Institutional safe space and shame management in workplace bullying

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Declaration

I, Hwayeon Helene Shin, hereby declare that, except where acknowledged, that this work is my own and has not been submitted for a higher degree at any other university or institution.

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ABSTRACT

This study addresses the question of how an individual's perception of the safety of his or her institutional space impacts on shame management skills. Shame has been widely recognised as a core emotion that can readily take the form of anger and violence in interpersonal relationships if it is unresolved. When shame is not acknowledged properly, feelings of shame build up and lead to shame-rage spirals that break down social bonds between people.

Some might consider the total avoidance of shame experiences as a way to cut the link between shame and violence. However, there is a reason why we cannot just discard the experience of shame. Shame is a self-regulatory emotion (Braithwaite, 1989, 2002; Ahmed et al., 2001). If one feels shame over wrongdoing, one is less likely to re-offend in the future. That is to say, shame is a destructive emotion on the one hand in the way it can destroy our social bonds, but on the other hand, it is a moral emotion that reflects capacity to regulate each other and ourselves. This paradoxical nature of shame gives rise to the necessity of managing shame in a socially adaptive way.

A group of scholars in the field of shame has argued that institutions can be designed in such a way that they create safe space that allows people to feel shame and manage shame without its adverse consequences (Ahmed et al., 2001). This means that people would feel safe to acknowledge shame and accept the consequences of their actions without fear of stigmatisation or the disruption of social bonds. Without fear, there would be less likelihood of displacing shame, that is, blaming others and expressing shame as anger towards others.

The context adopted for empirically examining shame management in this study is workplace bullying. Bullying has become a dangerous phenomenon in our workplace that imposes significant costs on employers, employees, their families and industries as a whole (Einarsen et al., 2003a). Teachers belong to a professional group that is reputed to be seriously affected by bullying at work.

Teachers from Australia and Korea completed self-report questionnaires anonymously. Three shame management styles were identified: shame acknowledgement, shame displacement and (shame) withdrawal. The likely strengths of these shame management styles were investigated in terms of three factors postulated as contributions to institutional safe space: that is, 1) cultural value orientations, 2) the salience of workgroup identity, and 3) problem resolution practices at work.

The first factor that was considered theoretically important in defining safe space for adaptive shame management was cultural value orientations. Horizontal collectivism (e.g., values that emphasise cooperation and sharing) was associated with adaptive shame management (e.g., acknowledgement of shame), whereas vertical individualism (e.g., values that emphasise competition and power achievement) was associated with non-adaptive shame management (e.g., displacement of shame).

The second factor considered as critical to defining safe space for adaptive shame management was the salience of workgroup identity, both in terms of commitment to the profession and a sense of belongingness. It was belongingness that proved most important in creating safe space that encouraged adaptive shame management.

There were striking cross-cultural similarities for values and workgroup identity. Differences emerged for the third factor that was considered critically important in defining safe space, i.e., problem resolution practice. The impact of disapproval on shame acknowledgement was similar in both cultures. Disapproval increased acknowledgement. However, emotional and social support for a person played different roles in the two cultures; support in a shame-producing situation increased displacement of shame among Koreans, while it did not significantly impact on any of the shame management styles among Australians.

Finally, evidence is provided to show that the experience of bullying either as bully or victim among teachers is related to how shame is managed. Bullies are more likely to displace shame in both Australia and Korea. Victims in Australia are more likely to withdraw, while those in Korea are more likely to acknowledge shame,

perhaps inappropriately. In workplaces where there is a history of bullying, those who design institutions need to be cognisant of the likelihood that bullies and victims already have shame management styles that do harm to others or do harm to themselves. Interestingly, some of the safe space factors appeared to be particularly effective for dealing with shame in some contexts and particularly ineffective in others. Among Australians who admitted to bullying, those who espoused a horizontal collectivism philosophy were less likely to displace shame. Among Koreans who admitted to bullying, disapproval of bullying was more likely to be associated with shame displacement.

The present thesis suggests that further consideration should be given to institutional interventions that support and maintain institutional safe space and that encourage shame acknowledgement, while dampening the adverse effect of defensive shame management. The evidence presented in this thesis is a first step in demonstrating that institutional safe space and shame management skills are empirically measurable, are relevant in other cultural contexts and address issues that are at the heart of the human condition everywhere.

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CHAPTER ONE

BULLYING IN THE WORKPLACE

Violence is the last refuge of the incompetent (Isaac Asimov).

1.1 Introduction

Bullying has been evocatively described as the 'cancer of the workplace' (Gleninning, 2001) because it steadily and stealthily eats away at the wellbeing of organisations. Bullying imposes economic, legal and psychological costs on industries, organisations and society, inducing concern from employers and the public alike. This concern is based in part on the belief that there has been a significant increase in workplace bullying, and in part on greater awareness of bullying as unacceptable behaviour (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf & Cooper, 2003b; Leymann, 1996; Soares, 2002; Spurgeon, 1997). As a result, workplaces have been encouraged to introduce anti-bullying codes of practice to contain the problem (Crawford, 1999; Hoel, 2004; Rayner, 1999; Richards & Daley, 2003; Sheehan, 1999). In Australia, the 'Beyond Bullying Association' was formed in 1994, and has been active in educating the community about the consequences of workplace bullying in our society, as well as persuading policy makers and government leaders to tackle the problem directly (Sheehan, Barker & Rayner, 1999; also see http://cwpp.slq.qld.gov.au/bba/new.html or http://www.davdig.com/bba/ for aims and objectives of Beyond Bullying Association).

Although the form of workplace bullying varies, bullying encompasses negative behaviours that represent verbal and/or physical aggression practised repeatedly to denigrate a person and rob him or her of a sense of worth and mastery (Einrasen, 1999, 2000; Einarsen et al., 2003b; Einrasen, Raknes & Matthiesen, 1994). Bullying is often directed towards people who do not have the resources to protect themselves,

either because they are not psychologically resilient, they are socially isolated, or they are politically weak (Brodsky, 1976; Einarsen, 1999; Leymann, 1996). Bullying, therefore, breeds in contexts where feelings of worthlessness and powerlessness and intimidation already have a foothold (Rayner, 1999).

The workplace bullying literature was given a boost in the 1990's by Scandinavian and European researchers who recognised the epidemic rise of workplace bullying and its consequences (e.g., Adams, 1992; Einarsen et al, 1994; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Leymann, 1990, 1996; Rayner, 1997). Since then the bullying literature has grown substantially in the field of organisational behaviour. This chapter reviews the nature, the extent of workplace bullying, and its outcomes (1.2, 1.3 & 1.4). Attention will then turn to explanations of workplace bullying (1.5). The chapter concludes by addressing a theoretical approach taken from the shame literature that can be postulated as being applicable to understanding workplace bullying (1.6).

In this chapter, the terms 'emotional abuse' (Keashly, 1998), 'mobbing' (Leymann, 1990; 1996), 'aggression,' 'bullying' (Adams, 1992; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002a, b; Rayner, 1997), 'victimisation' (Olweus, 1994) and 'harassment' (Brodsky, 1976; Einarsen, 2000; Vartia, 1996) are used interchangeably. Although researchers try to distinguish these terms in certain contexts, the broader objective is to locate the present study in the context of research that examines violent or abusive behaviours in the workplace that cause hurt or injury to other employees.

1.2 The Nature of Workplace Bullying

Labelling certain behaviour as 'bullying' depends on the perceptions of the person. However, subjectivity creates problems in conceptualising and measuring bullying at work. For instance, the same sharp rebuke uttered in a loud voice by a boss may be interpreted by one person as yet another example of a hurtful and demeaning insult, and by another as a normal way of getting things done under stress. These subjective interpretations of the same event will always plague bullying research (Cowie,

Naylor, Rivers, Smith & Pereira, 2002), but some attempts have been made to delineate dimensions of bullying on more objective grounds. These dimensions allow researchers to be able to locate one study in relation to another.

Among the major dimensions used to define bullying in a more objective manner are: 1) frequency or how often victims are bullied (e.g., Leymann, 1996); 2) the duration of acts of bullying (e.g., Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996); 3) types of acts of bullying (e.g., Rayner, 1997, 1999); 4) the self-labelling of victims who perceive themselves as bullied based on researchers' definitions (e.g. Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996); and 5) evidence of organisational structural power imbalance (Adams, 1992, 1997; Einarsen et al., 2003b). Most studies, even the major studies mentioned above, tend to define bullying in terms of more than one dimension. Through combining dimensions, researchers have their best chance of capturing the dynamic processes of bullying in which bullying is intensified, developed, and altered during the course of interpersonal relationships in the workplace. For example, some (e.g., Leymann, 1996; Rayner, 1997) argue that the repetition of abusive behaviour is an essential defining feature of workplace bullying. The emphasis on repetition means that the duration and frequency of bullying at work are the focus of measurement.

Others, however, have been more focused on particular behavioural events adopting the view that abuse or aggressive behaviour, even if it happens only once, is significant and should not be ignored (Crawford, 1997; Neuman & Baron, 2003). Crawford (1997) views workplace bullying on a continuum of workplace violence where variations reflect intensity, not regularity. At one end of the continuum, there might be joking or teasing. More intense would be acts of emotional and psychological violence, giving way at the other end of the continuum to workplace homicide. Here, the types of behaviours that constitute bullying take precedence in the operational definition.

In an integrating way, some view bullying as a process in which frequency and intensity are intertwined. The dynamic interpersonal aspect of bullying is well captured in a theoretical model which suggests that bullying is more likely to be a process that endures over time and through which stigmatisation of victims becomes

exacerbated and systemised gradually (Einarsen, 1999; Laymann, 1996). In the process of workplace bullying, bullies tend to escalate both intensity and frequency of bullying fuelled by feelings of negativity towards victims. The process of bullying is also evident in the responses of victims. Victims do not initially have consistent responses; that is, they are open to changing their strategies to handle the situation. Yet, many eventually end up in the same place, giving up the struggle against bullying (Ashforth, 1994; Einarsen, 1999). Bullying is, therefore, best thought of as a spiral of domination that builds on the submission of the other party.

Others, on the other hand, view bullying as more than an interpersonal relationship that has gone wrong. It is built into the organisational structure of the workplace. Einarsen (2000) argues that interpersonal conflicts between two parties who have a symmetrical power relation should not be classified as workplace bullying. Workplace bullying has a structural correspondence represented by status or power differentials between employees and between employees and employers. When the more powerful person systematically abuses that power, bullying occurs (Adams, 1997). Research suggests that abuses of this kind are commonplace (e.g., Adams, 1997; Ashforth, 1994; Liefooghe & Davey, 2001; Rayner, 1999; UNISON, 1997 cited in Rayner, 1999).

However, this is not to suggest that a person of lower status is incapable of intimidating or causing distress for a person of high status in an organisation. According to the report of Hoel, Cooper & Faragher (2001), people in modern workplaces, regardless of their formal organisational status, are exposed to the danger of being bullied. Senior and middle level managers are now likely to suffer from excessive workloads and stress as a result of being pushed too hard from the higher level management group, while workers of lower status are likely to be exposed to teasing and humiliation in relation to their work tasks. Both groups experience bullying, regardless of the fact that their organisational status gives them very different amounts of power.

Therefore, it is too limiting to understand structural power relations only in structural terms. A power relationship exists when a perpetrator believes and acts in the

knowledge that he or she can dominate others' emotions and do them harm. Reports on bullying by colleagues with equal formal status and by those in lower positions in the organisation of their supervisors are starting to appear in the workplace bullying literature (Baron & Neuman, 1998; Hoel, et al., 2001; Zapf, Einarsen, Hoel, & Vartia, 2003, pp. 115-117 for a review). In particular, there are increasing reports of 'upwards bullying'—as opposed to 'downwards bullying'—showing how employees of lower status in an organisation can inflict harm repeatedly on a senior person and an authority (Branch, Sheehan, Barker & Ramsay, 2004).

At this stage, the relatively new field of workplace bullying is open to different definitions and understandings of the phenomenon. This increases the importance of each researcher clearly locating each new piece of research in relation to the major defining dimensions discussed above. In this thesis, workplace bullying is defined as the frequency of hurtful or derogatory behaviour experienced at the hands of those in positions above or below one in the work hierarchy.

1.3 Prevalence of Workplace Bullying

Different aspects of what constitutes workplace bullying, that is, a) the subjectivity of bullying, b) the frequency versus intensity of harmful action, and c) the formal versus informal power imbalance between people, results in practical difficulties in measuring workplace bullying. Zapf et al. (2003) have summarised empirical findings of workplace bullying and argued that the prevalence of bullying is very much dependent upon how it is measured; for instance, it very much relies on where researchers position the cut-off point on the continuum of negative behaviours. Nonetheless, they argue that, however bullying is defined, the prevalence rates of bullying in modern workplaces show that a significant number of people are adversely affected by bullying at work.

The reported rates of workplace bullying have shown extreme variations across countries, so that it is hard to generalise the average prevalence of workplace bullying. In Scandinavian studies, rates of workplace bullying were low ranging

from 8.6 per cent on average in Norway (Einarsen & Skogstead, 1996) to 3.5 per cent in Sweden (Leymann, 1996).[1] On the other hand, the prevalence rates of workplace bullying are much higher in the US. According to Keashly and Jagatic (2003) who reviewed the North American literature on workplace bullying, more than 25 per cent of American workers have been bullied. In America, it has been reported that up to 90 per cent of people in the workforce suffer workplace bullying at some time in their working lives (Yamada, 2000). The workplace bullying rates reported in the United Kingdom show diversified figures ranging from 1.4 per cent (Hoel et al., 2003) to 53 per cent (Rayner, 1997). Even though there has not been a survey of workplace bullying at the national level, Sheehan et al. (Sheehan, McCarthy, Barker & Henderson, 2001) estimate a rather high 15 per cent prevalence rate in the Australian workplace.[2]

Scholars argue that the cross-national variation is indicative of the lack of coherent measures for bullying at work (Rayner & Hoel, 1997, Salin, 2001), as well as workplace variation in what is understood as bullying behaviour (Cowie et al., 2002; Salin, 2001). Part of these differences in understanding involves norms or customs about how power is used, or abused in different cultural settings (Cowie, et al., 2002; Einarsen, 2000; Hoel & Salin, 2003; Leymann, 1996; Marais-Steinman, 2003).

1.4 Costs of Workplace Bullying

Workplace bullying has serious consequences for victims and organisations. The costs can be summarised as 1) economic, 2) legal, and 3) socio-psychological. Recently, taxpayers in the state of Victoria, Australia, faced a one-million-dollar bill for workplace bullying that occurred in government departments and agencies

[1] Some Scandinavian studies disclose that the rate of workplace bullying is exceptionally high in some workplaces (see the review of Zapf et al., 2003). For example, Finnish prison officers have reported that more than 20 % of them suffer from workplace bullying (Vartia & Hytty, 2002, cited in Zapf et al., 2003). However, these seem to be extreme cases and appear to be occupationally specific. In most reports, the workplace bullying rate in the Scandinavian countries is low compared to other countries.

[2] However, the survey conducted by the ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions) shows exceptionally high prevalence of workplace bullying, estimating nearly 54 per cent prevalence among more than 3000 respondents (ACTU, 'Being bossed around is bad for your health,' available at http://actu.labor.au/public/resources/bullying/index-workplace.html, cited at 04/11/2005). This result might reflect the characteristics of the specific group.

(Barker, *The Age*, 2004). In Australia, the cost of workplace bullying is estimated to be between 6 and 7 billion Australian dollars per annum, which is equivalent to 0.9 to 2 per cent of GDP (Graves, *The Personnel Today*, 2003; also see Sheehan, McCarthy, Barker & Henderson, 2001).

Workplace bullying has been found to be related to sick leave in many workplaces: for example, among hospital staff in Finland (Kivimaki, Elovainio & Vahtera, 2000), staff of a mental health unit in Britain (Lockhart, 1997) and employees in Swedish post offices (Voss, Floderus, & Diderichsen, 2001). Responding to bullying by taking days off seems to be a widely used coping strategy of workers who find their workplace stressful (Hoel, Einarsen & Cooper, 2003). Among the most important economic factors for an organisation is work absence (Pryor, 1987). Apart from absenteeism, staff turnover has also been related to workplace bullying. Rayner (1999) has reported that 27 per cent of those who are bullied leave their job. Perhaps some of this bullying is intentional to get rid of unwanted staff (Einarsen, 2000; Leymann, 1996; Zapf & Gross, 2001) and, therefore, the economic costs to the organisation are lower than one might expect. But if this is the case, the economic burden simply shifts from the organisation to the individual and to that person's support base (e.g., governmental care, if a disability pension is issued).

Along with this, the impact of the legal costs associated with workplace bullying is only beginning to make its presence felt. Legal expenses increase as employees affected by workplace bullying seek compensation (Gleninning, 2001; Leymann, 1996; Sheehan, 1999; Yamada, 2001). For example, the New Zealand courts recently awarded a former probational officer a one million dollars damage bill for the government's failure to provide a safe workplace and effective management for assessing employees' workloads.[3] Added to this is the reputational damage to the organisation through the negative publicity of potential court proceedings (Fisse & Braithwaite, 1983; Hoel et al., 2003).

[3] Source: Bullying On Line 'Those who can, do, those who can't bully,' available at http://www.bullyonline.org/workbully/oz.htm (cited at 07/12/2004)

Last but not least is the social and psychological damage that is associated with workplace bullying. Bullying is likely to affect workers' initiative, creativity, commitment and efficiency (Ashforth, 1994; Hoel et al., 2003). It was reported that productivity was 7 per cent lower in a group where bullying occurred compared with a control group [Hoel, Sparks & Cooper (2001), cited by Hoel et al. (2003); Hogh, Borg, Mikkelsen, 2003]. The morale and productivity of workgroups is also put at risk by bullying in the workplace (Einarsen et al., 1994; Niedl, 1996; Pryor, 1987; Rayner, 1999). Intra-personally, workplace bullying has been linked to stress, anxiety, depression and damage to self-esteem (e.g., Adams, 1997; Archer, 1999; Bond, Carlin, Thomas, Rubin, & Patton, 2001; Hoel et al., 2003; Laymann & Gustafsson, 1996; Lockhart, 1997; Mattiesen & Einarsen, 2001; Sheehan, 1999). Recently, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) has emerged as an important psychological disorder that is related to workplace bullying, which includes symptoms like emotional detachment, psychological withdrawal and musculo-skeletal complaints (e.g., Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002a; Soares, 2004). It is reported that the more bullying is perceived to be traumatic, the more people seem to complain of symptoms of PTSD.

Although absenteeism, turnover, productivity and socio-psychological disorders were discussed as separate consequences of workplace bullying, they are all likely to be interconnected and implicated in individual stress. Individuals, who experience bullying and loss of wellbeing as a result, are more likely to withdraw from work responsibilities, avoid the workplace when possible, and experience ill health and look for other work. As Sheehan (1999) observes, it is no surprise that the literature on bullying is extensively linked with the literature on stress. On the basis of findings so far, removing bullying from the workplace is desirable, as it enables the pursuit of organisational growth, while limiting the legal, economic and psychological risks associated with poorly managed employee relations.

1.5 Explaining Bullying at Work

To remove bullying in the workplace, it is important to understand why it happens. However, as the field of workplace bullying is in its infancy and suffers from too few theory-driven studies, understanding why workplace bullying takes place is still a formidable task (Einarsen et al., 2003b). Nevertheless, the literature to date has been successful in decoding the phenomenon in two explanatory directions: looking at individual triggers of bullies and victims and environmental antecedents at various levels.

A body of research has emerged seeking to explain workplace bullying in terms of dispositional characteristics of victims and bullies. This approach is based on the assumption that characteristics of victims and bullies are, at least partially, responsible for workplace bullying. According to this view, bullies are likely to be people with 'difficult personalities to deal with' (Ashforth, 1994; Seigne, 1998). Zapf and Einarsen (2003) have summarised empirical findings that suggest lack of empathy and unrealistically high self-esteem makes them prone to bullying at work; that is to say, people with unstable high self-esteem are prone to act aggressively and tyrannically towards others when they do not have favourable responses from others in the working relationship. Similarly, Baumeister and colleagues (Baumeister, Smart & Boden, 1996) argue that high self-esteem can lead to violence or aggression. An additional factor that leads to bullying is lack of emotional intelligence, the ability that leads one to operate effectively in one's interpersonal life through increasing the awareness and sensitivity of their own and others' emotional processes (Ahmed & Braithwaite, forthcoming; Sheehan, 1999).

Although bullies provoke bullying in the workplace, some have argued that it might not be based on the personality factors of the bully (Orford & Beasley, 1997; Zapf & Einarsen, 2003). For example, Zapf and Einarsen argue that managers and supervisors use a form of bullying to achieve organisational goals, and thereby improve and protect their own status and prospects of advancement. They have suggested that almost half of bullying incidents could be reclassified as micro-political behaviour. Even though the intention of this behaviour is productivity not

humiliation of workers, the leadership style that involves bullying-like work demands might cause similar harm to old style bullying in the workplace.

The workplace bullying research provides an account of bullies either from victims' or bystanders' viewpoints (Einarsen, 2000). However, the literature rarely explores what causes bullies to bully others from their own perspective. In this respect, Skarlicki & Folger (1997) offered an invaluable insight into bullies' psychological account of bullying. According to Skarlicki and Folger, the experience of fair interactional and procedural justice from other colleagues or the organisation reduces the likelihood of workplace retaliation when the individual is not satisfied with the outcomes they receive. Such a finding highlights the importance of perceived fairness and respectful treatment for preventing workplace violence. This approach has only begun to be pursued in the bullying literature (e.g., Kivimaki, Elovainio, Vahtera, & Stansfeld, 2003; Zellars, Tepper, & Duffy, 2002).

In contrast to the lack of empathy and 'toughness' (Glennining, 2001) of bullies, victims have vulnerable tendencies, such as dependency, timidity, or instability in their emotional wellbeing (Coyne, Seigne & Randall, 2000; Gandolfo, 1995; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001; Power, Dyson & Wozniak, 1997; Rayner, 1997). Victims also show a lack of self-efficacy and conflict management skills or psychological resilience (Einarsen, 1999; Einarsen et al., 1994; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002a,b). Using retrospective questioning, Smith et al. (Smith, Singer, Hoel & Cooper, 2003) found that adults with histories of being bullied or both being bullied and bullying at school were more likely to become victims of workplace bullying. Their findings suggest that there are some stable individual characteristics that lead to victimisation in the workplace. However, they have added that the modest association between the two is also suggestive that bullying is more likely to be contextual or situational. This is the line of the argument that Leymann (Leymann, 1996; Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996) pursues; an individual's personality is unrelated to being a victim of workplace bullying; that is to say, the victims' personality observed in past studies is more likely to be the result of, not the cause of bullying.

As hinted in Leymann's work, explaining bullying from the perspective of dispositional characteristics of bullies and victims runs the risk of 'scape goating' or 'witch hunting' (Zapf & Einarsen, 2003). The label of 'victim' can stigmatise victims further and provide a pathway for the bully to escape their responsibility. At the same time, the label 'bully' is used in a derogative manner against supervisors and managers whose management styles are detested (e.g., Branch, Sheehan, Barker & Ramsay, 2004). The dispositional perspective without considering social and organisational factors is, therefore, likely to limit our understanding of bullying at work. Brodsky (1976) has made the point that although it is true that some perpetrators have personality problems, they would not move ahead unless they knew that the organisational culture permitted them or even rewarded them for doing so. Following Brodsky's approach, researchers such as Liefooghe and Davey (2001) and Zapf (1999) have suggested that bullies fill the role of being the ringleaders of oppressive organisational systems. Organisational or social determinants are just as important as, if not more important than, individual determinants in understanding bullying behaviour in the workplace.

From the organisational perspective, bullying can come to be institutionalised in the workplace. Three basic explanations have been proposed. First, some organisational cultures use bullying politically to control its employees and to achieve organisational goals (Archer, 1999; Liefooghe & Davey, 2001; Rayner, 1997; Salin, 2001). From this viewpoint, the function of bullying is to indoctrinate norms of subservience and generate fear of retaliation, thereby preserving hierarchy in the organisation (Archer, 1999; Rayner, 1997).

Second, inefficient work places that harbour role conflicts can create a bullying environment (Leymann, 1996; Vartia, 1996). Leymann (1996) has illustrated this situation with nurses who are caught between doctors' intense demands and the rules of nursing management, which often conflict with each other. When workers perceive low levels of task control and role-conflict, the likelihood of bullying in the workplace grows (Baron & Neuman, 1996; Einarsen et al., 1994; Vartia, 1996; Zapf, 1999). Under such circumstances, the leadership styles invariably become more authoritarian and bullying because there is no shared agreed understanding of how

organisational demands should be met (Leymann, 1996; Vartia, 1996). Bullying is a response to staff not knowing how to use their initiative and not taking responsibility because they are unclear about what is the right thing to do.

Third, organisational culture that accepts, or sometimes, rewards aggressive behaviour can enculturate bullying at work (Archer, 1999; Ashforth, 1994; Crawford, 1999; Vartia, 1996); For example, prison systems (Power et al., 1997), or para-military groups (Archer, 1999), because of their philosophy of domination, provide fertile ground for a bullying culture. This explanation for bullying culture is aligned with the work of Hoel and Salin (2003) who argue that bullying culture is particularly strong where conformity is emphasised and diversity in the workplace is rejected.

Workplace bullying has also been explained from an economic and sociological perspective. It has been argued that the current economic climate jeopardises the safety of workplaces; that is to say, the global market-driven economy has brought dramatic changes to workplaces and the changes have fuelled workplace bullying (Baron & Neuman, 1996, 1998; Glennining, 2001; Hoel & Salin, 2003; Yamada, 2000). This has occurred through: 1) increasing performance pressures on managers who have had responsibility for delivering neo-liberal market reform through downsizing, de-layering and monitoring productivity levels (Baron & Neuman, 1996, 1998; Gleninning, 2001; Voss et al., 2001); 2) reducing the power of unions that function to restrain the systematic abuse of supervisory power (Orford & Beasley, 1997; Yamada, 2000); 3) promoting the diversification of the workplace in terms of gender and race without attending to issues of intolerance, discrimination and harassment (Baron & Neuman, 1998); and 4) increasing job insecurity through increasing the use of contingent workers (Baron & Neuman, 1998; Liefooghe & Davey, 2001; Yamada, 2000).

Gleninning (2001) argues that growing workplace bullying figures reflect an increasingly popular mindset in which aggressive competitors are admired. His argument, in fact, implies the complementary relationship between individual and organisational social antecedents of the bullying phenomenon, which Brodsky (1976)

perceived earlier. However, systematic studies that consider the dynamics of both factors have not been attempted as yet, even though the necessity was put forward earlier (Crawford, 1997; Zapf, 1999). Elias (1991) advocates the position that we will be only able to understand an individual or the behaviours of an individual when we see such behaviour in terms of relationship and functions in society. In order to understand workplace bullying, it is therefore necessary to investigate different levels of engagement of the individual with life forces (Lewin, 1951), from the intrapersonal through the interpersonal and organisational to the societal.

1.6 Looking for an Integrated Explanation of Workplace Bullying

From this brief overview of the workplace bullying literature, several issues have emerged for investigation. First of all, more research has delved into the psychological processes of victims than the psychology of bullies. In particular, the characteristics of bullies in the workplace have been explored mainly from the perspective of victims or from social demographic or structural data. It is important to understand more of how bullies perceive and evaluate their own behaviours and their interactions with others (Skarlicki & Folger, 1997; Einarsen, 2000).

Next, in the literature on organisational behaviour and management practices in general and workplace bullying in particular, the role of emotions has been rarely explored (Ashkanasy, Hartel & Zebe, 2000; Sheehan, 1999; Sheehan & Jordan, 2003). There has been, however, a longstanding position in the literature on emotions that nothing matters without emotions (Tomkins, 1963, 1987); in other words, emotion enables us to translate what is happening in the world into relevant knowledge for the self. Bullying involves emotions and these emotions will shape the way in which bullies explain and justify their behaviour to self and others. In particular, the emotions of morality such as shame and guilt are likely to be part of the bullying experience. In every society, there are moral codes, including moral codes about the protection of the vulnerable and not hurting others. The moral emotions of shame and guilt are responsive to these social norms and values (Ahmed et al., 2001; Kaufman, 1996; Nathanson, 1992; Tomkins, 1987; Williams, 1993). A

work environment that fosters a bullying culture means a breakdown of moral and social codes that guide ways to relate with others. Therefore, an analysis of how the moral emotions are managed might provide insights into how bullying cultures can develop and resist change.

In this regard, Ahmed and her colleagues (1999, 2001, 2002; Ahmed & Braithwaite, forthcoming; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004; Braithwaite, Ahmed, Morrison & Reinhart, 2003) present a compelling case for explaining bullying from a shame management perspective. They argue that bullying occurs when individuals are poor shame managers. Ahmed and her colleagues have begun to examine the conditions necessary for positive or adaptive shame management, which they argue reduces the likelihood of bullying. However, it is also evident that there are people who lack the capacity to manage shame in a healthy way, that is, people who are prone to feel shame suffer from low self-esteem, a sense of worthlessness, incompetence or anger (Scheff, 1996a; Tangney, 1991, 1995a, b; Tangney, Burgaff & Wagner, 1995; Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow, 1992; Tangney, Wagner, Hill-Barlow, Marschall, & Gramzow, 1996a).

Braithwaite and her colleagues (2003) agree that there is a personal dispositional aspect of shame management. However, they also suggest that organisational factors such as bullying culture, in which bullying activity is tolerated, is likely to weaken shame management skills of individuals; in contrast, supportive organisational settings are likely to encourage individuals to manage shame adaptively. While emphasising that shame management is not a temporary behavioural tactic but more a conscience-based self-evaluation process based on moral values, they argue for the creation of institutional safe space that enables people to learn from the shame experience without damaging the self. In their terms, shame management skills are related to bullying behaviours but they are contextual and situation-dependent. This is encouraging for preventing bullying, as it gives support to the notion that social intervention at the time of bullying may be useful in curtailing the spread of a bullying culture. Their argument reflects the concerns that workplace bullying scholars have expressed. Bennett (1997) argues that any individual approach to change behaviours can be fruitful only when there is organisational support and

organisational determination to change the workplace for the better. Gleninning (2001) similarly argues that programs and training at the individual level for the prevention of bullying at work will not be effective unless the organisational environment that shapes interpersonal encounters changes. The work of Ahmed and her colleagues (Ahmed et al., 2001; Ahmed & Braithwaite, forthcoming; Braithwaite et al., 2003) captures the need of institutional intervention for bullying along with individual self-regulation and does so from the perspective of shame experience. The most important argument Ahmed and her colleagues have made is that shame has a regulatory effect only when people feel connected and at one with their workgroup. This implies that a reintegrative or forgiving culture is a prerequisite of adaptive shame management and ultimately of bullying control.

