

Shame, Guilt, and Values in Adolescents' Self-Evaluative Responses to Peer Victimization

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**Abstract**

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The connections between adolescents' shame, guilt, and personal values in response to past peer victimization events were examined using qualitative coding and Epistemic Network Analysis (ENA). Two hundred and eighty-four 12- to 18-year-olds from four primary racial/ethnic groups participated at several study sites in the Northwest United States. Participants were interviewed about emotions experienced in past peer victimization events and asked to provide rationales for associated feelings of shame and guilt. Values were assessed using the Schwartz (1992) model and qualitative coding of interview transcripts. ENA results suggested that guilt was linked to threatened benevolence values, shame was linked to threatened competence values, and both emotions were linked to violated self-direction values. The discussion focuses on parallels and distinctions between youth's situational emotions in victimization contexts and research on dispositional shame and guilt.

### Shame, Guilt, and Values in Adolescents' Self-Evaluative Responses to Peer Victimization

Adolescence constitutes a pivotal stage of social and moral development in which young people may navigate challenging social dynamics (Gilbert & Irons, 2009) and begin to consolidate external norms into more stable and enduring self-concepts (Daniel & Benish-Weisman, 2018). Research has indicated that during this phase of life, youth may develop greater capacities for the self-reflection and social cognition underlying more advanced moral reasoning (Malti, 2016). Significant social events in adolescence may therefore serve as meaningful opportunities for young people to reflect on how their behavior aligns with their personal values and goals (Tangney, Steuwig, & Mashek, 2007). Among the events that can prompt self-evaluation, episodes of peer victimization and conflict are especially salient because they can entail negotiating multifaceted and potentially conflicting arrays of personal and social standards (e.g., Forsberg, Thornberg, & Samuelsson, 2014; Yun & Graham, 2018).

When events elicit individuals' self-criticism, the negative self-conscious emotions of shame and guilt are understood to exert related yet distinct influences on subsequent motivation and behavior (Tracy & Robins, 2006). Research with adolescents has primarily linked dispositional guilt (the tendency to feel guilt across contexts and time) to prosocial behavioral and positive wellbeing, whereas dispositional shame has primarily been associated with maladaptive outcomes, such as aggression and internalizing symptomatology (Kim, Thibodeau, & Jorgensen, 2011; Malti & Krettenauer, 2013; Menesini & Camodeca, 2008; Roos, Hodges, & Salmivalli, 2014). Longitudinal studies of children and adolescents indicate that dispositional shame and guilt feature differential relationships to social behavior in these age groups: higher levels of guilt in early adolescence has been found to correlate with later increases in behavioral adjustment and prosocial behavior, whereas higher levels of shame may correlate with decreases

in prosocial behavior over time (Roos et al., 2014). In addition, dispositional shame has further been linked to increased externalization of blame, anger, and aggression (Furukawa, Tangney, & Higashibara, 2012; Tangney, Wagner, Hill-Barlow, Marschall, & Gramzow, 1996). In peer victimization research, this emotion has been implicated in avoidant, “outsider” behavior in response to peers being bullied (Mazzone, Camodeca, & Salmivalli, 2018) and the development of internalizing symptoms following personal victimization (Irwin et al., 2019). As shame and guilt are linked to significantly divergent implications in development, further inquiry into adolescents’ experiences of these emotions may assist in illuminating the underlying distinctions between these emotions.

While past studies have illustrated the overarching links between adolescents’ self-evaluative emotions and social behavior (e.g., Silfver et al., 2008), few, if any, have investigated how youth’s experiences of shame and guilt reflect the fundamental values that serve as individuals’ personal criteria for choosing, justifying, and evaluating behavior and events (Schwartz, 2012). In research on adolescent emotion, these values have been shown to relate closely to dispositional shame and guilt (Silfver et al., 2008) and to substantively predict future prosocial or aggressive behavior (McDonald, Benish-Weisman, O’Brien, & Ungvary, 2015; Wentzel, Filisetti, & Looney, 2007). Despite the significant role of personal values in adolescents’ self-evaluation following experiences with peer victimization, however, prior research has explored their connections in only limited depth. Thus, the present study explores the relationships between shame, guilt, and personal values elicited in adolescents’ experiences of peer victimization.

### **Theoretical Links Between Self-Evaluative Emotions and Moral Motivation**

The self-evaluative emotions, including shame, guilt, and pride, have been widely theorized to influence social behavior via motivational pathways (e.g., Tangney et al., 2007; Tracy & Robins, 2004; Malti, 2016). By providing individuals with meaningful internal feedback regarding the outcomes of their socially-oriented behavior, these emotional responses are thought to act as regulatory influences on future behavior (Kochanska, 1991; Malti & Keller, 2010; Malti & Latzko, 2012; Tangney et al., 2007). Whereas the positive experience of pride can reinforce actions that promote feelings of competence from fulfilling social standards, the self-critical emotions of shame and guilt are believed to discourage individuals from repeating behaviors that violate socially-endorsed norms (Tangney et al., 2007). Over the course of development, and particularly in adolescence, individuals are thought to integrate the external standards associated with shame and guilt into their personal criteria for negative self-evaluation (Gilbert & Irons, 2009; Malti, 2016).

### **Moral Emotion and Motivation in Adolescence**

The roles of self-evaluative emotions in relation to social experiences and perceptions are understood increase in significance during adolescence (e.g., Malti, 2016). This contention has been linked to the greater salience of peer influences (Irwin et al., 2019) and pressures for social competition and conformity (Gilbert & Irons, 2009) in adolescence that may require youth to engage in more challenging navigation of personal and social standards. In conjunction with these shifts, studies of adolescents' cognitive and affective processing have indicated the onset of more advanced moral reasoning skills during this stage of life (Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Knafo-Noam, 2015). For example, in finding age-related changes in the activation patterns of regions in the prefrontal cortex, Decety and Michalska (2010) concluded that visceral emotional reactions to empathy-inducing scenarios may become more analytical or evaluative in function as

individuals age and develop. Building upon such evidence, other researchers have theorized that enhanced moral coordination skills contribute to adolescents' identity formation by enabling the gradual integration of standards into stable self-concepts (Malti, 2016; see also Arsenio & Lemerise, 2004). Keller (2004), for one, has described this period of life as a critical window for the formation of moral action tendencies. In sum, key shifts in both internal moral reasoning and external social environments may designate adolescence as a period in which shame and guilt take on heightened meaning in individuals' self-evaluations of social events and behavior.

### **Conceptual Implications of Shame and Guilt in Motivation and Behavior**

While shame and guilt both involve negative self-evaluation with regard to socially-influenced standards, theory and research suggest these emotions are distinguished in at least two fundamental and overlapping ways. The first distinction reflects Lewis' (1971) contention that self-criticism in guilt focuses on one's specific actions, whereas in shame it focuses on the global, or whole, self. This conceptualization has been supported by a substantial body of research on shame and guilt in children, adolescents, and adults (e.g., Ferguson et al., 1999; Tangney et al., 1996). In this view, shame is elicited when individuals perceive discrepancies between their actual and ideal selves (Tangney et al., 1998; Tracy & Robins, 2004), whereas guilt entails more "decentered" concern for one's actions viewed primarily as distinct from one's self (Tangney et al., 2007). Consequently, shame is frequently characterized as more affectively painful than guilt because it stems from the belief that one is a "bad person" as opposed to merely the agent of a "bad action" (Tangney et al., 2007). While this distinction between behavior-focus in guilt and self-focus in shame has not directly been evaluated in adolescents, some evidence suggests it may become more pronounced between childhood and early adolescence. In a study by Ferguson and colleagues (1991), children ages 8 to 11 years were

asked to describe the emotions they would feel as protagonists in stories about social blunders and moral transgressions. Results indicated that older children were more likely to describe shame as negatively reflecting on their self-concepts (such as by feeling stupid or incapable of performing correctly), whereas younger children related shame more to external fears of ridicule or embarrassment. On the other hand, a later study by Ferguson et al. (1999) found that children ages 5 through 12 consistently attributed guilt to actions perceived as uncharacteristic of the self or inconsistent with standards for behavior (Ferguson et al., 1999).

