachment	-.25	-2.21*			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	.59	5.34**			
Step 4			.04	1.15	3, 55
Mom Self-focus X Attachment	-.11	-.84			
Mom Self-focus X NA	.00	-.04			
Mom Self-focus X Sex	-.13	-.99			
Step 2			.00	.15	1, 60
Public Humiliation	.05	.38			
Step 3			.33	14.68**	2, 58
Attachment	-.26	-2.30*			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	.60	5.33**			
Step 4			.04	1.26	3, 55
Humiliation X Attachment	.10	.82			
Humiliation X NA	-.11	-.97			
Humiliation X Sex	.41	1.18			

Variable	β	*t*	ΔR^2	ΔF	*df*
Step 2			.08	5.04*	1, 60
Supportive Emt Coaching	.28	2.24*			
Step 3			.26	11.70**	2, 58
Attachment	-.25	-2.23*			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	.55	4.70**			
Step 4			.02	.64	3, 55
Supportive X Attachment	-.09	-.73			
Supportive X NA	.14	1.18			
Supportive X Sex	-.04	-.33			
Step 2			.07	4.62*	1, 60
Unsupportive Emt Coaching	.27	2.15*			
Step 3			.31	14.37**	2, 58
Attachment	-.23	-2.05*			
Negative Affectivity (NA)	.58	5.31**			
Step 4			.02	.65	3, 55
Unsupportive X Attachment	-.11	-.88			
Unsupportive X NA	-.04	-.36			
Unsupportive X Sex	-.08	-.69			

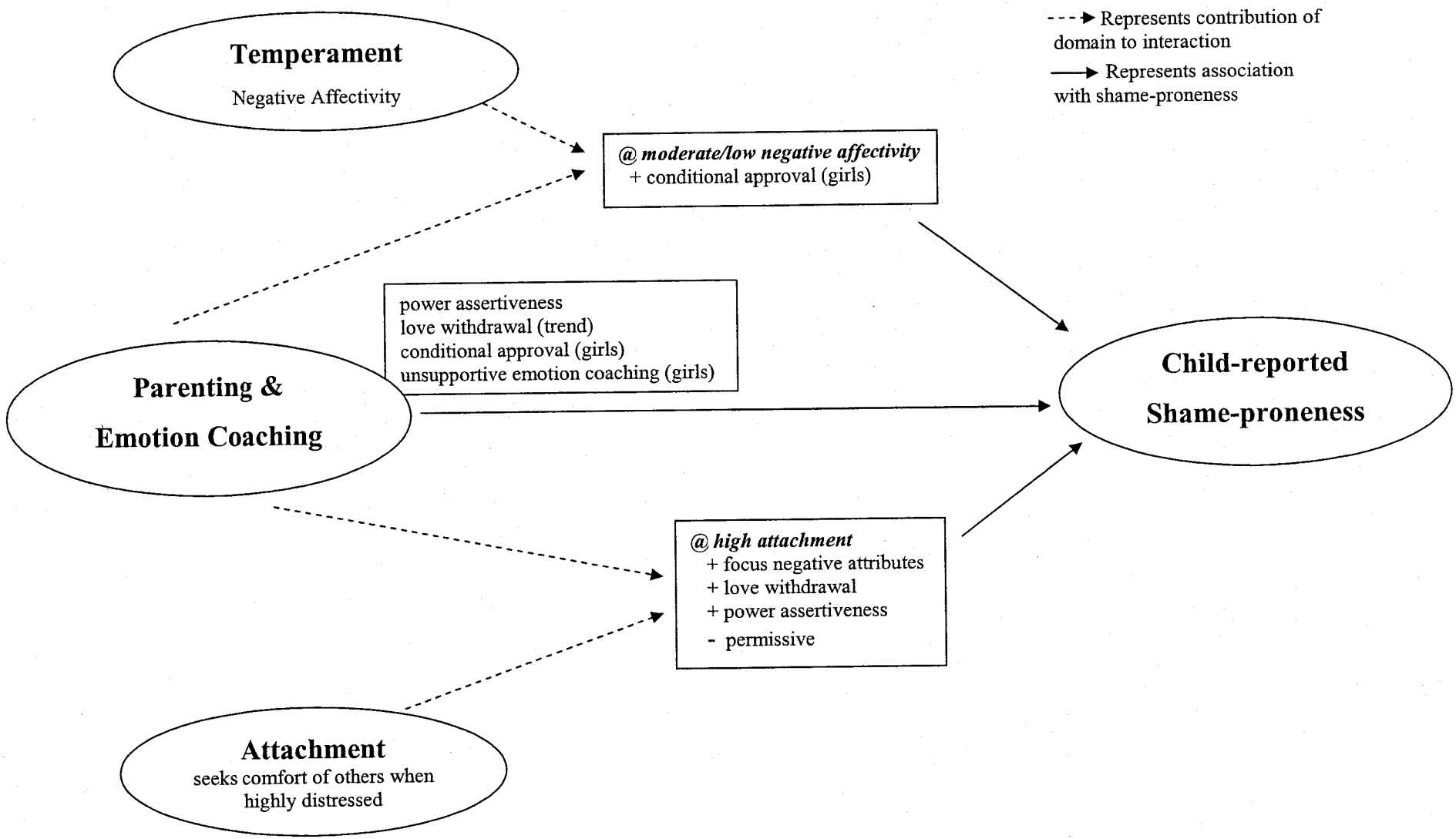
$^{t}p < .10$, $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$.

Figure 1. Results of Regressions for Mother-report of Children's Shame-proneness.



Note: *drop to trend on final step of regression; ** drop to nonsignificance on final step of regression.

Figure 2. *Results of Regressions for Child-reported Shame-proneness.*



Note: * interaction was not significant, although clear pattern was identified.

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Appendix A:

Demographic Information Sheet

Participant #: _____

Demographic Questionnaire

Mother's Name: _____

Child's Name: _____

Mailing Address: _____
_____
_____
_____

Phone #: _____
Email: _____

Members of household	Age	Relationship to Child:
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Language(s) spoken at home: _____

Child

1. Age: _____
2. Date of Birth: _____
3. Grade: _____
4. # of siblings: _____
5. birth order: _____

Participant #: _____

Please fill in the following information about yourself. If you have a spouse, please do the same for him or her.

You

1. Country of Origin: _____

2. If not Canada, # yrs in Can: _____

3. Mother tongue: _____

4. Religious Affiliation: _____

5. Age: _____

6. Highest educational degree and # of yrs of schooling starting from Gr. 1:

Some High School	_____
High School completed	_____
Some CEGEP	_____
CEGEP completed	_____
Some undergraduate	_____
Undergrad completed	_____
Some graduate or professional school	_____
Master's completed	_____
PhD / MD / JD completed	_____
Other: _____	_____

7. Occupation: _____

8. Currently Employed? _____
   Job title: _____
   Main Duties: _____
   _____
   _____

14. Income Bracket

below 15,000	_____
15-25,000	_____
25-35,000	_____
35-45,000	_____
45-55,000	_____
55-65,000	_____
65-75,000	_____
75-85,000	_____
85-95,000	_____
over 95,000	_____

Your Spouse

9. Country of Origin: _____

10. If not Canada, # yrs in Can: _____

11. Mother tongue: _____

12. Religious Affiliation: _____

13. Age: _____

14. Highest educational degree and # of yrs of schooling starting from Gr. 1:

Some High School	_____
High School completed	_____
Some CEGEP	_____
CEGEP completed	_____
Some undergraduate	_____
Undergrad completed	_____
Some graduate or professional school	_____
Master's completed	_____
PhD / MD / JD completed	_____
Other: _____	_____

15. Occupation: _____

16. Currently Employed? _____
    Job title: _____
    Main Duties: _____
    _____
    _____

17. Income Bracket

below 15,000	_____
15-25,000	_____
25-35,000	_____
35-45,000	_____
45-55,000	_____
55-65,000	_____
65-75,000	_____
75-85,000	_____
85-95,000	_____
over 95,000	_____

Appendix B:

Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-III, Form-A (PPVT-III; Dunn & Dunn, 1997)

Participant #: _____

PPVT-III Form A

Basal Set Rule: 1 or no errors in a set.
Ceiling Set Rule: 8 or more errors in a set.

START Ages 2-6 - 3

SET 1

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
1.	bus	(4) _____	E
2.	drinking	(3) _____	E
3.	hand	(1) _____	E
4.	climbing	(1) _____	E
5.	key	(4) _____	E
6.	reading	(1) _____	E
7.	closet	(2) _____	E
8.	jumping	(3) _____	E
9.	lamp	(4) _____	E
10.	helicopter	(2) _____	E
11.	smelling	(2) _____	E
12.	fly	(3) _____	E

No. of Errors: _____

START Ages ----4?