The research context that the present thesis employs is the school setting, as with the work of Ahmed (1999, 2001). However, it is not children who are the focus of attention, but rather the authority figures in the school community, teachers. Bullying and victimisation seem to be problems among teachers as well as among children in school. Although teachers are supposed to intervene and resolve problems of bullying among children, recent data show that they have their own bullying problem. Around 5 per cent of teachers are bullied in most OECD countries.[4] In the United Kingdom, the largest group of callers to the Bullying Advice Line is teachers.[5] The bullying phenomenon among teachers has slowly started to capture academic attention as well (e.g., Djurkovic, 2004; Minton & O'Moore, 2004).

Minton and O'Moore (2004) argue that teachers are a critical group for bullying scholars to study, as bullying of teachers intersects two important issues in bullying research: bullying at work and bullying at school. School is a pivotal social institution that shapes attitudes and values of future generations. As Lincoln famously stated, 'The philosophy of the school room in one generation will be the

[4] Source: International Labour Organisation ('Education: Sector specific information on violence and stress, available at http://www.ilo.org/public/english/dialogue/sector/sectors/educa/violence.htm (cited at 07/12/2004))

[5] Source: Bullying on Line ('Those who can, do, those who can't, bully,' available at http://www.bullyingonline.org/workbully/teachers.htm (cited at 07/12/2004))

philosophy of government in the next.' Therefore, behaviours and attitudes towards others learned and exercised at school should be pertinent to civic virtue and responsible citizenship (Braithwaite, forthcoming; Morrison, forthcoming). If teachers experience victimisation, or bully other teachers in their workplace, it is likely that their expectations of justice and collective wellbeing in the school community are low, because bullying is about domination and abuse of power (Adams, 1992). Once domination and abuse of power are accepted as normal, a bullying culture sets in that suppresses healthy communication between people. Victimisation affects the productivity and creativity of the workers and increases the level of stress among them (Adams, 1992, 1997; Einarsen et al., 1998; Sheehan, 1999). Indeed, teachers have been identified as an occupational group suffering from high levels of work stress (Field, *The Age,* 2003). In such circumstances, children along with teachers are likely to be vulnerable to being caught up in a bullying school culture. Healthy communication and a supportive environment are required to reverse this process and empower teachers when they deal with bullying amongst students as well as amongst themselves. Control of bullying in a teachers' workplace is likely to set the desirable behavioural codes in the children's playground, too. This idea is captured well in the whole of school approach to managing bullying problems (Braithwaite, forthcoming).

This thesis examines what it means to have safe space in teachers' workplace to enhance prospects of adaptive shame management. Chapter 3 develops a model for explaining shame management styles discussing what situations are conducive to the creation of safe space in the workplace that enable individuals to manage their shame adaptively. Prior to doing this, Chapter 2 reviews the shame literature on how shame emotions function to trigger shame-related violence and how shame can be dissipated in a peaceful reintegrative way. Chapter 2 particularly scrutinises the paradoxical nature of the shame emotion. Shame, which is global and engenders feelings of worthlessness (Scheff, 1996a; Niedenthal, Tangney & Gavanski, 1994; Tangney, 1995b; Tangney et al., 1995) as well as shame that is unacknowledged has been shown to give rise to aggressive feelings and behaviours (Lewis, 1971; Scheff, 1987; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991). While most attention has focused on the damaging effects of shame, I will argue for the positive function of shame in terms of self-

regulation. This discussion leads to the conclusion that shame could yield more positive outcomes if it is managed healthily and adaptively (Ahmed et al., 2001, Ahmed & Braithwaite, forthcoming; Braithwaite et al., 2003).

CHAPTER TWO

FEELING SHAME AND ITS ADAPTIVE MANAGEMENT

And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou? And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself (Genesis, 3; 9-10).

Unto Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them (Genesis, 3: 21)

2.1 Shame: A Paradoxical Emotion

'Shame' has become a popular research topic in recent years as part of growing awareness that emotions contribute in significant ways to explaining human behaviour (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1994; Kitayama & Markus, 1994; Kitayama, Markus & Matsumoto, 1995; Kitayama, Markus, Kurokawa, 2000; Triandis, 1994). On the one hand, shame is an important social and moral emotion through which people are socialised into society (Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001; Barrett, 1995; Braithwaite, 1989; Fung, 1999; Grasmick & Bursik Jr., 1990; Twitchell, 1997; Williams, 1993). On the other hand, shame raises concerns, because of its harmful consequences for individuals. Individuals can find the experience of shame intolerable. The clinical literature documents the phenomenon of too much shame or shame feeling that overwhelms the individual, that is, pathological self-consciousness caused by shame and the psychological phenomenon of shame-proneness (e. g, Gilligan, 1996; Kaufman, 1996; Lansky, 1987; Lewis, 1971; Lewis, 1992; Mokros, 1995; Niedenthal, Tangney, & Gavanski, 1994; Tangney, 1991, 1995a, b; Tangney, Burgaff & Wagner, 1995; Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow, 1992; Tangney, Wagner, Hill-Barlow, Marschall, & Gramzow, 1996a). Thus, shame presents social scientists with a

dilemma. Using shame as a means of social control is questioned due to its potentially harmful consequences for individuals, although its function of social regulation is recognised.

Thus, investigating the paradoxical nature of shame should be an initial step in the study of shame. A theologian, Bonhoeffer (1964, cited in Doi, 1974, p. 55), seems to best understand the paradoxical nature of feeling shame: 'Shame is man's ineffaceable recollection of his estrangement from the origin; it is grief for this estrangement, and the powerless longing to return to unity with the origin.' The first Biblical quote in the heading of this chapter, which is often used as a typical description of shame (e.g., Scheff & Retzinger, 1991, pp. 4-5; Twitchell, 1997, pp.42-43), illustrates the experience of shame in which the shameful event brought the painful rupture between God and His children. The experience of shame damaged the significant relationship they cared about and eradicated their social standing. However, this is not the whole story. The second part of the quote (Genesis 3:21) in the heading of the chapter, eleven verses later, shows how the shame experience was worked through, giving way to a new relationship between God and humans. Biblically speaking, this symbolises the eternal reconciliation between them. This anecdote is an illustration of a different way of looking at shame in society. It may be that the normative objective of the shame experience is the restoration of relationships not the destruction of self. It is therefore of interest that the 'estrangement' part of shame has been receiving most attention these days, while the 'longing for reconciliation' part of shame is relatively neglected.

2.1.1 Defining Shame

How shame is defined depends upon the research paradigm in which it is studied. Scholars who highlight the phenomenology of moral emotions, such as shame, guilt, and embarrassment, tend to differentiate these emotions in terms of psychological phenomenon (e.g., Barrett, 1995; Benedict, 1946; Creighton, 1990; Lewis, 1971; Tangney, Miller, Flicker & Barlow, 1996b). Tangney and her colleagues (Niedenthal, et al., 1994; Tangney, 1991, 1995a, b; Tangney et al., 1995; Tangney et al., 1992; Tangney et al., 1996a, b), in particular, try to distinguish shame from guilt

while demonstrating many harmful consequences of shame, such as low self-esteem, the lack of empathy and the employment of immature coping strategies in contexts where moral emotions are felt. Shame for these researchers is the most damaging of the moral emotions from the perspective of an individual's mental wellbeing.

However, others emphasise the social function of shame without paying particular attention to differentiating shame and guilt (e.g., Retzinger, 1996; Tomkins, 1987, Twitchell, 1997). For example, a group of scholars (e.g., Ahmed, 2005; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004; Ahmed, et al., 2001; Braithwaite & Ahmed, forthcoming; Braithwaite, Ahmed, Morrison, & Reinhart, 2003) has begun to focus on the socially positive function of shame in the bullying context. While being aware of the harmful consequences of shame, they argue that shame is a necessary social element for moral learning; therefore, it is important to build psychological and social environments that enable individuals to feel shame safely while minimising the adverse impact of the shame experience. They have accumulated evidence that shame acknowledgement functions to control commitment to wrongdoing in contexts such as school bullying, workplace bullying, and drink-driving (e.g., Ahmed, 2001; Ahmed & Braithwaite, forthcoming; Braithwaite et al., 2003; Harris, 2001). Shame acknowledgement represents an adaptive form of shame management that facilitates moral learning. From this perspective, the differentiation between shame and guilt is not the main interest.

Indeed, Harris (2003) argues that the distinction between shame and guilt seems to be a less important issue than one might expect, because context shapes their expression (Sabini & Silver, 1997). Harris investigated the dimensionality of shame, guilt and embarrassment using empirical data. Instead of identifying the three emotions separately, he identified shame-guilt, embarrassment-exposure, and unresolved shame. The context for Harris' work was a criminal one—being prosecuted for drink driving. According to Harris (2001, 2003), the conviction of drink driving elicited high levels of exposure and damage to an individual's social image. In this situation, shame and guilt were likely to be felt simultaneously, because the situation highlighted an alignment of a social norm and a personal norm not to drink and drive.

Harris (2001, 2003) found that shame-guilt was positively associated with empathy and negatively with anger/hostility. This contradicts the work of Tangney and her colleagues (e.g., Tangney, 1995b; Tangney et al., 1992; Tangney et al., 1996a), who found that these characteristics were associated with the guilt phenomenon, not shame. Harris' findings provide encouraging support for the idea that lies behind the research presented in this thesis. That is to say, the emotions of shame and guilt co-exist with the same correlates when the situation brings forth the psychological capability of people to work through these emotions safely and constructively.

According to Harris, the underlying psychology of the emotional process of resolving shame and guilt involves how and with whom the individual identifies. When shame arises, people immediately are drawn to a question: 'who am I?' If they feel they have transgressed ethical norms shared with significant others, the perception of their wrongdoing threatens their ethical identity. Harris (2001) argues that the experience of moral emotions calls into question the individual's ethical identity. An individual's ethical identity is built and strengthened through loving relationships (Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001). Both shame and guilt have their origins in such strong social bonds and interdependent relationships. This understanding raises a further question regarding the usefulness of a theoretical model that differentiates shame and guilt, as undesirable and desirable emotions, respectively. It is questionable that one emotion can exist in complete absence of the other.

In his book, *Shame and Necessity*, Williams (1993) argues convincingly of the ontological importance of community consciousness in relation to the experience of shame. His understanding of shame and the moral community addresses the issue of divergent views on shame and guilt. He describes why guilt is favoured in modern society, indicating that this might be caused by the false understanding of the world we live in. He argues:

> To the modern moral consciousness, guilt seems a more transparent moral emotion than shame. It may seem so, but that is only because, as it presents itself, it is more isolated than shame is from other elements of one's self-image, the rest

> of one's ethical consciousness. It can direct one towards those who have been wronged or damaged, and demand reparation in the name, simply, of what has happened to them. But it cannot by itself help one to understand one's relations to those happenings, or to rebuild the self that has done these things and the world in which that self has to live. Only shame can do that, because *it embodies conceptions of what one is and of how one is related to others*. If guilt seems to many people morally self-sufficient, it is probably because they have a distinctive and false picture of the moral life, according to which the truly moral self is *characterless*. (*italics given,* Williams, 1993, p. 94)

What Williams suggests here is not another dichotomy of shame and guilt; rather, he tries to integrate the view of morality and the involvement of moral emotions in a shame- or guilt-producing event. He argues that 'shame understands guilt, but guilt cannot understand itself' (Williams, 1993, p. 97), drawing attention to the moral capacity of shame to embrace the relationships that one engages in and cares for.

Williams' relational structure of morality is consistent to some extent with Gilligan's (1982) perspective of women's morality: the ethic of care. Gilligan contends that existing moral development theories do not do justice to the relational aspect of coming to terms with what is morally right, a perspective that permeates the world of women more than the world of men. Gilligan argues that existing moral theories are not capable of integrating concern for others into their accounts of moral decision-making. Gilligan argues that current theories of moral development are divorced from people and contexts. Williams similarly concludes that a preference for a guilt-oriented morality abandons the important insight that relationships with others and shame are part and parcel of why guilt feelings have been triggered and how they need to be resolved.

In spite of the work of Gilligan and Williams to adopt more relational accounts of morality, Miller and Bersoff (1992) are critical of what they see as a Western paradigm, in which individuals' needs and desires are contested with those of others. Doi offers an Eastern paradigm of shame. From the perspective of Doi, feeling shame is a way of communicating our wish for establishing a connection with others. As the desire to connect is a basic need for the human being, we are inevitably vulnerable to shame. Doi views the experience of shame as the deep philosophical

anguish of understanding 'who I am as a person' in relation to others. Consequently, the experience of shame becomes an emotional quest for the real self that cannot be defined clearly without the notion of 'others.' This approach to shame departs from many people's popular understanding of shame and from academic work that demonises shame as an undesirable emotion that is destructive of human potential and wellbeing. In the remainder of this chapter, shame, as conceived in this thesis, is set alongside more critical conceptions of the shame construct.

2.1.2 Toxic Shame[6]

For everyone, feeling shame is an obnoxious experience associated with negative consequences for the self and social relationships. According to Genesis, the first recorded violence in human history is related to shame (Gen 4:1-15). When Cain killed his brother Abel, it was shame transformed into 'humiliated fury' (Lewis, 1971) that led Cain to the murderous deed. This event seems to warn the Judeo-Christian tradition of the dangers of shame that transforms into uncontrollable rage.

Helen Lewis (1971) regards shame as an undesirable emotional mode if it constantly goes unacknowledged. Unacknowledged shame is a landmark concept in the shame literature. In the course of her clinical practice, Lewis identified events that normally elicit shame, but did not in some cases. Yet, she observed, it was not the case that these clients showed no emotional reactivity. She inferred that in such cases, shame went unacknowledged and was defensively bypassed to anger or rage against the self as well as others. As a result, unacknowledged shame damages the integration of the self and social bonds. After Lewis, the effect of unacknowledged shame on the self and on social bonds has attracted much attention and Lewis' ideas have been widely supported (e.g., Kaufman, 1996; Lansky, 1987, 1995; Morkos, 1995; Nathanson, 1992; Scheff, 1997; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991).

Deeply influenced by Lewis, Scheff and Retzinger (e.g., Retzinger, 1991; Scheff, 1987, 2003; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991) have scrutinised the link between shame and shame-related violence from a micro-sociological perspective. They attribute the

[6] This term has been borrowed from Bradshaw's (1988) book, *Healing the shame that binds you*. However, it is not to agree with Bradshaw's view on shame but rather to reflect the popular and caricatured understanding of shame, that is, shame that is dangerous and bad. This view has been actively promoted in the pop-psychology domain.

eruption of violence or rage to dysfunctional interaction that ignores accumulating shame between the parties. Based on observational data, Retzinger (1991) points out that shame fails to function as a relationship regulator when it becomes unconscious, or at least is censored from being the subject of conscious deliberation. In other words, people are unable to communicate with others when they do not effectively recognise the feeling of shame they have in response to others. Instead of dealing with their shame within the relationship, they withdraw. The resulting social distance and alienation means conflicts continue. The overtly felt but not acknowledged shame between stakeholders is trapped in 'shame-rage spirals'; that is, as shame escalates, rage escalates too (Scheff & Retzinger, 1991). Ironically, the more coercion and force are used to make a person confront the shame, the deeper the wounds of this acknowledged shame are likely to be (Gilligan, 1996).

Scheff and Retzinger have accumulated evidence of upward spirals of shame and rage from a broad range of interpersonal and inter-group conflicts; from marital quarrels (Retzinger, 1991) to family feuds (Scheff, 1987, 1997), from gender wars (Scheff, 1997) to the World Wars (Scheff, 1996b, 1997), and from the tragic relationship of suicidal Werther with dutiful Lotte in Goethe's *The Sorrow of Young Werther* (Retzinger & Scheff, 1991) to the tragic relationship of the despairing German people with the tyrannic Hitler, a spiral that created a scapegoat within and resulted in the genocide of Jews (Scheff, 1990, 2003; Retzinger & Scheff, 1991). Shame is an unnoticed undercurrent in all these relationships, until it erupts in a form of violence.

As for reasons for why shame goes unacknowledged, Scheff and Retzinger (e.g., Scheff, 1987, 1997; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991) focus on unhealthy social and interpersonal processes. In the context of escalating interpersonal or inter-group conflicts, it is difficult to communicate shame functionally as feelings of shame are likely to symbolise the acceptance of failure, either on an individual or collective level. It is in effect an expression of vulnerability to one's own society, or another society. If there is competition between self and other, acknowledging shame is not only difficult, it can be dangerous. This may be partly why shame has become a social taboo in modern society, making it more difficult than ever to acknowledge

shame (Kaufman, 1996; Retzinger, 1996; Scheff, 1987). Under these circumstances, the safe resolution of shame and the restoration of social relationships would be delayed simultaneously.

Unlike Scheff and Retzinger who interpret the relationship between shame and destructive outcomes in the social context, Tangney and her colleagues (Tangney, 1990, 1995; Tangney et al., 1995; Tangney et al., 1992; Tangney et al., 1996a) highlight the negative aspect of shame from a dispositional personality perspective. Their argument is based on the observation that different people have different capacities for dealing with the family of shame and pride emotions—of particular relevance here is shame, guilt and embarrassment. They analyse shame management in terms of individual capacity to translate the message instead of analysing it in terms of social conditions that provoke a response.

Two personality dispositions are particularly important to Tangney: guilt- and shame-proneness. People who are prone to feel guilt are more likely to show willingness to make amends for the harm done and to engage in non-hostile discussion about the harm producing event and show empathy towards others. In contrast, people who are prone to feel shame are likely to display hostility, displaced anger, externalisation of blame, and low levels of self-esteem. What Tangney et al. explicitly argue is that feeling shame undermines individual's motivation to deal with ethical matters constructively and healthily. Guilt or remorse, however, unlike shame, is considered to be a functional moral emotion that enables individuals to restore the harm done voluntarily without damaging the self (e.g., Maxwell & Morris, 1999; Tangney, 1991). At one level, the work of Tangney and her colleagues (e.g. Tangney et al., 1992) seems at odds with that of social theorists like Scheff. But as this chapter unfolds, it will be apparent that the differences relate more to labels and paradigms and less to the ideas that lie behind the research.

At the heart of reconciling differences is recognition of common ground. All the scholars reviewed above have left room to accommodate the likelihood that feeling shame can be managed in a positive way. For example, Lewis (1971), who was a pioneer in systematically studying shame and recording the dire consequences of

unacknowledged shame, argued that patients expressed great psychological relief when they acknowledged that they felt shame over certain events in their lives. That is to say, acknowledgement of shame can be a way out for interminable interpersonal and intrapersonal conflicts. Her observations implied that acknowledgement of shame should be the focus of the argument when shame management is discussed.

Scheff also argued that shame is a harmless and, indeed, a necessary emotion for social beings (Scheff, 2001) with the vital function of social regulation (Retzinger, 1996; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991); however, shame develops into violence and is harmful in conditions where communication fails to address the felt shame between the stakeholders (Scheff, 2003). For Scheff, it is about getting the conditions right so shame can be acknowledged.

This is the main difference with the position of Tangney. Tangney and her colleagues have argued that some people are incapable of dealing with shame adaptively; circumstances and conditions cannot change shame-proneness or guilt-proneness. This leads to the following conclusion: the family of shame emotions and this includes guilt, can be directed into either positive and constructive behaviours or negative and destructive behaviours: which happens depends on social context, or individual psychology, or in all likelihood both.

To summarise, some shame scholars see the shame family of emotions as interconnected and give their attention to providing the individual with the institutional support they need to manage shame safely. They do not focus on defining differences between the emotions of shame and guilt because they see their manifestations as socially constructed and fluid. Other shame scholars see the shame emotions as destructive within the individual. They are seen as less fluid, more stable predispositions defined by biological, psychological and early socialisation determinants. This thesis follows the former view of shame, that is, it can be managed socially, although individuals may bring to the situation different levels of capacity to acknowledge shame and express guilt. In the social interactive paradigm, shame can be lessened, bypassed, denied or transformed; however, we cannot be shame-free if we are meant to live alongside others, because shame is an unavoidable

reality of human interaction (Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001, Doi, 1974). In this respect, the argument that shame should be discarded in our emotional life, because it is dangerous, seems to ignore the vital part of the reality of shame. Rather, the debate should be redirected to discover how shame, once felt, is managed well (e.g., as guilt and remorse), thereby dampening the adverse consequences of shame and enabling us to learn and function more competently in relation to others.

Following this line of reasoning, concerns over the violent reaction of shame should be treated as a response to shame. For example, Nathanson (1992) has proposed a compass of shame, which indicates four kinds of defensive shame reactions including avoidance, withdrawal, self-attack and other-attack. The last two reactions are closely related to the phenomenon of shame as the emotion of violence. Kaufman (1996) also has put forward the view that rage or violent reaction is one of the many defensive scripts of shame. From the cross-cultural perspective, Scherer and his associates (e.g., Matsumoto, 1989; Matsumoto, Kudoh, Scherer & Wallbott, 1988; Scherer, 1997; Scherer & Wallbott, 1994; Wallbott & Scherer, 1995) argue that coping strategies and emotion management vary across cultures, even though there are high degrees of cultural similarity in emotional experiences. For example, Matsumoto et al. (1988) has explained how Japanese subjects tend to employ avoidance mechanisms during the experience of shame more than their American counterparts. Therefore, the association between the emotion of shame and its management as violence or withdrawal or apology needs to be considered in a broader cultural and social context, not in a fixed and rigid shame-violence causal relationship.

2.1.3 Well-purposed Shame

Most emotions, if not all, function to inform people how to deal with events that are relevant to the individual's concerns (Clore, 1994; Frijda, 1994; Frijda & Mesquita, 1994). The main function of shame appears to be summarised as social survival. The explanation of Tomkins (1987) on shame is arresting. He argues:

> Just as dissmell and disgust are drive auxiliary acts, I posit shame as an innate affect auxiliary response and a specific inhibitor of continuing interest and enjoyment. As disgust operates only after something has been taken in, shame operates only after

> interest or enjoyment has been activated; it inhibits one, or the other, or both (Tomkins, 1987, p. 143).

Just as dissmell and disgust help humans curb their hunger and thirst drives when they come into contact with potentially life-threatening substances, shame contributes to an individual's social survival by inhibiting ongoing positive affects that could be harmful to the individual's social relationships. In the same way, Retzinger (1996) defines shame as a social distance regulator that governs interpersonal relationships. The maintenance of social relationships would be impossible without the adaptive function of shame. When we feel shame, we are being told that we have done something or others think we have done something that is undesirable or unacceptable; we know our social connections to others are at risk of being broken.

From an evolutionary perspective, Gilbert (1997) argues that the experience of shame enhances 'social fitness' of the individual in maintaining social relationships. In other words, feeling shame in an adaptive and healthy way improves and strengthens an individual's capacity to maintain good relations and social wellbeing. In a shame-producing situation, shame is meant to alert the individual to 'reading' relevant information in the environment and transforming this into the knowledge and action for restoring the individual's social standing in the community (Woodward, 2000).

The socialising function of shame allows people to use shame as a tool for moral learning and moral discipline. The discipline may be exercised by others, but more often it is by the self. Shame has been actively utilised for moral learning in many Asian countries and traditional societies (Benedict, 1946; Doi, 1974; Fung, 1999; Lee, 1999). Fung argues that there is no way to discipline children without shame, because feeling shame is a sign of conscience functioning. For this reason, shame is considered an essential part of human virtue in Asian societies (Ha, 1995; Fung, 1999; Lee, 1999). While Western society is less forthright in embracing the positive aspects of shame, the emotion nevertheless, seems to be as much at work in Western societies as elsewhere. Shame has been an important educational pedagogical device in child-rearing practices (Braithwaite, 1989; Twitchell, 1997).

Even in the clinical setting, shame functions towards providing moral direction to patients in anomic states (Schneider, 1987). The progress of patients towards recovery was noticeable, once shame was acknowledged over deviant behaviours and wrongdoings, which they felt uncomfortable about. In psychiatric settings, patients gradually come to accept the realities of the world and reconcile the tensions between their behaviour, what they think is desirable and what others think desirable by acknowledging shame. Ward (1972) similarly argues that acknowledgement of shame is a necessary course in psychoanalytic therapy, as it provokes the kind of self-analysis that is necessary for psychological growth and self-insight. Schneider (1987) believes that shame enables us to draw into our own space in order to examine whether or not our actions are morally supportable in the world in which we live. An interesting consequence is that being able to acknowledge shame is a precursor of taking a defiant stand that is morally and socially justified. That is to say, in order to decide through thoughtful deliberation that our actions are morally correct and those of society are morally wrong, we need first to face our feelings of shame and work through them. Otherwise, our deliberations of 'the common good' will be clouded and masked by our unresolved shame emotions.

Feeling shame is a part of the everyday practice of knowing and examining where we belong and how we affect the lives of others. The habit of blaming others shields us from owning our mistakes and makes it difficult for the individual to maintain secure social bonds (Lewis, 1992). In contrast, apology, either informal or formal, is likely to lessen the likelihood of victims or people affected by the wrongdoing responding with aggression, and for conflict to spiral (Ohbuchi, Kameda & Agarie, 1989). Apology opens wide the opportunity to resume or restore the relationship that has been damaged (Braithwaite, 1989). The social practices of not blaming others too readily and being prepared to apologise for harm done—are widely accepted norms in Western as well as Asian societies. However, it seems to be less widely accepted that acknowledgement of shame over wrongdoing makes for the possibility of apology that is seen to be sincere and remorseful. Provided that the establishment and the maintenance of secure social bonds is a primary motivation of human beings (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Retzinger, 1996; Scheff, 1997), shame

acknowledgement is an important practice in our social and moral life. This thesis sets out to uncover the social conditions that promote the positive function of shame and the conditions that make shame acknowledgement difficult, if not impossible. The thesis is built on the proposition that shame has been systematically denied in everyday life as a positive functional emotion, and this denial carries the cost of preventing individuals from having an integrated view of the self in Western culture in particular (Lansky, 1995).

At this point, a caveat in the above argument needs to be acknowledged. A society's norms and accepted practices are not always morally defensible. Sometimes we feel shame when we should not, because the views of the majority or of those with authority over us are not fair or reasonable. In these cases, shame acknowledgement should not be seen as a healthy moral solution to a problem. For example, rape victims tend to feel shame and blame themselves over the incident. In such circumstances, shame acknowledgement should be resisted. Instead of succumbing to feelings of shame over being raped, individuals should be empowered to resume a healthy life again without fear. In such cases, an important question is how can rape victims be empowered to discharge the shame that they should not be burdened with? Many US self-help groups adopt a philosophy of encouraging rape victims to express their anger and rage against their perpetrators (Markus & Kitayama, 1994). In other words, rape victims are encouraged to displace shame because it is not their fault. Similarly, people under oppressive political regimes are encouraged to resist the shame of being powerless by turning the shame back on their oppressor. The immediate aim of this action—that is, the expression of anger or retaliation—is to signal resistance to domination in order to recover self-worth or self-respect. The purpose is not the restoration of the damaged relationship with one's oppressor.

While respecting the viewpoint that restoring damaged relationship is not always possible or desirable, there are situations where restoring harmonious relationships is expected and cannot be avoided. Scheff (1994, 1996b) points to world conflict. The consequences of unacknowledged shame, specifically shame-rage spirals (e.g., Scheff, 1987; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991), threatens the lives of so many innocent people that we must pause to consider whether the simple denial of shame or retreat

by shaming the other is a healthy way of resolving problems. Shame that becomes buried in the self ensures continuation of relationships that are not amicable (Gilligan, 1996; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991). It reminds us of Mahatma Gandhi's saying, 'An eye for an eye makes the whole world blind.' Similarly, declaring moral superiority while repressing unresolved shame is likely to only elicit fake pride, which is the other side of unacknowledged shame (Kaufman, 1996; Nathanson, 1992). Shame needs to be acknowledged and discharged, instead of being denied or deflected, regardless of whether the conclusions of our deliberations are that the shame we feel was justified or was unfairly imposed upon us through unjustified acts of domination and coercion.

The successful resolution of racial conflicts in South Africa illustrates a recent case of dealing with shame at a societal level so that shame could be discharged and reconciliation was possible between black and white South Africans. Braithwaite and Braithwaite's (Braithwaite, 2002; Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001) understanding of the South African peace making process from a restorative justice perspective brings to the forefront the significance of shame acknowledgement during the process. Before the peace making process shame was endemic but not acknowledged; shame was imposed upon black South Africans who had been victimised by the Apartheid regime for a significant number of years, and shame was imposed upon white South Africans by the international community through the application of trade sanctions, through banning cultural exchange and through open condemnation of the inhumane treatment of black South Africans. The peace process enabled the world to see both types of shame. In this way, two antagonists' identities were merged, as victims of Apartheid. Braithwaite (2002, p.5) argues that the fundamental objective of the South African peace-making legislation was based on the idea that 'our humanity is relationally tied to the humanity of those we live with.' A newly created sense of identity enabled white South Africans to acknowledge shame over the century-old oppression of black South Africans, and black South Africans gathered the courage to forgive their oppressors, allowing both parties to discharge their shame and to reconcile.

As described, shame acknowledgement is at times desirable for individual wellbeing and is necessary for social reconciliation. Twitchell (1997) offers the following insight into the experience of shame and the importance of its acknowledgement:

> Appropriate shame separates and degrades the offender, true, not to exile but to instruct, not to scorn but to educate. The final object of such shame is not banishment, but reintegration. You say "I'm sorry" not on the way out, but on the way back in. The next words you should hear are "Welcome back." (Twitchell, 1997, p. 15)

Shame is an emotion that signals the importance of revisiting spaces, time and relationships where the individual belongs (Lynd, 1958). Shame is possibly felt when we are not homeless, but rather at that critical moment when we feel dispossessed by our group. Consistent with this view, Turner (1995) proposes that the experience of shame is a reminder to us that human beings are profoundly interdependent. These scholars seem to concur that the psychological, emotional, and sometimes physical pain of shame and its acknowledgement is likely to be a rite of passage in order to rebuild stronger relationships. In Twitchell's terms, acknowledging shame makes possible the homing instinct, which is made easier by a welcome-back atmosphere in the community. This leads to the topic of this thesis and of the next section: the creation of institutional safe space for adaptive shame management.