Additional theory has contended that shame reflects perceptions of one's global inadequacy, whereas guilt reflects evaluations of specific self-defects or transgressions (Tangney et al., 2007; Tracy & Robins, 2004). In this view, individuals who feel guilty are more prone to regulate their emotional distress by changing their behavior than are those who feel shame and perceive the source of their concern as outside of their control (Tracy & Robins, 2004; 2006). Guilt can therefore motivate individuals to repair or remediate the negative consequences of their actions and change their future behavior (e.g., Tangney et al., 2007), whereas shame may be more conducive to cognitive reappraisal (e.g., externalization of blame), hostility, or avoidance (e.g., Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Although Tracy and Robin's (2004) model has primarily been validated with undergraduate or adult samples, Tangney et al.'s (1996) cross-sectional study determined that adolescents' dispositional guilt was positively correlated with constructive intentions and adaptive behaviors (such as discussions with the target individual, corrective action, or re-appraisal of the target's role). Adolescents' shame, on the other hand, was found to be essentially orthogonal to constructive intentions and instead associated with more self-aggression and internalized anger (Tangney et al., 1996).

The second overarching distinction between shame and guilt dichotomizes them according to whether concerns are primarily oriented toward the self (in shame) or toward others (in guilt). The predominantly other-oriented focus of guilt (e.g., Malti, 2016; Eisenberg, 2000; Tangney et al., 2007) has been linked to motivation for action to repair or remediate negative consequences of behavior and restore social standing, such as apologizing, amending, or undoing (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). This perspective is supported by evidence that experiences of guilt in adolescents as well as in adults and children derive from perceptions of having violated specific, internalized norms (Irwin et al., 2019; Ferguson et al., 1991, Tangney et al., 1996), especially values related to others' welfare such as benevolence and universalism (Roos et al., 2014). In support of this view, Tangney et al. (1996) found that adolescents' guilt was positively associated with greater concern about consequences for the target of actions than for the self. Similarly, a study of guilt in Italian children and adolescents found that the older group was more likely than the younger to characterize antecedents of guilt as disappointing somebody, betraying trust, or inaction (Gavazzi, Ornaghi, & Antoniotti, 2011).

In comparison to guilt, shame's self-oriented concern has been related to its role in incentivizing individuals to comply with socially-endorsed standards (e.g., Barrett, 1995; Fessler, 1999). Gilbert (2007) has argued that feelings of shame signal individuals' perceptions that their actions have threatened their positive representations "in the minds of others," thus increasing their risks of social rejection, exclusion, or persecution (p. 290). Per Gausel, Vignoles, and Leach (2016), perceived risks to social images lead to appraisals of potential condemnation and feelings of rejection or inferiority, which in turn impel the self-defensive reactions linked to shame. While these theorizations do not elaborate on possible developmental variation in the nature of shame, their relevance to youth's experiences of shame is supported by evidence that adolescent

shame is significantly associated with concerns about long-term consequences for the self (Tangney et al., 1996). Across age groups, shame has been found to occur in events that primarily elicit self-concern, such as personal failure (Smith et al., 2002; Ferguson et al., 1999; Tracy & Robins, 2006) as well as in the morally-oriented scenarios more exclusively associated with guilt. As adults' descriptions of shame reflect greater concern with others' evaluation than do children's (Tangney 1994; 1998), adolescents' experiences of shame may reflect a greater emphasis on concerns for social standing than in younger age groups. Thus, while the prevailing distinctions between shame and guilt have not comprehensively been evaluated with adolescents, past research indicates that the greater self-concern of shame, in contrast to guilt's behavior- and other-oriented focus, implies markedly different motivational outcomes of these emotions during adolescence.

### **Role of Values in Adolescent Shame and Guilt**

Per Schwartz (2012), the fundamental values that individuals endorse function as their personal criteria for choosing and justifying behavior and evaluating past events. Consequently, these values are theorized to exert substantial motivational influences, serving as goals for future behavior (Schwartz, 1992). Developed from this framework, Schwartz's (1992) values circumplex (Figure 1) comprises ten fundamental human values organized along five higher-order dimensions such that the relative adjacency between pairs of values reflects the compatibility of the outcomes associated with them. The validity of this model has been supported by extensive cross-cultural research with both adolescents and adults (Schwartz, 2012), and additional studies have supported its predictive validity in relation to youth's aggression and prosocial behavior (Knafo et al., 2008; McDonald et al., 2015) and self-therefore may reflect a complex spectrum of values and goals: condoning aggressive responses to

victimization (e.g., escalating a conflict or retaliating), for example, might demonstrate one's social influence but threaten personal standards of conduct. Conversely, endorsing more prosocial responses (e.g., calming or reconciling peers) might promote others' welfare but risk social competence if ultimately ineffective. As navigating such real-life moral dilemmas may necessitate significant compromise and risk, youth's responses to these events can contribute meaningful insights into the connections between social behavior, personal standards, and self-evaluative emotions.

While adherence to or violation of one's values might elicit a range of positive or negative emotions, values may be especially important antecedents in shame and guilt because these emotions entail self-evaluation regarding personal and social standards (Silver, 2008). Among the ten values in the Schwartz (1992) model, benevolence, competence, and self-direction have particularly strong conceptual and empirical associations to adolescent guilt and/or shame. First, benevolence values, which reflect care and concern for preserving and promoting the welfare of close others, empathy, loyalty, honesty, and responsibility (Schwartz, 1992; 2012) are linked to the concern for the target of behavior and motivation for reparative actions seen in guilt (Tangney et al., 1996; Tangney et al., 2007). Relatedly, self-direction (or self-directed growth) values reflect desirability for thoughts and actions that are consistent with individuals' self-expression, self-respect, and/or self-improvement, with emphasis on personal decisions and values (Schwartz, 1992; 2012). When individuals perceive their behavior to have threatened self-directed values, the guilt this discrepancy elicited may promote critical self-reflection and motivation for adaptive behavioral change (Barrett, 1995; Fessler, 2007; Tangney et al., 1996). With regard to shame, adolescents' tendencies to experience this emotion are positively correlated with competence values (Roos et al., 2014), which reflect goals for gaining

personal success by demonstrating social standards or influence over others (Schwartz, 1992). This connection is further bolstered by evidence that shame can be elicited by experiencing personal failure (e.g., Tracy & Robins, 2006) or an “unwanted identity” before others (Olthof et al., 2000). In addition, while self-direction values are closely linked to guilt, their emphasis on personally-defined standards of the ideal self suggests they may also pertain to the global self-evaluations of shame (Irwin et al., 2019) in the case that such experiences lead to adaptive long-term outcomes.