SET 2

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
13.	digging	(2)	E
14.	cow	(1)	E
15.	drum	(3)	E
16.	feather	(1)	E
17.	painting	(3)	E
18.	cage	(2)	E
19.	knee	(1)	E
20.	wrapping	(4)	E
21.	fence	(3)	E
22.	elbow	(4)	E
23.	garbage	(2)	E
24.	exercising	(4)	E

No. of Errors: _____

Participant #: _____

START Age 5
SET 3

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
25.	empty	(1)	E
26.	shoulder	(3)	E
27.	square	(4)	E
28.	measuring	(4)	E
29.	porcupine	(1)	E
30.	arrow	(2)	E
31.	peeling	(3)	E
32.	fountain	(2)	E
33.	accident	(2)	E
34.	penguin	(1)	E
35.	decorated	(4)	E
36.	nest	(3)	E

No. of Errors: _____

START Ages 6-7
SET 4

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
37.	castle	(2)	E
38.	sawing	(4)	E
39.	cactus	(3)	E
40.	farm	(1)	E
41.	going	(2)	E
42.	harp	(1)	E
43.	astronaut	(3)	E
44.	raccoon	(4)	E
45.	juggling	(4)	E
46.	envelope	(2)	E
47.	tearing	(3)	E
48.	claw	(1)	E

No. of Errors: _____

SET 5

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
49.	parachute	(3)	E
50.	delivering	(1)	E
51.	rectangle	(1)	E
52.	diving	(2)	E
53.	camper	(4)	E
54.	target	(2)	E
55.	writing	(1)	E
56.	furry	(4)	E
57.	drilling	(2)	E
58.	hook	(3)	E
59.	group	(3)	E
60.	dripping	(4)	E

No. of Errors: _____

START Ages 8 - 9
SET 6

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
61.	vehicle	(4)	E
62.	oval	(1)	E
63.	luggage	(2)	E
64.	awarding	(3)	E
65.	hydrant	(4)	E
66.	swamp	(3)	E
67.	calculator	(2)	E
68.	signal	(1)	E
69.	squash	(4)	E
70.	globe	(2)	E
71.	vegetable	(3)	E
72.	frame	(1)	E

No. of Errors: _____

START Ages 10 – 11
SET 7

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
73.	gigantic	(2)	E
74.	nostril	(4)	E
75.	vase	(3)	E
76.	knight	(1)	E
77.	towing	(1)	E
78.	horrified	(3)	E
79.	trunk	(2)	E
80.	selecting	(1)	E
81.	island	(2)	E
82.	camcorder	(4)	E
83.	heart	(3)	E
84.	wrench	(4)	E

No. of Errors: _____

START Age ?????
SET 8

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
85.	flamingo	(2)	E
86.	tambourine	(4)	E
87.	palm	(1)	E
88.	surprised	(4)	E
89.	canoe	(3)	E
90.	interviewing	(1)	E
91.	clarinet	(4)	E
92.	exhausted	(2)	E
93.	pitcher	(3)	E
94.	reptile	(2)	E
95.	polluting	(3)	E
96.	vine	(1)	E

No. of Errors: _____

Participant #: _____

START Ages 12 - 16

SET 9

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
97.	pedal	(2)	E
98.	dissecting	(2)	E
99.	bouquet	(4)	E
100.	rodent	(3)	E
101.	inhaling	(4)	E
102.	valley	(1)	E
103.	tubular	(3)	E
104.	demolishing	(4)	E
105.	tusk	(1)	E
106.	adjustable	(2)	E
107.	fern	(1)	E
108.	hurdling	(3)	E

No. of Errors: _____

SET 10

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
109.	Solo	(4)	E
110.	citrus	(2)	E
111.	inflated	(3)	E
112.	lecturing	(3)	E
113.	timer	(1)	E
114.	injecting	(1)	E
115.	links	(4)	E
116.	cooperating	(2)	E
117.	microscope	(1)	E
118.	archery	(2)	E
119.	garment	(4)	E
120.	fragile	(3)	E

No. of Errors: _____

SET 11

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
121.	carpenter	(2)	E
122.	dilapidated	(4)	E
123.	hazardous	(3)	E
124.	adapter	(2)	E
125.	valve	(3)	E
126.	isolation	(1)	E
127.	feline	(2)	E
128.	wailing	(1)	E
129.	coast	(4)	E
130.	appliance	(1)	E
131.	foundation	(4)	E
132.	hatchet	(3)	E

No. of Errors: _____

SET 12

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
133.	blazing	(3)	E
134.	mammal	(2)	E
135.	reprimanding	(1)	E
136.	upholstery	(4)	E
137.	hoisting	(1)	E
138.	exterior	(1)	E
139.	consuming	(4)	E
140.	pastry	(4)	E
141.	cornea	(2)	E
142.	constrained	(3)	E
143.	pedestrian	(2)	E
144.	colt	(3)	E

No. of Errors: _____

START Ages 17-Adult

SET 13

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
145.	syringe	(4)	E
146.	transparent	(3)	E
147.	ladle	(2)	E
148.	replenishing	(3)	E
149.	abrasive	(1)	E
150.	parallelogram	(3)	E
151.	cascade	(4)	E
152.	lever	(1)	E
153.	detonation	(2)	E
154.	pillar	(2)	E
155.	cultivating	(1)	E
156.	aquatic	(4)	E

No. of Errors: _____

SET 14

Item	Word	Key Response	Error
157.	indigent	(2)	E
158.	oasis	(1)	E
159.	disappointed	(4)	E
160.	perpendicular	(3)	E
161.	poultry	(4)	E
162.	confiding	(1)	E
163.	periodical	(2)	E
164.	filtration	(1)	E
165.	primate	(4)	E
166.	spherical	(2)	E
167.	talon	(3)	E
168.	octagon	(3)	E

No. of Errors: _____

Appendix C:

Separation Anxiety Test (SAT; Slough & Greenberg, 1990)

S.A.T. Administration

- "I've got some pictures here about a little girl (boy) whose name is (child's name) just like yours. I'd like you to help me tell some stories about them, all right?"
- As describe each picture, point to characters, emphasize separation as follows:

  - **1. Mummy and Daddy are going out for the evening and leaving (name) at home with a baby sitter, and here they are saying goodbye.**
  - **2. In this picture, (name) is going to school – this is her (his) first day at school. Here she is with her hand on the door and Mummy's going to go down the steps.**
  - **3. Mummy and Daddy are going away for the weekend, for two days, and they have brought (name) to stay with her auntie and uncle. There they are saying goodbye.**
  - **4. (Name) has gone to the park with her Mummy and Daddy, and Mummy says "you run off and play by yourself for awhile, 'cause Daddy and I want to have a talk alone together."**
  - **5. Mummy and Daddy are going away for two weeks and are leaving (name) at home with a baby sitter. You can see their suitcases. But before they go, they give (name) a present, and here they are saying goodbye.**
  - **6. Mummy's putting (name) to bed and then she's going to go out the door.**

1. **How does the little girl (boy) feel?**

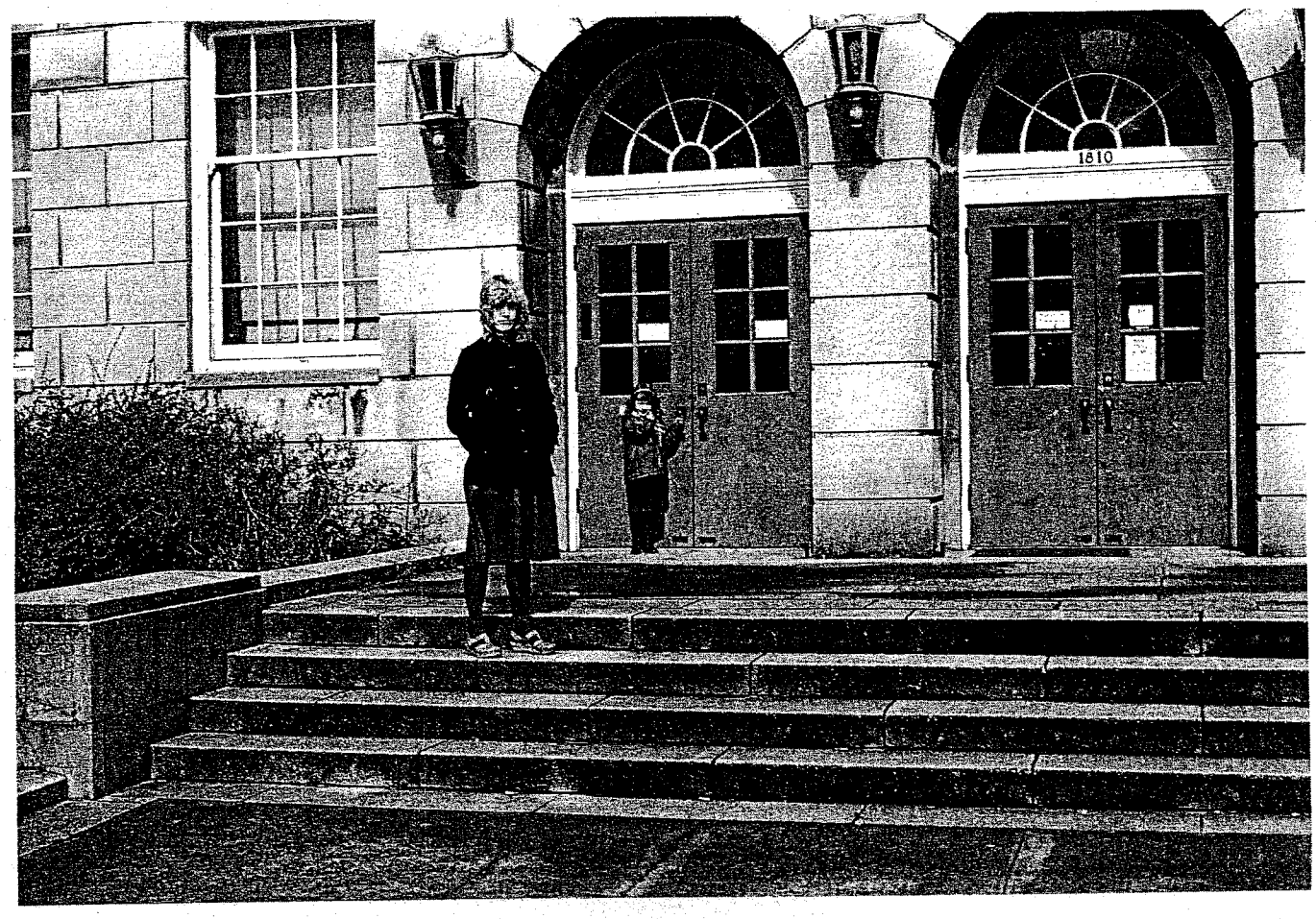
   If does not give feeling, give general prompt.
   If necessary: **Does little girl (boy) feel sad, happy, lonely, mad?**
   If does not respond or unclear:
   "tell me more"
   "just tell me what you think, there are no right or wrong answers"