2.2 Shame Management and Safe Space

Although 'shame management' has been implied in the shame literature for a long time, Ahmed and her colleagues (Ahmed, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2005, Ahmed et al., 2001; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2002; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004; Braithwaite, Ahmed, Morrison & Reinhart, 2003) explicitly distinguished between shame that is managed in an adaptive and healthy way and shame that is managed in a destructive and non-adaptive way. At the individual level, the adaptive management of shame increases social fitness and competency; at the group level the adaptive management of shame strengthens institutional values, and social cohesion. These gains promote

self-regulatory capacity in the community, thereby reducing costs of regulation (Braithwaite, 2002; Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001).

Ahmed and her colleagues have shown that people who manage their shame in a healthy and adaptive way tend to refrain from further wrongdoing or from breaking rules (Ahmed, 2001; Ahmed & Braithwaite, forthcoming; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004) and show greater moral awareness of potentially harmful behaviours (Ahmed, 2005). Acknowledgement of shame has also been shown to strengthen the social bonds with people who share the experience of the shameful event (Doi, 1974; Jordan, 1997; Lynd, 1958). Adaptive shame management skills seem to be valuable for successful social adaptation.

According to Ahmed, adaptive management of shame has seven important elements including 1) acknowledging shame over the wrongdoing, 2) taking responsibility for the wrongdoing, 3) making amends for the harm done, 4) not internalising others' rejection, 5) not blaming others, 6) not perseverating on who, if anyone, should be blamed, and 7) not feeling angry (Ahmed, 2001, p.240). On the other hand, non-adaptive shame management is found in situations where these elements are reversed. Unlike the common usage of shame that is quite passive, Ahmed et al.'s (2001) conceptualisation of shame management entails active engagement with restoration and reversing the damage done, if at all possible. In order to have people restore the damages done proactively, Ahmed et al. argue for institutional interventions that support adaptive shame management (Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001). While not denying that individuals need psychological capability to deal with shame adaptively, society's institutions need the infrastructure that provides safe space for the adaptive management of shame (Braithwaite, 2005). The objective of the present thesis is, therefore, to identify the institutional infrastructure for adaptive shame management within the workplace.

Ahmed's body of work on school bullying and her most recent research on workplace bullying provides insight into the different levels of institutional infrastructure that are implicated in understanding shame management in the bullying context. Ahmed also concedes Tangney's (Tangney, 1990, 1991; Tangney

et al., 1992) point that individuals bring to the bullying situation psychological 'capacity.' For example, impulsivity is a consistently strong predictor of bullying; empathy, on the other hand, is a consistently strong predictor of not bullying (e.g., Ahmed, 2001). Bullies and victims bring their psychological makeup to bullying contexts and undoubtedly the degree to which levels of shame acknowledgement and shame displacement can be altered by institutional arrangements will be affected by this. For this reason, bully/victim status will be controlled in Chapter 8 of this thesis. In the meantime attention will focus on defining institutional arrangements for safe space.

Institutional arrangements are defined as the rules, norms, and practices that are embedded in an organisation and that routinise activities and regulate the flow of events (Goodin, 1996). Safe space means that activities and the flow of events occur in an organisational climate where there is mutual respect, people are considerate of each other and are aware that when things go wrong, problems need to be worked through and the harm done to persons and to organisational goals need to be repaired. Little work has been done on delineating what the dimensions of safe space are at work. The present study takes up this point. Figure 2.1 presents a model of safe space in the workplace that integrates the different kinds of social infrastructure necessary for shame to be managed adaptively.

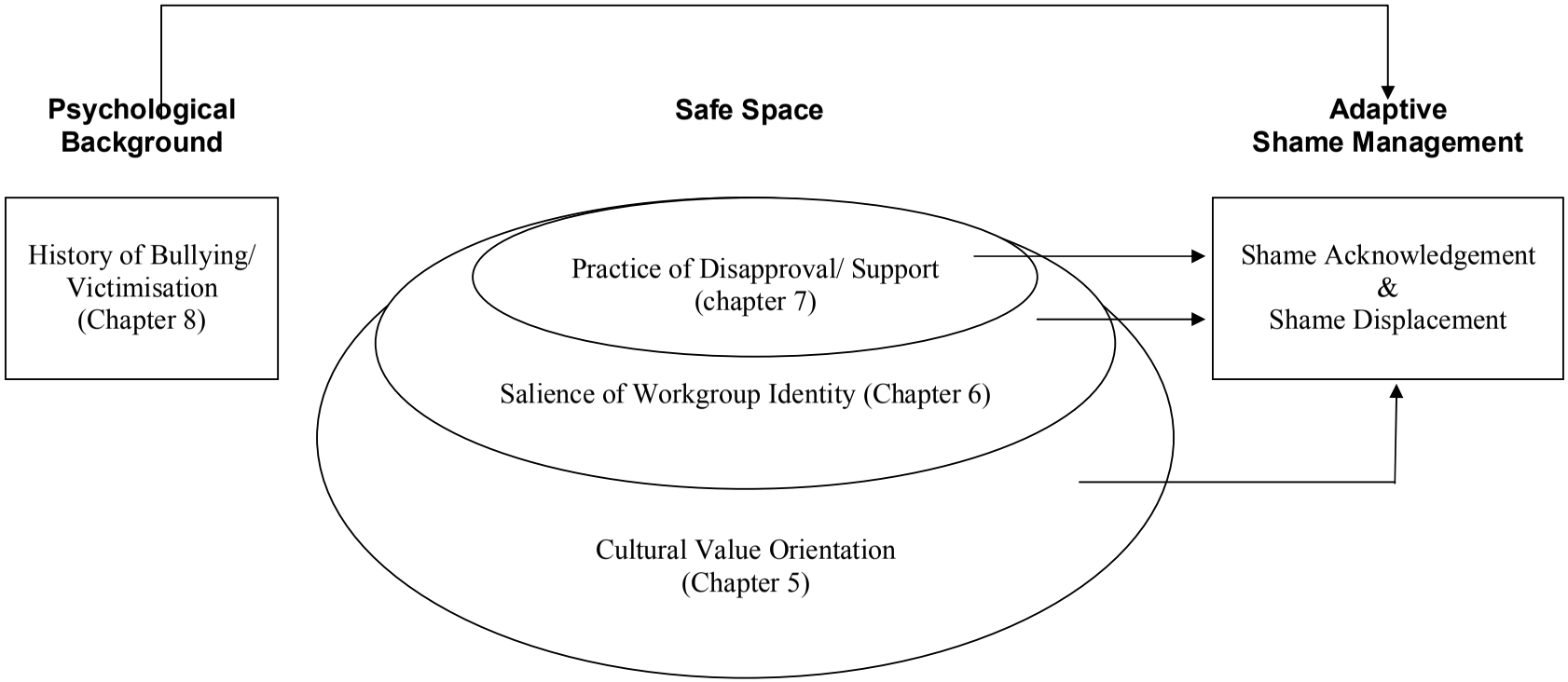


Figure 2.1

A Model of Safe Space in the Workplace for Acknowledging Shame while Minimizing Shame Displacement

As a first and most basic layer in identifying the dimensions of safe space, the relationship between cultural values and shame management styles will be investigated. Cultural values are important elements that shape the way in which individuals make sense of their world and interactions within it, particularly in workplaces (Hofstede, 1991) and in relation to the experience of shame (Kaufman, 1996; Moore, 1996; Scherer, 2001). How we interpret shame feelings should be responsive to dominant values and social norms. Since Benedict (1946), shame and its management has been approached from a cultural or anthropological perspective, scrutinising differences in sources of shame, differences in the values attached to shame, and differences in responses or consequences of shame (e.g., Fung, 1999; Lee, 1999; Lutz, 1988; Menon & Shweder, 1994; Wallbott & Scherer, 1995). More will be said about the values that promote shame acknowledgement in Chapter 3.

Values are regarded as the basic level of a model that captures the institutional arrangements that make adaptive shame management possible. Secure social bonds seem to be a second important element for adaptive shame management. Through social bonds we create the sense of belonging with the place and a shared sense of identity with the people (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Maslow, 1970; Mokros, 1995; Retzinger, 1996). The way we respond to shame might be expected to bear significant relationship to how strongly we feel attached to our reference group. Although there may be dispositional factors at work that restrict our capacity to feel safe with others (e.g., Tangney, 1991; Tangney et al., 1992), the present thesis takes the view that we will feel more confident about acknowledging shame in groups where we feel accepted and where we feel we belong. If cultural values represent our handling of shame-producing encounters in an abstract way, the dimension of socially identifying with our workgroup embodies our readiness to expose vulnerability in the interpersonal relationships we actively engage in at work. Figure 2.1 shows endorsement of workplace identity as the second factor necessary for creating safe space for adaptive shame management.

The third level of the model involves workplace practices. How do people deal with each other in the micro-social context of things going wrong? The clinical literature is helpful here and warns against confrontation that is too threatening. Ward (1972)

argues that disapproval or blaming others should be gentle and done with great care. Such a persuasive, rather than dominating, approach towards patients helps reduce the pain of concealing shame and shame acknowledgement is more likely. If the process of disapproval is too confronting, unacknowledged shame will be the result (Lewis, 1971). In this respect, it is important to understand how the workgroup routinely reacts to shame producing events. Adaptive shame management may depend on the details of workplace practices and reactions to wrongdoing, in particular, providing constructive feedback that does not cause too much disruption and unease. The theoretical framework for analysing the micro-interactions surrounding wrongdoing in the workplace is reintegrative shaming theory (Braithwaite, 1989). More will be said about reintegrative shaming theory in Chapter 3. At this stage, the relevance of reintegrative shaming theory is that it seeks to balance disapproval and support in response to wrongdoing. The central idea is that enough disapproval is expressed to make known the harm done, but while disapproval is expressed, individuals have the support of the group to make amends and be re-united with the group. In Chapter 3, the literature associated with the concepts featured in Figure 2.1 will be reviewed.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUALISING INSTITUTIONAL SAFE SPACE FOR ADAPTIVE SHAME MANAGEMENT IN THE WORKPLACE

> While shame is an inevitable fact of the human condition, its form is not. While it is neither realistic nor desirable to seek to maximize cultural propensities to shame nor to minimize them, we can craft institutions that shape the form shame takes, in particular that create spaces for…..healthy shame management…..(Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001, p. 316).

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2, the socially adaptive function of shame was emphasised, despite the fact that shame has been closely linked to negative consequences such as rage or violence. The theoretical and empirical base for the argument is that it is not feeling shame but its denial that causes violent reactions (Gilligan, 1996; Scheff, 1997, Scheff & Ratzinger, 1991). The negative effects of shame can be minimised if the individual is provided with an environment that supports a healthy experience of shame.

In the book, *Shame Management through Reintegration*, Ahmed and her colleagues (Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001) confront the dilemma between the necessity of feeling shame in the normative context and the negative consequences of feeling shame in the psychological context. In order to deal with this problem, they have suggested the establishment of institutional spaces that enable a wrongdoer to discharge shame safely without transforming it into any undesirable forms. The present study seeks to contribute to this argument by empirically identifying

appropriate institutional design for allowing the adaptive management of shame to take place. This is formulated as the safe space-shame management thesis.

Kaufman (1996) contends there is a relationship between the experience of shame and American cultural values. In his provocative book, *The Psychology of Shame*, Kaufman (1996) argues that the cultural values of American society make it difficult to address shame properly. Kaufman declares, 'since there is shame about shame, it remains under taboo' (Kaufman, 1996, p. 46). Whether one agrees with Kaufman's analysis or not, he is making an empirically testable assertion that the experience of shame is not easily understood without the knowledge about the culture and its value orientations that bind together the interpretative framework for feeling ashamed. This speaks to the practical significance of conducting this shame study from a cross-cultural perspective.

3.2 Cultural Value Orientations and Shame Management

One's morality involves the way one construes the self (Fiske, 1990, 1992; Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998; Gilligan, 1987; Kitayama, et al., 2000; Miller & Blacker, 2000). In this sense, Taylor (1989) sees the questions, 'what is good?' and 'what is the self?' as being basically same. The moral conception of a given society is confined within its cultural definition of the self. The culturally relative conceptualisation of moral perception is, indeed, supported by the cross-cultural literature (e.g., Hadit, Koller, & Dias, 1993; Miller & Bersoff, 1992; Triandis, 1990; Vasquez, Keltner, Ebenbach, & Banaszynski, 2001). Comparing morality conceptions through examining five studies across cultures, Vasquez et al. (Vasquez, Keltner, Ebenbad, Banaszynsky, 2001) conclude that Filipinos' morality equally emphasises justice-based morality and interdependence-based morality, while Americans' morality is predominantly embedded in justice. This study substantiates that the answer for 'What is good?' is only meaningful when it is questioned in the framework of 'what is the self?' and it is shame that gives the connection between them (Williams, 1993).

Different cultures offer different sets of lenses for perceiving the world and making sense of our own behaviour, and that of others, instantly and effectively (Triandis, 1994, 1995). Feeling shame is, too, enculturated (Kytayama & Markus, 1994; Kytayama, Markus & Matsumoto, 1995). Consequently, how shame should be managed may vary across cultures; moreover, this variation is likely to be explained by systematic differences in the cultural lens. The cultural lens construct that is of interest here is values, which are useful for empirically representing differences in cultures.

3.2.1 The Construct of Horizontal and Vertical Individualism and Collectivism

The shame literature to date has not empirically tested the extent to which cultural values influence shame management in a cross-cultural context. Emotion scholars, such as Markus, Kitayama and their associates (Kitayama & Markus, 1994; Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000; Kitayama, Markus & Matsumoto, 1995; Markus and Kitayama, 1991), or Scherer and Wallbott (Matsumoto, Kudoh, Scherer & Wallbott, 1998; Scherer, 1997; Wallbott & Scherer, 1995) studied the link between emotions, including shame, and cultural values; yet, only nationality is used as a proxy for cultural values. The argument can be made that using measures of cultural values might provide more nuanced insight into how values frame emotional reactions (Matzumoto, 1989). Cultural values change with political and social developments and are not tied to the physical boundaries of nation states (Georgas, 1989; Han & Shin, 2001; Triandis, 1993, 1995; Kagitcibasi, 1973, 1994). Therefore, in this study, multi-dimensional cultural value scales will be used to find out how cultural values are related to particular patterns of shame management.

Triandis (2000) summarises four criteria used to distinguish one culture from another: that is, 1) whether the self is viewed as independent or interdependent with others (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991); 2) whether priority is given to personal goals or to group goals (e.g., Probst, Carnevale, & Triandis, 1999); 3) whether importance is given to personal attitudes or social norms when deciding on social behaviour (e.g., Suh, Diener, Oishi, Triandis, 1998); and 4) whether perceptions of the social relationships are based on self-interest or communal interest (e.g., Mills & Clark, 1982). These cultural syndromes are popularly integrated in the constructs of

individualism and collectivism (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Singelis et al., 1995; Triandis, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1995; Triandis, Bontempo, Betancourt, Bond, Leung, Brenes, Georgas, Hui, Marin, Setiadi, Sinha, Verma, Spangenberg, Touzard, & Montmollin, 1986; Triandis, Bontempo, Leung, & Hui, 1990).

Although the utility of individualism and collectivism is widely accepted in the cross-cultural context, it is claimed that there are various kinds of individualism and collectivism (Chen, Meindl, & Hunt, 1997; Gelfand, & Christakopoulou, 1999; Kusserow, 1999; Singelis et al., 1995; Triandis, 1990, 1995); for example, American individualism is different from Swedish individualism, as Korean collectivism is different from Israeli collectivism. Through exploring individualism and collectivism, Triandis and colleagues (Singelis et al, 1995; Triandis, 1995) have concluded that the factor that best differentiates the various kinds is how one understands the self in a hierarchical sense. According to this differentiating attribute, there is a horizontal way of self-construal that considers the self more or less the same as others; and there is a vertical way of self-construal that differentiates the self according to social status, age, or gender (Chen et al., 1997; Fiske, 1992; Han & Shin, 2000; Singelis et al., 1995; Triandis, 1990, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). The importance of taking account of different constructions of the self in the cultural value context is also acknowledged by Hofstede (1980, 1991), who has utilised the dimension of 'power distance.' The more the self is perceived equal in relation to others, the less power distance is perceived; in contrast, the more the self is perceived unequal in relation to others, the more power distance is perceived. When these two views of the self as equal or unequal are combined with individualism and collectivism, four distinctive patterns of cultural values can be identified: horizontal individualism (HI), horizontal collectivism (HC), vertical individualism (VI), and vertical collectivism (VC).

The four types of cultural values seem to solve some problems that cross-cultural research has encountered. The studies that investigate the characteristics of individualism and collectivism without the distinction of the horizontal type from the vertical type tend to focus on one side or the other of individualism or collectivism in arbitrary ways (Chen et al., 1997). For example, some focus on the horizontal aspect

of individualism versus collectivism (e.g., Bond, Leung, & Wan, 1982; Hui, Triandis & Yee, 1991; Moorman & Blakely, 1995), while others emphasise the vertical aspect of individualism versus collectivism (e.g., Earley, 1989, 1993). Therefore, the employment of the horizontal and vertical distinction in the construction of individualism and collectivism should help advance our understanding of the relationship between cultural value orientations and social behaviours (Chen et al., 1997).

Recent studies from a cross-cultural perspective have found that the four-way typology of cultural values is more useful than the uni-dimensional individualism-collectivism construct (e.g., Chen et al., 1997; Choiu, 2001; Ng & Van Dyne, 2001). Choiu (2001) examined horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism in three countries. Choiu argues that it is too simplistic to categorise Taiwan as a collectivist society and the United States as an individualist society. They found that in both Taiwan and the United States, their tendencies of horizontal collectivism and vertical individualism were equal; however, the Taiwanese participants were more vertically collectivist and less horizontally individualistic than their US counterparts.

Horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism have also been compared with other typologies. Triandis (Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998; Triandis, Gelfand & Kurowski, 1994) argues that horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism correspond to Fiske's (1990, 1992) universal patterns of social relations. However, unlike Triandis who views the four cultural value orientations as independent of each other, Fiske views four basic social relations from a social evolutionary perspective. That is, 'communal sharing' appears first before other social relations, followed by 'authority ranking,' 'equality matching' and 'market pricing,' respectively. Additionally, Triandis compares his cultural value typology with Rokeach's (1973) typology of political systems. Rokeach identified two major value orientations defined by the values of equality and freedom. In Table 3.1, Fiske's basic modes of social relations and Rokeach's political system typology are tabulated for comparison with Triandis' cultural value orientations. Accompanying these typologies are keywords for each cultural value orientation suggested by Soh and Leong (2002).

3.2.2 Characteristics of Cultural Value Orientations

Horizontal individualism promotes individual agency, uniqueness, independence, self-reliance, and equality in social interaction (Han & Shin, 2000; Soh & Leong, 2002; Probst et al., 1999; Singelis et al., 1995; Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). The assumptions about human nature within horizontal individualism are compatible with traditional Western understanding of the individual as a separate entity and the equal of other separate entities (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Soh and Leong (2002) have identified 'autonomy' as a keyword of horizontal individualism.

Triandis (Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) has linked horizontal individualism to the combined mode of 'market pricing' and 'equality matching' in Fiske's (1992) system. Adamopoulos (1999), however, views the concept of horizontal individualism as being closer to equality matching than market pricing. Central to social relationships based on equality matching is 'balanced reciprocity.' In this relationship, people practise egalitarian exchanges, and have a sense of obligation to reciprocate (Fiske et al., 1998). Therefore, mutual trust that the other party contributes a fair share to the relationship is important for building and maintaining interpersonal relations. Horizontal individualism also corresponds to a political system that allows everybody to have an equal opportunity in free competition (Rokeach, 1973). Triandis has linked horizontal individualism to social democracies and to the liberal factions of the Democratic Party in the US. Australia and Scandinavian countries are considered horizontal individualist cultures (Hofstede, 1991; Triandis, 1995).

Table 3.1

Relation of Horizontal and Vertical Individualism and Collectivism to Other Typologies

Dimension	Individualism	Collectivism
Horizontal	→ ***Keyword***	
	Autonomy	Cooperation
	→ ***Sociality***	
	Equality Matching	Communal Sharing
	: Equality & Reciprocity	: Caring & Sharing
	→ ***Political Structure***	
	High freedom & High Equality	Low Freedom & High Equality
	: Democratic Socialism	: Communal Living
	(e.g., Norway)	(e.g., Kibbutz)
Vertical	→ ***Keyword***	
	Power, Competition	Conformity
	→ ***Sociality***	
	Market Pricing	Authority Ranking
	: Proportionality	: Respect and Responsibility
	→ ***Political Structure***	
	High Freedom & Low Equality	Low Freedom & Low Equality
	: Market Democracy	: Communalism (e.g., China)
	(e.g., France)	

∗ Source: Compiled from Adamopouls, 1999; Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998; Soh & Leong, 2002; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998; Triandis et al., 1994

Horizontal collectivism, like horizontal individualism, promotes interaction with others on an equal basis. People with high levels of horizontal collectivism do not give in to authority easily (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). However, unlike horizontal individualism, horizontal collectivism emphasises communal sharing, group solidarity and interdependency that encourages the pursuit of common goals of an in-group (Han & Shin, 2000; Soh & Leong, 2002; Probst et al., 1999; Singelis et al.,

1995; Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). People with high levels of horizontal collectivism are more likely to define themselves in relational terms and to strive for harmony within the group (Ng & Van Dyne, 2001; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998).

Triandis (Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) has argued that horizontal collectivism is equivalent to a combination of Fiske's (1992) social relations of 'communal sharing' and 'equality matching.' However, it seems that communal sharing is dominant in horizontal collectivism (Adamopoulos, 1999). According to Fiske, social relations based on communal sharing are established in infancy, when interpersonal relationships or social bonds are viewed as enduring. Caring and sharing is a central aspect of this social relation, as are shared, collective identities, as formed in ancestry, racial or ethnic identities. According to Fiske, communal sharing is the predominant relationship in Japan. His observation is based on the wok of Doi (1974), who argues that the relational nature of the Japanese personhood is reflected in *amae* (roughly translated into English as 'indulgent dependency'). The predominant social relation of Quakers follows the pattern of communal sharing, too; in this religious group, labour and resources are shared and a sense of group consensus is important when decisions are made (Fiske, 1992; Sherman, 2001). The corresponding political structure to horizontal collectivism is communal living, as in Israeli Kibbutz in which equality between members is important but the level of individual freedom is relatively low.

Next, vertical individualism encourages personal achievement and self-reliance, but rejects equality in interpersonal relationships (Han & Shin, 2000; Soh & Leong, 2002; Probst et al., 1999; Singelis et al., 1995; Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). The core value is competition, which is recognised as the fundamental rule of the society (Soh & Leong, 2002). As a result, this value is often linked with the rise of materialism and capitalism (Fiske, 1992). Vertical individualism is regarded in some quarters as a pervasive value in the West and one that is spreading throughout many other societies with economic development (Soh & Leong, 2002).

Triandis (1995) has argued that vertical individualism combines Fiske's (1992) mode of 'market pricing' and 'authority ranking.' Others, however, have considered vertical individualism to have most to do with market pricing (Adamopoulos, 1999; Fiske, 1992). People with high levels of vertical individualism tend to be motivated by social recognition of being superior to others. The risks and outcomes of forming relationships are subjected to rational calculation, with the intention of maximising profit. Because of this, relationships based on market pricing are often misunderstood as an asocial relationship. Market pricing is likely to be the value behind the operation of material exploitation and organised violence, rather than no social values at all. Vertical individualism is represented in a political system where high levels of freedom are maintained but the protection of equality among people is not of prime concern. The typical examples then are market democracies, as found in France or the United States (Triandis, 1995). The globalisation of the economy is thought to be escalating the importance of this value in most other societies.

Finally, vertical collectivism emphasises personal duty and the subordination of personal goals to group goals in order to achieve collective solidarity (Han & Shin, 2000; Soh & Leong, 2002; Probst et al., 1999; Singelis et al., 1995; Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). In vertical individualism, social treatment is differentiated in accordance with the values of the skills that different individuals offer. However, within the culture of vertical collectivism, people are treated differently according to the status associated with one's social position and role in society (Soh & Leong, 2002; Probst et al., 1999; Singelis et al., 1995; Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). Therefore, knowing one's place in the formal structure of interpersonal and social relationships is a pivotal social skill (Fiske, 1992). The harmony of interpersonal relationships is dependent upon the subordinates' loyalty and upon the good will of the superior. This is a strikingly similar notion to that adapted in Confucianism that is practised mainly in Far Eastern countries, such as China, Japan, and Korea. In Confucianism, social rank reflected in social class, occupation, age or gender defines one's place in interpersonal relationships (Han & Shin, 2000; Fiske, 1992; Lee, 1999). Ethical values of Confucianism carefully guide individuals to refine their conduct and manners so that they respect others' status (Shin, 1978). Therefore, individual autonomy and freedom tends to be more

restricted in vertical collectivism than in any other kind of relationship (Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). Conformity to the group would be a most important value in vertical collectivism (Soh & Leong, 2002).

Vertical collectivism is closely related to Fiske's 'authority ranking' in which people are located along a hierarchical social dimension (Adamopoulos, 1999). In a relationship based on authority ranking, people at the top of the hierarchy are entitled to more power and privilege than people at the bottom of the social ladder. The power imbalance between people in this kind of social relationship combined with the pressure to conform, rather than defy, is likely to produce victims of the relationship (Fiske, 1992). Whereas Triandis (1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) has emphasised the aspect of vertical collectivism that relates to conformity and the maintenance of group solidarity, Fiske draws our attention to the possible moral corruption of social relationships through vertical collectivism. The Chinese political system is listed as an example of a culture in which vertical collectivism is prevalent (Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998).

3.2.3 Shame Management and Collectivism

Scheff (1997) claims that Markus and Kitayama (1991) have confounded interdependency and engulfment; that is to say, he argues that interdependency implied in the work of Markus and Kitayama (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Kitayama et al., 2000) is no other than a kind of engulfed relationship, in which autonomy and freedom are significantly constrained. In the work of Markus and Kitayama, the interdependent construal of the self is used interchangeably with collectivism. Scheff (1990, 1997) believes that in the engulfed relationship, one party's emotional domination over the other tends to be tolerated, or sometimes encouraged using shaming. Scheff seems to consider collectivism as a notion of fusion or pathological co-dependence in the relationship.

The aspect of collectivism that irritates Scheff most is that shame cannot be healthily dealt with in collectivist relationships. He argues that shame can be safely discharged in a relationship that recognises that the parties involved adopt a psychological state in which their autonomy and freedom are soundly maintained.

However, Scheff seems to believe that such autonomy and freedom is not offered in the space of collectivism, because conformity is an essential ingredient. It is argued that conformity is maintained with the function of shame (Barbalet, 1998; Scheff, 1990). Scheff's (1997) view on shame and collectivism suggests a need to investigate relational power imbalance in collectivism.

If Scheff's main objection to collectivism is that it limits one's freedom and autonomy, it is hard to dispute his claim, because it is in the nature of collectivism to subordinate self-interest when necessary to the interest of collective goals. However, if his concerns over collectivism are an asymmetrical power balance between the parties that inhibits the vulnerable resolving shame proactively, his concern seems to refer to the characteristics of vertical collectivism, rather than horizontal collectivism. While horizontal collectivism supports equal gain and loss in the relationship, vertical collectivism allows or encourages one-sided sacrifice (Fiske, 1992).

An example of the effect of asymmetrical power in the relationship on shame management can be found in honour culture. Honour culture is a tradition of collectivist cultures (Rodriguez-Mosquera, Manstead & Fisher, 2000), which is closer to vertical collectivism than horizontal collectivism. In honour cultures, social reputation determines social identity directly and transparently so that it is strongly linked to one's personal pride or shame (Fischer, Manstead, Rodriguez-Mosquera, 1999; Nisbett, 1993; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriguez-Mosquera, Manstead & Fisher, 2000; Rodriguez-Mosquera, Manstead & Fisher, 2002). Shame is central to the process of protecting and restoring the individual or family's honour. In order to regain honour, feeling shame is transformed into self-harm (Chew-Graham, Bashir, Chantler, Burman, & Batsleer, 2002; Lee, 1999) or violence towards others (Abu-Lughod, 1986; Nisbett, 1993; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). In honour culture, these violent responses to shame—self-attack or other-attack modes according to Nathanson (1992)—tend to be normalised, even sometimes encouraged. If shame is not responded to with violence or anger, this absence of the appropriate response can be the source of further family shame in some cultures (Abu-Lughod, 1986; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Nisbett and Cohen argue that honour cultures are sustained through reinforcing violent responses to shame in daily interactions between people.

The cultural emphasis on social conformity and the limited opportunity for the communication of individual emotional experiences in vertical collectivism, including honour culture, might lead to distortion in the experience of shame. Matsumoto (1989) has observed that people in a vertical collectivist culture tend not to recognise others' negative emotions correctly. Matsumoto speculates that in a hierarchical collectivist society, the communication of negative emotions is restricted because negative emotions threaten group solidarity. This is a similar point to that made by Scheff (1997) that a society that taboos shame cannot expect to foster communication of shame in a healthy and adaptive form.

China, a typically vertical collectivist country, is reputed to have higher rates of women's suicide compared to other countries (Meng, 2002). An inference that can be drawn from the work of Meng is that the abnormally high rate of women's suicide is the result of the lack of a forum in which to communicate shame effectively. Meng interprets the social phenomenon as an emotional expression of women's oppressed status in their society, and women's revenge on those who oppress them. Sachdev's (1990) observation of suicide in honour culture is similar to that of Meng: that suicide can be understood as vengeful response to shame in vertical collectivism cultures.

One of the defining characteristics of horizontal collectivism is empathy that allows people to understand and connect with the feelings of others (Triandis, 1993). Horizontal collectivism has also been associated with higher levels of interpersonal trust across the community (Shin & Park, 2004) and with the sentiment of benevolence towards people who extend beyond immediate in-group members (Soh & Leong, 2002). This means that caring and sharing based on equality, a core characteristic of horizontal collectivist relationships might not be restricted to the in-group but may extend to others who are not necessarily in-group members. These empirical findings imply that in horizontal collectivist cultures, people are likely to acknowledge shame in a shame–producing situation, but restrain themselves from blaming others over the incident; that is, they would not deflect their own shame onto others because they are weak and vulnerable.

Doi (1974) has argued that caring and empathy towards others is the first step towards shame acknowledgement. In empirical research, empathy has been found to correlate with shame acknowledgement positively, and with shame displacement negatively (Ahmed, 2001). However, vertical collectivism that is bound to forms of in-group favouritism (Oishi, Schimmack, Diener & Suh, 1998; Soh & Leong, 2002) is likely to be less forgiving of wrongdoing, and more stigmatising of the individual who transgresses the rule of conformity. It would therefore be much harder to acknowledge shame without blaming others under such circumstance. This means that as the social structure of collectivist culture becomes more hierarchical, individuals are denied the interpersonal space that enables people to acknowledge shame safely.