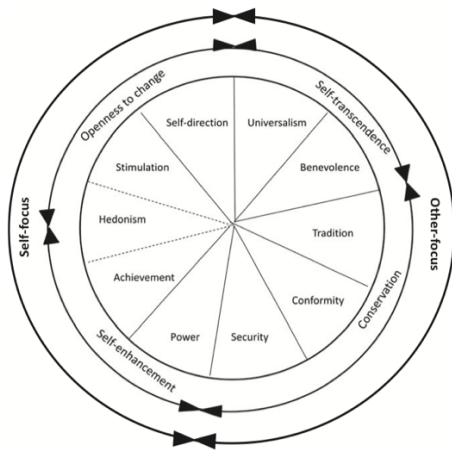


Figure 1. Schwartz (1992) values circumplex (from Daniel, Schiefer, Möllering, Benish-Weisman, Boehnke, & Knafo, 2012)

**Assessing Guilt and Shame in Adolescents**

A number of researchers have contended that self-evaluative emotions and moral values inform adolescents’ motivation for social behavior through multiple, complex pathways (e.g., McDonald et al., 2015). However, few studies to date have examined youth’s self-evaluative emotions and values within specific social contexts or events, and an extensive review of past research found none having assessed these constructs in the context of peer victimization responses. In addition, some researchers have expressed concern that the standardized measures

of dispositional shame and guilt in much of the past research may not comprehensively reflect the complexity of adolescents' situation-specific emotional responses (e.g., Furukawa et al., 2012; Silfver et al., 2008). For example, in finding that neither dispositional guilt nor dispositional shame predicted adolescents' withdrawal or aggression over time, Roos et al. (2014) concluded that guilt and shame tendencies might be elicited only by the specific behaviors or events that cue the respective attributions of each emotion. In addition, though many studies of shame and guilt have used hypothetical scenarios to measure young people's emotions, Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, Gasser, and Malti (2010) found that children's responses to actual events yielded more multi-dimensional descriptions of their emotional experiences. Therefore, examining adolescents' emotions and values in personal experiences with peer victimization may more comprehensively illustrate the constellations of personal and social standards underlying critical self-evaluation.

Further, although most research on moral motivation in adolescence has been conducted with samples of White Europeans or Americans (e.g., Malti & Krettenauer, 2013) despite indications that cultural and demographic variations differentially influence values development and social behavior in youth (see Hart & Carlo, 2005). As adolescents' involvement in peer victimization may vary according to cultural norms (Daniel et al., 2018) and some youth from non-dominant racial and ethnic groups might experience different motivations and consequences for prosocial versus aggressive behavior in school contexts (Wentzel et al., 2007), research with culturally, racially, and ethnically diverse groups of youth is needed to illuminate how the prevailing characterizations of shame and guilt reflect the experiences of diverse adolescents. In sum, the extant research on shame and guilt has not yet explored how diverse groups of

adolescents describe and explain the self-evaluative emotions they experience in real-life responses to peer victimization.

### **The Current Study**

The primary objective of this study was to examine how adolescents' experiences of shame and guilt in the context of peer victimization reflect similarities and distinctions in relation to their personal values. That is, to what extent do the personal values linked to shame and guilt correspond to each emotion's implications for self-evaluation? In order to contribute to the sparse literature relating adolescents' self-conscious emotions, values, and peer victimization, the current study used qualitative coding and Epistemic Network Analysis (ENA; Shaffer et al., 2009) to examine the respective patterns of values reflected in adolescents' experiences of shame and guilt. The youth participants in this study were interviewed about their emotional responses in a range of peer victimization experiences and their rationales for feeling the associated emotions. Values implicitly addressed in participants' descriptions were coded based on Schwartz's (1992) model. In light of evidence that the relationships between adolescents' emotions, values, and behavior are potentially multifaceted and overlapping (McDonald et al., 2015; Roos et al., 2014), Epistemic Network Analysis (ENA; Shaffer et al., 2009) was used to model the connections between values respectively linked to shame and guilt, enabling comparisons between the values related to each emotional. Two sets of hypotheses regarding the connections between participants' emotions and values were evaluated in this study and are presented below.

#### **Hypothesis 1: Values in adolescents' experiences of guilt.**

***Benevolence.*** Participants' rationales for guilt will indicate stronger connections to threatened benevolence goals than will their rationales for shame (Hypothesis 1.1).

*Self-direction (Self-directed growth).* Participants' guilt rationales will also feature stronger connections to threatened self-direction values (Hypothesis 1.2).

**Hypothesis 2: Values in adolescents' experiences of shame.**

*Competence.* Participants' rationales for shame will indicate stronger connections to threatened competence values than will their rationales for guilt (Hypothesis 2.1).

*Self-direction.* While past research on dispositional shame (e.g., Irwin et al., 2019) does not suggest a relationship between this emotion and self-direction values (e.g., Irwin et al., 2019), it is possible that adolescents' rationales for shame in this context may also feature substantial connections to threatened self-direction values (Hypothesis 2.2).

## **Methods**

### **Participants**

The data used in the current study was drawn from the dataset of the Friends Project (Frey et al., 2018), a larger study of adolescent behavior, emotions, and judgments in the context of peer victimization events that was conducted in the Pacific Northwest United States. Friends Project participants were recruited from locations in western Washington State (38.0%) and eastern Washington and Idaho (62.0%). To reduce possible threats to external validity posed by sampling from single schools or sites in which individuals in minority racial or ethnic groups may be underrepresented, participants were recruited from areas in which members of their respective racial or ethnic groups constituted non-marginal proportions of the population. In the completed sample, 35.6% of participants were located in metropolitan areas (populations  $\geq 50k$  and adjacent suburbs), 14.8% in non-suburban towns (populations 9k-50k), and 49.6% in rural areas (populations 1.2k-8.8k).

The sample used in this study consisted of 284 adolescents (54.6% female) between 12 and 18 years of age ( $M = 14.89$ ,  $SD = 1.70$ ). Among participants, 25.7% identified as Black or African American, 20.8% as White, 23.6% as Mexican American or Chicano/a, and 29.6% as Indigenous or Native American; in addition, 32.4% of all participants reported multiple racial or ethnic identifications. The participants were middle and high school students in grades 6 through 12 ( $M = 8.92$ ,  $SD = 1.56$ ); middle school students made up 45.4% of the sample. At participants' schools, the overall proportions of students eligible for free or reduced-price meal ranged from 12.0% to 95.0% ( $M = 63.85\%$ ,  $SD = 26.84$ ).

### **Procedure**

Participant recruitment and data collection were conducted in tribal and public schools, community centers, and summer program sites during the summers of 2016 and 2017. In accordance with institutional review board guidelines and, when applicable, tribal authority research approval, researchers obtained participant assent and parent or guardian consent through permission forms available at the sites used in the study. The adolescents in the study were compensated \$20 for their participation in the interviews.

Interviews were conducted by research assistants following completion of a training sequence in interview protocol (Appendix A) and ethical guidelines. To maintain confidentiality, participants were interviewed individually in vacant community center rooms, libraries, or classrooms. In their interviews, participants were asked to describe their relevant experiences in nine types of victimization events, included when the participant and/or a peer had (1) calmed the emotions of the victimized peer (actor and recipient conditions), (2) amplified the anger of the peer being victimized (actor and recipient conditions), (3) retaliated against a victimizing peer on behalf the victim (actor and recipient conditions), (4) engaged in revenge against a peer

who personally victimized them (actor condition only), and (5) reconciled the two peers in conflict (actor and recipient conditions). Descriptions of evenly-matched disagreements and incidents of bullying were accepted. When responses did not meet criteria for a given event type, participants were re-prompted and given additional time to respond. If individuals could not recall a relevant experience for an event type, they were asked to describe events they had personally witnessed and the emotions they would have felt as the peer in the designated role.