2. **Why does she (he) feel that way?**

3. **What's the little girl (boy) going to do?**

4. **How would you feel if that was you?**
   Why would you feel that way?
   What would you do?

feel lonely
feel sad
feel angry
feel that her (his) parents doesn't love her (him) any more
feel its not really happening
feel like hiding
just doesn't care
if she (he) was a good girl (boy) wouldn't have happened
that its someone else's fault
that something bad is going to happen
thinks she (he) is going to have a good time
feels hungry
is getting a tummy ache or a headache


1810

Appendix D:

Self-Conscious Emotions – Maladaptive & Adaptive Scales

(SCEMAS; Stegge & Ferguson)

Training for SCEMAS Scale Use

1. Present the child with the series of size-graduated boxes (as in SCEMAS), initially with no labels. Point out that the boxes differ in size, and ask the child to identify the smallest, next biggest, etc.

2. Tell child that s/he can use the boxes to answer different Q's and that the two of you are going to practice using the boxes to answer some Q's.

3. Next, present boxes with labels. Read the labels out loud and point to the appropriate box while reading the labels.

4. Practice using the boxes by answering these questions.
   - How scary do you think a lion is? Is it not at all scary (point to box), a little bit scary (point), somewhat scary (point), etc. Point to the box that tells me how scary you think a lion is.
   - How about a lamb? How scary is a lamb? Is it not at all scary (point), a little bit scary (point), somewhat scary (point), etc. Point to the box that tells me how scary you think a lamb is.
   - And, how about a snake?

5. Continue with examples that get the child to point to ***different*** boxes. If the child doesn't spontaneously use all boxes, get the child to generate examples. For example: "Okay, we haven't used this box yet. Can you think of an animal that is somewhat scary?"

6. Repeat the procedure with *strong*. For example:
   - How strong do you think a rabbit is?
   - How about Spiderman?
   - Your Dad? – Mom? – Grandmother? – A baby – You?

7. If necessary, repeat procedure with: "How much do you like chocolate ice cream?" – "spinach?" – "crackers?" – "ketchup?"

8. Then, get the child to use the scale to indicate how much they would do/feel different things. Ex: If someone called you names on the playground, how much would you:
   - feel hurt?
   - feel angry?
   - feel sad?
   - think that was a mean kid?
   - feel like hitting the kid?
   - feel like running away?

Training Scales

Training Scales

not at all

Just a little bit

So-So in the Middle

A LOT

A WHOLE LOT

Training Item #8

If someone called you names on the playground, how likely are you to:

	NOT AT ALL	JUST A LITTLE BIT	SO-SO (in the middle)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
1) feel hurt.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2) feel angry.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3) feel sad.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4) think, that was a mean kid.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5) feel like hitting the kid.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6) feel like running away.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

SCEMAS

Sometimes things just don't go the way we want them to. We want you to help us learn about what kids your age "do" and how they "feel" when things don't go right. I will read a question out loud and I want you to rate each question as to whether you are "**Not at all**," "**A little bit**," "**Somewhat**," "**A lot**," or "**A whole lot**" likely to respond in the ways that I describe, just like we practiced. Remember that it's O.K. to respond in lots of different ways, or only one way. What's important is that you **just say whatever *you* really think or feel**.

A. You had a test at school. But, you weren't really trying very hard. To your surprise -- You got the best grade of the whole class! The teacher starts telling everyone that you got the best grade of the whole class.

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
1) You feel guilty, because you didn't really deserve that good of a grade.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2) You feel angry.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3) You feel embarrassed and wish the teacher would stop telling everybody.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4) You worry that this makes you stand out and that the other children won't like you.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5) You're proud of yourself for doing so well.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6) You apologize over and over to your classmates for getting a good grade.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B. You are hurrying home one day to watch your favorite television program. You see the little girl (boy) who lives next door. S/he is sitting on the sidewalk crying. S/he has dropped a bag of marbles and they are rolling all over the place. You don't stop to help him/her. You just keep on walking toward home to see your show.

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
7) You try to make sure s/he doesn't see you when you see the little girl (boy) the next day.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8) You worry lots about not helping the little boy/girl.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9) You think: "I'm a mean person from not helping."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10) You think: "S/he needs to learn to take better care of his/her stuff."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11) You feel like you did something wrong.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12) You get mad at the little boy/girl for spilling his/her marbles.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C. Your mom has a best friend. She is a woman just like your mom, and she has a child about your age and you're invited to her (his) birthday party. There are lots of kids at the party, plus your mom is there to help her friend. Your mom and her friend leave the room where all the kids are. After they go, the children at the party begin to run around and act crazy. The kids say "You should see how much fun it is to jump on the couch!!" And, do you know what you do? You start jumping on the couch with your shoes on in front of all the kids when you know you're not supposed to. Just then, your mom and her friend walk into the living room.

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
13) You get angry and start to argue with your mom.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14) You get really red in the face and look down at the floor.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15) You think: "Those kids made me do it."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16) You think: "I deserve to feel bad for jumping on the couch."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17) You keep on thinking about how stupid you looked and worry that your mom and her friend think you're a bad kid.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18) You think: "My mom will never forgive me for jumping on the couch."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D. It's your friend's birthday and s/he's giving a birthday party. You bought her (him) a really nice present. Lots of other kids will be at the party, too. After you all have played games and had cake, your friend starts opening her/his presents. S/he opens yours last. After it's opened, your friend looks very happy and says out loud, "You got me the best present of all!"

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
19) You feel sorry for the other kids, 'cause they were trying to give good presents, too.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20) You feel ashamed. You wish your friend hadn't said that.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21) You get mad at your friend for saying that.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
22) You keep on worrying that maybe the other kids will think you're a show off.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
23) You feel proud that you thought of such a good present for your friend.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
24) You feel really, really bad for looking better than the other kids.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

E. You are playing in a neighborhood soccer game. All the parents are there to watch. The score is tied and the ball is passed to you. If you score, your team will be the big winner. Unfortunately, you miss it, and a player from the other team takes it down the field and scores. Your team loses the game.

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
25) You think: "My teammates will never let me live this down."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
26) You keep worrying that your teammates won't want you on their team anymore for a long time after.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
27) You think: "They passed me the ball wrong."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
28) You'd feel badly for letting your teammates down.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
29) You feel like you're angry at the whole world.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
30) You feel like a failure and want to avoid your teammates and your parents.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

F. At school, your teacher says that there'll be a drawing contest. Each kid is allowed to do a drawing at home and then bring it to school the next day. So that afternoon, you and your friend go home and you're both sitting there doing your drawings. You get bored, though, pretty quickly and just want to get the drawing done as fast as you can. But, your friend works on her (his) drawing for the whole afternoon, for hours and hours. The next day, you and your friend give the teacher your drawings. When they announce the winners, you win FIRST PRIZE! The teacher holds up your drawing for everyone to see.