In summary, the discussion so far has implied that horizontal collectivism should be distinguished from vertical collectivism in terms of shame management. The influence of vertical collectivism on shame management styles might be similar to that of an engulfed relationship (Scheff, 1997). Feeling shame is painful; however, it becomes more painful when it is constant and inhibited from safe discharge. In the vertical collectivist environment, shame would be rarely discharged, instead, being displaced onto others or onto the self. In this regard, vertical collectivism was associated with non-adaptive shame management, while horizontal collectivism was associated with adaptive shame management. Although violent responses of shame cannot be generalised to all cultures based on vertical collectivism, it seems to be clear that relationships or societies based on vertical collectivism will find it more difficult to provide the safe institutional spaces where individuals can discharge the hurtful feeling of shame effectively. In contrast, it is argued that horizontal collectivism seems to offer healthier environments than vertical collectivism for allowing shame to be resolved without harm to self or others. Horizontal collectivism that promotes space that has caring relationships and interdependency would encourage people to acknowledge shame without deflecting it onto others in a shame-producing event.

3.2.4 Shame Management and Individualism

Workplaces in modern society that cultivate competition and a results-centred atmosphere seem to increase feelings of insecurity among employees. Gregory (1999) has argued that organisational reforms that prioritise operational efficiency can place work ethics and horizontal bonds across the workplace in jeopardy. Excessive competitiveness for better performance and achievement is believed to breakdown social integration and harmony in the organisation (Glennining, 1999; Yamada, 2000). In the workplace bullying literature on which the present study is based, the prevalence of workplace bullying has been documented in environments that appear to pursue vertical individualist values (see the overview in Chapter 1, pp. 9-13).

In vertical individualist cultures, human life is organised around social hierarchy and relational power (Triandis, 1995, 2000). In order to appreciate the role of power in the context of individualist cultures, it is helpful to examine the motivational base. In relationships based on vertical collectivism, people persuade, or, are persuaded in the context of group interests and group cohesion, whereas in the relationships based on vertical individualism, people are guided by self-interest to achieve personal advancement (Fiske, 1992; Probst et al., 1999; Triandis, 2000). For example, successful entry into a prestigious university can be important for both people with strong vertical collectivism and individualism. However, people with high levels of vertical collectivism are more likely to study for the honour of the family, while people with high levels of vertical individualism are more likely to be motivated by enhancement of their future job prospects.

The egocentric characteristics of vertical individualism are what make this value orientation particularly ill suited to adaptive shame management. The point is well demonstrated in an experiment that used in-group and out-group cooperation contexts (Probst, Carnevale & Triandis, 1999). Probst et al. showed that individuals with high levels of vertical individualism behaved differently in different situations, the underlying objective being to maximise personal gains. Vertical individualists cooperated more with the group when it was an inter-group dilemma, whereas they were least cooperative when it was a single group dilemma (Probst et al., 1999). In

addition, vertical individualism is related to male-centred familism (Han & Shin, 2000), a strong need for material rewards (Fiske, 1992), and the perception that competition is the rule of interpersonal interactions (Fiske, 1992; Triandis, 1995; Triandis, Gelfand, 1998). These findings have led Soh and Leong (2002) to argue that personal achievement is not a sufficient description of vertical individualism, as Triandis (1995) originally maintained, but rather the objective is to achieve hierarchical power.

When people with strong vertical individualism encounter shameful events, they are highly likely to prioritise maintaining the image of the self, that is, being competent, autonomous and free. To minimise emotional and social cost, people with high levels of vertical individualism are unlikely to acknowledge shame; instead, they are likely to deflect the emotion of shame by externalising the blame onto others. To do otherwise would be personally threatening. The acceptance of wrongdoing would mean the acceptance of failure to act morally or competently.

Lewis (1992) reaches this same conclusion, arguing from a collectivist base; Lewis points to the importance of valuing connectedness and the capacity of caring for others in order for the acknowledgement of shame to occur. He goes on to express concern over the way in which competitiveness and aggressiveness are rewarded and encouraged in society and argues that this impedes our capacity to confront feelings of shame honestly. From Lewis' prospective, strong vertical individualism would not be conducive to adaptive shame management because the emotional need for harmonious interpersonal relationships would be less important than maintaining personal superiority.

The account of Kaufman (1996) also illustrates the link between vertical individualism and defensive responses to shame. According to Kaufman, the contemporary cultural values of America that promote independence, self-sufficiency and personal success through competition generate the perception that shame should be avoided at all cost. As a result, denied and avoided shame can become masked as 'fake pride,' or as Nathanson (1992) describes it can follow an 'other-attack mode.'

This means that in vertical individualistic environments, it is permissible to manage shame by externalising anger and blaming others.

Vertical individualism is expected to elicit poor shame management skills. In the case of horizontal individualism, the argument is complex. Two different ideas in horizontal individualism—equality and autonomy—produce conflicting predictions on shame management. Scheff (1988; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991) has conceived of the optimal state of the socially integrated self in terms of pride, situated on a bipolar dimension at the opposite end to shame. Pride is an emotional state in which secure social bonds are enjoyed without shame. Secure social bonds in Scheff's terms mean striking the right balance between independence and interdependence with others. In order to choose this point, one must exercise freedom and autonomy in defying social relationships**.** This implies taking on the outlook of a horizontal individualist because one is not restricted in one's choices by the power of others. This again implies that horizontal individualism may be a cultural value orientation that lends itself well to promoting adaptive shame management.

However, Scheff's analysis may not be generalised across cultures. Horizontal individualism may not advance adaptive shame management, particularly, outside the United States. The most serious doubt about horizontal individualism as a value orientation that promotes adaptive shame management is that people with high levels of horizontal individualism maintain emotional distance from others (Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). Evidence has shown this to be the case, not only among Western people with strong individualism, but also among Koreans with high levels of horizontal individualism; furthermore, horizontal individualists have also been shown to lack a sense of we-ness or oneness in their relationship with others (Han & Shin, 2000). Shame scholars have argued explicitly and implicitly that the core value of shame acknowledgement is relatedness and interdependence (e.g., Doi, 1974; Jordan, 1998; Kaufman, 1996: Lewis, 1992; Retzinger, 1996). Therefore people with strong horizontal individualism, because of their social distance, may be less likely to acknowledge shame in a shame-producing situation.

Unlike vertical individualism, however, horizontal individualism emphasises equality in interpersonal relationships (Singelis et al., 1995; Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). For example, horizontal individualism plays an important role in spreading egalitarian practices in Korean society, enabling Korean society to make the transition from a hierarchical to a democratic society (Han & Shin, 2002). Horizontal individualists object to being dominated by or dominating others in interpersonal relationships (Fiske, 1992; Fiske et al., 1993; 1998; Han & Shin, 2000). It follows from this that people with high levels of horizontal individualism are likely to maintain respect for the rights of others and therefore are unlikely to displace their shame onto others.

According to the discussion so far, the aspect of individualism that is likely to influence the way shame is experienced depends on power relations. That said, Retzinger (1996) maintains that individualism impedes knowledge growth about shame because the shame emotion is rarely seen as being positive in the individualist framework. Shame has connotations of interdependency (e.g., it matters what others think) and this belittles the status of the individual. However, even within individualist cultures, it seems reasonable to entertain the possibility that horizontal individualism is more conducive to adaptive shame management than vertical individualism. Horizontal individualism removes the power differential that characterises vertical individualism and it is this power that is assumed to channel shame into deflection, blame and anger. Although neither horizontal nor vertical individualism are likely to actively promote shame acknowledgement, horizontal individualism is considered a better option for minimising the chances of shame turning into violence.

In summary, four cultural value orientations have been described and analysed in terms of shame management. Horizontal collectivism was proposed to support the adaptive management of shame. Vertical individualism was expected to be associated with the non-adaptive management of shame. Horizontal individualism was considered more compatible with adaptive shame management than vertical individualism. Vertical collectivism was considered less compatible with adaptive shame management than horizontal collectivism.

3.3 Shame Management and Workgroup Identity

Maintaining secure social bonds with the workgroup is postulated as being another important part of creating safe space in the workplace for managing shame. This works in two ways. Strong social bonds shape social identity and shame is experienced when that identity is threatened. Second, once shame is experienced, the individual needs to feel safe socially to discharge the shame through acknowledgement and acceptance of responsibility. Secure social bonds are necessary for this to occur.

Interdependency between people creates shared norms and values. These norms and values provide social control by placing signposts on what can be morally and socially justified in our behaviours (Braithwaite, 1996; Elias, 1994). When people feel that they transgress shared norms and values, they are likely to feel shame over their wrongdoing. They feel shame because those norms and values are an important part of explaining who they are. Shame, as a self-regulatory instrument, functions through the identity the individual shares with others (Harris, 2001; Williams, 1993).

The significance of social identity in the course of shame management is, therefore, strongly implied in the work initiated by Braithwaite and his colleagues (Ahmed et al., 2001; Braithwaite, 1989, 2002; Makkai & Braithwaite, 1994). According to them, shaming signals social disapproval over behaviour of an individual. Shame acknowledgement is the individuals' response in order to signal recognition of the harm done to others, regret and willingness to repair the harm. The act of shame acknowledgement implies that the actor wants to renew a damaged identity and be re-united with the community (Twitchell, 1997). In the practice of shaming and shame acknowledgement, therefore, 'others' are an indispensable component insofar as they function as 'the mirror' for evaluating oneself and 'the infrastructure' for rebuilding one's identity.

The work of Harris (2001) has demonstrated how both ethical identity and social infrastructure are implicated in the individual's shame management. According to Harris, offenders in a restorative justice conference on drink driving acknowledged

their shame, when the disapproval came from significant others, that is, when disapproval came from people who were in a respectful and caring relationship with them. Secure social bonds with significant others gave legitimacy to the opinions of others who condemned drink driving and enabled offenders to acknowledge feelings of shame over their action.

The importance of social identification and the views of significant others is supported by Scheff (1998), albeit through observations of a restorative justice conference for drink driving that featured the opposite ethical stance. Scheff observed that a group of participants in a restorative justice conference did not firmly disapprove of drink driving but trivialised it as part of the drinking culture in Australia. He observed that under such circumstances, shame was not expected to be acknowledged over the offence. The offender was more likely to have their ethical identity protected from attack through the support of their friends and to view the conviction as just an unfortunate event, instead of a regrettable incident. Scheff and Harris' contrasting stories of drink driving conferencing in Australia illustrate that acknowledgment of shame is connected with the shared values and norms of the group to which the individual belongs.

Maruna (2001), who interviewed people with a criminal history, has found that their discourse often revolved around the theme of ethical and social identity. One of the moving narratives among his many interviews was of a criminal who started to lie about his unlawful action to his mother because he did not want his mother who resided in a law-abiding community, to see him as part of 'a criminal class.' The bond he had with his mother was a trigger for him to feel shame about his action. In contrast, shaming—for example, shaming by arrests or convictions—is not necessarily as effective as one might expect, because offenders may have already turned away from the society 'socially' that is judging them or disapproving of their actions. The sanctions imposed by the distant authority are not respected and therefore are not effective. If some people cannot or do not escape from repeated crime, it may mean that they are making sense of their existence in the best way they can, by clinging to the identity of themselves that they know and staying with their

master trait 'criminal,' which locates them so distantly from the law-abiding community.

A similar understanding of the relationship between social identity and shame acknowledgement is found in the work of Braithwaite (2002) on tax-paying behaviours of citizens. She has proposed that the social distance established between taxpayers and the authority is an important determinant of shame management. People endorsing high levels of honest-taxpayer identity tended to acknowledge shame over tax cheating; however, for people who did not see themselves as having such responsibility, shame was more likely to be displaced onto others. Her explicit illustration of the relationship between shame management and social distance demonstrates that shame management is contextual and situational.

The relational understanding of shame management raises the issue of whether morality based on shame is inferior to the morality based on guilt—because shame is externally triggered while guilt is internally triggered. Such ideas have been discussed widely since the anthropological work of Benedict (1946), *The chrysanthemum and the sword: Patterns of Japanese culture.* Benedict's core argument is that the behaviour of the Japanese is governed by the approval of others, while that of the Americans is directed by internalised values. It is not the intention of the author to chronicle or debate the various arguments that Benedict has sparked. Relevant to the particular research of this thesis, however, is the critique of Doi (1974). Doi (1974) asserts that if what Benedict argues is true, the morality of Americans is impersonal. Doi proceeds to express doubt over any morality that does not take the relatedness between people into account. Later, Sabini and Silver (1997) questioned the social significance of having shameless guilt, that is, guilt that is internal but that is not taken seriously by others or is not connected to norms that are shared with significant others. Sabini and Silver argue that shameless guilt is too weak to function as a social or moral emotion, because it does not take account of what is socially relevant.

Baumeister and his colleagues (Baumeister, 1994; Baumesiter, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1995) argue that the core of the moral emotional process is

'interpersonal-ness' and reject the impersonal interpretation of guilt. They go even further to state that the important function of guilt is to strengthen interpersonal relationships through learning appropriate behavioural codes and learning to care for others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

Take as an example of the intertwining of shame and guilt the following story from Doi (1974). A criminal accidentally murdered a policeman while trying to escape from arrest for theft. When recaptured he faced a small child, the son of the killed policeman. An officer told the boy, pointing at the criminal, that he was the man who had killed his father.

> The child bursts into tears, whereupon the criminal begins to speak 'in a passion of hoarse remorse that made one's heart shake.' 'Pardon! Pardon! Pardon me, little one!' he says. 'That I did—not for hate was it done, but in mad fear only, in my desire to escape…..great unspeakable wrong have I done you! But now for my sin I go to die. I wish to die; I am glad to die! Therefore, little one, be pitiful!—forgive me!' (Doi, 1974, pp.51-54)

From Doi's perspective, the criminal scrutinised himself from the viewpoint of the little boy who lost his father, by psychologically identifying himself with the boy. This psychological process of the criminal was apparent to spectators. Witnessing this heartbreaking repentance, spectators in the scene started to sob. It is because, according to Doi, 'in their eyes the images of child and criminal were blended into an inseparable whole (p. 52).' Although he had not meant to kill anyone, he acknowledged shame and regretted his action intensely because he, the criminal, felt it, as if he was the little boy who lost his father.

This is where the argument of Williams (1993) is relevant. Williams puts forward the view that the heavy emphasis on the intentionality of the criminal act in modern criminology is more likely to stem from a superficial understanding of cause and effect than sincere reflection of what justice is meant to be. In feeling shame, the intentionality of the wrongful act is not the centre of attention, but the self, others and the relationships affected by the harm done are centrally important. Because of this, Williams argues that shame brings to us a true and more meaningful picture of our

moral life than guilt can. The moral life experienced by shame includes a sense of community. Without the psychological identification with victim, it might have been impossible for the criminal, in Doi's illustration, to feel shame and guilt over his crime so intensely.

The relationship between workgroup identity and shame management hinges on three propositions. First, 'significant others' are an important and often legitimate source of disapproval of wrongdoing. Second, norms and values shared with others are internalised and provide the moral ground for action. In this way, guilt and shame work together. The third proposition is that when individuals feel secure in the relationship with significant others, they will feel safe to acknowledge shame. Doi (1974) is likely to agree with this, in relationships based on *amae*, which reflect high levels of psychological identification, individuals would feel safe acknowledging shame because they would know that they would be forgiven and reintegrated. In the western shame literature, the effect of psychological identification on shame acknowledgement has been best documented in the clinical context. Trusting and empathic relationship with therapists allow patients to feel shame safely (Jordan, 1998; Schneider, 1987).

Apart from the clinical work, most research on shame provides support for the argument that secure social bonds are necessary for shame to be managed adaptively through focusing on examples when secure social bonds are absent. That is to say social alienation, and the lack of an appropriate social identity, impedes making appropriate sense of shame and having appropriate coping strategies (e.g., Gilligan, 1996, Lewis, 1992; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991). Drawing on Goethe's well-known novel, *Sorrows of Young Werther*, Scheff (1990) traces a causal model of suicide, another non-adaptive response of shame (Mokros, 1995; Nathanson, 1992). He argues, 'If a person is (1) deeply humiliated, (2) does not acknowledge the humiliation, and (3) has no one to turn to in her adversity, then suicide (or some desperate act) is likely to result' (Scheff, 1990, p. 196). The establishment of secure social bonds seems to be a psychological dam that contains the eruption of shame-related violence and channels it to be released safely and securely.

Mokros (1995), who studied teenagers' suicide and their suicide notes, has singled out alienation from family and community as a key explanation. The boys were left without any constructive solution for their feelings of shame, and so turned them inward towards the self. Similarly, Poulson (2001), who studied the case of Kip Kinkel, an American schoolboy who killed 4 people including his parents, has interpreted the actions within a framework of shame-and-rage spirals. Following Scheff (Scheff & Retzinger, 1991), he has argued that the outburst of violence was brought about by social and psychological isolation that denied Kinkel opportunity to discharge or release shame safely. Poulson, based on his case studies of shame related violence, has concluded that his sample should not be seen as 'evil people' but [as] *hurt* people, *wounded* people acting out in what seems to them to be the only path left' (p.15). Poulson (2001, p.14) concluded his work by quoting Martin Bryant, an Australian who killed 35 people in his hometown, Tasmania in 1996: 'All I wanted was for people to like me.' Martin Bryant was reportedly bullied, frightened and ignored at school as a child. These findings, through documenting what happens when secure social bonds are absent, point to the importance of having at least one single important relationship in which an individual is able to feel belonging in the shame-producing context.

Another danger of the combination of social alienation and unresolved shame is that the lack of shared boundaries of what is appropriate encourages maladaptive justification of one's wrongdoing. The case of Timothy McVeigh has shown how social alienation can result in perverse rationalisation of a crime that claimed many innocent lives. Timothy McVeigh was the convicted Oklahoma City bomber, who was executed in 2001. He was responsible for killing 168 people in the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, US, in 1995. Until the day of his death he thought that what he did was right and just. In his last hand-written statement[7], he quoted a part of a poem, which reads, 'I am the master of my fate; I am the captain of my soul.'[8] In the words of Sherman (2001), McVeigh was apparently led by his own 'inner guiding light,' which had departed substantially from the 'guiding light' of those around him and of the community he partially destroyed. The inner-

[7] Source: CNN Communication ('The execution of Timothy McVeigh,' available at http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2001/okc/, posted at 11/06/2001 (cited at 11/11/2005))
[8] 'Invictus' by William Ernest Henley. 1849–1903 (Unturmeyer, 1999)

directedness of McVeigh's morality produces a state of shamelessness over the wrongdoing. According to Mokros (1995), when secure social bonds are absent, morality and rationality is only built individually, which is sometimes irrelevant to collective wellbeing or even dangerous, as in the case of McVeigh.

The relationship between shame and social identity is critically important. In a shame-inducing event, people who enjoy secure social bonds are likely to be able to manage their shame well, taking over their experience, accepting responsibility for their part in the event, and setting things right for the future. This is not to suggest, however, that the process is painless. The stronger the social bonds are, the more the individual is likely to suffer from the pain of social distance evoked by shame. However, it is this very distancing and the fear of loss of the social bonds that motivates people to repair the harm done, because they desire to restore the bonds and reaffirm the self. Identifying with others both magnifies the pain of drifting away and, at the same time, triggers the need for the restoration of the relationships. If the social identity or social bonds are weak, shame is either not likely to be felt or if it is felt, it is likely to be bypassed without a sense of pain on estrangement from others. Secure social bonds seem to provide the necessary interpersonal space in which shame can be acknowledged and relationships repaired. With secure social bonds, the individual is able to reduce the tension between '*Who I really am*' and '*What I have just done,*' through the process of shame management.

In summary, the shame literature has long implied the pivotal role that social identity plays in the context of feeling and managing shame. However, most studies dealing with this theme are based on case study methodologies, leaving empirical weakness in the testing of the theory. Quantitative empirical data will expand our knowledge of the relationship between social identity and shame management. In addition, empirical examination of the importance of secure social bonds in the work group will further our knowledge of how safe space is created, that is, how abstract cultural values, workplace identity and belonging, and workplace practice (discussed below) interact to produce optimal institutional spaces for adaptive shame management.

3.4 Shame Management and Problem Resolution Practice at Work

In this last part of the chapter, attention turns to routine practices that try to deal with shame-producing events at work. Although people come to the workplace carrying their own values that have socialised them along various paths, people's organisational behaviour is significantly affected by work practices or behavioural codes of the workplace (Hofstede, 1991; Triandis, Kurowski & Gelfand, 1994). These practices might be expected to have as powerful an influence on shame management as broader cultural values and social identity.

3.4.1 Reintegrative Shaming for Adaptive Shame Management

The theoretical framework used to understand the relationship between problem resolution practices at work and shame management is reintegrative shaming (Ahmed, et al., 2001; Braithwaite, 1989; 2002; Braithwaite, Ahmed & Braithwaite, forthcoming; Makkai & Braithwaite, 1994). The core argument in reintegrative shaming theory is that less crime will occur when the need to feel shame is communicated effectively and reintegratively; in contrast, there will be more crime, when shame stigmatises wrongdoers (Braithwaite, 1989). The theory consists of two vital elements: the respectful communication of disapproval of a wrongful act (i.e., non-stigmatising shaming), and special efforts to bring the wrongdoer back into the community (i.e., reintegration). These two elements are necessary for the success of reintegrative shaming in the context of crime prevention.

Makkai and Braithwiate (1994) have found some support for the compliance effect of reintegrative shaming in the regulatory context. Responses of nursing home directors to inspectors using different regulatory philosophies were assessed. They found an interaction effect of shaming and reintegration in relation to compliance with regulation; that is to say, shaming or disapproval increased compliance in circumstances where reintegration was present or perceived as being present by the directors of nursing. This study demonstrated that the effect of shaming is not straightforward but dependant upon how it is communicated or how it is perceived by regulatees.

Reintegrative shaming theory has been applied to the regulation of school bullying (Ahmed, 2001; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004; Braithwaite et al., 2003; Morrison, 2005) and workplace bullying (Ahmed & Braithwaite, forthcoming), drink driving (Harris, 2001), adolescent delinquency (Hay, 2001; Vagg, 1998; Zhnag, 1995), aboriginal crime (La Prairie, 1992), and other contexts (Sherman, Strang, & Woods, 2000; Tittle, Bratton, & Gertz, 2003).

Also, the theory has gone through some theoretical refinement. In the drink driving study of Harris (2001), for example, the interaction effect of shaming and reintegration, which was found in the nursing home regulation work (Makkai & Braithwaite, 1994), was not replicated. Harris (2001) believed that the critical factor might have been that receiving a conviction for drink driving, which occurred prior to a reintegrative shaming conference may have meant that offenders were already deeply embedded in a situation that was heavily ridden by shame. Furthermore, reintegration and stigmatisation were empirically separable dimensions, and this was not consistent with the original formulation of the theory. This was important in that it allowed people to use reintegration and stigmatisation simultaneously in order to try to regulate others' behaviour.

Reintegrative shaming theory continues to undergo new developments (e.g., Harris, 2001; Hay, 2003). The key concepts of reintegrative shaming that will be applied in the current research are the basic ideas that disapproval of wrongdoing needs to be clear but respectful of the wrongdoer and effort needs to be made to make sure the individual feels he or she remains a valued member of the group.

Reintegrative shaming theory was developed in the criminal justice context to underpin restorative justice in which the relational aspects of justice are fully recognised: that is, healing the wounds provoked by crime is as important as reducing the recidivism (Ahmed et al., 2001; Braithwaite, 2002; Miller & Blacker, 2000). Sherman (2003) has argued that reintegrative shaming is an emotionally intelligent justice practice because it is able to recognise the emotional harm done between stakeholders and focuses on repairing the harm. It is this contribution to

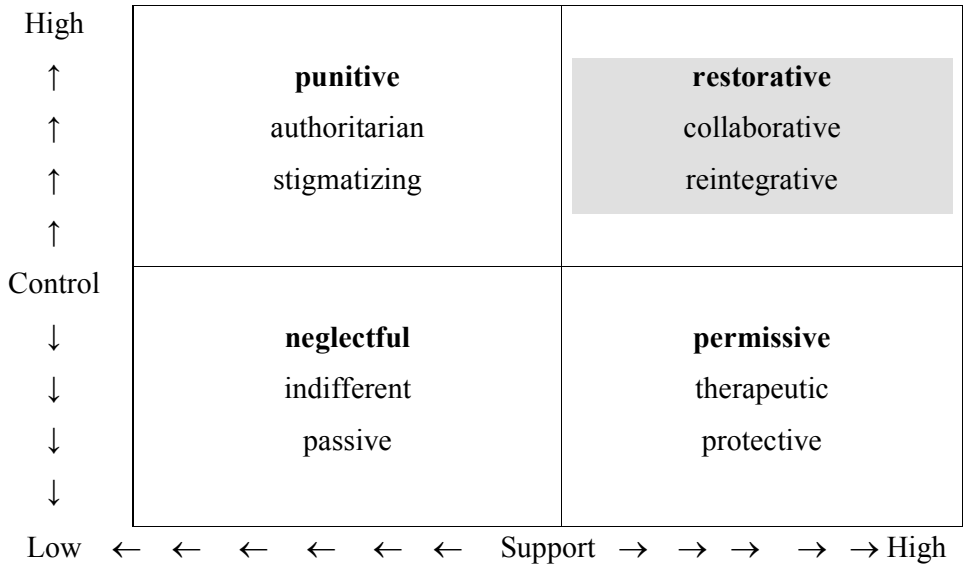
reparation of relationships that makes restorative justice theory a useful framework for examining the source and control of bullying in the workplace.

3.4.2 Understanding Problem Resolution Practice in the Workplace

Restorative justice theory has been developed in new ways. Figure 3.2 shows a social discipline window formulated by Wachtel and McCold (2001) that has guided social intervention practices in schools, in particular. Wachtel and McCold propose four approaches to social regulation: punitive, neglectful, permissive or restorative. The X-axis in Figure 3.2 represents what restorative justice theorists would call support or reintegration. The Y-axis represents the degree to which control is being exercised, that is the degree to which disapproval or shaming takes place in the disciplining situation.

Figure 3.1

Social Discipline Window



Source: Wachtel & McCold (2001, p.117)

From Figure 3.2, the punitive approach imposes high levels of control against deviant behaviours, with less consideration on supporting and nurturing wrongdoers. Wachtel and McCold liken this approach to the traditional conception of authoritarian parenting. Stigmatisation is how this practice is depicted in the work of

Braithwaite (1989). The criticism made against this approach is that it is unlikely to produce 'better' behaviour because those being regulated focus their attention on avoiding punishment and are less attentive to learning how to improve their behaviour.

Next, there are permissive, therapeutic or protective approaches to social discipline. The permissive approach, in stark contrast to the punitive approach, refrains from criticism and seeks to ameliorate the negative feelings someone might have after doing the wrong thing. The focus that social regulation takes in this cell is to promote supportive ties and offer nurturant treatment towards wrongdoers. Within the reintegrative shaming context, the lack of shaming or social disapproval in this approach means a failure to set limits on wrongdoing, and a failure to reinforce social norms and boost social conscience against wrongdoings (Braithwaite, 1989). It is widely recognised that parents who are permissive in dealing with children's wrongdoing fail to place necessary constraints on their children's aggressiveness; for example, children who develop bullying behaviour at school are likely to have parents who do not set behavioural limits (Braithwaite, Ahmed, Morrison & Reinhart, 2003; also see Ahmed (2001) pp.215 – 220 for the overview of the topic).

The third approach in Figure 3.2, the neglectful approach occurs when no concerted effort is made to control deviant behaviours (Wachtel & McCold, 2001). There has been a suggestion that the neglectful approach might be better than the stigmatising approach in certain circumstances. For example, a longitudinal study of youth delinquency found that convicted boys were more likely to re-offend than boys who escaped convictions for equally serious offences. The explanation that has been offered is that a 'neglectful' approach gave the boys opportunity to grow out of their delinquency. They were able to put the past behind them (Braithwaite, 1989). In contrast, those who had been convicted carried their stigmatisation into the future.

Lastly, there are restorative, collaborative or reintegrative approaches. Wachtel and McCold (2001) define the restorative approach as the simultaneous exercise of firm disapproval of wrongdoing with support and acknowledgement of the intrinsic worth of the wrongdoer. Reintegrative shaming theory (Braithwaite, 1989, 2002) accepts a

similar values base. Reintegrative shaming aims to reach and draw out the better self in the person, while reinforcing the validity of the community's disapproval over wrongdoing (Harris, 2001). Central to these approaches in this cell and to reintegrative shaming theory is the notion of disapproval of the action but not of the individual.

Restorative justice theorists argue that restorative justice practices can be exercised informally in everyday life (Braithwaite, 1989, 2002; Braithwaite & Ahmed, forthcoming; Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001; Morrison, 2001). Furthermore, introducing reintegrative shaming practice on a day-to-day basis will reduce the need for formal regulation or interventions (Morrison, 2001), and strengthen the institutional culture (Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001). To test this idea, this thesis looks at everyday workplace practices and examines their relationship to adaptive shame management in conflict situations in the workplace.

Apart from the work of Braithwaite and Wachtel & McCold, which have strong links to the field of criminology, some other researchers have examined disapproval and support and their effects on shame management. Their work is briefly reviewed below.

3.4.3 The Effect of Disapproval and Support on Shame Management

On the basis of observations of TV game shows, Scheff and Retzinger (1991) studied the influence of a simple form of disapproval on feelings of shame. Scheff and Retzinger observed that game show participants tried to hide by covering their faces or mouths whenever they heard beep sounds following wrong answers. The sound informed the participant that he or she had not lived up to the expectation that they would offer the correct answers. Social disapproval of wrongdoing is similar to the contestant's beep sound for an incorrect answer. Disapproval causes shame to the wrongdoer because the person senses or fears rupture and damaged social bonds. Establishing, maintaining or restoring a positive, affective relationship with another person is an important human motivation (McClelland, 1985). Shame monitors this human need. Retzinger (1996) has argued that shame is like a thermostat that

regulates interpersonal distance. Without a well functioning shame thermostat, it is virtually impossible to maintain appropriate social bonds with others.

The effect of social disapproval and support on shame acknowledgment has also been examined in the school-bullying context. Children who perceived that their school controlled bullying and had firm school rules against bullying were likely to be more favourably disposed to acknowledgment than displacement.