### **Measures**

**Shame and guilt ratings.** For each of the nine types of events, interviewers asked participants to list and provide numeric ratings of the emotion(s) they experienced. As the use of physical markers has been suggested to reduce adolescents' difficulty in describing their emotions (Arsenio et al., 2009), participants were instructed to distribute ten markers across a laminated list of ten emotions (including shame and guilt). Participants were permitted to leave emotions blank, allocate all markers to a single emotion, and rearrange their initial distributions as desired. After identifying the emotion(s) associated with a specified event, participants were asked to explain the reasons they believe they had felt each emotion. These rationales were subsequently audio-recorded and transcribed for coding.

**Values (Goals).** Research assistants coded participants' event descriptions and emotion rationales by event type according to two coding systems. The first coding system categorized implicit goals in participants' descriptions according to the ten values in Schwartz's (1992) model. The second coding system designated whether actions were described as consistent or inconsistent with specified values (value promotion or threat), or unspecified. Inter-rater reliability was assessed using augmented base rates; coding began when Cohen's (1960) kappa

reached 0.60 for each category. Reliability tests were subsequently administered at three-week intervals to prevent coder drift.

Three value variables (benevolence, competence, and self-directed growth) and the two value threat/promotion variables were included in the current analysis. The kappa coefficients calculated for each variable were as follows: competence  $\kappa = .75.$ , self-directed growth  $\kappa = .68.$ , benevolence  $\kappa = .69$ , value promotion  $\kappa = .66$ , value threat  $\kappa = .79$ . The average interrater agreement across the five variables was  $\kappa = .71$ .

**Competence.** Competence values were operationalized as statements indicating goals for gaining “a sense of personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards” and/or “focus on being successful, intelligent, ambitious, influential, managing image.” Examples of responses coded for competence included advising a friend in effective conflict negotiation (promotion) and losing control of one’s emotions during conflict (threat).

**Self-Direction (Self-Directed Growth).** Self-direction values were operationalized as statements indicating goals for “independent or authentic thought and action, curiosity, self-respect,” “choosing own goals without losing self-control,” and/or “pursuing improvements in cognitive, social-emotional and physical skills for their intrinsic value.” Examples of responses coded for self-directed growth included learning how to be a better friend (promotion) and failing to uphold personal standards of goodness (threat).

**Benevolence.** Benevolence values were operationalized as statements indicating goals of “caring for, showing concern for the welfare of close associates” and/or “being loyal, helping, honest, forgiving, responsible.” Examples of responses coded for benevolence included helping a friend to stay out of trouble (promotion) and feeling disappointment in oneself for causing harm to a peer (threat).

### **Analysis Plan**

To examine whether adolescents' experiences of shame and guilt in peer victimization reflected differential patterns of associated values, this study used Epistemic Network Analysis (ENA; Shaffer et al., 2009). In this method, connections between codes in the data are modeled by quantifying the frequency of their co-occurrences within sub-groups of the data and visualizing their structures as a two-dimensional network graph. In the resulting graphs, points correspond to codes, and lines between points reflect the relative degree of co-occurrence between pairs of codes. As ENA aggregates the lines of data associated with each unit of analysis in the model, it produces graphs that can be evaluated visually and with summary statistics (for available documentation of the quantitative methodology, see Shaffer, Collier, & Ruis, 2016). ENA networks may also be visually compared using difference graphs, which are produced by subtracting the calculated value ("strength") of a connection in one network from the corresponding connection in a second network (Shaffer et al., 2016).

This study used the ENA Web Tool (version 1.5.2) (Marquart, Hinojosa, Swiecki, Eagan, & Shaffer, 2018) to generate network graphs for values addressed in participants' descriptions of shame and guilt and a third, subtracted network to evaluate similarities and distinctions in the two emotion type's relationships to values. Emotion type (shame or guilt) was coded binarily in the models as the presence or absence of a non-zero rating for an emotion. Units of analysis were defined as emotion type subsetted by individual participant, and "conversations" (subgroups of data) were defined as all lines of data associated with either shame or guilt. The five codes included in the model were competence, benevolence, self-directed growth, value promotion, and value threat. Network graphs were aggregated using a binary summation in which networks for a given subgroup of emotion reflected the presence or absence of co-occurrence for each pair

of codes. In addition, the ENA model normalized the graphs for all units of analysis in order to account for possible variations in the number of coded lines associated with each unit.

## Results

### Descriptive Statistics

Across participants, 84.09% ( $n = 222$ ,  $SD = 0.37$ ) reported experiencing guilt in at least one of the nine events and 72.73% ( $n = 192$ ,  $SD = 0.45$ ) reported experiencing shame in at least one events. The number of events in which individuals reported feeling guilt ranged from 0 to 8 ( $M = 1.92$ ,  $SD = 1.46$ ), as did the number of events in which individuals reported feeling shame ( $M = 1.71$ ,  $SD = 1.60$ ) and co-occurring shame and guilt ( $M = 0.78$ ,  $SD = 1.14$ ), respectively.

### ENAs of Emotion Type, Values, and Threat/Promotion

**Shame.** As expected, the shame network graph (Figure 2) featured strong connections from value threat to competence and value threat to self-directed growth. More moderate connections were indicated between value threat and benevolence. Connections between values (competence – self-directed growth, benevolence – self-directed growth, and benevolence – competence) appeared relatively minimal. In addition, connections to values promotion were negligible for all values (benevolence, self-directed growth, and competence), as was the connection between value threat and value promotion.

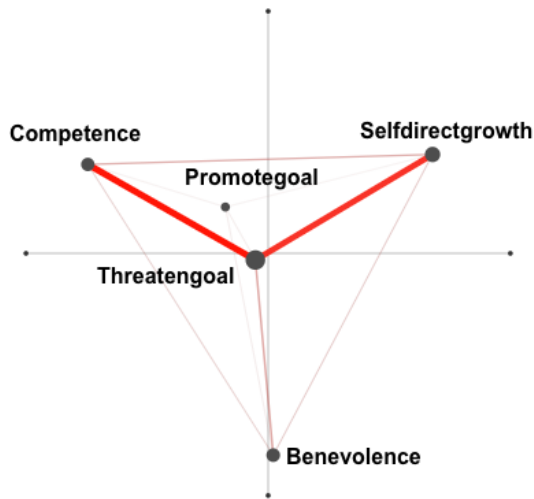


Figure 2. Individual network graph for adolescents' experiences of shame.

**Guilt.** In the guilt network graph (Figure 3), the strongest connections were indicated between self-directed growth – value threat and benevolence – value threat. This network also suggested lesser connections between competence and value threat and benevolence and self-directed growth. Additionally, minimal connections were indicated between competence and self-directed growth and benevolence and competence. Connections to value promotion were again negligible for all three values (benevolence, self-directed growth, and competence) as was the connection between value threat and value promotion.

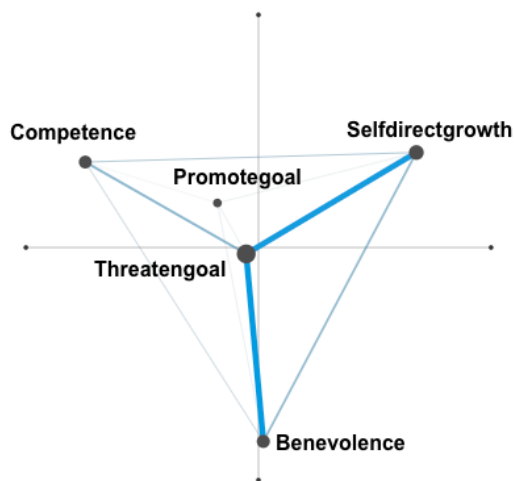


Figure 3. Individual network graph for adolescents' experiences of guilt.