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
31) You feel guilty, 'cause you didn't really try your best.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
32) You feel ashamed, and think I didn't deserve to win.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
33) You continue to feel nervous that your friend won't want to do stuff with you anymore.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
34) You feel proud of yourself for having done a good drawing.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
35) You worry for a long time about how your friend feels about you winning the contest.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
36) You get angry with the teacher for giving you first prize.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

G. You are outside playing with a friend. Your mom has given you two some Kool-Aid to drink. Your friend begins to tease you and you get very upset. You grab your drink and throw it in your friend's face.

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
37) You feel sorry for throwing the drink.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
38) You still feel mad at your friend, even after throwing the drink in his face.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
39) You apologize over and over again to your friend.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
40) You feel embarrassed for being so mean.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
41) You think: "He deserved that for teasing me."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
42) You feel bad about yourself that you want to run away and be by yourself.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

H. It's sunny, hot weather outside and a whole bunch of kids are going to the swimming pool. You're really excited about going. But, your best friend is sick and has to stay in bed the whole day. You don't feel like going to cheer him up, and decide to go swimming, instead. But, halfway to the swimming pool, you turn around and head to her (his) house. When you go into her (his) room, s/he says "Oh, I'm lucky to have such a good friend".

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
43) When your friend says that, you feel guilty, 'cause you almost didn't go visit her (him).	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
44) You feel ashamed -- you almost went swimming, so you're not as nice a friend as s/he thinks.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
45) You feel angry with your friend for expecting you to come visit her (him).	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
46) You turn red in the face and look down at your feet so you don't have to look straight in your friends eyes.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
47) You feel proud of yourself for being nice enough to visit your friend.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
48) You worry for days about even thinking about going swimming.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

I. Let's pretend that you and your family go on a trip. You go to visit a cousin of yours and stay at her (his) house. Everyone is standing around drinking grape juice and talking. Somebody tells a really funny joke. You laugh so hard that you spill your entire glass of grape juice all over your cousin's mom's brand new white carpet.

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
49) You keep on thinking about how clumsy you are and worry about what everyone thinks of you.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
50) You feel mad at your family.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
51) For days you can't forget about staining the carpet. You keep seeing that stain in your mind and feel horrible.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
52) You think: "My parents shouldn't have filled my glass so full."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
53) You would feel dumb and want to run and get away from everyone.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
54) You feel guilty for staining the rug.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

J. A really popular kid in your class is giving a birthday party. He/She has lots and lots of friends. But, he/she is only allowed to invite a few kids to his/her party, 'cause it's going to be a really special party. YOU get invited to the party and you're super excited about it. You go on and on telling your best friend. Your best friend looks sad, 'cause s/he wasn't invited.

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
55) You feel badly 'cause you didn't take your friend's feelings into account.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
56) You think: "I'm not such a good friend after all; I just think of myself.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
57) You start to worry that your friend thinks you're a jerk and won't want to invite you to his/her birthday party.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
58) You feel proud that such a popular kid invited you to the party.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
59) You get angry with the popular kid for not inviting your best friend.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
60) You think for a very long time about how your friend feels about not getting invited.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

K. You are outside riding your bike. You aren't looking where you are going. You ride right over a little neighborhood child's toy. The little child sees the broken toy and begins to cry. You see the broken toy and the crying child, but you just keep riding your bike toward home.

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
61) You think: "S/he shouldn't have left his/her toy in the middle of the sidewalk."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
62) You feel so ashamed that you keep from riding your bike past your neighbor's house from now on.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
63) You feel sorry for acting so meanly.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
64) You feel mad at the little child.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
65) You feel really guilty for a long, long time.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
66) You feel like a bad person for just leaving and not helping.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

L. It's a really special day at school today. Do you know why? Well, your class is going to put on a play and all the other kids at school are going to come see it. You have a very important part in the play. But, do you know what happens? You're up there on the stage and, all of a sudden, you forget your lines! Because of you, the other actors don't know what they're supposed to do next.

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
67) You feel guilty for messing up the other kids.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
68) You can't stop feeling dumb for not knowing your lines.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
69) You feel mad that your lines were so hard to remember.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
70) You think: "The other kids must have messed me up."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
71) You'd feel ashamed and wish you could run and hide.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
72) You keep worrying: "Because I forgot my lines, the whole play was ruined."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

M. One day, your and your friends are outside. You two are riding your bikes. Your friend is just riding along. You are kind of goofing off. Suddenly, you run right into your friend with your bike and you both fall down. Your friend gets hurt, but you are okay.

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
73) You keep asking if your friend is okay, even after s/he says s/he's fine."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
74) You get angry at your friend.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
75) You think: "My friend shouldn't have been riding so close to me."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
76) Your face turns red because you feel embarrassed for not paying attention to where you were going.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
77) You apologize for running into your friend.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
78) You worry that your friend won't want to ride with you anymore because you're a bad rider.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

N. Your teacher asks everyone to be quiet. Then she says, "Look how nice and straight everyone is sitting...except one person." You look around the class and realize that she means you.

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
79) You feel like everyone in the class is looking at you and they are about to laugh at you.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
80) You feel sorry because you should have been doing what the teacher said in the first place.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
81) You feel that the teacher is mean and unfair.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
82) You keep on worrying that the teacher will think you're a bad student.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

O. You are playing a game at recess and the other kids start to pick teams. In the end, you're the last one to be picked.

	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE BIT	SOMEWHAT (half & half)	A LOT	A WHOLE LOT
83) You try not to show it but deep down you feel ashamed and that no one really unwanted.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
84) You'd feel sorry for the other children who had to be on your team.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
85) You keep feeling bad about yourself even after you go home.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
86) You feel that the other kids are dumb so who cares what they think.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Appendix E:

Child Social Desirability Questionnaire (CSDQ; Crandall, Crandall, & Katkovsky, 1965)

Participant #: _____

Child SD

I am going to read some questions out loud about things that happen to all children your age. After I read each one, I want you to answer each question by circling **Yes** or **No** on your piece of paper next to the correct number.

YES NO 1. Does it sometimes bother you to share your things with your friends?

YES NO 2. Do you ever hit a boy or girl who is smaller than you?

YES NO 3. Do you ever act "fresh" or "talk back" to your mother or father?

YES NO 4. Do you ever let someone else get blamed for what you do wrong?

YES NO 5. Are you always careful about keeping your clothing neat and your room picked up?

YES NO 6. Do you always help people who need help?

YES NO 7. Do you sometimes argue with your mother to let you do something she doesn't want you to do?

YES NO 8. Do you ever say anything that makes somebody else feel bad?

YES NO 9. Are you always polite, even to people who are not very nice?

YES NO 10. Do you always listen to your parents?

YES NO 11. Do you ever forget to say "please" and "thank you"?

YES NO 12. Do you sometimes wish you could just play around instead of having to go to school?

YES NO 13. Do you always wash your hands before every meal?

YES NO 14. Have you ever broken a rule?

YES NO 15. Sometimes, do you try to get even when someone does something to you that you don't like?

YES NO 16. Do you sometimes feel angry when you don't get your way?

YES NO 17. Do you sometimes feel like making fun of other people?

YES NO 18. Are you always glad to cooperate with others?

YES NO 19. Are there times that you don't like it if somebody asks you to do something for him?

YES NO 20. Do you sometimes get mad when people don't do what you want them to do?

Appendix F:

My Child-Shame (Ferguson, Barrett, & Stegge, 1997)

Participant #: _____

MY CHILD

Please read the following instructions carefully:

You will see descriptions of young children's behaviors in typical daily situations. Many of the descriptions refer to children's reactions when they fall short, fail, or do not perform well. Some of the behaviors are very common for young children; other behaviors may be less common.

Please tell us how true each description is for your child by circling one of the numbers underneath each description. Please circle the number that best describes your child.

Circle the **number**:

1 = when the description is: **Extremely Untrue** of your child; s/he would be extremely unlikely to react in this way in this situation; the behavior is not at all characteristic of your child.

2 = when the description is: **Quite Untrue** of your child; she/he would be very unlikely to react in this way in this situation.

3 = when the description is: **Slightly Untrue** of your child; she/he would be rather unlikely to react this way in this situation.

4 = when the description: **May Be True OR May Be Untrue** of your child's reaction in this situation.

5 = when the description is: **Slightly True** of your child; she/he would be rather likely to react in this way in this situation.

6 = when the description is: **Quite True** of your child; she/he would be very likely to react in this way in this situation.

7 = when the description is: **Extremely True** of your child; she/he would be extremely likely to react in this way in this situation; the behavior is very characteristic of him/her.

Please circle NA **only if you cannot remember your child ever being in this situation**. For example, if the description says "Rarely cries or looks upset when watching a sad TV show," and your child never watches TV, then you would circle the answer NA. However, most situations are typical for all young children, so most parents will rarely need to circle NA.

All answers are OK. Children differ very much in how they respond to different situations. Also, children of different ages behave very differently. What we would like to learn is how most children your child's age react in various situations and also how they may be different from one another.