During the investigation of shame management skills in relation to children's bullying behaviours, Ahmed (2001) also observed that children who acknowledged shame were likely to displace their shame simultaneously. She explained this finding in terms of self-esteem. She argued that children with low self-esteem, while finding it easy to acknowledged shame, might not have enough psychological capacity to restrain themselves from blaming others (Ahmed et al., 2001). This finding implies that imposing social disapproval on the children with fragile self-esteem in order to encourage shame acknowledgement might create another problem: displacement of shame that has been closely associated with shame-related violence (e.g., Gilligan, 1996; Lewis, 1971; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991).

A supportive and safe environment at school is likely to prevent the risk of further damage to self-esteem when shame needs to be acknowledged (Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001). Safe space has two facets. On the one hand, disapproval must occur in a respectful way; on the other hand, there needs to be a ritual that reintegrates the wrongdoer into the social circle with forgiveness. Safe space created in the family through implementing these principles has been shown to help the individual deal with shame adaptively. Children whose parents displayed warmth and affection were more likely to acknowledge shame over their wrongdoing; however, children with families that lacked sensitivity to others' need and that adopted authoritarian practices were more likely to deflect the emotion onto others (Ahmed, 2001).

A third piece of research that sheds light on the relationship between disapproval, support and feelings of shame is a little less direct, but nevertheless important in the

context of the present study. Strazdins (2000) examined the dimensions of emotional work, which is the kind of activity that supervisors and colleagues do in order to keep each other on an even keel emotionally in the workplace. Regulating others, in the sense of advising others when they are doing something that is harmful, is one key dimension. Equally important, and related to expressing disapproval is providing emotional support. Strazdins' work implies that disapproval and support go hand-in-hand when one's job is to look after the emotional wellbeing of others.

3.5 Summary

Ahmed et al. (2001) suggest the creation of safe space for adaptive shame management. The concept of safe space is based on the idea that competence in shame management skills is important for maintaining healthy relationships, and, importantly, these skills can be and should be cultivated at the institutional level. Safe space aims to improve the effectiveness of regulation for the wellbeing of collectives and provide individuals with opportunity to build their capacities for maintaining respectful and trusting relationships.

The safe space-shame management thesis was investigated from three different perspectives. First of all, how cultural value orientation might contribute to the creation of safe space for adaptive shame management in the workplace was discussed. Four cultural values were analysed in relation to shame management: horizontal individualism (HI), horizontal collectivism (HC), vertical individualism (VI) and vertical collectivism (VC). Horizontal collectivism that emphasised collective harmony and solidarity was considered the value orientation most likely to promote the adaptive management of shame; on the other hand, vertical individualism that focused on personal gain and achievement was considered the most likely correlate of non-adaptive shame management. Horizontal individualism and vertical collectivism were expected to yield mixed results in relation to the management of shame.

The degree to which work group identity was salient was the second factor thought to be associated with safe space for adaptive shame management. As shame is closely related with social image of the self, secure social bonds with the group have emerged as an important issue in the shame literature. It was argued that secure social bonds would provide institutional safe space to manage shame adaptively without feeling threatened. Conversely, insecure social bonds resulting in alienation are likely to bring about displacement of shame, because it would be too risky to acknowledge shame, when one already feels threatened. Social alienation was also considered harmful because it could potentially fragment the moral norms and values shared by community members. Safe space implies a degree of basic consensus around what is acceptable and what is not.

Third, the problem resolution practices adopted in the workplace were considered as the third component in creating safe space for adaptive shame management. In order for the workplace to be safe for acknowledgement and free of displacement two problem resolution practices were considered necessary, both proposed from a restorative justice theory framework. First, disapproval of wrongdoing had to occur in a clear but respectful way. Second, support needed to be given to wrongdoers so that they did not feel marginalised or ostracised from the group.

These three components of safe space—that is, cultural value orientations, salience of workgroup identity and problem resolution practices at work are hypothesised as determinants of adaptive shame management. They will be investigated in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 respectively with empirical cross-sectional data. While theoretically I envisage the three components as determinants of shame management, it must be emphasised that empirically this study has not been designed to prove this is the case. The cross-sectional nature of the data prevents definitive conclusions about causality. Thus, the thesis is framed theoretically in terms of safe institutional space producing adaptive shame management. The empirical findings can shed light on whether or not this is plausible, but they cannot discount the proposition that those who manage shame well create their own safe space around them.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the methodology for this research. In order to test the safe space thesis for shame management, data were collected in comparable work environments in different cultures—Australia and Korea. No claim is being made that the samples are representative of Australian culture or Korean culture. There is good reason, however, for expecting that these two samples provide cultural diversity and in so doing, they provide a more challenging testing ground for the safe space hypothesis. If the structural relationships between the key variables are not similar in the two samples, we may conclude that the safe space-shame management thesis is culture sensitive.

4.1 Participants

The sample consisted of 303 Australian teachers in Canberra, the capital city of Australia, and 362 Korean teachers in Seoul, the capital city of South Korea. Participation was voluntary. Data were collected between September and December in 2001 from public high schools and colleges in the two cities. Of the 25 secondary public schools in Canberra, 15 agreed to participate.[9] Fourteen schools were selected in Seoul based on the geographical stratification of the city, and all of them agreed to participate in the survey.

These schools were approached by phone calls and letters asking them to take part in the 'Life at School: Teachers' Views and Experiences Survey' (Shin & Braithwaite, 2001). Occasionally, visits were made to schools to further explain the purpose of the research. The overall participation rate of teachers across schools was 39.4 per cent in Canberra and 48.9 per cent in Seoul. Compared to other surveys undertaken

[9] Among 15 schools participating in the present study in Canberra, there was a private school combined Grade 1 through Grade 12; therefore, some teachers (7 %) identified themselves as primary school teachers.

around that time in Australia [e.g., 33 % (Ahmed, 2000) and 43 % (Job, 2000)], participation rates from both cities were satisfactory.

In Australia, completed questionnaires were collected from 86 males and 210 females (missing data on gender among the Australian sample = 7). In Korea, completed questionnaires were collected from 106 males and 251 females (missing data on gender among the Korean sample = 5). The chi-square test for independence between the two groups revealed that the proportions of males and females in the Australian sample were not significantly different from the proportions in the Korean sample (chi-square value = .34, p = .86).

In the Australian sample, the mean age was 44.6 years (SD = 9.97) ranging from 22 to 72 years and the mean number of years in the teaching profession was 17.97 years (SD = 10.72) ranging from 1 to 45 years. In the Korean sample, the mean age was 40.6 years (SD = 8.09), ranging from 21 to 61 years, and the mean number of years in the teaching profession was 16.41 years (SD = 8.11) ranging from 1 year to 41 years. Independent t-tests between means for the two samples revealed that the Australian teachers were more mature and more experienced than Korean teachers [t (630) = 5.52, p < .001 for age; t (633) = 2.03, p < .05 for years in teaching].

Australian participants had been working in their current school for 5.4 years (SD = 5.44). Three quarters of them (74.9 %) had permanent full-time status. Compared to the Australian cases, Korean participants had been in their current schools for a shorter period of time, 3.3 years [SD = 3.73, t (645) = 5.82, p < .001]. More Korean teachers had permanent full-time status, 94.2 per cent compared to 74.9 per cent in the Australian sample (chi-square value = 49.22, p < .001). These differences reflect different administrative policies in the educational systems of the two countries. Korean teachers in public schools change their school at least once every 4 or 5 years, although most of them are permanently employed.

To gain some insight into the degree to which these samples of teachers were representative of teachers in the two cities, population statistics for the two countries on gender were compared with sample statistics. Male teachers in junior high

schools in Seoul in 2001 (which are equivalent to high schools in the Australian Capital Territory's education system) comprise 28.3 percent of total teachers.[10] This figure is remarkably similar to the statistic reported for the Korean sample (29.4 %, chi-square value = .001, $\underline{p}$ = .95). In terms of gender, the Korean sample is likely to be representative of high-school teachers in Seoul.

On the other hand, male teachers in Canberra make up 23.1 per cent of total teachers[11] in government schools in Canberra.[12] The proportion of male teachers in the Australian sample is 28.4 per cent. A Chi-square test for independence revealed that male teachers were slightly overrepresented in the Australian sample (chi-square value = 5.48, $\underline{p} < .05$).

The descriptive statistics for the distributions of the Australian and Korean samples on age, sex, professional years in current school, number of schools taught in, and professional status in teaching are summarised in Table 4.1.

[10] Sources of the statistics: Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education 2001 (available at http://stat.seoul.go.kr/)
[11] This figure reflects the proportion of male teachers from Level 1 to Level 4.
[12] Sources of the statistics: Department of Education, Youth, and Family Services Annual Report 2002-2003 (available at http://www.decs.act.gov.au/publicat/annrep0203/annrep0203partc.pdf).

Table 4.1

Number and Percentages of Participants' Demographic Figures (Split by Nationalities)

Demographic	Australians	Koreans
Overall Participants	303	362
Males	86 (28.4 %)	106 (29.4 %)
Females	210 (69.3 %)	251 (69.7 %)
Mean Age in Years	44.6 (SD = 9.97)	40.6 (SD = 8.09)
Mean Years in the Teaching Profession	17.97 (SD = 10.72)	16.41 (SD = 8.11)
Mean Years in the Current School	5.4 (SD = 5.44)	3.3 (SD = 3.73)
Job Status		
- Permanent / Full Time	227 (74.9 %)	341 (94.2%)
- Permanent / Part Time	31 (10.2 %)	1 (0.3%)
- Contract / Full Time	22 (7.3 %)	9 (2.5%)
- Contract / Part Time	15 (5.0 %)	3 (0.8%)
- Others	4 (1.3 %)	4 (1.1%)
Mean Number of Schools Worked in	5.6 (SD = 3.88)	4.9 (SD = 2.37)

4.2 Procedures

Data were collected through self-completion questionnaires. A self-completion questionnaire was considered to be the best method for collecting data because it allowed teachers to give responses in private and at a time that was convenient for them (Ahmad & Smith, 1990).

Two pilot studies were carried out. The purpose of the first was to develop scenarios that were to be used for the survey for measuring problem resolution practices and shame management styles in the context of workplace bullying. Four teachers in Canberra who had been in the teaching profession for a significant number of years were consulted to collect anecdotes of bullying incidents in their schools. Of the six

anecdotes, two resembled bullying incidents described by Rayner (1999) as among the most frequently encountered types of bullying in the workplace. These were selected as the focus for measuring problem resolution practices and shame management in this study. When Korean teachers were asked if these experiences were familiar to them in there work context, they endorsed strongly. These scenarios involved: a) one teacher making belittling remarks to another teacher, and b) one teacher verbally abusing another teacher. The actual scenarios are described on pages 87-88 and in the Appendix A.

The second pilot study was conducted to test that the full survey was easy to complete, framed questions in a relevant and unambiguous manner, and could be undertaken in a reasonable period of time. The survey comprises 5 parts: a) teachers' values, b) teachers' views on and trust in the school community, c) teachers' feeling about themselves and others, d) teachers' views on workplace bullying and school bullying, and e) background information. The questionnaire is printed in Appendix A.

In Australia, research approval was obtained separately from the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) of the Australian National University, and the Department of Education, Youth and Family Services in Australian National Territory (ACT) in order to conduct the current survey, 'Life at School: Teachers' Views and Experiences.' In Korea, permission had to be sought from the principals of participating schools directly.

The first stage involved the researcher communicating through phone or through a face-to-face meeting with the principals of targeted schools. The purpose of the study and the expectations of participants and researchers were discussed. Once agreement was reached, the principal and the researcher arranged a time to distribute questionnaires to staff members and to collect responses from them. On some occasions, the researcher was invited to staff meetings to talk about the purpose of the survey and its likely benefits to teachers. Most importantly, anonymity of teachers and confidentiality of responses were ensured at all times. The researcher promised to inform schools of overall findings at the conclusion of the study.

Questionnaires were distributed at the beginning of the school term in both countries to avoid school-assessment time at the end of the term. When survey questionnaires were distributed, teachers once again were briefed about the survey. Teachers were given two weeks on average to complete the questionnaire. A reminder note was sent out just after the initial collection; afterwards, several reminder notes were sent through school authorities until the participation rate could not be improved and response rates were stabilised.

The survey took 35 to 40 minutes to complete. Assistance was available to respondents through e-mails, facsimiles, and phone calls throughout the data collection period. Once questionnaires were completed, they were returned in sealed envelopes to the front office of their schools or to a person in charge of the surveys appointed by the school principals. Thereafter, the questionnaires were collected from each school by the researcher. Although questionnaires were collected through the schools, a small proportion of teachers preferred to post their questionnaires directly to the researcher.

4.3 The Description of the 'Life at School: Teachers' Views and Experiences' Survey

In the following section, the variables used in the present research will be discussed and evaluated. Means and standard deviations of key variables in the present study are summarised in Table 4.10. The following section describes the way in which the key variables were measured: a) the independent variables of cultural value orientations of *Horizontal Individualism* (HI), *Horizontal Collectivism* (HC), *Vertical Individualism* (VI) and *Vertical Collectivism* (VC); b) the independent variables of the endorsement of workgroup identity, specifically, *Commitment to Identity* and *Belongingness*; c) the dependent shame management variables of *Shame Acknowledgement*, *Shame Displacement* and *Withdrawal*; and d) the independent problem resolution practice variables that accompany the shame management scales, that is, *Disapproval* and *Support* in problem resolution. Before describing these

measures, however, the methodology for striving for measurement equivalence in the Australian and Korean versions of the questionnaire is discussed.

4.3.1 Back-Translation: Preparing for the Cross-Cultural Measurement of Concepts

Researchers such as Bracken and Barona (1991) and Brislin (1970, 1980) have strongly argued for the importance of back-translation and systematic procedures that enhance the measurement equivalence of scales. To test the effectiveness of back-translation between English and Korean, Kim and Lim (1999) argue that back translation was superior to one-way translation. Therefore, the following steps were followed in applying the procedure in this research context.

Firstly, the original scales (i.e., the English version of scales) were translated into the targeted language version. That is to say, the original English instruments were translated into Korean by the researcher, who has received a B.A. and M.A. in psychology in Korea. Meanwhile, a team of supporters, mainly English speaking social scientists, were consulted for the translation item by item.

Secondly, the translated scales in Korean were translated back into the original language version (i.e., English). This was done by two people: a Korean-Australian male, who had lived in Australia for the last 15 years and received a B.A. in Business in Australia; and a Korean-Australian female who lived in Australia for 16 years and received a B.A. in Psychology in Australia. Both of them were bilingual with an excellent command of both Korean and English.

Thirdly, a small review committee that consisted of Korean-Australian linguists who have worked in Australian universities over many years was set up in order to discuss the translated questionnaire. To ensure content validity and accurate understanding of the instruments, items were revised and edited in some instances. Finally, comments with revisions of translated items were sent back to the original translators and back translators to make sure that they agreed with recommended changes.

4.3.2 Cultural Value Scales

Value orientations are measured by four related but distinctive scales: a) Horizontal Individualism, b) Horizontal Collectivism, c) Vertical Individualism, and d) Vertical Collectivism. These sub-scales comprise the INDCOL (Individualism-Collectivism) 95 Scale (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995; Triandis, 1995). The scales have been used widely in cross-cultural and intra-cultural studies (e.g., Chen, Meindl & Hunt, 1997; Choiu, 2001; Han & Shin, 2000; Ng & Van Dyne, 2001; Probst, Carnevale & Triandis, 1999; Soh & Leong, 2002).

The horizontal individualism (HI) scale represents self-reliance, self-direction, autonomy, or individual uniqueness (e.g., One should live one's life independently of others; I am a unique individual). The horizontal collectivism (HC) scale emphasises collective goals and cooperation (e.g., I like sharing little things with my neighbours; The wellbeing of my co-workers is important to me). The vertical individualism (VI) scale represents striving for power and competition (e.g., Wining is everything; Competition is the law of nature). Lastly, the vertical collectivism (VC) scale represents the sacrifice of individual goals for collective solidarity and conformity to the group decision (e.g., I hate to disagree with others in my group; I usually sacrifice my interest for the benefit of my group).

Considerable research has been published to support the internal consistency of the four value orientation scales, mostly based on samples from the United States or college students in other nations. Reliability coefficients range from .62 to .85 (e.g., Ng & Van Dyne, 2001; Probst et al., 1999; Singelis et al., 1995; Soh & Leong, 2002). In one study using college students in Korea, Triandis and Gelfand (1998) measured the four value orientations and supported their measurement through a factor analysis. No reliability coefficients were reported.

According to Triandis (1995), horizontal and vertical collectivism are significantly correlated, whereas horizontal and vertical individualism show no significant correlation. The two horizontal and the two vertical dimensions show modest, but significant inter-correlations. It has been argued, however, that the correlations

between value orientations may vary because they are dependent on cultural structures (Soh & Leong, 2002; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998).

This study used the 32-item measure of cultural value orientations developed by Triandis and his colleagues (Singelis et al., 1995; Triandis, 1995). An additional INDCOL 95 measure developed by Triandis involved 63 scenarios to assess value orientations. This additional set of measures was not used because of restrictions on space in the questionnaire and time demands on participants. The 32 questions are used frequently without scenarios (e.g., Probst, Carnevale & Triandis, 1999; Soh & Leong, 2002) and Triandis (1995) has expressed concerns that the best set of scenarios may not yet have been developed.

The 32-item measure comprises four sets of 8 items to represent each cultural value orientation. The items are arranged in a random order. Following each statement, participants are asked to indicate the strength of their agreement on a 9-point likert scale anchored at one end by 'strongly disagree (1)' and at the other 'strongly agree (9).'

Although these scales have been used in Korea and Australia, it is important to establish their psychometric properties in this research context before conducting any cross-cultural comparison (Triandis, 1995). Therefore, a factor analysis of the 32 items of the INDCOL 95 Scale was performed separately in each group to assess the structural measurement equivalence between the Australian and Korean samples. The factors were rotated obliquely, as previous studies have suggested that cultural values are not likely to be orthogonal (Probst et al., 1999; Singelis et al., 1995; Triandis, 1995). The purpose of this analysis was to explore the factor structure of INDCOL 95 to find out if there were 4 distinct cultural value orientations, as Triandis and his colleagues proposed (e.g., Probst et al., 1999; Singelis et al, 1995; Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). The results are shown in Table 4.2. Loadings under .30 are not displayed.

Table 4.2

Rotated (Oblimin) Factor Loadings for the Cultural Value Orientation Items after Principal Components Analyses in the Australian and Korean Samples

	Australia				Korea			
Variables	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Horizontal Individualism								
What happens to me is my own doing			**.36**				**-.68**	
I enjoy being unique and different from others in many ways			**.62**				**-.45**	
I often do 'my own thing'			**.53**				**-.35**	
I am a unique individual			**.68**				**-.72**	
I like my privacy			**.54**				**-.78**	
One should live one's life independently of others	-.36		**.42**				**-.53**	
I prefer to be direct and forthright when I talk with people				-.42				
When I succeed, it is usually because of my abilities	.31					.42		
Horizontal Collectivism								
My happiness depends very much on the happiness of those around me	**.44**				**.39**			
I like sharing little things with my neighbours	**.47**				**.69**			
The wellbeing of my co-workers is important to me	**.53**				**.51**			
If a co-worker gets a prize I would feel proud of them	**.61**				**.64**			
I feel good when I cooperate with others	**.72**				**.53**			
To me, pleasure is spending time with others	**.64**				**.38**			
If a relative were in financial difficulty, I would help within my means			.35		**.61**			
It is important for me to maintain harmony with my group	**.59**				**.31**			.37

Vertical Individualism								
Winning is everything		**.60**				**.67**		
It is important to me that I do my job better than others		**.59**				**.53**		
I enjoy working in situations that involve competition with others		**.71**				**.67**		
Competition is the law of nature		**.68**				**.61**		
Without competition it is not possible to have a good society		**.64**				**.47**		
It annoys me when other people perform better than I do		**.49**		.32		**.54**		
When another person perform better than I do, I get tense and anxious	-.36	**.47**		.34		**.64**		
Some people emphasise winning; I am not one of them		**.45**	-.43		.41	**.38**		-.39
Vertical Collectivism								
I would do what I had to do to please my family, even if I detested that activity				**.59**				**.47**
I would sacrifice an activity that I enjoy very much if my family did not approve it				**.63**				**.48**
I hate to disagree with others in my group				**.36**				**.51**
I usually sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of my group				**.58**	.38			**.33**
We should keep our aging parents at home with us				**.36**	.58			
Children should feel honoured if their parents receive a distinguished award		.35			.35		-.36	
Children should be taught to place duty before pleasure		.35						**.30**
Before taking a major trip, I consult with most members of my family and my friends	.30			**.35**				**.55**
Initial Eigenvalues	3.96	3.24	2.54	1.75	5.18	3.15	2.06	1.69
Eigenvalues after rotation	3.46	3.28	2.36	2.75	3.90	3.33	3.75	2.26

*Numbers in bold indicate items that loaded on a particular factor and should have loaded on that factor. Items that are shaded represent the subset selected to measure each value orientation in this study.

*Loadings under .30 are not included.

Factor 1 was clearly defined by 7 horizontal collectivism (HC) items with the Australian sample and all 8 horizontal collectivism items in the Korean sample. Factor 1, therefore, was labelled horizontal collectivism.

Factor 2 clearly represented vertical individualism (VI) with all 8 of Triandis' items loading on this factor in both the Australian and Korean samples. Therefore, Factor 2 was identified as vertical individualism.

Factor 3 was clearly defined by Triandis' 6 horizontal individualism (HI) items in both samples. Factor 3, therefore, was identified as horizontal individualism.

Factor 4 represented vertical collectivism (VC) with 6 of Triandis' items defining the factor for the Australian sample and 6 for the Korean sample. Therefore, Factor 4 was labelled as vertical collectivism. Factor loadings displayed in bold represent items that Triandis expected to load on the specific factor. Unfortunately, for scale development purposes, only 4 significant factor loadings of vertical collectivism were common across the Australian and Korean cultures for this particular scale.

The next stage involved the development of psychometrically sound scales to measure the value orientation. The criteria for items to be included in the scale were as follows:

a) the item should have a significant loading on the nominated factor,
b) the item should not have significant loadings of comparable magnitude across a number of factors, that is, should not cross-load; and,
c) the item should contribute to an improvement in the scale's alpha reliability coefficient; that is, removing the item should reduce the size of the reliability coefficient notably.

On this base, the 6 shaded items for horizontal individualism in Table 4.2 were chosen [alpha = .59 (Australian), .71 (Korean)]. The 6 shaded items were chosen for horizontal collectivism [alpha = .69 (Australian), .69 (Korean)]. The 6 shaded items were chosen for vertical individualism [alpha = .72 (Australian), .69 (Korean)]. The 3 shaded items were chosen for vertical collectivism [alpha = .54 (Australian), .29

(Korean)]. Only vertical collectivism had an unacceptably low alpha, which could not be improved through any combination of variables. While some psychometric texts would consider .59 (i.e., the Cronbach's alpha for horizontal individualism in the Australian sample) as too low a coefficient (above .7 has been recommended (Pallant, 2001), such scales are commonly used with large numbers of subjects and in circumstances where additional data support the validity of the scale (Robinson, Shaver & Wrightsman, 1999).

Scales for Horizontal Individualism, Horizontal Collectivism and Vertical Individualism were formed by summing responses to the selected items and dividing the total by the number of items in the scale to bring the scores back to their original item metric [ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree)].

Table 4.3 displays descriptive statistics with Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients for each cultural value orientation scale.

Table 4.3

Number of Items, Means, SDs, and Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficients for the Cultural Value Scales (Australian N = 301; Korean N = 360)

Sample	Scale	No of items	M	SD	Alpha
Australian	HI	6	6.26	1.12	.59
	HC	6	6.76	1.11	.69
	VI	6	3.57	1.39	.72
	VC	3	4.88	1.39	.54
Korean	HI	6	6.68	1.10	.71
	HC	6	6.12	1.02	.69
	VI	6	4.73	1.24	.69
	VC	3	5.78	.98	.29

*HI=Horizontal Individualism, HC=Horizontal Collectivism, VI=Vertical Individualism, and VC=Vertical Collectivism

As in Choiu's (2001) study that compared multiple groups, a number of cross-cultural studies struggle to achieve measurement equivalence and reach a satisfactory level of reliability for these scales in the cross-cultural context. This study was able to replicate the factor results obtained by Triandis and Gelfand (1998) with Korean college students, but was only able to achieve measurement equivalence and satisfactory internal reliability for both the Australian and Korean samples on 3 of the 4 scales. Further analysis of vertical collectivism was deemed inappropriate because of uncertainty as to what the four common items were really measuring.

4.3.3 Workgroup Identity Scales

The workgroup identity variables were taken from Tyler and Blader (2000). The purpose of including these scales is to assess the extent to which individuals identify with their groups. The measures were modified to fit the present research context: schools and teachers' workplace. Instead of using 'my organisation' or 'my work' as Tyler and Blader did, 'my school' and 'my work as a teacher' were used to clearly define the reference group for survey respondents. For example, 'I feel like a valued member of my organisation' was transformed into 'I feel like a valued member of my school.' Twelve items adopted from Tyler and Blader were presented to survey respondents. Teachers rated each item on a strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) scale. Tyler and Blader treated the social identity items as a uni-dimensional scale. However, a factor analysis of responses to these items for the Australian and Korean samples showed there to be more than one factor. Items that cross-loaded in comparable magnitude were excluded, as were those that behaved differently across the two samples. The original set of 12 items was reduced to 7.

The results of principal components analyses with oblique rotation are presented in Table 4.4. A simple two-factor structure emerged in both samples. The first factor was defined by 4 items that described commitment to the social identity of the teacher in the school; for example, 'When someone from outside criticises my school, it feels like a personal insult.' This factor represented the extent to which the respondent was attached to being a teacher in the school, as well as the importance of and pride in that identity for the individual. The factor was labelled commitment to identity.

The second factor was defined by 3 items that emphasised feelings of inclusiveness in the school group; for example, 'I do not feel close to other people within my school (reverse scored). This factor represented the individual's feelings and perceptions of how much other members of the school valued the individual and made the individual feel an important part of the group. This factor was identified as belongingness.

Table 4.4

Rotated (Oblimin) Factor Loadings for the Social Identity Items after Principal Components Analyses in the Australian and Korean Samples

Variables	Australia		Korea	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Commitment to Identity				
I feel that the problems of my school are my 'own' personal problem	.79		.69	
When someone praises the accomplishment of my school, it feels like a personal compliment to me	.78		.81	
When someone from outside criticises my school, it feels like a personal insult	.68		.80	
My work as a teacher is important to the way I think of myself as a person	.57		.80	
Belongingness				
I do not feel like an important part of my school (reverse scored)		-.84		.91
I feel like a valued member of my school		-.84		.59
I do not feel close to other people within my school (reverse scored)		-.80		.75
Initial Eigenvalues	2.94	1.30	2.89	1.19
Eigenvalues after Rotation	2.35	2.42	2.53	2.14

* Loadings under .30 are not included in the table.

All seven workgroup identity items loaded above .30; in fact, the lowest loading was .57 across the samples. Scales for Commitment to Identity and Belongingness were formed by aggregating responses to the items that loaded significantly on each component in the factor analysis in Table 4.4 and dividing by the total number of items in the scale to bring the score back to the original item metric of 1 to 5. Cronbach's alphas for Commitment to Identity were .68 in the Australian sample and .72 in the Korean sample. Cronbach's alphas for Belongingness were .79 and .68 in the Australian and Korean samples, respectively.

Table 4.5 summarises descriptive statistics of means, standard deviations, and Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients for each scale in each sample.

Table 4.5

Number of Items, Means, SDs, and Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficients for the Social Identity Scales (Australian N = 293; Korean N = 360)

Sample	Scale	No of items	M	SD	Alpha
Australian	Commitment	4	3.40	.66	.68
	Belongingness	3	3.89	.76	.79
Korean	Commitment	4	3.55	.59	.72
	Belongingness	3	3.62	.60	.68

* Commitment: Commitment to Identity

4.3.4 Shame Management Scales

'Shame involves a threat to identity as the individual confronts and acknowledges wrongdoing' (Ahmed, 2001, p.229). This implies that shame can be managed by the individual in a conscious way. The individual can reflect on shame feelings and confront the shame, and/or find reasons to side step the shame. Ahmed refers to these processes as managing shame through acknowledgement and displacement. Shame acknowledgment represents management of shame in a way

that tries to rebuild the damaged relationship with others and expresses regret for the wrong that has been done. On the other hand, shame displacement represents the externalisation of blame onto others or the expression of anger at the world generally (Ahmed, Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 1996). Ahmed developed a shame management scale, 'the Measure of Shame State—Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Displacement' (MOSS – SASD; Ahmed, 2001). The original scale was designed for children (see Ahmed, 1999, 2001). The context was school bullying. Children were presented with a set of 8 scenarios. An example is: 'You have been making rude comments about a student's family. You find out that your class teacher heard what you said.' The children were encouraged to imagine how they would have felt in that situation and required to answer questions representing shame acknowledgement and shame displacement. Ahmed (2001) was able to demonstrate positive and significant correlations ranging from .25 to .40 between *imagined* responses in a shame management situation and *actual* responses. These questions provided the base for the measurement of shame management in this study. To accommodate other research advances, some additional items were introduced in the present study.

Harris (2001), who adopts an ethical identity conception of shame, has argued that remorse is an important component of the shame family of emotions (Landman, 1996; Maxwell & Morris, 1999). He would envisage acknowledgement of shame as part of the Shame-Guilt-Remorse emotion. In response to the parallels between Ahmed and Harris' work, two items relating to remorsefulness were taken from Harris' (2001) work on drink driving. They were 'Feel sorry or remorseful for your action' and 'Feel that the action you've taken was wrong.' The shame management variables in the present study comprised 18 items.

Respondents used these items to convey their feelings in the following two scenarios. Each describes a bullying situation at the workplace.

a) A new teacher (A) joins you in the staff room and eagerly asks you questions about the school because you are the teacher who holds the necessary information. You initially answer superficially, then you stare contemptuously at teacher A, finally you stand up and say, "Didn't you do any preparation for this job?" Then you realise that the other teachers in the staff room are listening and watching you.

b) Imagine you are in a staff meeting discussing the upcoming multicultural festival at the school. Another teacher (B), who happens to be from a different ethnic group than yourself, makes a suggestion you don't like. You make a comment that has racist overtones. The room goes silent.