A subtracted graph was created (Figure 4) to compare corresponding connections between value codes in the shame and guilt networks. Results suggested comparatively stronger connections between benevolence and value threat in the guilt network and competence and value threat in the shame network. The guilt network also indicated stronger connections between self-directed growth and benevolence in comparison to shame. Conversely, the shame graph featured stronger connections between competence and value threat than did guilt graph. As the connections between self-directed growth and value threat were among the greatest in both individual emotion networks, this connection strength in the subtracted network appeared negligible. Corresponding connections between the remaining pairs of codes also suggested minimal differences between the two networks.

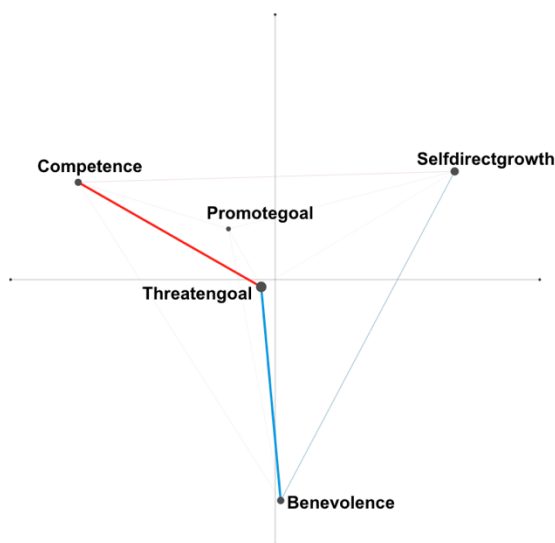


Figure 4. Subtracted graph comparing networks for shame (red) and guilt (blue).

### Discussion

The primary objective of this study was to explore how adolescents’ descriptions of shame and guilt experienced in peer victimization events reflected underlying values thought to differentiate these emotions. The ENA results indicated that participants’ feelings of shame were frequently linked to perceptions of incompetence and feelings of guilt were similarly related to

recognizing actions had caused harm to others. Rationales for both emotions were related to youth's perceptions that their actions did not comply with self-directed values. While shame and guilt serve related roles in signaling that behavior has violated standards (Tangney et al., 2007), a robust body of theory and research has characterized shame as global self-criticism arising from transgressing social norms (Tracy & Robins, 2006) and guilt as the recognition of responsibility for harm done to others (Tangney et al., 1996). Thus, this study's findings suggest that the emotions experienced by youth participants in their real-life experiences of peer victimization largely align with prevailing characterizations of shame as a source of broad, self-focused concern and guilt as an empathic and constructive response to transgressions against others.

### **Guilt and Threats to Benevolence Values**

As expected, adolescents' rationales for guilt were frequently characterized by perceived threats to benevolence values. This finding corresponds with evidence that individuals construe guilt in terms of concern about consequences for others' welfare (Tangney et al., 1996). To illustrate, after amplifying a friend's anger in conflict with another peer, one participant described feeling guilty "because I kind of egged the situation on, it wasn't nice to him. I wouldn't like it if it happened to me too, he's my friend at the end of the day." Such accounts reflect the empathy and perspective-taking linked to guilt's motivation for recognizing and addressing wrongs done to others (Malti, 2016; Roos et al., 2014). As indicated by evidence that guilt entails negatively evaluating one's behavior rather than one's self as a whole (Tracy & Robins, 2004), many participants described guilt in terms of violating specific norms of benevolent conduct, such as by acting aggressively or recklessly toward peers. Actions in conflict with benevolence and conducive to guilt were also related by some youth to assuming personal responsibility, though feelings of guilt were not always contingent on having

intentionally caused harm to peers. For example, one participant described feeling “guilty because I made him more angry and want to fight the guy even more, which wasn't was my original intention.” Together, these findings are highly consistent with conceptual definitions of guilt in extant research emphasizing guilt’s adaptive and prosocial nature across age groups and contexts (e.g., Tangney et al., 2007).

### **Shame and Threats to Competence**

The ENA results also indicated that participants’ rationales for feeling shame were often related to perceiving behavior as inconsistent with standards of competence. As indicated by evidence that concern experienced in shame is dominantly self-focused (e.g., Tangney et al., 1996), adolescents in the study tended to characterize this emotion as negatively reflecting on them as individuals. Some participants described feeling ashamed and incompetent when they failed to effectively regulate their emotions, as in the experience of a participant who “made a fool of myself and let that guy get into my head and make me do something stupid.” Some youth also describes feeling ashamed when they were unable to autonomously resolve conflicts. For example, one participant explained feelings of shame “Because it felt like my friend was fighting the battles for me.” These accounts suggest the potential dilemmas that offering support to victimized peers may entail for youth: even helpful or well-intended interventions might possibly be construed as indicating incompetence – and triggering shame – for the peer involved in conflict, as illustrated by the participant who characterized a friend’s involvement as “showing... that I can't stand up for myself, which is... not true because I'm not stooping down the that level to say something back.” Feelings of incompetence in shame were also associated with losing control and experiencing an aversive social image, as opposed to assuming personal responsibility for negative consequences in guilt. Per one youth’s rationale for shame, “there was

all of this stuff floating around that wasn't true about me, and how am I supposed to correct all that? I mean, it's a big school. I just didn't really feel like it was gonna work.” Collectively, findings linking competence threats to shame parallel suggest parallels between the body of research on child and adult shame (e.g., Ferguson et al., 1991) and the emotional experiences of adolescent participants felt from responses to peer victimization that challenged their perceptions of personal competence.

### **Guilt and Threats to Self-Directed Growth**

While the observed connections between adolescents' guilt and threatened self-direction values was expected, the comparable strength of these links in the shame network is noteworthy. In this study, guilt's links to defining and pursuing standards for personal growth compliment previous evidence that these constructs are positively correlated in adolescents (Roos et al., 2014) and that guilt involves attending to discrepancies between actual behavior and ideal conduct (Ferguson et al., 1999; Tangney et al., 1998). In particular, adolescents in this study often attributed their guilt to behavior that simultaneously threatened self-directed and benevolent values. When guilt was elicited in committing personal revenge against a peer, one participant explained, “I was the one that punched her, and right after, *when she's hurt, I knew I was the main cause of that*, and I knew I shouldn't have gotten as angry as I was.” As this description illustrates, guilt can provide meaningful feedback that harmful actions may detract from being the person one wishes to be, which may be central to this emotion's role in motivating behavioral change (Tracy & Robins, 2006). Another participant simply explained, “*doing something that's wrong* gives you that guilty feeling. I just don't like it.” When behavior starkly contrasts with standards of a caring and responsible self, negative feelings and awareness

of violating specific norms in guilt may provide powerful incentives for young people to re-align their behavior with personal values.

### **Shame and Threats to Self-Directed Growth**

In light of dispositional shame's associations with maladaptive behavioral and psychosocial outcomes in adolescent development (e.g., Irwin et al., 2019), the finding that participants' descriptions of shame also made substantial references to violated self-direction values may appear surprising. Tangney et al. (1996), for example, found that adolescents' dispositional shame was largely incompatible with constructive or adaptive intentions (Tangney et al., 1996). However, research with young adults has also linked shame to motivation for personal change after more immediate instincts for avoidance have subsided and time for reflection has passed (Kushlev, Savalei, Matta, & Schmader, 2014). When adolescents in the study felt shame from abrogating self-directed values, concerns about social standing or belonging may also have become more pronounced. One participant explained that engaging in revenge led to embarrassment "because I broke down and I handled it in an immature way, almost got in trouble and suspended from school." In this account, losing emotional control – behavior at odds with a mature ideal self – evoked serious self-concern for social and academic standing. When feelings of shame stem from actions that thwart self-direction values, research suggests that adolescents may experience both internal discord between the actual and ideal self (Tangney et al., 1998) and the external, "unwanted identity" described by Olthof et al. (2000) that jeopardizes personal security.