Participant #: _____

1. Excuses bad performance by saying task was "dumb," "too hard," etc.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

2. Is quite distressed by criticism after having failed.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

3. Keeps on saying, "I'm bad," "I stink," or similar after doing something wrong.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

4. When she/he fails on a task, seems to need a lot of reassurance that she/he is a worthwhile girl/boy.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

5. Becomes quiet, and/or has trouble speaking after doing something wrong or failing.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

6. Keeps on talking about how stupid she/he looked when she/he did something wrong.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

7. Outstanding performance isn't important to her/him.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

8. Worries a lot that others think she/he is terrible after misbehavior.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

9. "Droops" head down after having failed.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

10. Avoids talking about it when she/he does something wrong or fails.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

11. Tries to act especially "smart" in front of the parent after having failed at a task.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

12. Seems to feel like she/he must always succeed on tasks she/he attempts.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

Participant #: _____

13. Keeps on putting herself/himself down after failing or misbehaving.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

14. After she/he misbehaves, she/he seems to want reassurance that the parent doesn't think she/he's a bad kid.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

15. Keeps talking about what a bad person she/he is (says "bad girl" or "bad boy").
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

16. Child blames own misbehavior on others or on situation.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

17. Says over and over again that she/he is "so dumb" or "stupid" after making a mistake.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

18. Child blames own poor performance on others or on situation.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

19. Can't stand the idea of not meeting her/his goals.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

20. After having fallen short, asks repeatedly if parent still loves her/him.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

21. Acts defeated and dejected after having done something wrong or failing.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

22. Avoids trying to do something again if she/he failed on it even once.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

23. Has a perfectionistic attitude.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

24. Tries to "disappear", avoids contact after falling short of expectations.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
    Never Sometimes Always

Participant #: _____

25. After not measuring up, she/he asks parent whether she/he is still a good girl/boy.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
Never Sometimes Always

26. Makes excuses for falling short or not measuring up to expectations.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
Never Sometimes Always

27. Has definite ideas about the kind of person she/he should be and should not be.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
Never Sometimes Always

28. Attempts to do better than she/he has done before by trying harder and harder.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
Never Sometimes Always

29. Tends to gloss over own failure or bad behavior by making excuses.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
Never Sometimes Always

30. Sets standards for her/his performance and feels she/he MUST meet these.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
Never Sometimes Always

31. Avoids being around people who have seen her/him fail at something.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
Never Sometimes Always

32. Looks really "down" when she doesn't accomplish a goal she/he set, even if that goal was too difficult for someone her/his age.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
Never Sometimes Always

33. After misbehavior or failure, looks down and avoids eye contact.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
Never Sometimes Always

34. Blushes after having failed or when caught after having done something wrong.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
Never Sometimes Always

Appendix G:

My Child-Guilt (Ferguson, Barrett, & Stegge, 1997)

Participant #: _____

MY CHILD (continued)

Please answer the following questions following the same procedure. The questions in this portion are similar to those you just completed except that this time they refer to children's reactions in daily situations when they get into mischief. Again, some of the behaviors are very common for young children; other behaviors may be less common.

Remember, all answers are OK. Children differ very much in how they respond to different situations. Also, children of different ages behave very differently. What we would like to learn is how most children at this age react in various situations and also how they may be different from one another.

1. Is upset by stories in which characters are hurt or die.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

2. Keeps coming back to the idea of "being naughty" or "feeling naughty" after doing something bad.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

3. It is hard to make her/him feel sorry about doing something wrong.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

4. When she/he has hurt a playmate, she/he will try to make up for it by offering toys, candy, or other prized possessions to the other child.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

5. Is unemotional when a playmate cries.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

6. Is unconcerned about fixing spills or damages that she/he caused (for example, may suggest that the spill will dry by itself).
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

7. Feels good when good things happen to movie or story characters.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA
   Never Sometimes Always

Participant #: _____

8. If asked to do some boring job (for example, clean up several toys), she/he completes the task without being told to do so again.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

9. Eager to make up for doing something naughty.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

10. Feels remorseful when reminded about past mischief or wrongdoing.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

11. Even attractively wrapped presents can be left in the room with her/him, because she/he will not try to open them.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

12. Will feel sorry for other people who are hurt, sick, or unhappy.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

13. After breaking something, she/he seems unconcerned about fixing the damage.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

14. Seems relieved when given a chance to repair a damage she/he has caused.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

15. Will try to comfort/reassure another in distress.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

16. Feels responsible when anything goes wrong.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

17. Can tell how others are feeling.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

18. Clearly hesitates before doing something forbidden, even when she/he thinks no one is watching.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

Participant #: _____

19. Continues to feel guilty about a mishap or wrongdoing, even when forgiven.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

20. Looks remorseful or guilty when caught in the middle of a forbidden activity.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

21. Will try a prohibited but attractive activity as soon as no one is looking.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

22. Enjoys teasing or annoying pets.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

23. Seems guilt-free about mishaps or accidents she/he has caused, for example, spilling or breaking something.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

24. Will stop her/himself in the middle of doing something that has previously been forbidden even if no one tells her/him to stop this time.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

25. Asks, "What's wrong?" when seeing someone in distress.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

26. Looks like she/he feels remorseful after being naughty or failing at something.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

27. Appears anxious or agitated after having done something wrong.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

28. Acts like she/he deserves punishment for doing something she/he shouldn't have.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

29. When she/he has caused some damage (for example, dropped or broken an object), will try and put the pieces together, clean up, etc.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

Participant #: _____

30. Once something has been forbidden, she/he will avoid the misbehavior in the future.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

31. Is unemotional when watching a sad show.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

32. Acts upset when she/he sees a hurt animal.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Never			Sometimes			Always	

Appendix H:

Parenting Behavior Quesionnaire (PBQ; Robinson et al. 1995)

Participant #: _____

PARENTING PRACTICES QUESTIONNAIRE

Please get a paper and something to write with. Write down the following so that you can refer to it as you answer the questions I will be asking you.

1 = Never
2 = Once in Awhile
3 = About Half of the Time
4 = Very Often
5 = Always

For the following questions, rate how often you exhibit this behavior with your child.

_____ 1. I encourage my child to talk about his/her troubles.

_____ 2. I guide my child by punishment more than by reason.

_____ 3. I know the names of my child's friends.

_____ 4. I find it difficult to discipline my child.

_____ 5. I give my child praise when s/he is good.

_____ 6. I spank my child when s/he is disobedient.

_____ 7. I joke and play with my child.

_____ 8. I withhold scolding and/or criticism even when my child acts contrary to my wishes.

_____ 9. I show sympathy to my child when s/he is hurt or frustrated.

_____ 10. I punish my child by taking privileges away from him/her with little if any explanation.

_____ 11. I spoil my child.

_____ 12. I give comfort and understanding to my child when s/he is upset.

_____ 13. I yell or shout at my child when s/he misbehaves.

_____ 14. I am easy going and relaxed with my child.

_____ 15. I allow my child to annoy someone else.

_____ 16. I tell my child my expectations regarding behavior before s/he engages in an activity.

_____ 17. I scold and criticize to make my child improve.

_____ 18. I show patience with my child.

Participant #: _____

_____ 19. I grab my child when s/he is being disobedient.

_____ 20. I state punishments to my child and do not actually do them.

_____ 21. I am responsive to my child's feelings or needs.

_____ 22. I allow my child to give input into family rules.

_____ 23. I argue with my child.

_____ 24. I appear confident about my parenting abilities.

_____ 25. I give my child reasons why rules should be obeyed.

_____ 26. I appear to be more concerned with my own feelings than with my child's feelings.

_____ 27. I tell my child that I appreciate what s/he tries or accomplishes.

_____ 28. I punish by putting my child off somewhere alone with little if any explanation.

_____ 29. I help my child to understand the impact of behavior by encouraging him/her to talk about the consequences of his/her own actions.

_____ 30. I am afraid that disciplining my child for misbehavior will cause him/her to not like me.

_____ 31. I take my child's desires into account before asking him/her to do something.

_____ 32. I explode in anger towards my child.

_____ 33. I am aware of problems or concerns about my child in school.

_____ 34. I threaten my child with punishment more often than I actually give it.

_____ 35. I express affection by hugging- kissing, and holding my child.

_____ 36. I ignore my child's misbehavior.

_____ 37. I use physical punishment as a way of disciplining my child.

_____ 38. I carry out discipline after my child misbehaves.

_____ 39. I apologize to my child when I make a mistake in parenting.

_____ 40. I tell my child what to do.

_____ 41. I give into my child when s/he causes a commotion about something.

_____ 42. I talk it over and reason with my child when s/he misbehaves.

Participant #: _____

_____ 43. I slap my child when s/he misbehaves.

_____ 44. I disagree with my child.

_____ 45. I allow my child to interrupt others.

_____ 46. I have warm and intimate times together with my child.

_____ 47. When two children are fighting, I discipline them first and ask questions later.

_____ 48. I encourage my child to freely express herself even when disagreeing with me.

_____ 49. I bribe my child with rewards to bring about compliance.

_____ 50. I scold or criticize my child when his/her behavior doesn't meet my expectations.

_____ 51. I show respect for my child's opinions by encouraging him/her to express them.

_____ 52. I set strict well-established rules for my child.

_____ 53. I explain to my child how I feel about his/her good and bad behavior.

_____ 54. I use threats as punishment with little or no justification.

_____ 55. I take into account my child's preferences in making plans for the family.

_____ 56. When my child asks why s/he has to conform, I state: "because I said so" or "I am your parent and I want you to".