After each scenario, participants were asked the series of 18 questions (e.g., 'Would you feel guilt?' 'Would you feel ashamed of yourself?' or 'Would you feel angry with the other teacher?') Participants were required to circle a number best reflecting their feelings. Responses ranged from 'not likely (1)' to 'almost certain (4)'.

Comparing shame management responses across scenarios, the correspondence was reasonably high with correlation coefficients ranging from .40 to .68 in the Australian sample and .26 to .57 in the Korean sample. The correlation coefficients between scenarios are reported in detail in Appendix B.

A series of exploratory factor analyses were conducted to identify a set of items that behaved consistently across scenarios and samples. Four separate principal components analyses (two scenarios X two cultural groups) with an oblique factor solution were performed without any restriction on the number of factors extracted. The resulting factor structures derived from the four sets of shame management scales were not consistent across scenarios between the two cultural groups. Four factors with an eigenvalue greater than 1 were extracted in the first scenario/Australian sample and in the second scenario/Korean sample; on the other hand, three factors had eigenvalues greater than 1 in the second scenario/Australian sample and the first scenario/Korean sample.

On closer inspection, three clusters of items emerged commonly across the four sets of factor analyses. The first group of items seemed to represent Shame Acknowledgement in Ahmed's (2001) study and Shame-Guilt-Remorse in Harris' (2001) study. The second group of items seemed to correspond to Shame Displacement that was identified in Ahmed's study. The third group of items signified a feeling of withdrawal, which was not identified by either Ahmed or Harris. Items that cross-loaded in comparable magnitude and items that behaved differently

between the two samples were excluded. A subset of 12 items was taken forward for further analysis.

In the next stage of analysis, these 12 core and relatively stable items were subjected to factor analysis. This time the number of factors to be extracted was constrained to three. A matching three-factor structure of shame management items emerged in both scenarios and both samples.[13] The results of principal components analyses with oblique rotation are presented in Table 4.6.

The first factor was defined by 7 items that brought together feelings of shame, guilt, embarrassment and remorse. The first factor was labelled shame acknowledgement.

The second factor depicted variables that drew on defensive responses of feeling angry, externalising blame, and showing aggressive and retaliatory anger. All these variables represent attempts to deflect shame through displacing shame into anger. The individual is focusing on how he or she is being wronged rather than the wrong he or she may have done to others. Therefore, this factor was identified as shame displacement.

The third factor was represented by two items: 'feel like hiding' and 'feel like being alone.' This factor captured the emotional response of shame that described a sense of alienation and withdrawal. This was defined as withdrawal. Withdrawal seems to correspond to Nathanson's (1992) idea of withdrawal as a defensive response of shame. In the compass of shame, Nathanson has argued that withdrawal is one of four main emotional responses in the experience of shame that depicts the intense desire to hide from the scene and the eyes of others. One reason for why Ahmed may not have formed a withdrawal factor is that her subjects were children. Kaufman (1996) has proposed that defensive scripts of shame become more sophisticated, as people grow older. Therefore, adults are likely to possess a greater variety of scripts of the shame experience and be able to report them more

[13] When the number of factor to be extracted was not constrained, the items that represented feelings of withdrawal loaded with items that represented shame acknowledgement for the first scenario in the Korean sample; however, the three-factor structure emerged without constraints in the other three sets of factor analyses.

elaborately than children. The present study of shame management involved an articulate and well-educated group of adults with wide social experience.

Table 4.6 presents the results of principal components analyses conducted on the shame management items, for the Australians and separately for the Koreans. Responses to corresponding items in scenario 1 and scenario 2 have been averaged for this analysis. The structure of the factor analysis for averaged item scores replicated the factor structure found for each scenario, separately. The factor analysis for each scenario is presented in Appendix C.

Table 4.6
Rotated (Oblimin) Factor Loadings for the Shame Management Items after Principal Components Analyses in the Australian and Korean Samples

	Australia			Korea		
Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Shame Acknowledgement						
Feel that you had let down people around you	.86			.74		
Feel ashamed of yourself	.96			.88		
Feel guilt	.94			.93		
Feel humiliated	.72			.87		
Feel embarrassed	.83			.89		
Feel sorry or remorseful for your action	.90			.82		
Feel that the action you've taken was wrong	.93			.84		
Shame Displacement						
Feel angry with teacher A / B		.77			.58	
Feel that you wanted to get even with teacher A / B		.80			.94	
Feel like blaming others for what happened		.78			.93	
Withdrawal						
Feel like hiding			-.90			-.81
Feel like being alone			-.94			-.94
Initial Eigenvalues	6.28	2.00	1.18	6.03	2.32	.84
Eigenvalues after Rotation	6.09	2.14	3.03	5.88	2.37	3.12

*See Appendix C for factor analyses for each scenario.
*Loadings under .30 are not included in the table.

All shame management items loaded clearly on only one factor and had factor loadings above .30; the lowest being .58 across samples. Scales for Shame Acknowledgement, Shame Displacement and Withdrawal were formed by aggregating responses to the items that had significant loadings on the relevant factor in Table 4.6 and dividing the total by the number of items in the scale to bring the score back to the original item metric of 1 to 4.

To establish the internal consistency of each scale, Cronbach's alpha was calculated. Ahmed (1999, 2001), who developed the shame management scales, reported that Cronbach's alpha coefficients of Shame Acknowledgement and Shame Displacement across 8 scenarios have ranged from .88 to .95 with median of .92. In the present study, the Cronbach's alpha for Shame Acknowledgement was .96 in the Australian sample, and .94 in the Korean sample. Cronbach's alphas for Shame Displacement were lower than Shame Acknowledgement. They were .69 in the Australian sample and .78 in the Korean sample. The Cronbach's alpha for Withdrawal was .93 and .87 in the Australian and Korean samples respectively.

The descriptive statistics and alpha reliability coefficients for the shame management scales are presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7

Number of Items, Means, SDs, and Crobach'a Alpha Reliability Coefficients for the Shame Management Scales (Australian N = 269; Korean N =362)

Sample	Scale	No of Items[14]	M	SD	Alpha
Australian	Shame Acknowledgment	14	3.30	.73	.96
	Shame Displacement	6	1.24	.38	.69
	Withdrawal	4	2.27	1.00	.93
Korean	Shame Acknowledgment	14	2.85	.60	.94
	Shame Displacement	6	1.56	.53	.78
	Withdrawal	4	2.31	.76	.87

4.3.5 Problem Resolution Practice Scales

Reintegrative shaming theory identifies two key dimensions that individuals use to regulate behaviour in others. The first is disapproval of the act or behaviour that is causing a problem. The second is emotional support for the person, so that the person knows that others still care about them and the criticism is directed at their behaviour, not at their whole person. In other words, while a person might have done something that is regarded as harmful, his or her colleagues' reintegration ensures that the person knows that he or she is valued and will not be abandoned. If they need support to put things right, they will have it.

The measurement of disapproval and emotional support has taken a variety of forms in different contexts. Makkai and Braithwaite (1994) were interested in what types of regulatory strategies improved the compliance level of Australian nursing homes. They measured the nursing home inspectors' regulatory attitudes using the reintegrative shaming framework by asking questions related to the two facets of reintegrative shaming: shaming and reintegration. Shaming or disapproval was

[14] The number of items was doubled, as there were two scenarios.

measured with a two-item scale: that is, the extent to which nursing home inspectors openly disapproved of non-compliant actions and the extent to which they demurred from overt expressions of disapproval (reverse scored) while rating the compliance level of each nursing home. For reintegration, 6 items were employed; a representative item is, 'When you have a falling out with a nursing home over a standards monitoring report, you should never give up on efforts to bury the hatchet.'

Harris tested reintegrative shaming theory in the context of the criminal processing of drink driving offenders. There were two items for the measurement of shaming; that is, the extent to which people expressed 1) general disapproval of offending, and 2) disapproval of the offender's action. On the other hand, support, respect and forgiveness offered to the offender by significant others constituted the measure of reintegration. Hay (2001) tested reintegrative shaming theory through examining the relationship between the adolescents' delinquency and their parents' shaming practices. Hay had 3 items to measure shaming and 4 items for reintegration. The core ideas behind these items seem to be aligned with items used in studies of Harris and of Makkai and Braithwaite.

The items that measured reintegrative shaming in the present study represented respectful disapproval and reintegration or support. The measures were taken in the hypothetical context corresponding to the shame scenarios discussed in 4.3.4 on page 22. Respondents were asked how their work colleagues would respond to them if they saw them bullying as described in the shame scenarios.

The items that were used to measure disapproval and support were adapted from Strazdins' (2000) Integrative Emotional Work Inventory (IEWI). Strazdins measured three dimensions – companionship, help and regulation. Help and, to a lesser degree, companionship, were considered to bear a close resemblance to the idea of reintegration when provided in a context of something going wrong. Regulation captured the notion of disapproval in the sense of trying to warn someone that they were doing something that was harmful. These variables were labelled problem resolution practice in the workplace in the present research context.

Twelve problem resolution practice items adapted from Strazdins' scales were presented to respondents after the shame management items for each bullying scenario. In the questionnaire, respondents were asked to imagine the situation and envisage the reactions of their work colleagues over the bullying incident, using rating scales from 1 (not likely) to 4 (almost certain) to indicate how likely each response was. One item, 'Initiate play, e.g., games, jokes and share humour with you' was discarded, because it attracted comment and was considered inappropriate in the research context. Two items behaved inconsistently in the factor analyses and were dropped.

Problem resolution practice was assessed twice, once with each bullying scenario. The correspondence of particular responses over the scenarios was strong, with correlation coefficients ranging from .59 to .70 in the Australian sample, and .48 to .64 in the Korean sample. The correlation coefficients between corresponding items in the two scenarios are reported in Appendix D.

Four sets (two bullying scenarios in the Australian and Korean samples) of the 9 items representing problem resolution practice were subjected, in turn, to principal components analysis with oblimin rotation. Two components emerged in the results of each factor analysis. For presentation purposes in Table 4.8, responses to each item were averaged over scenarios, so that one analysis appears for the Australian teachers, and another for the Korean teachers.

In both samples, Factor 1 was defined by items that represented emotional support for the respondent in the shame scenario; items such as 'Listen to you attentively,' and 'Do things to soothe or calm you.' Items loading on this factor were defined by Strazdins, as Help and Companionship. The factor was identified as support.

Factor 2 had significant loadings on items concerned with disapproval of harmful behaviours, e.g., 'Point out to you that you might be upsetting others,' and 'Try to persuade you to stop something that is harmful.' The items defining this factor were those included in the Regulation scale in Strazdins' study. This factor captured the

behaviour of work colleagues that was intended to regulate wrongful behaviour in the workplace. Therefore, it was defined as disapproval.

Items with significant loadings on the relevant factor in Table 4.8 were used to form the Support scale and the Disapproval scale. The Support scale comprised 12 items, 6 from each scenario. The Disapproval scale comprised 6 items, 3 from each scenario.

Table 4.8

Rotated (Oblimin) Factor Loadings for the Problem Resolution Practice Items after Principal Components Analyses in the Australian and Korean Samples

	Australia		Korea	
Variables	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Support				
Show affection and speak warmly to you	.84		.87	
Make some effort to spend some time or do things together with you	.83		.78	
Enquire about your thoughts and feelings	.72		.80	
Listen to you attentively	.80		.88	
Do things to protect you from becoming stressed	.81		.67	
Do things to soothe or calm you	.78		79	
Disapproval				
Point out to you that you might be upsetting others		.93		.97
Try to help you think through the consequences of your behaviour		.91		.81
Try to persuade you to stop something that is harmful		.92		.89
Initial Eigenvalues	4.39	2.26		5.27
Eigenvalues after Rotation	4.07	2.99		4.78

*See Appendix E for factor analyses for each scenario.

Scales for Support and Disapproval were formed by summing responses to the selected items and dividing the total by the number of items in the scale to bring the scores back to their original item metric of 1 to 4.

The alpha coefficient for the Support scale was high, .89 and .90 in the Australian and Korean samples, respectively. The alpha coefficient for the Disapproval scale was .93 in the Australian sample and .91 in the Korean sample. Table 4.9 summarises the descriptive statistics and alpha reliability coefficients for each scale.

Table 4.9

Number of Items, Means, SDs, and Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficients for the Problem Resolution Practice Scales (Australian N = 269; Korean N = 360)

Sample	Scale	No of items[15]	M	SD	Alpha
Australian	Support	12	2.13	.60	.89
	Disapproval	6	2.54	.77	.93
Korean	Support	12	2.16	.55	.90
	Disapproval	6	2.16	.63	.91

4.4 Summary

Table 4.10 summarises the descriptive statistics for the variables used in the present study. The chapter concludes with the correlation coefficients among the independent and dependent variables used in the present study (see Table 4.11).

[15] The number of items was doubled, as there were two scenarios.

Of note are the correlations that exist between the subscales of each variable. The value scales were notably positively correlated in the Korean sample, though not in the Australian sample. The identity variables of Commitment to Identity and Belongingness were positively correlated for both Australian and Korean samples. In the third set of independent variables, problem resolution practice in the workplace, (Disapproval and Support) were highly positively correlated in the Korean sample, but less so in the Australian sample.

Finally, the dependent variables of shame management were inter-correlated in a similar way in the Australian and Korean samples. Withdrawal was highly and positively correlated with Shame Acknowledgement. Shame Acknowledgement had a negative relationship with Shame Displacement.

Because of these inter-correlations, the analyses conducted in the following chapters will give particular attention to understanding the contribution of each variable, net of the others. In order to achieve this goal, in the following chapters, priority will be placed on the results of OLS regression analyses over bi-variate correlation analyses, although both types of statistics will be presented to aid interpretation.

Table 4.10

The Summary of Used Variables (Number of Items, SDs, and Cronbach'a Alpha Reliability Coefficients (Australian N = 269, Korean N = 360)[16]

Variables	Scales	No of Items	M (SD)	Alpha
Cultural Value Orientation	Horizontal individualism	6	A= 6.26 (1.12) K= .6.68 (1.10)	A= .59 K= .71
	Horizontal Collectivism	6	A = 6.76 (1.11) K = 6.12 (1.02)	A = .69 K = .69
	Vertical Individualism	6	A= 3.57 (1.39) K= .4.73 (1.24)	A= .72 K= .69
Workgroup Identity	Commitment to Identity	4	A= 3.40 (.66) K= 3.55 (.59)	A= .68 K= .72
	Belongingness	3	A = 3.89 (.76) K = 3.62 (.60)	A = .79 K = .68
Problem Resolution Practice	Support	12	A = 2.13 (.60) K = 2.16 (.55)	A = .89 K = .90
	Disapproval	6	A= 2.54 (.77) K= 2.16 (.63)	A= .93 K= .91
Shame Management	Acknowledgement	14	A= 3.30 (.73) K= .2.85 (.60)	A= .96 K= .94
	Displacement	6	A= 1.24 (.38) K= .1.56 (.53)	A= .69 K= .78
	Withdrawal	4	A = 2.27 (1.00) K = 2.31 (.76)	A = .93 K = .87

* A = Australian cases, K = Korean cases

[16] This is the minimum sample size.

Table 4.11
Product-Moment Correlations (pair-wise) among the Variables Used in the Present Study for Australian (above diagonal, N = 266) and Korean (below diagonal, N = 358) Cases

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. HI	1	-.08 (ns)	.10 (ns)	-.08 (ns)	-.05 (ns)	-.04 (ns)	.03 (ns)	-.13*	-.07 (ns)	-.12 (ns)
2. HC	.36***	1	.05 (ns)	.31***	.26***	.13*	.14*	.21***	-.11 (ns)	.10 (ns)
3. VI	.23***	.11*	1	.06 (ns)	-.00 (ns)	-.09 (ns)	.03 (ns)	-.12*	.23***	-.08 (ns)
4. Commitment	.16**	.37***	.09 (ns)	1	.38***	.09 (ns)	.16**	.24***	.02(ns)	.11 (ns)
5. Belongingness	.17**	.33***	.07 (ns)	.41***	1	.17**	.17**	.05 (ns)	-.11 (ns)	-.05 (ns)
6. Support	-.01 (ns)	.06 (ns)	-.02 (ns)	.12 (ns)	.31***	1	.58***	.12*	-.01 (ns)	.00 (ns)
7. Disapproval	.08 (ns)	.14**	.07 (ns)	.26***	.21**	.27***	1	.44***	-.03 (ns)	.33***
8. Acknowledgment	.12*	.19***	-.09 (ns)	.20***	.12*	.03 (ns)	.16**	1	-.20**	.50***
9. Displacement	-.14**	-.11*	.27***	-.04 (ns)	-.15**	.26***	.20***	-.19***	1	.03 (ns)
10. Withdrawal	-.03 (ns)	-.04 (ns)	.03 (ns)	.00 (ns)	-.21***	.04 (ns)	.13**	.57***	.17**	1

* $p < .05$ **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$ (ns) not significant

CHAPTER FIVE

CULTURAL VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND SHAME MANAGEMENT

The essence of any community is collectivist interdependence (Walzer, 1990)

5.1 Overview

The central issue addressed in this thesis is: what are the cultural and social contexts that enable healthy shame management processes to prevail? While organisational factors conducive to various skills of shame management are tested in other chapters, this chapter examines cultural value orientations that are assumed to frame patterns of shame management in the workplace.

Horizontal and vertical individualism (HI and VI, respectively) and horizontal collectivism (HC) (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk & Gelfand, 1995; Triandis, 1995) were employed to test the relationships between cultural value orientations and shame management styles. As vertical collectivism (VC) showed a low reliability coefficient in the Korean sample in Chapter 4, analysis of vertical collectivism was not pursued.

Horizontal collectivism that fosters interdependent relationships based on equality was hypothesised to be associated with high levels of shame acknowledgement (**Horizontal Collectivism–Shame Acknowledgement Hypothesis)** and low levels of shame displacement (**Horizontal Collectivism-Shame Displacement Hypothesis**) and withdrawal (**Horizontal Collectivism-Withdrawal Hypothesis)**. When wrongdoing occurs, horizontal collectivism will contribute to feelings of shame and responsibility for the harm done, while restraining the externalisation of blame and desire to withdraw from the scene. This is likely to occur because

horizontal collectivism promotes concerns for the wellbeing of others and a desire to behave in an understanding and helpful way towards others.

In contrast, vertical individualism that emphasises power achievement and winning was hypothesised to be associated with lower levels of shame acknowledgement (**Vertical Individualism–Shame Acknowledgement Hypothesis)** and higher levels of shame displacement (**Vertical Individualism-Shame Displacement Hypothesis**) and withdrawal (**Vertical Individualism-Withdrawal Hypothesis)**. This is because people with high vertical individualism are likely to perceive that accepting shame reduces one's competence or status in the workplace; therefore, they would reject the risk of losing status or 'face' by taking more defensive or self-protective scripts of shame.

The hypothesis on horizontal individualism is somewhat complicated. People with high levels of horizontal individualism engage with others on an equal base, yet they maintain emotional distance from others because they define themselves as being independent and self-reliant. In the course of the shame experience, however, a sense of relatedness with others is an essential part of feeling shame (Doi, 1974; Kaufman, 1996). Lack of relatedness in horizontal individualism would limit their coming to terms with accepting others' disapproval. Horizontal individualists would not necessarily see problems as their responsibility, because they would not detect the feedback in the form of strained social bonds. At the same time, they would not feel the urge to externalise blame onto others either, because they would not see the self as being the object of disapproval. Thus, the hypothesis of horizontal individualism regarding shame acknowledgement mirrors vertical individualism, whereas the hypothesis of horizontal individualism regarding shame displacement mirrors horizontal collectivism. Horizontal individualism would be negatively associated both with shame acknowledgement (**Horizontal Individualism-Shame Acknowledgement Hypothesis**) and shame displacement (**Horizontal Individualism-Shame Displacement Hypothesis**). In the case of withdrawal, the lack of relatedness means that people with high levels of horizontal individualism would not see the reason to withdraw from the scene. Therefore, it is hypothesised

that horizontal individualism would be negatively related to withdrawal (**Horizontal Individualism-Withdrawal Hypothesis)**

In contrast to horizontal individualism, vertical collectivism was hypothesised as having positive relationships with shame management variables. Unfortunately, the cultural value orientation of vertical collectivism could not be successfully measured in comparable ways in Australia and Korea. Therefore, the vertical collectivism hypotheses could not be tested in this chapter. Nevertheless, there is merit in explaining this hypothesis for the sake of completeness of the argument and it may provide some guidance for the analysis of the single items interpreted to measure vertical collectivism in the chapter. Because vertical collectivism involves strong interdependency in interpersonal relationships, acknowledgement of shame that is intended to mend damaged social relationships should be high (**Vertical Collectivism-Shame Acknowledgement Hypothesis**). The denial of equality in the relationship, however, means that it is likely to be difficult for an individual with high vertical collectivism to feel comfortable acknowledging shame in front of others. Therefore, acknowledgement may accompany displacement among vertical collectivism. If possible, high scorers on vertical collectivism are likely to try to withdraw from the shame-producing scene to protect social face. Thus, vertical collectivism is also likely to be related to shame displacement (**Vertical Collectivism-Shame Displacement Hypothesis**) and withdrawal (**Vertical Collectivism-Withdrawal Hypothesis**).

5.2 Analytical Procedure

The specific aim of Chapter 5 is to understand the relationships between shame management variables—shame acknowledgment, shame displacement and withdrawal—and cultural value orientation variables—horizontal individualism, horizontal collectivism and vertical individualism identified in Chapter 4, using Pearson's product-moment correlations and OLS regression analyses. The statistical procedures were conducted using the SPSS for Windows statistical package (SPSS Inc, 2001).

Before presenting these analyses, one of the basic assumptions of this thesis is tested and that is that people in Australia and Korea would endorse cultural value orientations to different degrees. This assumption is important in testing the robustness of the safe space-shame management hypotheses across what are assumed to be different cultural contexts. The prevalence of each value orientation is compared across cultures in order to find out which cultural patterns are dominant in each teaching environment. The question then asked is whether value orientations bear any relationship to the patterns of shame management found in each cultural setting.

5.3 Results

5.3.1 The Prevalence of Cultural Value Orientations

Independent sample t-tests were carried out to compare the mean scores of values of horizontal individualism, horizontal collectivism and vertical individualism in the two cultural settings.

Table 5.1

Mean Scores on HI, HC, and VI for the Australian and Korean Samples (minimum Australian N = 301, Korean N = 360)

Variables	Sample (N)	Mean (SD)	*t*-statistic
Horizontal Individualism	Australian (301)	6.26 (1.12)	-4.88***
	Korean (360)	6.68 (1.10)	
Horizontal Collectivism	Australian (301)	6.76 (1.11)	7.73***
	Korean (360)	6.12 (1.02)	
Vertical Individualism	Australian (302)	3.57 (1.39)	-11.19***
	Korean (360)	4.73 (1.24)	

Note. *** $p < .001$

From Table 5.1, the mean score of Korean horizontal individualism (M = 6.68, SD = 1.10) was significantly higher than Australian horizontal individualism [M = 6.26, SD = 1.12; t (659) = -4.88, p < .001], as was the mean score of vertical individualism. That is to say, Koreans displayed higher levels of vertical individualism (M = 4.73, SD = 1.24) than Australians (M = 3.57, SD = 1.39; t (660) = -11.19, p < .001]. However, the mean score of Australian horizontal collectivism (M = 6.76, SD = 1.11) was significantly higher than the mean score of Korean horizontal collectivism [M = 6.12, SD = 1.02; t (659) = 7.73].

Clearly, people in the Korean sample endorsed higher levels of individualism—both horizontal and vertical individualism—than people in the Australian sample. Australians were more likely to value cooperation and communal norms and values shared with others, and less likely to emphasise competitive achievement and self-reliance.

Figure 5.1 presents these same data in terms of the rates of endorsement of each cultural value orientation in each group. Percentages were obtained through computing the proportion of people scoring above the midpoint of each scale, that is scoring more than 5 on a 1 to 9 point likert rating scale.

Figure 5.1

The Percentage of People Who Endorsed HI, HC and VI in the Australian and Korean Samples

*HI=Horizontal Individualism, HC=Horizontal Collectivism, and VI=Vertical Individualism

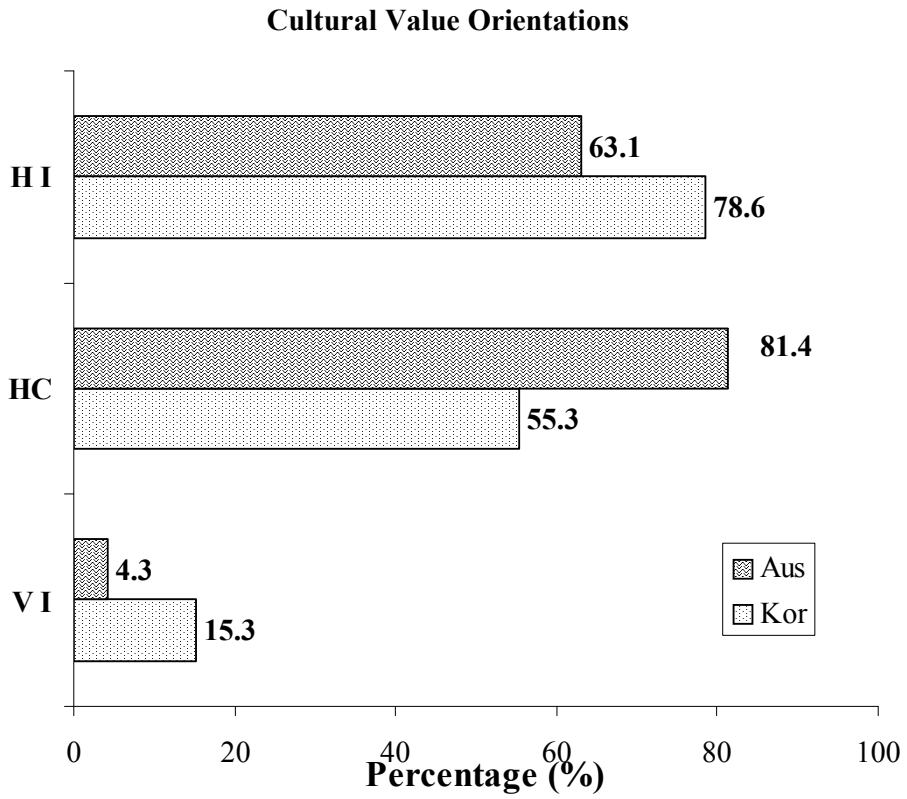


Figure 5.1 clearly shows that both Australians and Koreans were more likely to support horizontal types of value orientation than vertical types, regardless of their nationality. In the Australian sample, horizontal collectivism was dominant, being endorsed by 81 per cent of respondents. In contrast, in the Korean sample, horizontal individualism was dominant being endorsed by 79 per cent of respondents. Vertical individualism was supported by the minority in both Australia and Korea, endorsed by less than 5 per cent of Australians and 15 per cent of Koreans.

At this point, it is of interest to ask about the support that was given to the items that were designed to measure vertical collectivism in each culture. Do any of these

single items signal unique aspects of Australian and Korean societies that may be important in understanding cultural background?

To answer the question, percentages of people who scored above the midpoint—that is, scoring more than 5 on the 1 to 9 rating scale —of each vertical collectivism item were computed. The result is presented in Appendix F. Of 8 vertical collectivism items, 4 items showed strong endorsement rates (more than 50 %) in either cultural group. Of the 4 items with substantial support in one group or the other, the Korean respondents showed stronger support than the Australians on the following: a) 'I would do what I had to do to please my family, even if I detested that activity,' b) 'Children should feel honoured if their parents receive a distinguished award,' and c) 'Children should be taught to place duty before pleasure.' These were all family related values. More than 70 per cent of Koreans supported these values, while a significantly lower proportion of Australians showed their support for them. Although the general vertical collectivism scale could not be tested here, it is apparent that vertical collectivist values are endorsed strongly in Korean society. This is consistent with the work of Triandis (1995) who considers Korea to be a typical vertical collectivist culture.

In this regard, the finding that almost 80 per cent of Koreans in the sample endorsed horizontal individualism seems surprising. However, a recent study has observed the rapid growth of horizontal individualism in Korean society (Han & Shin, 2000). Han and Shin surveyed around 1000 adults in Korea employing a quota sampling method. They concluded that Korea is moving from vertical collectivism, which has been identified as a typical value of Korean society, towards horizontal individualism, which is a somewhat 'deviant value' from the traditional Korean perspective. In particular, they observed that horizontal individualism was endorsed by people with higher levels of education. Considering that the minimum educational attainment of Korean teachers in the public education system is university graduation, the high endorsement rate of horizontal individualism among teachers was understandable.

The prevalence of vertical individualism in the Korean sample was also higher than that found in the Australian sample. This might not only be a cultural difference, but

rather reflect the specific situation Korean teachers are facing. Since the early nineties, the Korean education system has undergone radical reforms several times, which has been fuelled by neo-liberalism and market-oriented managerialism, and increased competition in the teaching community (Chon, *The Hankyoreh*, 2001; Kim, 2001; Shin, 2002; Yi, 2001). For example, the retirement age of teachers was shortened by three years, which reflected a view that mature age teachers were considered less valuable than younger teachers; also, teachers were paid at different rates according to their competency, while the evaluation method for assessing competence remained highly contested. The image of teachers as being authoritative and respectful figures has shifted to that of being a service provider (Yoon, 2003). A teacher interviewed in Korea said that the reform isolated teachers from the decision-making process, although the authority proclaimed that the main objective they pursued was to improve teachers' welfare (also see Kim, 2000). Teachers seemed to suffer from pressure from parents who attributed failures in the public education system to teachers' incompetence and from the educational department and school authorities that kept assessing them against contentious competency indicators (Kim, 2004). During this struggle that has lasted for a significant number of years, Korean teachers may have adapted by endorsing vertical individualism, voluntarily or involuntarily.

Another surprising finding was that Australians supported horizontal collectivism (81.4 %) more than horizontal individualism (63.1 %). In recent times, Australia has been frequently and readily categorised as a country with high levels of individualism along with an emphasis on equality (e.g., Hofstede, 1991; Triandis, 1995), but traditionally high horizontal collectivism has been recognised in the Australian ethos of 'mateship.' Australian scholars have argued that mateship, with egalitarianism, is a key concept for understanding Australian culture and the Australian self-image (Clark, 1963; Wierzbicka, 1997). According to Wierzbicka (1997, p.102), mateship covers 'ideas of spending a lot of time together, doing things together, drinking together—of equality, solidarity, mutual commitment and mutual support, of companionship and fellowship in good fortune and in bad fortune.' This description is consistent with the items that appear in Triandis' measure of horizontal collectivism.