### **Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions for Research**

This study extends previous research on the parallels and distinctions between shame and guilt by examining adolescents' emotional experiences in the context of peer victimization. In

doing so, it offers a complimentary perspective to studies investigating aspects of youth's dispositional emotions in relation to social behavior and motivation. While its design does not enable direct comparison of its results to the longitudinal or dispositional research, it nonetheless reflects an alternate, nuanced view into the nature of adolescents' lived experiences and complex responses to the peer victimization they encounter in everyday life. These findings also suggest a compelling avenue for future inquiry concerning these developmentally significant phenomena: in what contexts and events might youth's feelings of shame actually promote the pursuit of self-direction as opposed to less adaptive responses?

While the present study contributes novel insight into the relationships between adolescents' self-evaluative emotions and values, it also possesses important limitations to address. First, given the number of variables included in this design and the unique characteristics of the data (including non-independence of observations, distributional skewness, and dichotomous variables), this analysis used ENA in lieu of methods such as binomial regression or a repeated-measures ANOVA. As ENA is a relatively novel methodology to the field as well as to the author, my limited expertise in effectively interpreting its results or using analysis to evaluate group-level differences may have constrained the generalizability of these findings. As such, this study may best be considered exploratory and preliminary in nature, and caution should be taken before generalizing its conclusions to larger populations of youth. As a second consideration to note, because the study is not longitudinal in design, its findings reflect internal aspects of participants' emotional experiences at one point in time as opposed to the changes in behavior these emotions are theorized to motivate. Relatedly, the directionality and sequence of relationships between events, emotions, and values are not conclusive.

Next, this research illustrates adolescents' discrete, situational experiences of shame and guilt as opposed to the dispositional measures and hypothetical scenarios that previous research has frequently employed (e.g., Roos et al., 2014; Olthof et al., 2000). While the findings in this study reflected meaningful parallels to dispositional research in terms of guilt's relationship to benevolence and shame's relationship to competence, shame's links to self-direction values suggest an intriguing avenue for future inquiry: how might feelings of shame elicited in real-life episodes of interpersonal conflict qualitatively differ from – or align with – shame characterized by dispositional measures?

Further limitations to address in this study include its reliance on participants' self-reports of past events and emotions. In addition, due to the limited scope of this study, only some of the emotions and goals that were assessed were included in the analysis. Given that results of the larger Friends study indicated that participants often cited numerous emotions and values within events, subsequent analysis to examine how other emotions and values might contribute to or conflict with later negative self-evaluation would help to inform understandings of the complex motivations and attributions underlying adolescents' responses to peer victimization. With regard to measuring shame, it is also possible that prompting participants to describe this emotion using the terms "shame or embarrassment" may have biased their responses given that embarrassment reflects less painful and reflective self-criticism (Tangney et al., 2007). That said, as assessment was designed for participants from a range of developmental levels and cultural backgrounds, this decision was determined useful for assessment of participants who may not have been familiar with shame as a term.

A larger question remains regarding the relationship of this study's conclusions regarding adolescents' shame and guilt to contexts outside of peer victimization. For example, the

relationships between emotions, values, and behavior observed in this study may not be characteristic of shame and guilt experienced in the direct roles of victim or victimizer or outside of interpersonal conflicts. At the same time, the high-stakes victimization experiences addressed by this study may be especially instrumental to understanding adolescents' most influential experiences of these emotions given that they threaten the fulfilment of essential values (Schwartz, Sagiv, & Boehnke, 2000) and positive self-image (Benish-Weisman, 2015).

As research has suggested that a number of factors influence moral emotions and peer victimization behavior (e.g., Irwin et al., 2019), future research should examine how factors such as individual differences, situational variations, and cultural norms influence adolescents' shame and guilt in responding to victimization. Given the significant role of peer influence in adolescent values development and prosocial behavior (McDonald et al., 2015), these avenues would be complemented by including measures of peer influence such as peer network analysis. Ultimately, understanding the nuances of adolescents' motivation for prosocial responding to their or others' victimization may serve an instrumental role in informing more specified interventions to promote prosocial behavior and reduce bullying and victimization.

### **Conclusion**

In discussion youth's moral and social development, Hart and Carlo (2005) contended that "all adolescents must learn to navigate through their own moral cultures in their respective communities" (p. 225). Although shame and guilt may entail varying antecedents and attributions, they are both fundamentally tied to adolescents' developing values and identities. These personal standards provide youth with direction toward fulfilling personal and social goals (Benish-Weisman, 2014): behaving in accordance with personal and social goals can offer youth rewarding purpose and self-worth (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003), while behavior that contrasts with

values' fulfillment may elicit the critical self-reflection of guilt or shame. While significant social events can provoke painful self-doubt, as in the challenging scenarios of peer victimization, they may simultaneously motivate youth to reflect on the values and actions that define them and the individuals they hope to become.

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**Appendix 1: Interview Protocol**

**Friends Helping Friends Interview**

1. ID # \_\_\_\_\_ (circle) male / female How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_

What grade did you finish last year? 7 8 9 10 11 Other \_\_\_\_\_

At what school? \_\_\_\_\_ District \_\_\_\_\_

**First I will show you the three scales we will use.**

This scale [P] uses 10 pennies to represent feelings. The more pennies you put in the row, the stronger those feelings.

You'll tell me about events that have happened, and I'll ask you to use the pennies to show how you felt: how proud or pleased with yourself... **[Continue to read from scale. Point to each option as you read at a deliberate pace].**

You will use up all 10 pennies. They could be all in one row, or scattered over many rows.

For example, what if the school had an assembly, and one of the students just found out that he/she (same gender as interviewee) was elected student body president. People often feel several emotions at the same time. How do you think s/he would feel at that time?

[Talk about the distribution to check that's what is intended [e.g., "so he was very proud, not at all mad..."].

He/she walks to the stage while people clap, but then she/he trips on the first step and hits his/her knee. Quite a few people laugh. Someone makes a stupid noise. Use the pennies to show her/his feelings now.

Because these are your ideas, there is no right or wrong answer to any of these questions. While you're moving the pennies around for other questions, you can tell me **why** you felt that way.

**Frequency scale [A].** This is a different scale we'll be using to measure how often things happen at school. It goes in six steps: A few times a year, once a month, twice a month, once a week, twice a week, most days.

The **opinion scale [B]** also goes in 6 steps: Not at all, very little, a little bit, some, quite a bit, a lot. You would pick any one of these 6 to show your thoughts on a question. Again, there is no right or wrong answer.

The audio recordings and notes I write down will not have your name on them. I don't want to know names of your friends and people at school either. When I ask about fights and similar things at school, I don't want you to tell me the names of the people involved. You can just say "a guy or a girl", or "a seventh grader", or something like that. That way we protect everyone's privacy. Also, we don't want you to tell us anything that might get you into trouble or seriously harm your reputation. If you think of a good example that falls into that category, let me know. I'll change the question so you can describe your thoughts and feelings without telling me private details. I'm not here to judge you, but to find out about how young people act and talk about difficult situations. So it will help me when you answer my questions as though you were talking to a friend.

2. These questions are about friendship. Some people are lucky to find really good friends early, when they are teenagers.
  - a. In your opinion, what is a really good friend like?
  - b. Are there things that a really good friend would never do, say or think?  
Anything else?