_____ 57. I appear unsure of how to solve my child's misbehavior.

_____ 58. I explain to my child the consequences of his/her behavior.

_____ 59. I demand that my child does things.

_____ 60. I channel my child's misbehavior into a more acceptable activity.

_____ 61. I shove my child when s/he is disobedient.

_____ 62. I emphasize the reasons for rules.

Appendix I:

Socialization of Moral Affect-Parent Report (SOMA-PC; Rosenberg et al., 1994)

Participant #: _____

SOMA-PC (Rosenberg et al., 1994).

Below are some situations that parents with school-age children are likely to encounter in day-to-day life, followed by several common reactions to those situations.

As you read each scenario, try to imagine yourself in that situation. Then indicate how likely you would be to react in each of the ways described. We ask you to rate all responses, because people may feel or react more than one way to the same situation, or they may react different ways at different times.

For example:

A. **You wake up early one Saturday morning. It is cold and rainy outside.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a. Telephone a friend to catch up on news.
1--------2--------3--------4--------5
Not at all Likely ... Very Likely

b. Take the extra time to read the paper.
1--------2--------3--------4--------5
Not at all Likely ... Very Likely

c. Feel disappointed that it's raining.
1--------2--------3--------4--------5
Not at all Likely ... Very Likely

d. Wonder why you woke up so early.
1--------2--------3--------4--------5
Not at all Likely ... Very Likely

In the above example, I've rated ALL of the answers by circling a number. I circled a "1" for answer a. because I wouldn't want to wake up a friend very early on a Saturday morning--so it's not at all likely that I would do that. I circled a "5" for answer b. because I almost always read the paper if I have time in the morning (very likely). I circled a "3" for answer c. because for me it's about half and half. Sometimes I would be disappointed about the rain and sometimes I wouldn't--it would depend on what I had planned. And I circled a "4" for answer d. because I would probably wonder why I had awakened so early.

Keep in mind that there are no "right" or "wrong" answers to these questions. Each family, parent, and child is different. What is important is that you try to answer each question as honestly as you can in order to help us to learn as much as possible about children and families.

PLEASE DO NOT SKIP ANY ITEMS--RATE ALL RESPONSES

Participant #: _____

1. **Your child is getting ready to leave for her/his first day of the school-year.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Say, "You know how important it is that you do well in school to make me happy."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Say, "I'm so proud of my girl/boy."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	You would treat it like it was just another morning--you wouldn't make a big deal about it.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "I'm so proud of the way you're getting ready for your first day of school."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

---

2. **While playing a game with your child you catch her/him cheating.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Say, "You are not acting like someone I want to play with" and leave the game.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Say, "Stop cheating this minute, or you'll be in BIG trouble!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Say, "Its not fair to cheat because it doesn't give the other person a chance to win."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "What a cheater! Only bad people cheat."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
e.	Say, "You need to say you're sorry for cheating, and play by the rules from now on."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

Participant #: _____

3. **Your child has a lead part in a school recital. When the big night arrives, she/he does a good job.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Say, "You did a wonderful job tonight, and I was very proud of your performance."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Take your child home without making a big deal about it.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Say, "When I see you up on the stage it makes me so happy to be your parent!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "I'm so proud of you I could burst! You're such a wonderful daughter/son."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

---

4. **Your child asks for a special meal for dinner, which you make. However, when it is ready your daughter/son changes her/his mind and refuses to eat.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Say, "You asked for this for dinner, and now you won't eat it. That's not right."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Say, "Don't try to talk to me after what you did, because I have nothing to say to you!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Say, "It makes me feel so bad when you don't eat the dinner I made especially for you."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "You're such an ungrateful child."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
e.	Give your child a look of disgust, throw the food in the trash, and say "Fine, don't eat!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
f.	Say, "You are going to sit here at this table until you finish this meal, and I don't care if you are here all night long!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

Participant #: _____

5. **Your child cleans up her/his room without being asked.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Say, "I like the way you cleaned up your room without me saying anything first."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Say, "You're such a helpful person--I can always count on you."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Briefly look into the room, without making any comment.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "You're such a good kid when you clean up like this without being asked.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

---

6. **You see your daughter/son pulling on the family dog's tail and laughing**.

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Feel disgusted with your child.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Say, "It hurts the dog when you pull his tail, just like it hurts you when someone pulls your hair."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Say, "Get in your room right now, without another word."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "It makes me feel bad to see you tease the dog like that."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
e.	Say, "Go to your room until you can be someone I would want to be around."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
f.	Say, "It's not right to pull his tail or tease him."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
g.	Say, "You need to stop teasing the dog and be nice to him from now on."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

Participant #: _____

7. **You and your child are shopping, and she/he deliberately hides from you.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Say, "If you don't behave I'm going to smack you."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Say, "You really make me feel like a bad mother when you hide from me."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	In the check-out line say, "Why don't you tell the clerk how you disobeyed me again today."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "It's wrong to hide from me when we are shopping."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
e.	Refuse to speak to your child for the rest of the shopping trip.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
f.	Say, "You're such a bad daughter/son--I can't take you anywhere!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

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8. **You see your child trying to cheer up another child who is crying.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Say, "I like the way you tried to cheer your friend up--that was a very nice thing to do."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Choose not to tell your child you saw what she/he did.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Say, "I'm so proud of you--you're such a nice person."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "Seeing you help your friend that way makes me love you so much!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

Participant #: _____

9. **You find you child opening up her/his birthday presents--which you had put in your "secret" hiding place.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	At the birthday party, let everyone know that your child found her/his presents early to teach her/him a lesson.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Say, "You'll be sorry if I ever catch you opening your presents early again."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Say, "You shouldn't go looking for your presents early."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "You need to apologize for opening these early, and promise me you will not do this again."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
e.	Say disgustedly, "I bet you think you're some detective now, don't you."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

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10. **Your child is playing with the VCR and breaks it.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Say, "What a troublemaker you are."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Say, "I can't even look at you right now--go to your room."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Say, "If I catch you playing with the VCR again I'm going to smack you."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Loudly announce to anyone who wants to use the VCR who broke it.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
e.	Say, "I am very upset--Now I won't be able to watch my programs."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
f.	Say, "Great Job! Think you can go without breaking anything else for the next 5 minutes?"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
g.	Say, "Since you were responsible for breaking the VCR, you have to tell the rest of the family and apologize to them."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

Participant #: _____

11. **Your child brings you flowers he/she picked for you.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Take the flowers and go back to what you were doing.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Say, "You picked flowers for me? What a nice thing to do!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Say, "It makes me smile when you do nice things for me."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "What a thoughtful person you are!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

---

12. **Your child was outside playing and comes in without his/her hat. When you ask your child about the missing hat, he/she can't remember what happened to it.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Sigh in disgust and say, "You'd lose your hands if they weren't attached!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Say, "That was your hat--you were supposed to keep track of it."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Say, "Do I have to ask your friends to make sure you don't lose your stuff?"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "You are so irresponsible--always losing your stuff."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

Participant #: _____

13. **Your child shows you the model he/she just built for school.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Say, "You did a nice job building that model."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
b.	Say, "You are so creative!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
c.	Say, "It makes me so happy when I see that you can build something like that."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
d.	Give a quick look without making any comment.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely

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14. **Your son/daughter was supposed to put away all his/her stuff, but it is still all over the floor.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	In front of your child, tell others how messy your child is.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
b.	Say, "I'm so tired, and you know how bad I feel when you leave your things out."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
c.	Say, "I can't take any more of this mess! Stay in this room and I don't want to hear or see you until this room is all clean!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
d.	Say, "Now this is not ok. I asked you to clean up your stuff and you didn't."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
e.	Say, "You can't take care of anything--you're hopeless."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
f.	Say, "What a disgusting mess--what a pig you are!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
g.	Say, "I know you know how to clean up—lets see you put all your things away."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely

Participant #: _____

15. **Your family is eating dinner together, and in an angry outburst your child throws a dinner roll at you.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Announce to the rest of the table "Look who can't eat like the rest of us--everyone, look at this mess!."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Say, "It hurts me when you throw the food I made just for you."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Give your child a disgusted look and say "That makes me sick"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Refuse to speak to your child for the rest of the meal.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
e.	Give your child a quick smack.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
f.	Say, "You need to pick up that roll and throw it away, and then apologize to everyone for throwing food during dinner."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
g.	Say, "When you throw your food, other people around you can't enjoy their own meal."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
h.	Say, "You're such a brat."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