The findings in this chapter, which depart from some well-known assumptions in the cross-cultural literature concerning western individualism and eastern collectivism, should be interpreted against a backdrop of methodological and theoretical divergence in cross-cultural research paradigms. Hofstede (1980, 1991) whose work on individualism and collectivism guides much of the work in this field views individualism and collectivism as a single continuum, within which low collectivism means high individualism and high collectivism means low individualism. However, Triandis and his colleagues (Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998), whose measures and theory are adopted in the present study, understand individualism and collectivism as two dimensions on which high individualism and high collectivism can coexist. People can endorse high levels of individualism and collectivism simultaneously, because different contexts require individuals to draw on different values, some of which may require individualistic values, while other contexts demand collectivist values. The relevance of this conceptualisation is supported in both samples. Although horizontal collectivism is a traditional value for Australian society and is endorsed as the dominant value orientation in the Australian sample, horizontal individualism is also endorsed by well over 50 per cent of Australians. In the case of Korea, horizontal individualism was strongly supported by almost 80 per cent of the population, yet it is undeniable that vertical collectivism is still a backbone value in Korean culture because of its dominance in the institution of the family. The bipolar single dimensional approach of Hofstede can be misleading through implying that the values compete with each other and as such, are mutually exclusive.

Assigning the labels of individualism or collectivism to a country might be inappropriate insofar as this reflects cultural stereotypes rather than rigorous empirical analysis. Oyserman and colleagues (Oyserman, Coon, Kemmelmeier, 2002) meta-analysed studies of individualism and collectivism. Of the 170 studies they examined, only half of these actually measured either individualism or collectivism, and among the half, only 40 per cent examined both individualism and collectivism. This means that a large portion of studies assumed cultural values without any actual measurement, depending on a framework of western-

individualism and eastern-collectivism, or assuming the level of a value (e.g., collectivism), having established the level of the other (e.g., individualism). Cultural values of a country are influenced by historical and economic circumstances of a society (Han & Shin, 2000; Georgas, 1989; Hofstede, 1991; Triandis, 1993, 1995; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990); and these vary within so called eastern cultures and western cultures. However, a large number of studies take for granted the existence and the level of each value orientation based on studies done a few decades ago. For example, more recent studies demonstrate that Koreans are not collectivists as much as one might expect (e.g., Bond & Pang, 1991; Chirkov, Ryan, Kim & Kaplan, 2003).

To summarise, the prevalence rates of cultural value orientations in each cultural setting were different from the expectation developed from the cross-cultural literature, although it is not known whether this reflects teacher subculture or broader cultural trends. Australia is more collectivist and horizontal, while Korea is more individualist and horizontal. However, both orientations are well represented in both cultures.

Vertical value orientations were less prevalent in both cultures, at least in these populations of well-educated teachers. Koreans showed stronger support for values about competition and winning (i.e., vertical individualism) than Australians, but even so, it was endorsed by less than 20 per cent of people. Traces of vertical collectivism were present, particularly, in Korea. More than 70 per cent of Koreans endorsed values that emphasised family obedience, while Australians showed lower support for these values.

In conclusion, there appears to be interesting value differences between Australia and Korea from the perspective of the safe-space hypotheses. If horizontal collectivism provides the better 'home' for practices of adaptive shame management, greater support for the safe-space thesis at the workplace may be found in the Australian, rather than Korean workplace. Australian social norms and customs may lend themselves more to facilitating adaptive shame management practices than Korean

social norms and customs. This will be a question that will be discussed in future analyses.

5.3.2 The Effects of Cultural Value Orientations on Shame Management Variables

Horizontal collectivism, horizontal individualism and vertical individualism were entered together in OLS regression analyses in order to understand the extent to which each value orientation predicted shame management styles in each culture. As shown in Chapter 4, the dependent variables—i.e., the shame management variables—were correlated substantially. For this reason, the effects of other shame management variables were controlled in the regression analyses while one shame management variable was regressed on cultural value orientations. This enabled an analysis of the relationship between value orientations and, for example, the shame management style of acknowledgement while controlling for the effects of displacement and withdrawal. To show the effect of the predictor variables above and beyond the shame management controls, a change in R^2 is reported in the regression tables to represent the additional variance explained by adding the predictor variables to the regression model comprised of only shame management control variables.

Predicting Shame Acknowledgement. First of all, looking at the correlation coefficients, which are presented in Column 2 (in the Australian cases) and Column 4 (in the Korean cases) in Table 5.2, shame acknowledgement was relatively higher among those whose values emphasised horizontal collectivism, that is, the importance of interpersonal ties and equality, as predicted ($\underline{r}$ = .21 $\underline{p}$ < .001 in the Australian sample, and $\underline{r}$ = .19, $\underline{p}$ < .001 in the Korean sample).

Table 5.2

Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients and the Standardised Regression Coefficients for a Least Squares Regression Model Predicting Shame Acknowledgment in the Australian (N = 266) and Korean (N = 356) Samples

	Australia		Korea	
Variables	$\underline{r}$	$\underline{\beta}$	$\underline{r}$	$\underline{\beta}$
Control Variables				
- Shame Displacement	-.24***	-.24***	-.19***	-.25***
- Withdrawal	.50***	.47***	.57***	.63***
Cultural Value Orientations				
- Horizontal Individualism	-.13*	-.08 (ns)	.12*	.05 (ns)
- Horizontal Collectivism	.21***	.13*	.19***	.18***
- Vertical Individualism	-.12*	-.05 (ns)	-.09 (ns)	-.08 (ns)
R^2 Change (the second block only)		.03*		.04**
Adjusted R^2		.32***		.43***

Note. * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 (ns) not significant

Shame acknowledgment was negatively associated with vertical individualism in the Australian sample in the correlation analysis ($\underline{r}$ = -.12, $\underline{p}$ < .05), supporting the hypothesis that those who were more competitively oriented to doing better and winning over others would be less likely to acknowledge shame. The correlation

coefficient of vertical individualism with shame acknowledgement in the Korean sample showed a negative trend, but failed to reach statistical significance (r = -.09, p = .07).

The predictions regarding horizontal individualism and shame acknowledgement had ambiguous results in the two cultures. As predicted, Australian horizontal individualism showed a negative relationship with shame acknowledgement (r = -13, $p < .05$); that is to say, higher levels of horizontal individualism that led individuals to maintain emotional distance in interpersonal relationships were associated with lower levels of shame acknowledgement. However, in the Korean sample, higher levels of horizontal individualism were related to higher levels of shame acknowledgement (r = .12, $p < .05$).

The set of three cultural value orientation variables were entered together in the regression model to examine the effect of each value orientation independently of the other. The beta coefficient for each value is presented in Columns 3 (in the Australian cases) and 5 (in the Korean cases). Only horizontal collectivism emerged as a significant predictor for shame acknowledgement in both samples (β = .13, $p < .05$ for Australians, and β = .18, $p < .001$ for Koreans). The value orientations accounted for a significant 3 per cent of the variance in the Australian sample [F (261) = 3.46, $p < .05$] and 4 per cent of the variance in the Korean sample [F (354) = 9.17, $p < .01$]. Shame acknowledgement was more likely among people who supported the value orientation of horizontal collectivism.

To summarise, only the **Horizontal Collectivism-Shame Acknowledgement Hypothesis** was confirmed through the regression analysis. The hypothesis was confirmed in both the Australian and Korean samples. Teachers who endorsed high levels of horizontal collectivism were more likely to acknowledge shame in response to being caught in an imagined bullying situation. The **Horizontal Individualism-Shame Acknowledgement** and **Vertical Individualism-Shame Acknowledgement Hypotheses** were supported in the correlation coefficient analysis only in the Australian sample.

Predicting Shame Displacement. Horizontal collectivism and horizontal individualism were expected to be negatively correlated with shame displacement, whereas vertical individualism was expected to be positively correlated with shame displacement. In Table 5.3, horizontal collectivism and horizontal individualism were not significantly correlated with shame displacement in the Australian sample, although horizontal collectivism showed a tendency towards having a negative relationship with shame displacement ($\underline{r}$ = -.11, $\underline{p}$ = .07). Vertical individualism was significantly and positively correlated with shame displacement, as predicted ($\underline{r}$ = .23, $\underline{p}$ < .001).

Table 5.3

Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients and the Standardised Regression Coefficients for a Least Squares Regression Model Predicting Shame Displacement in the Australian (N = 266) and Korean (N = 356) Samples

	Australia		Korea	
Variables	R	β	r	β
Control Variables				
- Shame Acknowledgement	-.24***	-.35***	-.19***	-.35***
- Withdrawal	.03 (ns)	.20***	.17**	.36***
Cultural Value Orientations				
- Horizontal Individualism	-.07 (ns)	-.12*	-.14**	-.14**
- Horizontal Collectivism	-.11 (ns)	-.07 (ns)	-.11*	.01 (ns)
- Vertical Individualism	.23***	.22***	.27***	.26***
R^2 Change (the second block only)		.06**		.07***
Adjusted R^2		.14***		.21***

Note. * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 (ns) not significant

In the Korean sample, all predictions on shame displacement regarding cultural value orientations were supported in terms of correlation coefficients. Shame displacement was less likely to occur when people reported higher scores on horizontal individualism ($r = -14$, $p < .01$) and horizontal collectivism ($r = -.11$, $p < .05$). On the other hand, shame displacement was more likely to take place when people supported high levels of vertical individualism ($r = .27$, $p < .001$).

The regression analyses revealed a similar pattern of relationships in both samples. In the Australian sample, vertical individualism emerged as the major predictor of shame displacement ($\beta = .22$, $p < .001$), being associated with more shame displacement. Horizontal individualism was a negative predictor of shame displacement ($\beta = -.12$, $p < .05$), being associated with less shame displacement. For Australians, 6 per cent of the variance of shame displacement was accounted by the value orientations [$F (261) = 6.00$, $p < .01$].

In the Korean sample, the same pattern surfaced. Vertical individualism and horizontal individualism emerged as significant predictors of shame displacement ($\beta = -.14$, $p < .01$ for HI, and $\beta = .26$, $p < .001$ for VI); vertical individualism being associated with higher displacement, and horizontal individualism with lower displacement. In the Korean sample, cultural value orientations explained 7 per cent of the variance in the criterion [$F (354) = 10.19$, $p < .001$], the major predictor once again being vertical individualism.

To summarise the multiple regression analysis, the **Horizontal Individualism-Shame Displacement** and **Vertical Individualism-Shame Displacement Hypotheses** were supported. However, the regression analysis did not support the **Horizontal Collectivism-Shame Displacement Hypothesis**. That is to say, the kind of individualism that is endorsed is associated with shame displacement differently. Horizontal individualism is associated with restraint from blaming others and getting angry when caught in an imagined bullying situation, while vertical individualism functions in the opposite way, being associated with directing greater blame and anger to others. The pattern was similar in both the Australian and Korean samples.

Predicting Withdrawal. From Table 5.4, withdrawal was the shame management style that was least well predicted from cultural value orientations in both samples. No significant unique variance in the criterion was explained in the Australian sample [F (261) = .45, p = .72], while a significant 2 per cent of variance was accounted for in the Korean sample [F (354) = 4.29, p < .01].

Table 5.4

Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients and the Standardised Regression Coefficients for a Least Squares Regression Model Predicting Withdrawal in the Australian (N = 266) and Korean (N = 356) Samples

	Australia		Korea	
Variables	r	β	r	β
Control Variables				
- Shame Acknowledgement	.50***	.52***	.57***	.66***
- Shame Displacement	.03 (ns)	.17***	.17**	.26***
Cultural Value Orientations				
- Horizontal Individualism	-.12 (ns)	-.03 (ns)	-.03 (ns)	-.03 (ns)
- Horizontal Collectivism	.10 (ns)	.01 (ns)	-.04 (ns)	-.14**
- Vertical Individualism	-.08 (ns)	-.06 (ns)	-.03 (ns)	.04 (ns)
R^2 Change (the second block only)		.00 (ns)		.02**
Adjusted R^2		.25***		.42***

Note. * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 (ns) not significant

In the Australian sample, no value orientation was significantly related to withdrawal either at the correlation level or at the level of the multiple regression analysis. In the Korean sample, the correlation coefficients were not significant, but for the regression analysis, horizontal collectivism emerged as a significant predictor of withdrawal (β = -.14, p < .01). That is to say, the more Korean teachers supported

horizontal collectivism, the less they were likely to report withdrawal in response to being caught in an imagined bullying situation.

5.4 Summary and Discussion

Those who value horizontal collectivism are more likely to embrace shame acknowledgement as an appropriate way of managing wrongdoing. This is the case among Australians and Koreans. Shame displacement is a shame management style that is associated with the individualistic value orientations. Shame displacement is higher for those who value vertical individualism, but lower for those who value horizontal individualism. Again these findings were consistent across the Australian and Korean cultural contexts. Withdrawal is a shame management style that appears to be relatively unrelated to value orientations, at least as they have been measured in this study. The exception was horizontal collectivism in the Korean sample that appeared to lessen the desire to withdraw from the scene when caught in a shame-inducing situation.

The variances explained in the shame management variables by cultural value orientations in this chapter are of the order of 3 to 4 per cent for shame acknowledgement and 6 to 7 per cent for shame displacement. This is relatively low compared to the variance explained by the other shame management control variables. Without the control variables, the R^2 contribution of the value orientations is raised significantly in the regression equations. However, the aim of the thesis is to investigate the association of independent variables with each particular shame management response so that the analysis sacrificed some of R^2 in order to obtain a clearer picture of the differences in shame acknowledgement, shame displacement and withdrawal.

In *Crime, Shame, and Reintegration*, Braithwaite (1989) has argued that individualism is not a value orientation that helps maintain effective social control in the community, because individualists resist sanctioning from the group. That is to say, in a community where individualism is prevalent, shame is not likely to function

as a social regulatory mechanism that boosts self-control and deters actions harmful to other members of the community. In contrast, interdependency or communitarianism promotes social bonds in the community and, as result, others' good opinion matters. The collectivist value orientation, therefore, has been proposed as a valuable asset that enables society to use shame as an informal social regulator to enhance self-control (Braithwaite, 1989; Doi, 1974; Gilligan, 1996; Retzinger, 1996); shame is a burden to collectivists because it is a threat to valued social bonds.

In the present research, this analysis is largely supported. Horizontal collectivism that emphasises cooperation and harmony between people was associated with acknowledgement of shame when harm was done. In contrast with horizontal collectivism, vertical individualism—that promotes the view that the world is a competitive arena—was associated with displacement of shame, the tendency to blame others and get angry at others when caught for wrongdoing. In short, the ways we conceive ourselves acting in relation to others at an abstract and general level were significant factors in predicting how shame was managed in imagined scenarios.

While the major hypotheses were confirmed, other hypotheses outlined in Chapter 3 were not supported. Two of them are theoretically important from a shame management perspective. Horizontal collectivism was not negatively associated with shame displacement, and vertical individualism was not negatively associated with shame acknowledgement as predicted, in the regression analysis. Although horizontal collectivism increases sensitivity towards others and the self when people commit wrongdoings, it might not offer sufficient enough grounds for inhibiting the desire to blame others and get angry with others over the harm one has done. For example, people with strong horizontal collectivism might feel shame and remorse when they have done something wrong, and even try to mend the harm done more than people with low horizontal collectivism; however, in the process, they may continue to deflect blame onto others rather than accepting blame for the wrongdoing themselves.

An explanation for why vertical individualism did not decrease the level of shame acknowledgement emerges from work on the strategic behaviours of vertical individualists. Probst et al. (1999) has demonstrated that people with high levels of vertical individualism are adept at using different tactics in different contexts to maximise self-interest. Translating the findings of Probst et al. into the present study, people with high levels of vertical individualism might have employed displacement of shame as an outward strategy for avoiding looking ashamed, thereby avoiding a loss of personal competence and status. However, this does not necessarily mean that vertical individualists escape their own moral reasoning that they may have done something wrong. They remain in the state of 'private' shame, while blaming others over the wrongdoing.

The findings relating to vertical individualism are relevant to understanding the concept of unacknowledged or unresolved shame (Lewis, 1971; Scheff, 1987, 1997, Scheff & Retzinger, 1991). People in this emotional state are unable to make sense of the harm done in the interpersonal context, and are left with an unresolved and ongoing feeling of shame. It may be that people with strong vertical individualism suspend judgment of their moral identity and instead deflect shame onto others. This process allows the accumulation of unresolved shame, and as such, represents a less adaptive pattern of shame management.

Withdrawal was the shame management style least well explained by cultural value orientations. The desire to withdraw during the experience of shame might be less responsive to internalised values than other shame management variables. Nathanson (1992) who proposed four major types of defensive responses to shame argues that withdrawal is more likely to be an instant or innate reaction than any other shame response. Scheff and Retzinger (1997) also argue that the reflexive nature of shame gives rise to long lasting feedback loops of shame, during which withdrawal is likely to arise, thereby supporting the idea of withdrawal as an innate response rather than one that is shaped by variables of cultural value orientations.

Even though vertical individualism was not a value orientation conducive to adaptive shame management, it is difficult to dismiss vertical individualism in the era of

market-driven economies and globalisation. In these contexts, people with strong vertical individualism are valued as successful actors in the modern workplace (Ng & Van Dyne, 2001). Yet, this reality does not rule out the possibility of designing institutional cultures in which domination does not become the means of regulation. The following chapters will explore the possibility that people—regardless of their value orientation—can deliberate together about the harm done and resolve workplace problems in a mutually respectful way, through managing shame adaptively. In other words, adaptive shame management can be reinforced institutionally through workplace practices, even if they do not flow spontaneously from the value orientations endorsed by individuals.

Chapter 7 addresses this issue by empirically examining the relationship between shame management and problem resolution practices in the workplace. Meanwhile, Chapter 6 examines whether or not the extent to which one identifies with the workplace and feels an integrated part of the workplace influences the way people manage shame in the context of workplace bullying.

Clearly, an important observation made in this chapter is that a cultural value orientation that promotes equality and values others is an important element in the safe space-shame management thesis. Interestingly, individualism of a horizontal kind is also useful in curbing shame displacement. Horizontal cultural values seem to encourage the kind of environment in which people admit their mistakes, own responsibility and make amends without deflecting anger onto others.

CHAPTER SIX

COMMITMENT, BELONGINGNESS AND SHAME MANAGEMENT

The ground gets firmer after raining (a Korean proverb)

6.1 Overview

Many believe shame is felt when one has social ties with people who are involved in the situation; the experience of shame, in turn, reaffirms an individual's standing in the community (Doi, 1970; Kaufman, 1996; Retzinger, 1996; Sachdev, 1990; Williams, 1993). If one has no standing, then one is less likely to feel shame. 'Travellers discard their sense of shame' is a Japanese saying which points to the importance of a sense of shared identity in the experience of shame. Shame is, therefore, a relational experience. In this regard, the function of social identity on the experience of shame deserves its place in the safe space-shame management thesis.

In the previous chapter, the influence of cultural value orientations on shame management styles was investigated as a first and more basic layer for understanding the responses that individuals are likely to make when they are caught in an imagined workplace-bullying scenario that is regarded as shame producing. Value orientations, in the form of the way in which we view ourselves in relation to others and the way in which we think others should act towards each other, are relatively enduring human characteristics and are likely to frame our expectations of how we manage shame in the workplace. However, values about what should happen are not necessarily related to what really happens when individuals engage with others at work. In this chapter, the focus is shifted from abstract cultural worldviews to the degree to which a person feels in accord with people at work. In particular, the focus

is on social integration, feelings of being part of the workplace and feelings of being proud of the group. The more immediate level of involvement in the workplace is expected to represent a second layer of influence on shame management.

In Chapter 4, two aspects of workgroup identity were recognised: 'Commitment to Identity' and 'Belongingness.' Commitment-to-identity measured the degree to which people aligned themselves with the workplace, feeling both pride and shame in their group's activities. Such people took others' evaluations of their group personally; for instance, they might feel pride when their group was praised, or they might feel upset when their group was criticised. For those strongly committed to the identity of teachers, the personal identity of 'who I am' would be easily enmeshed with the social identity of 'being a teacher in that particular school.'

The second aspect of identity, belongingness, represented how individuals felt towards other teachers in their workgroup and how other teachers felt towards them. The focus was person to person rather than person to group. Although commitment-to-identity and belongingness are correlated strongly ($\underline{r} = .38$, $\underline{p} < .001$ in the Australian sample, and $\underline{r} = .41$, $\underline{p} < .001$ in the Korean sample), these two concepts seemed to capture different dimensions of social identity according to the result of the factor analysis.

Commitment-to-identity and belongingness are not dissimilar from the dimensions of 'pride' and 'respect' identified by Tyler and his colleagues (Tyler & Blader, 2000; Tyler & Smith, 1999) in describing emotional attachment to the group. According to them, pride and respect are key identity relevant judgments that reflect the degree of psychological engagement the individual has with the group and inform individual's status within the group. Comparing the framework of Tyler and his colleagues with the dimensions of identity used in this thesis, 'pride' in the group bears a resemblance to commitment-to-identity, insofar as both concepts reflect attachment to a social role, shared with others, in this case a professional role. It carries the notion that 'My group is good,' 'My group should show its best,' and 'My group should be better than other groups.' On the other hand, 'respect' is mirrored in belongingness, in which one's value to the group is informed through the degree of

positively engaged emotions communicated between the individual and the group. Belongingness or respect is likely to release the information about intra-group relations that reflects an individual's status within the group, such as 'I feel important in my group,' and 'I am valued or respected in my group.'

The emergence of two dimensions of social identity gives rise to a more complex analysis of how social identity relates to shame management in the workplace. As argued in Chapter 3, the significant consequence of identification with a social group is the increased likelihood of conforming or complying with shared norms and values within the group (Tajifel & Turner, 1986). Building on social identity theory, Tyler and Smith (1999) have argued that feeling pride in the group is the more powerful predictor of conformity to group norms than feeling respected within the group.

Commitment-to-identity in the context of shame management is expected to play a similar role to feeling pride in the group in Tyler and colleagues (Tyler & Blader, 2000; Tyler & Smith, 1999). High levels of commitment to teaching and the school mean that the individual cares about this identity and will be motivated to protect it. Therefore, people with strong commitment are likely to acknowledge their shame over wrongdoing, because they need to restore their pride in themselves as a member of the group. The 'goodness of the group' offers hope over wrongdoing and restoring one's damaged sense of self. By the same token, acknowledging wrongdoing within a valuable professional group puts reputation at risk. Therefore, it would not be surprising for shame acknowledgement to be accompanied by displacement of shame among people with high levels of commitment to their professional identity. Accordingly, it is hypothesised that high levels of commitment-to-identity would be associated with high levels of shame acknowledgement (**Commitment-Shame Acknowledgement Hypothesis**) and high levels of shame displacement (**Commitment-Shame Displacement Hypothesis**) simultaneously.

Just as commitment-to-identity can lead to feelings of threat and displacement, it is also likely to lead to withdrawal from the shameful event. If being a teacher is a salient identity of a person, and the person feels at risk of losing this identity, the

individual who admits doing harm may simultaneously try to hide or escape the eyes of people before whom the individual does not want to be exposed. Therefore, it is hypothesised that commitment-to-identity would be positively related to withdrawal (**Commitment-Withdrawal Hypothesis**).

Belongingness is expected to play a different role from commitment-to-identity. People with high levels of belongingness might not have a need to be so defensive, as feeling belonging to the significant group offers a sense of security about the individual being forgiven or accepted regardless of behaviour within the group (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Maslow, 1970). In the shame management context, Nathanson (1992) implicitly argues that unhealthy shame management can be prevented or reduced when relational safety is ensured. Relational safety fosters honest confrontation with shame and helps heal the pain of shame gradually. There is also a body of evidence that shaming where feelings of belonging or respect are absent, worsens perpetrators' violence and shame displacement or anger (Gilligan, 1996; Lewis, 1992; Poulson, 2001).

According to Tyler and Blader (2000), feeling respected by the members of the in-group was linked to high self-esteem, while feeling pride in the group was not related to self-esteem at all. If these parallels drawn between commitment-to-identity and pride, and belongingness and respect are valid, similar findings should appear in this study. Regression analyses were used to test this hypothesis and thereby buttress the shame management hypotheses presented in this section. Tyler and Blader's findings were replicated. Belongingness was significantly and positively associated with self-esteem ($\underline{\beta} = .31$, $\underline{p} < .001$ in the Australian sample, and $\underline{\beta} = .43$, $\underline{p} < .001$ in the Korean sample); however, commitment-to-identity was not significantly related to self-esteem in either group ($\underline{\beta} = -.02$, $\underline{p} = .76$ in the Australian sample, and $\underline{\beta} = -.09$, $\underline{p} = .09$ in the Korean sample). Given that feelings of belongingness are related to high self-esteem, belongingness may have a special role to play in the context of adaptive shame management.

It is of note that self-esteem has been a central concept in Tangney's shame discourse (Niedenthal, Tangney & Gavanski, 1994; Tangney, 1995b). According to Tangney

and her associates, low self-esteem is linked with shame-proneness; shame-proneness exacerbates low self-esteem, and low self-esteem makes individuals more shame-prone. Scheff (1996a) has observed a similar pattern; low self-esteem indicates poor management of shame, in that shame persists or cannot be shrugged off or transcended. This phenomenon was also observed in Ahmed's (2001) study of school bullying, in which children with low self-esteem had relatively poor shame management skills. The task of maintaining self-esteem while encouraging shame acknowledgement over wrongdoing produced a practical dilemma for intervention in the work of Ahmed. Clearly, low self-esteem is problematic for interventions directed towards the adaptive management of shame, defined as high acknowledgement and low displacement of shame.

It is, therefore, proposed that belongingness is a key safe-space variable for preserving self-esteem when those high on commitment-to-identity try to manage their shame through acknowledgement. Belongingness is likely to reduce the tendency for those high on commitment-to-identity to displace shame or to deal with shame through withdrawal. This means that the relationship between commitment-to-identity and shame management styles is likely to alter when the dimension of belongingness is taken into account. High levels of belongingness are likely to encourage shame acknowledgement in addition to the effect of commitment-to-identity, because feelings of belonging should suspend the fear of stigmatisation and persuade the wrongdoer to respond to the identity he or she holds within the community (**Commitment-Belongingness-Shame Acknowledgement Hypothesis)**. In contrast, belongingness is likely to moderate or lower the positive impact of commitment-to-identity on shame displacement and withdrawal, as belongingness offers the safety zone in which an individual's self-esteem is nurtured and the less adaptive forms of shame management are avoided (**Commitment-Belongingness-Shame Displacement Hypothesis** and **Commitment–Belongingness-Withdrawal Hypothesis**).

6.2 Analytical Procedure

The specific aim of Chapter 6 is to understand the relationship between workgroup identity and shame management. To examine the relationships between the shame management variables—that is, shame acknowledgement, shame displacement and withdrawal—and the social identity variables—that is, commitment-to-identity, belongingness and the interaction term, 'Commitment-to-Identity *X* Belongingness,' Pearson's product-moment correlations and ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses are used. Prior to doing this in the OLS, the effects of other shame management variables are controlled while one management variable is regressed on the social identity variables, as were done in Chapter 5.

To test the interaction hypotheses between the social identity variables in the prediction of shame management, the interaction term is entered into OLS regression analyses as the cross product of the centred scores (i.e., actual scores minus mean scores) for commitment-to-identity and belongingness, in order to reduce the problem of multicollinearity (Cohen & Cohen, 1983).

6.3 Results

6.3.1 Predicting Shame Acknowledgement

The correlation and regression coefficients predicting shame acknowledgement are presented in Table 6.1. The workgroup identity variables were linked to shame acknowledgement in both samples. However, the pattern of the relationships differed in the two groups.

Table 6.1

Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients and the Standardised Regression Coefficients for a Least Squares Regression Model Predicting Shame Acknowledgment in the Australian (N = 266) and Korean (N = 356) Samples

	Australia		Korea	
Variables	r	β	R	β
Control Variables				
- Shame Displacement	-.24**	-.26***	-.19***	-27***
- Withdrawal	.50***	.47***	.57***	.66***
Workgroup Identity Variables				
- Commitment to Identity	.24***	.21***	.20***	.10**
- Belongingness	.05 (ns)	-.04 (ns)	.12*	.17***
- Commitment *X* Belongingness	__	-.03 (ns)	__	-.05 (ns)
R^2 Change (the second block only)		.04**		.06***
Adjusted R^2		.34***		.47***

Note. * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 (ns) not significant

Commitment-to-identity was related to shame acknowledgement positively in the Australian sample (r = .24, p < .001, β = .21, p < .001); the higher the commitment-to-identity, the higher shame acknowledgement. In the Korean sample, too, a significant and positive relationship between commitment-to-identity and shame acknowledgement emerged, although the relationship in the regression analysis was not as strong as it was in the correlation analysis (r = .20, p < .001, β = .10, p < .01). The hypothesis that commitment-to-identity would be positively related to shame acknowledgement (**Commitment-Shame Acknowledgement Hypothesis**) was supported in both samples. The more teachers committed to their profession and workgroup, the more they reported the acknowledgement of shame over an imagined shame-producing event.

The interaction effect of commitment-to-identity and belongingness predicting shame acknowledgement was not found in either sample (β = -.03, p = .55 in the Australian cases, β = -.05, p = .20 in the Korean cases). The **Commitment-Belongingness-Shame Acknowledgement Hypothesis** was rejected. It seems that the tendency to acknowledge shame over bullying another teacher when one feels committed to the identity of teachers is robust and is not dependent on the degree to which one feels secure in one's belongingness to the group.

The second workgroup identity variable, belongingness, was far less important in the Australian sample than predicted, although it did play a significant role in the Korean sample. Belongingness was associated with higher shame acknowledgement in the Korean sample (r = .12, p < .05; β = .17, p < .001). The relationship was not statistically significant in the Australian sample (β = -.04, p = .53).

The workgroup identity variables explained an extra 4 per cent of the variance in shame acknowledgement in the Australian sample [F (260) = 7.51, p < .01], and an extra 6 per cent of the variance in shame acknowledgement in the Korean sample [F (355) = 18.35, p < .001].

6.3.2 Predicting Shame Displacement

From Table 6.2, the workgroup identity variables were only related significantly to shame displacement in the Australian sample, and then only in the regression analysis. The **Commitment-Shame Displacement Hypothesis** was supported with commitment-to-identity among Australians being linked with higher shame displacement in the regression equation (β = .13, p < .05). However, the relationship between commitment-to-identity and shame displacement was not significant in the Korean sample (β = .05, p = .30).