**Check that the recorder has advanced**

These next questions are about ways that young people can be hurtful to one another. The survey listed some of those ways. Most people, male and female, tell us that they hurt others, get in fights or other kinds of drama at least once in a while. Sometimes they don't expect things to be hurtful, but they are.

3. What are some reasons that young people get in fights or arguments, pick on people, exclude them or make them look bad?  
 Why else? Any other reasons?

4. These things upset people. How often will young people at your school try to help another student calm their emotions when that person is upset, things like holding the person back from fighting (gesture & pause) distracting them, or talking them down?  
 \_\_\_\_\_[A scale] few times a year? once a month, twice a month, once a week, twice a week, or most days?

**Note:** The next questions have **alternative versions in brackets if teen has no 1<sup>st</sup> person examples.**  
**Be sure to circle the alternative used: 1<sup>st</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> (for observed or imagined event).**

5. Tell me about a time that you tried to help another student calm his or her emotions. Take your time. Think about one specific time that you helped someone calm down.  
 [pause] Please tell me what you did.

[If no student example: “How about helping another young person—a friend or family member?”]  
 Still no 1<sup>st</sup> person example: “Have you ever seen one student try to help another student calm down? Please tell me what the student did” [pause] “Imagine that you had done that.”]

1<sup>st</sup> / 3<sup>rd</sup> - person example. Circle to indicate

\_\_\_\_\_ [Use B scale] Did you feel that it helped in some way? Why? or Why not?

[use P scale] Think about that one time. How did you feel after you [insert exemplar action]?

action? [How do you think you'd feel if you had exemplar

**Why you were feeling \_\_\_\_\_?** (Repeat for each emotion cited) [why would you feel \_\_\_\_\_?]

\_\_\_\_\_ Proud or pleased w/ yourself \_\_\_\_\_ Embarrassed or ashamed

\_\_\_\_\_ Guilty \_\_\_\_\_ Calm or relieved

\_\_\_\_\_ Worried or scared \_\_\_\_\_ Annoyed or angry

\_\_\_\_\_ Excited \_\_\_\_\_ Sad or disappointed

\_\_\_\_\_ Cold-hearted \_\_\_\_\_ Grateful to the person

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Did you feel like you were being a good friend? [Do you think you'd feel like you were...?]

(1=not at all, 2 = very little, 3=a little bit, 4=some, 5=quite a bit,

6=a **lot**)

How come? [Probe for rationale if not already answered in feeling explanations]

\_\_\_\_\_ Out of 10 students, how many do you think would have done the same thing in that situation? None? 1? 6? 10?

\_\_\_\_\_ Sometimes students wouldn't or couldn't do what you did, but they might approve of it anyway—

or disapprove. Out of 10 students, how many would approve of what you did? [...the person did?]

[**Probe** if a difference > or = 2; ex. 'How come only 3 would do it, even though 5 would approve?']

6. Tell me about a time that a young person tried to help *you* calm your emotions when you were upset with someone. [pause] What did the person do & say that time?

1<sup>st</sup> / 3<sup>rd</sup> - person example. Circle to indicate

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Did you feel that it helped in some way? Why? Or Why not?

[P] How did you feel after the person tried to help you [example...calm your emotions]? [How do you think you'd feel if a student tried to help you ...calm your emotions?]

While you're putting your pennies down, tell me why you were feeling that [How you think you would feel]

\_\_\_\_\_ Proud or pleased w/ yourself \_\_\_\_\_ Embarrassed or ashamed

\_\_\_\_\_ Guilty \_\_\_\_\_ Calm or relieved

\_\_\_\_\_ Worried or scared \_\_\_\_\_ Annoyed or angry

\_\_\_\_\_ Excited

\_\_\_\_\_ Sad or disappointed

\_\_\_\_\_ Cold-hearted

\_\_\_\_\_ Grateful to the person

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Generally, how much do you value this person's opinion when you have problems with other students? [How much would you value the person's opinion when you have problems?] (1=not at all, 6=a **lot**)

**How come?**

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] How much would you want to help this person out if he or she were having problems?

**How come? [Probe if gratitude is low & want to help is high or vice-versa]**

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] How important is it to pay friends back for favors? (not at all...) Why or why not?

7. What about the opposite?

\_\_\_\_\_ [A] How often will some students at your school say things that make the person angrier or stop them from calming down? (1 = a few times a year / 6 = most days)

Why do they do that?

8. Tell me about a time that you encouraged another student's anger, said or did something that got someone riled up, made him or her more angry at someone else. [pause] Maybe you didn't think the person would get so angry [pause] Maybe you were just agreeing or sympathizing with the person...

[another person your age? Still no example? Ask if he/she knew of a student that encouraged another student's anger. ]

1<sup>st</sup> / 3<sup>rd</sup> - person example. Circle to indicate

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Did you mean to make the person angrier? (Not at all, very little, a little bit, some, quite a bit, a lot)

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Did you feel that it helped in some way? Why? or Why not?

[P] Think about that time. How did you feel after you [insert exemplar action]?  
[How do you think you'd feel...?]

Why?

\_\_\_\_\_ Proud or pleased w/ yourself

\_\_\_\_\_ Embarrassed or ashamed

\_\_\_\_\_ Guilty

\_\_\_\_\_ Calm or relieved

\_\_\_\_\_ Worried or scared

\_\_\_\_\_ Annoyed or angry

\_\_\_\_\_ Excited

\_\_\_\_\_ Sad or disappointed

\_\_\_\_\_ Cold-hearted

\_\_\_\_\_ Grateful to the person

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Did you feel like you were being a good friend? [Do you think you'd feel like you were...?] How come? [Probe for rationale if not already answered in feeling explanations]

\_\_\_\_\_ Out of 10 students, how many do you think would have done the same thing in that situation?

\_\_\_\_\_ Out of 10 students, how many would approve of what you did? [...what the person did?] [Probe if difference is greater than or equal to 2]

9. Tell me about a time that a young person actually made you more upset with another student—like making you angrier or keeping you from calming down. What did the person do & say?

1<sup>st</sup> / 3<sup>rd</sup> - person example. Circle to indicate

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Do you think the person wanted you to be angry? (Not at all, very little, a little bit, some, ... a lot)

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Did you feel that it helped in some way? Why? or Why not?

[P] How did you feel after the person [insert...made you angrier]?  
[How do you think you'd feel if a student made you angrier on purpose?]  
Why did you feel that way?

\_\_\_\_\_ Proud or pleased w/ yourself

\_\_\_\_\_ Embarrassed or ashamed

\_\_\_\_\_ Guilty

\_\_\_\_\_ Calm or relieved

\_\_\_\_\_ Worried or scared

\_\_\_\_\_ Annoyed or angry

\_\_\_\_\_ Excited

\_\_\_\_\_ Sad or disappointed

\_\_\_\_\_ Cold-hearted

\_\_\_\_\_ Grateful to the person

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Generally, how much do you value this person's opinion when you have problems with other students? [How much would you value the person's opinion when you have problems?] How come?

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] How much would you want to help this person out if he or she were having problems?

[Probe if gratitude is low & want to help is high or vice versa. Ex: How come you would want to help out so much even though you didn't feel really grateful for what s/he did?

10. Sometimes a young person your own age will say or do something that hurts a friend or family member like a little brother, or cousin. It can be pretty upsetting to see someone we care about treated badly. Sometimes we want to get back at people who mistreated our friend or family member. Maybe by fighting them, excluding them or saying bad things about them on twitter.

\_\_\_\_\_ [A] How often do people try to get back at a student who mistreated a friend or family member?