---

16. **You lose your keys and your child helps you find them.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Say, "You make me so proud when you help me like this."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Say, "I really like the way you helped me find my keys."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Quietly grab your keys as you run out the door.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "You're so helpful--I can always count on you."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

Participant #: _____

17. **Your child comes home from school with a note saying he/she was picking fights with other students.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Say, "It's wrong to fight in school."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
b.	Say, "It really ruins my day to hear that you behaved this way today."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
c.	Say, "No one likes people who fight in school, including me."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
d.	Say, "What did you think you were doing, fighting in school! You can just stay in your room until I say you can come out, and I had better not hear a sound from you until then!"	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
e.	The next day, discuss the incident with the teacher in front of other students.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
f.	Say, "You know not to fight in school, because people can get seriously hurt."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely
g.	Say, "You need to apologize at school tomorrow to everyone you fought with today."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely — Very Likely

---

Participant #: _____

18. **The mother of your child's best friend calls, and says that the "new" toy your child brought home belongs to your child's friend.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Say, "It embarrassed me so much to get that phone call from your friend's mother."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	Say, "Since you took that toy without asking first, you have to take it back to your friend and apologize."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Discuss the incident with the friend's parent when your child and his/her friend are present.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "How would you feel if someone took something of yours without asking your permission? Other people don't like it either when someone takes their stuff."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
e.	Say, "Taking things from other people without their permission is wrong."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

---

19. **For your birthday, your child surprises you with a handmade gift.**

HOW LIKELY WOULD YOU BE TO:

a.	Say, "You're always such a good son/daughter, and I am so proud of you."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
b.	React the same way you did when opening your other presents.	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
c.	Say, "It was very nice of you to make me a present, and you did a beautiful job."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely
d.	Say, "At times like this I realize how much I love you."	1--------2--------3--------4--------5 Not at all Likely Very Likely

Appendix J:

Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale (CCNES; Fabes et al., 1990)

Participant #: _____

CCNES

Instructions: For the following items, please indicate on a scale from 1 (very unlikely) to 7 (very likely) the likelihood that you would respond in the ways listed for each item. Please read each item carefully and respond as honestly and sincerely as you can. For each response, please circle a number from 1-7 using the scale below.

Response Scale: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very Unlikely Medium Very Likely

---

1. If my child becomes angry because he/she is sick or hurt and can't go to his/her friend's birthday party, I would:

a.	send my child to his/her room to cool off	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	get angry at my child	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	help my child think about ways that he/she can still be with friends (e.g., invite some friends over after the party)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	tell my child not to make a big deal out of missing the party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	encourage my child to express his/her feelings of anger and frustration	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	soothe my child and do something fun with him/her to make him/her feel better about missing the party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. If my child falls off his/her bike and breaks it, and then gets upset and cries, I would:

a.	remain calm and not let myself get anxious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	comfort my child and try to get him/her to forget about the accident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	tell my child that he/she is over-reacting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	help my child figure out how to get the bike fixed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	tell my child it's OK to cry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	tell my child to stop crying or he/she won't be allowed to ride his/her bike anytime soon	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. If my child loses some prized possession and reacts with tears, I would:

a.	get upset with him/her for being so careless and then crying about it	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	tell my child that he/she is over-reacting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	help my child think of places he/she hasn't looked yet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	distract my child by talking about happy things	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	tell him/her it's OK to cry when you feel unhappy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	tell him/her that's what happens when you're not careful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Participant #: _____

Response Scale: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very Unlikely Medium Very Likely

4. If my child is afraid of injections and becomes quite shaky and teary while waiting for his/her turn to get a shot, I would:

a.	tell him/her to shape up or he/she won't be allowed to do something he/she likes to do (e.g., watch TV)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	encourage my child to talk about his/her fears	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	tell my child not to make big deal of the shot	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	tell him/her not to embarrass us by crying	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	comfort him/her before and after the shot	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	talk to my child about ways to make it hurt less (such as relaxing so it won't hurt or taking deep breaths)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. If my child is going over to spend the afternoon at a friend's house and becomes nervous and upset because I can't stay there with him/her, I would:

a.	distract my child by talking about all the fun he/she will have with his/her friend	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	help my child think of things that he/she could do so that being at the friend's house without me wasn't scary (e.g., take a favorite book or toy with him/her)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	tell my child to quit over-reacting and being a baby	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	tell the child that if he/she doesn't stop that he/she won't be allowed to go out anymore	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	feel upset and uncomfortable because of my child's reactions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	encourage my child to talk about his/her nervous feelings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. If my child feels ashamed after being lectured for carelessly breaking the VCR/DVD player, I would:

a.	tell my child that if he/she doesn't stop feeling this way, he/she won't be allowed to watch any movies once the VCR/DVD is fixed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	comfort my child by reassuring him/her that I love him/her very much	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	help my child think of ways to make amends for having broken the VCR (e.g., do extra chores)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	tell my child to stop over-reacting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	encourage my child to share with me how he/she is feeling	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	get annoyed at him/her for being careless and then sulking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Participant #: _____

Response Scale: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very Unlikely Medium Very Likely

---

7. If my child is participating in some group activity with his/her friends and proceeds to make a mistake and then looks embarrassed and on the verge of tears, I would:

a.	comfort my child and try to make him/her feel better	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	tell my child that he/she is over-reacting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	feel uncomfortable and embarrassed myself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	tell my child to straighten up or we'll go home right away	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	encourage my child to talk about his/her feelings of embarrassment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	tell my child that I'll help him/her practice so that he/she can do better next time	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. If my child is about to appear in a recital or sports activity and becomes visibly nervous about people watching him/her, I would:

a.	help my child think of things that he/she could do to get ready for his/her turn (e.g., to do some warm-ups and not to look at the audience)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	suggest that my child think about something relaxing so that his/her nervousness will go away	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	remain calm and not get nervous myself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	tell my child that he/she is being a baby about it	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	tell my child that if he/she doesn't calm down, we'll have to leave and go home right away	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	encourage my child to talk about his/her nervous feelings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. If my child receives an undesirable birthday gift from a friend and looks obviously disappointed, even annoyed, after opening it in the presence of the friend, I would:

a.	encourage my child to express his/her disappointed feelings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	tell my child that the present can be exchanged for something the child wants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	NOT be annoyed with my child for being rude	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	tell my child that he/she is over-reacting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	scold my child for being insensitive to the friend's feelings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	try to get my child to feel better by doing something fun	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Participant #: _____

Response Scale: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very Unlikely Medium Very Likely

10. If my child becomes upset and runs from the dinner table to his/her room for being teased during dinner, I would:

a.	feel terrible that my child is so sensitive and gets so easily hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	tell my child that he/she better stop acting this way and get back to the dinner table or else	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	soothe my child by reassuring him/her that we all love him/her and that no one meant to upset him/her	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	encourage my child to express his/her feelings of hurt openly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	help my child by together coming up with ways to stand up for him/herself better	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	tell my child not to take everything so seriously	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. If my child is panicky and can't go to sleep after watching a scary TV show, I would:

a.	encourage my child to talk about what scared him/her	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	get upset with him/her for being silly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	tell my child that he/she is over-reacting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	help my child think of something to do so that he/she can get to sleep (e.g., take a toy to bed, leave the lights on)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	tell him/her to go to bed or he/she won't be allowed to watch any more TV	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	do something fun with my child to help him/her forget about what scared him/her	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12. If my child is at a park and appears on the verge of tears because the other children are mean to him/her and won't let him/her play with them, I would:

a.	NOT get upset myself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	tell my child that if he/she starts crying then we'll have to go home right away	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	tell my child it's OK to cry when he/she feels bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	comfort my child and try to get him/her to think about something happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	help my child think of something else to do	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	tell my child that he/she will feel better soon	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Participant #: _____

Response Scale: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very Unlikely Medium Very Likely

13. If my child is playing with other children and one of them calls him/her names, and my child then begins to tremble and become tearful, I would:

a.	tell my child not to make a big deal out of it	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	feel upset myself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	tell my child to behave or we'll have to go home right away	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	help my child think of constructive things to do when other children tease him/her (e.g., find other things to do)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	comfort him/her and play a game to take his/her mind off the upsetting event	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	encourage him/her to talk about how it hurts to be teased	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14. If my child is shy and scared around strangers and consistently becomes teary and wants to stay in his/her bedroom whenever family friends come to visit, I would:

a.	help my child think of things to do that would make meeting my friends less scary (e.g., to take a favorite toy with him/her when meeting my friends)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	tell my child that it is OK to feel nervous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	try to make my child happy by talking about the fun things we can do with our friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	feel upset and uncomfortable because of my child's reactions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	tell my child that he/she must stay in the living room and visit with our friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	tell my child that he/she is being a baby	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15. If after losing at a game, my child starts putting him/herself down and doesn't want to face the other kids outside, I would:

a.	tell my child to stop making such a big deal out of nothing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	help my child practice the game so that he/she can improve	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	soothe my child by discussing with him/her other things he/she is good at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	NOT get distressed because my child is feeling this way	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	tell my child that it's okay to feel upset when you lose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	tell my child to get back outside or else spend the day alone in his/her room	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix K:

Child Behavioral Quesionnaire (CBQ; Rothbart et al., 2001)

Participant #: _____

Children's Behavior Questionnaire

Instructions: Please read carefully before starting:

I will now read to you a set of statements that describe children's reactions to a number of situations. I would like you to tell me what your child's reaction is likely to be in those situations. There are of course no "correct" ways of reacting; children differ widely in their reactions, and it is these differences we are trying to learn about. Please read each statement and decide whether it is a "true" or "untrue" description of your child's reaction within the past six months. The scale for these Q's is slightly different, so please write down the following:

1 extremely untrue of your child

2 quite untrue of your child

3 slightly untrue of your child

4 neither true nor false of your child

5 slightly true of your child

6 quite true of your child

7 extremely true of your child

I would like you to use this scale to indicate how well each statement describes your child.