Why do they want to get back at them, even though it's not their fight?

11. Think of a time that a young person hurt your friend or family member. [Pause] Tell me about a time that you tried to get back at a young person who mistreated your friend or family member. [Pause...]

Maybe you didn't really do anything, but you talked about wanting to get back at the person who hurt your friend or family member—maybe you said bad things about the person to your friends...

[If no example, Does he/she knew of a person who got back at another student who had treated the person's friend badly]

1<sup>st</sup> / 3<sup>rd</sup> - person example. Circle to indicate

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Did you feel that it helped in some way? Why or Why not?

How did you feel after you did? **Why** did you feel that way? [How do you think you'd feel if you had?]

\_\_\_\_\_ Proud or pleased w/ yourself \_\_\_\_\_ Embarrassed or ashamed

\_\_\_\_\_ Guilty \_\_\_\_\_ Calm or relieved

\_\_\_\_\_ Worried or scared \_\_\_\_\_ Annoyed or angry

\_\_\_\_\_ Excited \_\_\_\_\_ Sad or disappointed

\_\_\_\_\_ Cold-hearted \_\_\_\_\_ Grateful to the person

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Did you feel like you were being a good friend [or relative]? [Do you think you'd feel like you were...?]

How come? [Probe for rationale if not already answered in feeling explanations]

\_\_\_\_\_ Out of 10 students, how many do you think would have done the same thing in that situation?

\_\_\_\_\_ Out of 10 students, how many would approve of what you did? ... think it was a good thing, even

if they wouldn't or couldn't have done it themselves?

[**Probe** if difference is greater than or equal to 2]

12. Tell me about a time that a young person tried to get back at someone who had treated you badly. What did the person do?

1<sup>st</sup> / 3<sup>rd</sup> - person example. Circle to indicate

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Did you feel that it helped in some way?

Why or Why not?

How did you feel after the person [...tried to get back at them]? [How do you think you'd feel ...?]

Why?

\_\_\_\_\_ Proud or pleased w/ yourself

\_\_\_\_\_ Embarrassed or ashamed

\_\_\_\_\_ Guilty

\_\_\_\_\_ Calm or relieved

\_\_\_\_\_ Worried or scared

\_\_\_\_\_ Annoyed or angry

\_\_\_\_\_ Excited

\_\_\_\_\_ Sad or disappointed

\_\_\_\_\_ Cold-hearted

\_\_\_\_\_ Grateful to the person

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Generally, how much do you value this person's opinion when you have problems with other students? [How much would you value the person's opinion when you have problems?] (1=not at all, 6=a **lot**)

How come?

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] How much would you want to help this person out if he or she were having problems?

[**Probe** if gratitude is low & want to help is high or vice versa.]

13. Most people have experiences in which another student treats them badly, insults, embarrasses them or tries to sabotage their friendships. When that happens, some people strike back at the student.

\_\_\_\_\_ [A] How often do students at your school try to get back at students who treated them badly?

14. Tell me about a time that you tried to get back at a young person who treated you badly or tried to make you look bad. What did you say or do to get back at them?  
 [ If no example, ask if he/she knew about students who tried to get back at another student who treated them badly.]

1<sup>st</sup> / 3<sup>rd</sup> - person example. Circle to indicate

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Did you feel that it helped in some way? Why or Why not?

How did you feel after you [exemplar action....tried to get back at the person]?

[How do you think you'd feel if you had done that?]

\_\_\_\_\_ Proud or pleased w/ yourself \_\_\_\_\_ Embarrassed or ashamed

\_\_\_\_\_ Guilty \_\_\_\_\_ Calm or relieved

\_\_\_\_\_ Worried or scared \_\_\_\_\_ Annoyed or angry

\_\_\_\_\_ Excited \_\_\_\_\_ Sad or disappointed

\_\_\_\_\_ Cold-hearted \_\_\_\_\_ Grateful to the person

**Why** did you feel that way?

\_\_\_\_\_ Out of 10 students, how many do you think would have done the same thing in that situation?

None? 1? 6? 10?

\_\_\_\_\_ Out of 10 students, how many would approve of what you did? [...what the person did?]  
 [Probe discrepancies]

15. How often do students try to help a friend or young family member work out a peaceful solution with another student after the friend was treated badly or made to look bad?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ [A] few times a year? About once a month, twice a month, once a week, twice a week, or most days?

16. Tell me about a time when you tried to help a friend or family member work out a peaceful solution with a student after your friend was treated badly or made to look bad. What did you do or say?

1<sup>st</sup> / 3<sup>rd</sup> - person example. Circle to indicate

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Did you feel that it helped in some way? Why or Why not?

How did you feel after you [example....tried to help work out a peaceful solution]?

[How do you think you'd feel if you had?] **Why** did you feel that way?

- |                                    |                              |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| _____ Proud or pleased w/ yourself | _____ Embarrassed or ashamed |
| _____ Guilty                       | _____ Calm or relieved       |
| _____ Worried or scared            | _____ Annoyed or angry       |
| _____ Excited                      | _____ Sad or disappointed    |
| _____ Cold-hearted                 | _____ Grateful to the person |

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Did you feel like you were being a good friend? [Do you think you'd feel like you were...?]  
 How come? [Probe for rationale if not already answered in feeling explanations]

\_\_\_\_\_ Out of 10 students, how many do you think would have done the same thing in that situation?

\_\_\_\_\_ Out of 10 students, how many would approve of what you did? [...what the person did?]  
 [**Probe** if difference is greater than or equal to 2]

17. Tell me about a time that a young person tried to help you work things out with another young person. What did the person do?

1<sup>st</sup> / 3<sup>rd</sup> - person example. Circle to indicate

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Did you feel that it worked or helped in some way? Why or Why not?  
 How did you feel after the person tried to help you work it out? **Why?**

- |                                    |                              |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| _____ Proud or pleased w/ yourself | _____ Embarrassed or ashamed |
| _____ Guilty                       | _____ Calm or relieved       |
| _____ Worried or scared            | _____ Annoyed or angry       |
| _____ Excited                      | _____ Sad or disappointed    |
| _____ Cold-hearted                 | _____ Grateful to the person |

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] Generally, how much do you value this person's opinion when you have problems with other students? [How much would you value the person's opinion when you have problems?]  
 How come?

\_\_\_\_\_ [B] How much would you want to help this person out if he or she were having problems?

18. Do any of these actions that we've talked about provide justice to someone who's been treated badly?

Any others?

Can any of these actions help protect a person or help him or her get fair treatment in the future?

How does that work?

19. Thank you for sharing these stories with me. As you look back at your time in your school, think about times you've seen teachers or other adults try to break up fights or arguments.

What are some things they do that help calm things down?

What are some things they do that make it worse, get people even more riled up?

**RE-ENTER SUBJECT NUMBER AND STOP RECORDER**

20. These questions are about your race or ethnic ancestry. This can be complicated in the US. For example, someone might be Navaho, Mexican-American, and Irish-American. Some one else might be just one ancestries—like all Chinese-American.

What is your race or ethnic ancestry? \_\_\_\_\_ (get tribal name)

Any others? \_\_\_\_\_ (give origin countries if known)

Have you lived in other states or other countries than WA? Y / N (If yes) Oh, cool!

What states or countries? \_\_\_\_\_ How old were you when you lived there? \_\_\_\_\_

Has your mom lived in other states or countries—as a child or teenager? Y / N

If yes, where? \_\_\_\_\_ ?

Has your dad lived in other states or countries—as a child or teenager? Y / N

If yes, where? \_\_\_\_\_ ?