If you cannot answer one of the items because you have never seen the child in that situation, for example, if the statement is about the child's reaction to your singing and you have never sung to your child, then you can indicate that by saying that it does not apply to your child.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
extremely untrue	quite untrue	slightly untrue	neither true not untrue	slightly true	quite true	extremely true	not applicable

My child:

1. Seems always in a big hurry to get from one place to another.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

2. Gets angry when told s/he has to go to bed.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

3. Likes going down high slides or other adventurous activities.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

4. Gets so worked up before an exciting event that s/he has trouble sitting still.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

5. Usually rushes into an activity without thinking about it.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

6. Cries sadly when a favorite toy gets lost or broken.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

7. Seems to be at ease with almost any person.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

8. Notices it when parents are wearing new clothing.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

9. Has temper tantrums when s/he doesn't get what s/he wants.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

10. Gets very enthusiastic about the things s/he does.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

11. Is afraid of burglars or the "boogie man."
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

12. Tends to become sad if the family's plans don't work out.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

13. Is afraid of loud noises.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

14. Has a hard time settling down after an exciting activity.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

15. Seems to feel depressed when unable to accomplish some task.
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
extremely untrue	quite untrue	slightly untrue	neither true not untrue	slightly true	quite true	extremely true	not applicable

My child:

16. Often rushes into new situations.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

17. Is quite upset by a little cut or bruise.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

18. Gets quite frustrated when prevented from doing something s/he wants to do.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

19. Becomes upset when loved relatives or friends are getting ready to leave following a visit.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

20. Comments when a parent has changed his/her appearance.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

21. When angry about something, s/he tends to stay upset for ten minutes or longer.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

22. Is not afraid of the dark.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

23. Takes a long time in approaching new situations.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

24. Is sometimes shy even around people s/he has known a long time.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

25. Can wait before entering into new activities if s/he is asked to.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

26. Gets angry when s/he can't find something s/he wants to play with.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

27. Is afraid of fire.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

28. Sometimes seems nervous when talking to adults s/he has just met.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

29. Is slow and unhurried in deciding what to do next.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

30. Changes from being upset to feeling much better within a few minutes.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
extremely untrue	quite untrue	slightly untrue	neither true not untrue	slightly true	quite true	extremely true	not applicable

My child:

31. Prepares for trips and outings by planning things s/he will need.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

32. Becomes very excited while planning for trips.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

33. Is quickly aware of some new item in the living room.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

34. Is not very upset at minor cuts or bruises.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

35. Prefers quiet activities to active games.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

36. Tends to say the first thing that comes to mind, without stopping to think about it.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

37. Acts shy around new people.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

38. Has trouble sitting still when s/he is told to (at movies, church, etc.).
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

39. Rarely cries when s/he hears a sad story.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

40. Rarely becomes upset when watching a sad event in a TV show.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

41. Becomes very excited before an outing (e.g., picnic, party).
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

42. If upset, cheers up quickly when s/he thinks about something else.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

43. Is comfortable asking other children to play.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

44. Rarely gets upset when told s/he has to go to bed.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

45. When drawing or coloring in a book, shows strong concentration.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
extremely untrue	quite untrue	slightly untrue	neither true not untrue	slightly true	quite true	extremely true	not applicable

My child:

46. Is afraid of the dark.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

47. Is easy to soothe when s/he is upset.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

48. Is good at following instructions.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

49. Is rarely frightened by "monsters" seen on TV or at movies.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

50. Likes to go high and fast when pushed on a swing.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

51. Sometimes turns away shyly from new acquaintances.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

52. When building or putting something together, becomes very involved in what s/he is doing, and works for long periods.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

53. Likes being sung to.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

54. Approaches places s/he has been told are dangerous slowly and cautiously.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

55. Rarely becomes discouraged when s/he has trouble making something work.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

56. Is very difficult to soothe when s/he has become upset.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

57. Likes the sound of words, such as nursery rhymes.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

58. Dislikes rough and rowdy games.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

59. Can easily stop an activity when s/he is told "no."
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

60. Is among the last children to try out a new activity.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
extremely untrue	quite untrue	slightly untrue	neither true not untrue	slightly true	quite true	extremely true	not applicable

My child:

61. Is full of energy, even in the evening.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

62. Gets angry when called in from play before s/he is ready to quit.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

63. Sometimes becomes absorbed in a picture book and looks at it for a long time.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

64. Remains pretty calm about upcoming desserts like ice cream.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

65. Hardly ever complains when ill with a cold.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

66. Looks forward to family outings, but does not get too excited about them.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

67. Enjoys gentle rhythmic activities, such as rocking or swaying.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 NA

Appendix L:

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Questionnaire (MCSDQ; Crown & Marlowe, 1960)

Participant #:_____

Marlowe-Crowne-SD

For the following questions, please mark "T" for True and "F" for False.	True	False
1. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.	O T	O F
2. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.	O T	O F
3. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.	O T	O F
4. I like to gossip at times.	O T	O F
5. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.	O T	O F
6. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.	O T	O F
7. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.	O T	O F
8. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.	O T	O F
9. I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget.	O T	O F
10. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.	O T	O F
11. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.	O T	O F
12. I have never been annoyed when people expressed ideas very different from my own.	O T	O F
13. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.	O T	O F
14. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favours of me.	O T	O F
15. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings. .	O T	O F

Appendix M:

Partial Correlations for Mother-report of My Child Ruminative Self-Conscious Emotions ($N = 66$).

Variable Name	*Ruminative Shame Controlling for Ruminative Guilt*	*Ruminative Guilt Controlling for Ruminative Shame*
Parenting		
Authoritative	.05	.06
Authoritarian	.18 ^{t}	.05
Permissive	.22*	-.07
Conditional approval	.00	.23*
Disgust	.09	.08
Love withdrawal	.17 ^{t}	-.06
Power assertiveness	.02	.11
Positive child focus	.10	.23*
Negative child focus	.16	.07
Mother self-focus	.06	.11
Public humiliation	.06	-.04
Emotion Coaching		
Supportive response	.17 ^{t}	.08
Unsupportive response	.12	.13
Temperament		
Extroversion/Surgency	.00	.05
Negative affectivity	.42**	-.05
Effortful control	-.25*	.32**
Attachment		
SAT attachment	-.11	.06
SAT self-reliance	-.13	-.03

$^{t}p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$ (1-tailed).

Appendix N:

Partial Correlations for Mother Report of Child's Self-conscious Emotions (My Child), Controlling for the Other Three (*N*=66).

Variable Name	*Basic Shame*	*Ruminative Shame*	*Basic Guilt*	*Ruminative Guilt*
Parenting				
Authoritative	.07	.02	.22*	-.04
Authoritarian	.04	.17^{t}	-.25*	.14
Permissive	.22*	.14	-.22*	.00
Conditional approval	-.03	.01	.02	.21^{t}
Disgust	-.03	.10	-.19^{t}	.16
Love withdrawal	.19^{t}	.10	-.19^{t}	-.01
Power assertiveness	-.04	.03	-.03	.11
Positive person focus	.07	.07	.13	.15
Negative person focus	.10	.12	-.06	.07
Parent self-focus	.16^{t}	.00	.02	.07
Public humiliation	.09	.03	-.26*	.06
Emotion Coaching				
Supportive response	.16	.11	.05	.03
Unsupportive response	.11	.08	-.01	.11
Temperament	.08	-.02	-.33**	.18^{t}
Extroversion/Surgency				
Negative affectivity	.10	.37**	.02	-.07
Effortful control	-.12	-.21^{t}	.23*	.23*
Attachment				
SAT attachment	-.13	-.06	.10	.03
SAT self-reliance	.05	-.14	-.09	.00

$^{t}p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$ (one-tailed).