Table 6.2

Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients and the Standardised Regression Coefficients for a Least Squares Regression Model Predicting Shame Displacement in the Australian (N = 266) and Korean (N = 356) Samples

	Australia		Korea	
Variables	R	β	r	β
Control Variables				
- Shame Acknowledgement	-.24***	-.36***	-.19***	-.43***
- Withdrawal	.03 (ns)	.19**	.17**	.40***
Workgroup Identity Variables				
- Commitment to Identity	.02 (ns)	.13*	-.04 (ns)	.05 (ns)
- Belongingness	-.11 (ns)	-.15*	-.15**	-.03 (ns)
- Commitment *X* Belongingness	__	-.06 (ns)	__	-.04 (ns)
R^2 Change (the second block only)		.03^{+}		.00 (ns)
Adjusted R^2		.10***		.14***

Note. * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 + p < .06 (ns) not significant

The interaction hypothesis that belongingness would moderate the effect of commitment-to-identity on shame displacement was found in neither sample (β = -06, p = .30 in the Australian sample, and β = -.04, p = .47 in the Korean sample). The **Commitment-Belongingness-Shame Displacement Hypothesis** was rejected.

Belongingness, however, made a significant independent contribution to shame displacement in the Australian sample. Belongingness showed a negative relationship with shame displacement; the higher belongingness, the lower shame displacement (r = -.11, p = .07, β = -.15, p < .05).

In the Korean sample, belongingness showed a negative correlation with shame displacement (r = -.15, p < .01); but this relationship was not significant in the multiple regression analysis (β = -.03, p = .55).

In the Australian sample, the workgroup identity variables together explained a marginally significant 3 per cent of the variance in shame displacement [F (261) = 2.52, p = .058]. In the Korean sample, the workgroup identity variables did not account for significant variance in shame displacement [F (354) = .55, p = .65]. The explanatory power of workgroup identity on shame displacement seemed to be relatively minor in the two samples.

6.3.3 Predicting Withdrawal

The correlation and regression coefficients predicting withdrawal are presented in Table 6.3. Commitment-to-identity was not related to withdrawal in either the Australian sample (β = .00, p = .97) or the Korean sample (β = -.03, p = .50). The **Commitment-Withdrawal Hypothesis** was, therefore, not supported.

Table 6.3

Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients and the Standardised Regression Coefficients for a Least Squares Regression Model Predicting Withdrawal in the Australian (N = 266) and Korean (N = 356) Samples

	Australia		Korea	
Variables	r	β	R	β
Control Variables				
- Shame Acknowledgment	.50***	.53***	.57***	.64***
- Shame Displacement	.03 (ns)	.15**	.17**	.25***
Workgroup Identity Variables				
- Commitment to Identity	.11 (ns)	.00 (ns)	.00 (ns)	-.03 (ns)
- Belongingness	-.05 (ns)	-.06 (ns)	-.21***	-.24***
- Commitment *X* Belongingness	__	-.02 (ns)	__	-.06 (ns)
R^2 Change (the second block only)		.00 (ns)		.06***
Adjusted R^2		.27***		.47***

Note. * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 (ns) not significant

The interaction hypothesis that level of belongingness would affect the relationship between commitment-to-identity and withdrawal also failed to receive support in either group (β = -.02, p = .73 in the Australian sample, and β = -.06, p = .16 in the Korean sample). Therefore, the **Commitment-Belongingness-Withdrawal Hypothesis** was rejected.

Instead, belongingness was a powerful negative predictor of withdrawal in the Korean sample; that is to say, people with high levels of belongingness were less likely to withdraw from the scene when they encountered a shame-producing event (r = -.21, p < .001, β = -.24, p < .001). This relationship was not found in the Australian sample (r = -.05, p = .46, β = -.06, p = .30).

The social identity variables in the Australian sample did not explain a significant amount of variance in the withdrawal measure [F (260) = .41, p = .75]. In contrast, the Korean social identity variables, most particularly belongingness, explained a significant 6 per cent of the variation in withdrawal [F (354) = 14.25, p < .001].

6.4 Summary and Discussion

The findings are summarised, first for the Australian sample, then the Korean sample. In the Australian sample, the way in which teachers managed shame was affected by the degree to which teachers identified themselves with their workgroup. High levels of commitment to the teaching profession and the school community were associated with high levels of shame acknowledgement as well as high levels of shame displacement. The anticipated interaction effect whereby belongingness would strengthen acknowledgement and dampen displacement was not supported. But feelings of belongingness did help people manage shame more adaptively at work. When individuals felt they were valued and accepted by the group, they were less likely to blame others and displace their shame. For the Australian sample, however, the social identity variables failed to impact on managing shame through withdrawal. Overall, social identity provides safe space for Australian teachers to manage shame. Under conditions where commitment conveys a concern for what happens, shame acknowledgement is possible; however, they may displace anger onto others, because individuals may be motivated to protect their professional identity. Belongingness that brings constraint against blaming others is, therefore, important for the adaptive management of shame.

For Koreans, the social identity variables were important for shame management in different ways. Social identity was related to acknowledgement of shame and withdrawal, but not to displacement of shame. Commitment to the teaching profession was associated with higher levels of shame acknowledgement, as it was in the Australian sample. Feelings of belongingness to the school community increased shame acknowledgement further among Korean teachers. Feelings of belongingness

did not moderate the relationship between commitment-to-identity and the shame management styles, however. Belongingness was important in its own right among Koreans, countering one of the negative facets of shame management; it was not shame displacement, as in the Australian sample, but rather withdrawal. Belongingness was associated with less withdrawal.

Unfortunately, the much-anticipated interaction effect between commitment-to-identity and belongingness on shame management variables was not found in either group. The lack of an interaction effect could have been brought about by the strong positive correlation between the two social identity variables ($\underline{r} = .38$, $\underline{p} < .001$ in the Australian sample, and $\underline{r} = .41$, $\underline{p} < .001$ in the Korean sample). Alternatively, social identity variables of commitment and belongingness act in an additive fashion in explaining shame management. As in the study of Tyler and his colleagues (Tyler & Blader, 2000; Tyler & Smith, 1999) on pride and respect, the distinction between commitment-to-identity and belongingness was an important one, as the two social identity variables contributed in different ways to the safe management of shame.

The important issue revealed in the present chapter is that the nature of the social and psychological identification that an individual has with the group can affect the management of shame. People adopt a defensive script of displacement or withdrawal, because facing shame is too painful (Kaufman, 1996; Lewis , 1971; Lewis, 1992; Nathanson, 1992). It is going to be particularly painful when the individual is committed to a group. The data in this chapter show that for committed teachers, the desire to acknowledge shame over wrongdoing was high. As Nathanson (1992) argues, shame triggers self-protection, and the tendency to transform the shame emotion in a bid to save the self is present. However, defensive shame cannot discharge shame completely, because shame is not being dealt with honestly. Rather, accumulation of unresolved shame within the individual creates further agony in the self and strains the interpersonal relationships further (Gilligan, 1996; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991). In this respect, constant use of defensive strategies during the experience of shame can be harmful.

The data presented in this chapter, however, reveal an antidote for defensive reactions to shame such as displacement and withdrawal. The countervailing force appears in the form of feelings of belongingness. The security one feels in one's interpersonal relations through belongingness is associated with less shame displacement among Australians and less shame withdrawal among Koreans. Moreover, among Koreans, belongingness makes acknowledgement easier. Belongingness encourages Koreans to acknowledge shame, without withdrawing from the situation.

The finding among Australians that commitment to work identity both encouraged shame acknowledgement and shame displacement simultaneously suggests greater complexity around shame management for Australians. Possibly individuals who define themselves in terms of their work identity and are observed failing to live up to that identity feel personally threatened in such a way that they question the security of their social bonds. They fear that they will be held disproportionately responsible and will be ostracised by the group. If this is the case for Australian teachers, the key question arising from the safe space-shame management hypothesis is: what can individuals do—or, what can organisations do for individuals—to lessen the pain of this experience?

The results presented in this chapter point to the importance of belongingness not only for Koreans but also Australians. The thesis of safe spaces offers the psychological room to discharge shame with minimum risk of damaging social bonds. Giligan (1996), who observed shame-related violence in the American prison system, did not present a vision of safe spaces for adaptive shame management explicitly, but his analysis of prison culture provided evidence of the escalation of the violence when shame could not be safely managed. Gilligan points to 'disrespect' from other inmates, prison officers, the authority, and the whole system as the source of shame that was not managed well in the prison and which erupted into patterns of escalating violence. Inmates could not feel secure, respected, valued, and cared for as a person. The findings in the present study indicate, together with Gilligan, that feeling belonging is an important source of safe space for the healthy management of shame.

People with strong belongingness with the group might feel like not being pushed to the boundary of the ethical community, but being at the centre of the relational community where individuals experience care from others. Feeling belonging theoretically should empower the wrongdoer to face shame without fear of rejection. This is consistent with the result found in the Korean sample that belongingness supported shame acknowledgement and guarded against withdrawal.

Harris' (2001) comparative study of drink-driving offenders in court cases (i.e., traditional judicial institution) and in restorative justice conference cases (i.e., an alternative judicial institution) fits with this analysis. Offenders in court cases cannot avoid being marginalised from the law-abiding community. Their offences stand out; as a result, they feel alienated from the community. In contrast, offenders in the restorative justice conference are brought to the centre of the conferencing community where people gather to solve the problem, while showing their support for the person who has caused the problem. Harris argues that conference cases are superior to court cases at least in terms of adaptive shame management among wrongdoers. Although he did not attribute feelings of belonging in participants in conference cases, a sense of community in which each cared for the others seemed to be an important part of the conferencing experience.[17]

The significance of feelings of belonging on shame experiences has not been explored enough in the shame literature. Instead of feelings of belonging, pride has been at the focus of secure social bonds. Tangney's (1990) alpha versus beta pride[18] or Ahmed and Braithwaite's (forthcoming) narcissistic versus humble pride seems to recognise the social infrastructure that people regard as essential to their functioning. Alpha or narcissistic pride can be understood as a social emotion that might indicate that the self is inflated unrealistically. Beta pride or humble pride, however, was

[17] In *Conditions of successful reintegration ceremonies*, Braithwaite and Mugford (1994) demonstrate that confrontation, which is even seen as stigmatic attack, is used as a way of reintegration. A sense of community or sense of relatedness seems to drive such a situation. A powerful but beautiful example is the comment of an adult in the community about a Maori boy who was charged with car theft: '*Stealing cars, You've got no brain boy…. But I've got respect for you. I've got a soft spot on you. I've been to see you play football. I went because I care about you. You are a brilliant footballer, boy. That shows you have the ability to knuckle down and apply your skill to something more sensible than stealing cars….We've not giving up on you'(p.11).*

[18] Tangney et al. (Tangney, 1990; Tangney et al., 1996a) differentiates beta pride which refers pride in behaviour from alpha pride, which refers general pride or global pride in self. Tangney et al. argue that beta pride is related with guilt-proneness.

positively related to shame acknowledgement (Ahmed, 2001). Beta pride was positively related to guilt-proneness (adaptive management of shame-related emotions in Tangney's version) and negatively related to shame-proneness (non-adaptive management of shame-related emotions). The work of Scheff (1996a, 1997) also contains a similar notion in which pride indicates the healthy state of a relationship. Pride, used in the social context, reflects security of social bonds just as the more direct question about sense of belonging does. However, the locus of the pride is still the person, whereas the locus of feeling belonging is the 'relationship' shared among people. Belongingness remains a more social concept than beta or humble pride.

Doi (1974) might be a pioneer insofar as he recognised the significance of belongingness to the experience of shame. Many Western shame scholars have argued that shame is an emotional response to threatened social bonds. What Doi adds to this is the proposition that shame accompanies a desire to restore the original belongingness. The pain is much more intense when it is not only the whole self that is under scrutiny, but also the relationships one has with others. Doi's argument, like that of restorative justice, is that to repair the harm, belongingness must be restored. Take an example. If a Japanese officer resigns from work over an unfortunate incident that is not exactly his or her responsibility, the behaviour can be explained through a sense of belonging to the group that takes precedence over a sense of responsibility. Through resigning, belonging and relationships are restored; both guilt and shame are discharged. Choosing not to resign because responsibility lies elsewhere is seen to be ignoring the essence of shame and is a response to a narrow interpretation of guilt. According to Doi (1974), inner peace will be drawn by the one who resigned not by the one who does not.

Doi's argument is, in a sense, aligned with Williams (1993), who states that shame understands guilt, but guilt does not understand shame. This is not to differentiate shame and guilt as some do (e.g., Benedict, 1946; Tangney, 1990), but to think over the extent to which our morality is related to our being, as interconnected human beings. Doi's thoughts on shame also flow into the thoughts of Turner (1995), who sees the pain of shame as a rebirth of beauty. According to him, we are rather

disempowered by the denial of shame; it would be the most positive experience if shame is acknowledged properly.

Critics of the approach of better mutual health through shame acknowledgment would point to the dangers of an overly active or heightened sense of responsibility over wrongdoing that excludes others from sharing responsibility. Such a response would involve self-blame and depressive withdrawal, uncontrollable anger or violence, which could result in self-harm (Gilligan, 1996; Scheff, 1996a; Tangney, 1992; Tangney et al, 1996). The common feature among these psychological symptoms is low self-esteem. In the present study, high levels of feeling a sense of belonging were correlated with high levels of self-esteem in both samples ($\underline{\beta} = .31$, $\underline{p} < .001$ in the Australian sample, and $\underline{\beta} = .43$, $\underline{p} < .001$ in the Korean sample). Feelings of belonging may boost self-esteem to the point where individuals feel empowered to take the initiative to acknowledge shame over wrongdoing without utilising defensive mechanisms of shame.

When friends or couples are in a state of conflict, especially, when one party betrays the other's trust, a third party will often act as a go-between to help them reconcile. Besides asking each party to forgive or apologise to the other party during the process of reconciliation, Korean negotiators use this proverb frequently: 'Don't worry! The ground gets firmer after raining.' This proverb contains the idea that is present in Doi's understanding of shame. In a sense, troubles or conflicts are there to affirm that 'the one' and 'the other' belong together. They are, whether they like it or not, emotionally interconnected at the level of nurturing and growing their identities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ANTICIPATED PROBLEM RESOLUTION PRACTICES IN THE WORKPLACE AND SHAME MANAGEMENT

7.1 Overview

In previous chapters, the cultural values that respondents endorsed and psychological identification with the workgroup affected the ways in which individuals managed their shame in the workplace. Now, attention is turned to the anticipated problem resolution practices—that is, how others are expected to act at work when the respondent engages in the shame-producing event. It questions whether or not anticipated problem resolution practices that the workplace facilitates are associated with individuals' shame management styles over bullying at work. This is the final layer of the present analysis that explores cultural, group and contextual elements that influence shame management styles.

Unlike the present perspective that views shame in the context of interpersonal and situational dynamics, some shame scholars focus on dispositional characteristics of shame (E.G., Tangney, 1990; Tangney, Burggraf, & Wagner, 1995; Tangney, Wagner, Hill-Barlow, Marschall & Gramzow, 1996). Tangney and her colleagues argue that people who are prone to shame are likely to have destructive personality traits, such as hostility, displaced anger, externalisation of blame, and low levels of self-esteem. It is a negative downward spiral in which the persistent state of shame (i.e., shame-proneness) produces destructive personality traits; those traits, in turn, block the individual to dissolve shame safely. In this context, the prospect of shaming is as pessimistic as feeling shame. However, as it has been maintained from the beginning of the research, some form of disapproval (i.e., shaming) over

wrongdoing is absolutely necessary for giving moral direction to the community and ensuring safety for its members (Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001; Braithwaite, 1989, 2002; Fung, 1999). Therefore, the critical issue is not whether or not to disapprove of wrongdoing but rather, how that disapproval should be expressed.

I argue that reintegrative shaming practice provides an answer to the concern Tangney and her colleagues has articulated. A reintegrative shaming practice is likely to offer a safety-net in the form of support that dampens the adverse effect of shaming in the institutional sphere (Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001). The merit of utilising reintegrative shaming practice can be traced back to its original formulation. Neither strong sanctions against wrongdoing (punitiveness) nor tolerant understanding of the wrongdoer (permissiveness) produced the effects that prevented recidivism (Braithwaite, 1989, 2002; Sherman, 1993, 2003; Wachtel & McCold, 2001). Reintegrative shaming theory provided a conceptual understanding of social control through firm regulation of wrongdoing, while at the same time showing respect for the wrongdoer as a person. The effectiveness of reintegrative shaming was purported to depend upon the level of social reintegration of the person that accompanied the disapproval of the wrongful act.

Reintegrative shaming emphasises the importance of interdependent relationships. It is argued that the interaction effect of social control and reintegration is most marked when people are interdependent (Braithwaite, 1989; Makkai & Braithwaite, 1994). Although interdependency and communitarianism in modern society has faded compared to traditional or collectivist society, Braithwaite (1989, 1996) argues that the core characteristics of interdependency are present in the groups to which we belong in modern society. The densely organised modern workplace, various associations in which people engage, and even speedy modern communicative techniques promote and sustain interdependency in social relations. Elias' (1994) study of Europe during the medieval era also supports Braithwaite's argument. Elias observed that the decentralisation of power and the emergence of inter-tribal trade amplified the importance of friendly manners and the management of private emotions to medieval men. It is shame, according to Elias, that signals that people

are aware of norms that they share with others and which they believe should be honoured.

Sherman (2003) also acknowledges the benefits of reintegrative shaming practice in modern society. According to Sherman, reintegrative shaming provides an emotionally intelligent justice system that cares about individuals' emotional reaction to social control. In particular, in the context of shame management, Sherman (1993) assumes that stigmatised shaming—shaming denigrates rather than reintegrates the person—increases further defiance by letting offenders deny the shame they feel. In other words, reintegrative shaming is able to hold back the defiance provoked by unacknowledged shame by allowing individuals to feel shame safely. In addition to Sherman's defiance theory, Tyler's procedural justice theory argues that how one is treated is as important as how satisfactory the outcomes are during the justice process. Individuals need to be treated with respect if they are to change their behaviour and cooperate in the future.

Although the notion that reintegrative shaming fosters the adaptive management of shame (i.e., high acknowledgement and low displacement of shame) is implicated in some studies, there is not a substantial body of research that has directly tested the relationship between reintegrative shaming and shame management directly. Even though Ahmed (2001) did not find a relationship between reintegrative or stigmatised shaming practice and shame management skills, she was able to demonstrate that some elements of the reintegrative shaming process—such as positive parent-child relationships and family harmony—were important predictors of children's shame management skills. Another important study on this issue was carried out by Harris (2001). Harris demonstrated that stigmatizing practices towards drink driving left offenders with unresolved feelings of shame and embarrassment and discouraged acknowledgement of shame over wrongdoing; however, reintegrative practice encouraged offenders to feel shame over wrongdoing and reduced the likelihood of embarrassment and feeling exposed. In these studies, however, it is of note that the interaction effect between the degree of shaming and reintegration, which is a main

feature of reintegrative shaming theory, was not found.[19] Instead, reintegration and stigmatisation made independent contributions to styles of shame management. The absence of an interaction effect in Harris' study was explained in terms of the seriousness of the offence. The drink driving offence was already heavily laden with shame so that the measurement of reintegration and stigmatisation could not be empirically separated from their shaming component (Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001). They assumed that the interaction effect of shaming and reintegration or shaming and stigmatisation would emerge when the offence was less significant, and disapproval could be divorced from reintegration or stigmatisation.

The context for the present study is workplace bullying and individuals are asked to imagine what would happen if others saw them acting in a bullying manner towards another teacher. In the workplace, we inevitably are required to associate and collaborate with work colleagues, and the interdependency we have with each another is high. Therefore, when we are caught behaving inappropriately, we would not be free of work colleagues' feedback on our behaviour. Their disapproval is likely to threaten our sense of identity and we are likely to feel shame (Ahmed et al., 2001; Braithwaite, 1989; Lynd, 1958; Williams, 1993). Reintegrative shaming theory adds another dimension on top of this. If disapproval of workplace bullying is communicated in a socially supportive way, as a way of putting a protective guard around a person so that acknowledgement of wrongdoing does not harm self-worth, shame can be managed adaptively; that is, it can be discharged without hurting others. The safe space-shame management thesis argues that work colleagues' efforts to reintegrate or support wrongdoers while recognising acts of wrongdoing would maximise regulatory effectiveness while minimising the adverse effect of disapproval (Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001).

Therefore, it was hypothesised that the effect of disapproval on the acknowledgement of shame over bullying would depend on the extent to which work colleagues offered support; that is, shame acknowledgement would be highest when a high level of disapproval is backed by a high level of support (**Problem Resolution Practice-Shame Acknowledgement Hypothesis**). Similarly, the effect of

[19] It is of note that studies of Ahmed (e.g., Ahmed, 1999; 2001; Ahmed & Braithwaite, forthcoming) were not designed to test the interaction effect between shaming and reintegration.

disapproval on shame displacement would vary with the support offered by work colleagues; high levels of shame displacement would be predicted when high levels of disapproval are accompanied by low levels of support (**Problem Resolution Practice-Shame Displacement Hypothesis**). Withdrawal should be similar to shame displacement. High levels of withdrawal should be associated with high levels of disapproval along with low levels of support (**Problem Resolution Practice-Withdrawal Hypothesis**). High levels of shame displacement and withdrawal, neither of which are healthy emotional reactions to shame in the workplace, are related to stigmatised shaming, that is, the problem resolution practice that combines the conditions of high disapproval and low support.

Before testing these hypotheses with data from the 'Life at School: Teachers' Views and Experiences Survey' (Shin & Braithwaite, 2001), it may be helpful to revisit the measures of the problem resolution practice. Disapproval (or shaming, in reintegrative shaming theory) was measured by asking respondents how they would expect their colleagues to behave if they were caught bullying another teacher: 'Would they show disapproval by trying to persuade you to stop, pointing out you were hurting others, or trying to help you think through the consequences?' (see p. 97 for all items used for disapproval). Support (or reintegration, in reintegrative shaming theory) was assessed by asking if work colleagues would respond by showing affection and speaking warmly to him or her, listening to him or her, or enquiring about his or her thoughts and feelings (see p.97 for all items used for support).

7.2 Analytical Procedure

The specific aim of Chapter 7 is to investigate the interaction effect of disapproval and support on the shame management variables. First, the two-way interaction term between disapproval and support is calculated by multiplying centred scores for these two variables—that is, the actual score minus the mean score of each predictor. Centering reduced problems of multicollinearity (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). To test the hypotheses, the interaction term, 'Disapproval *X* Support,' is entered in an ordinary

least squares (OLS) regression analysis after the main effects for disapproval and support. A test for main effects was included because previous research (e.g., Harris, 2001) favoured main effects over an interaction effect.

When the interaction effect is significant, which is determined from the regression equation, the direction of the interaction effect is diagnosed through a separate second order analysis. Graphs of significant interaction terms are drawn from the dichotomised variables—that is, low and high disapproval, and low and high support. The mean scores of four cells—that is, low disapproval–low support, low disapproval–high support, high disapproval–low support, and high disapproval-high support—were computed in order to plot a graph showing the effect of disapproval on the shame management variables under the condition of low support, and then under the condition of high support. As has been the practice in previous chapters, other shame management variables were controlled when one shame management variable was regressed on the anticipated problem resolution practice variables.

7.3 Results

7.3.1 Predicting Shame Acknowledgement

The bivariate correlations and regression coefficients for disapproval, support and the interaction term, 'Disapproval X Support' in the prediction of shame acknowledgement are presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1

Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients and the Standardised Regression Coefficients for a Least Squares Regression Model Predicting Shame Acknowledgment in the Australian (N = 264) and Korean (N = 359) Samples

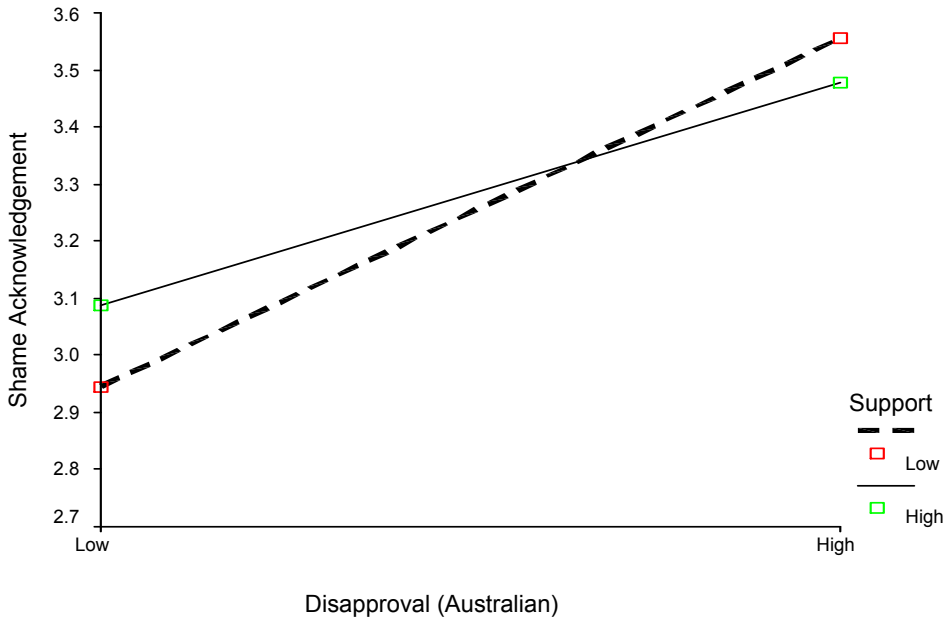
	Australia		Korea	
Variables	r	β	R	β
Control Variables				
- Shame Displacement	-.24***	-.27***	-.19***	-.33***
- Withdrawal	.50***	.41***	.57***	.61***
Problem Resolution Practice				
- Disapproval	.44***	.28***	.16**	.14**
- Support	.12*	.09 (ns)	.03 (ns)	.02 (ns)
- Disapproval χ Support	__	-.11*	__	.11**
R^2 Change (the second block only)		.09***		.03***
Adjusted R^2		.39***		.44***

Note. * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 (ns) not significant

From the multiple regression analysis, the interaction effect between disapproval and support emerges as being significant in both the Australian (β = -.11, p < .05) and Korean (β = .11, p < .05) samples. The effect of disapproval was dependent upon the level of support. In order to diagnose the direction of the interaction, the effect of disapproval and support on shame acknowledgement was plotted in separate graphs in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1

The Effect of Support on Shame Acknowledgement for Different Levels of Disapproval in the Australian (top) and Korean (bottom) samples



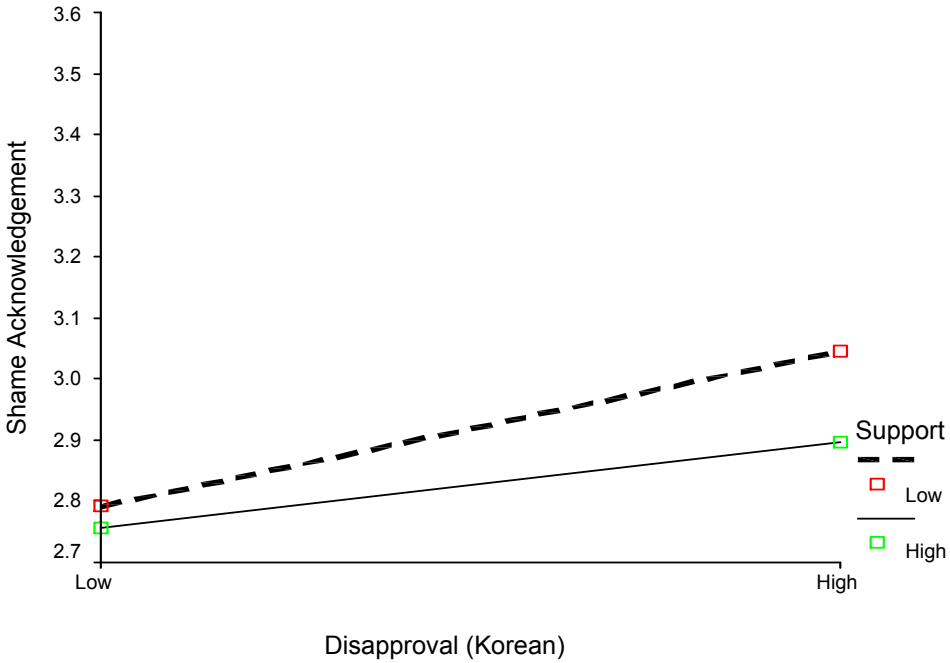


Figure 7.1 presents a graph of the interaction for the Australian sample (top) and a graph of the interaction for the Korean sample (bottom). In both samples, the directions of the effects contradict the hypothesis. High levels of support did not encourage the wrongdoer to acknowledge more shame in the face of work colleagues' disapproval of bullying. Rather, the effect of disapproval on shame acknowledgement increased most markedly when there was less support. The two samples show a similar trend, although Koreans displayed much lower levels of shame acknowledgement overall. The hypothesis that shame would most likely be acknowledged when disapproval was backed by high levels of support (**Problem Resolution Practice-Shame Acknowledgement Hypothesis**) was not confirmed in either cultural group.

Although the interaction did not conform to expectations, the main effect of disapproval on shame acknowledgement was in the direction anticipated in both samples. Disapproval was positively associated with shame acknowledgement in the Australian ($r = .44$, $p < .001$; $\beta = .28$, $p < .001$) and Korean ($r = .16$, $p < .01$; $\beta = .14$, $p < .01$) samples.

On the other hand, the main effect of support on shame acknowledgement was negligible in both cultural groups. Although support was positively correlated with shame acknowledgement in the Australian sample ($r = .12$, $p < .05$), this relationship was not sufficiently strong to emerge in the regression analysis ($\beta = .09$, $p = .11$).

Anticipated problem resolution practice variables explained 9 per cent of the variance in the measurement of shame acknowledgement in the Australian sample [$F (259) = 12.91$, $p < .001$] and 3 per cent of the variance in the Korean sample [$F (354) = 6.94$, $p < .001$].

7.3.2 Predicting Shame Displacement

Table 7.2 illustrates the association between the problem resolution practice variables and shame displacement. From the multiple regression analysis, the interaction effect of workplace practice variables on shame displacement was also

significant in both samples (β = -.14, p < .05 in the Australian sample, and β = .11, p < .05 in the Korean sample).

Table 7.2

Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients and the Standardised Regression Coefficients for a Least Squares Regression Model Predicting Shame Displacement in the Australian (N = 264) and Korean (N = 359) Samples

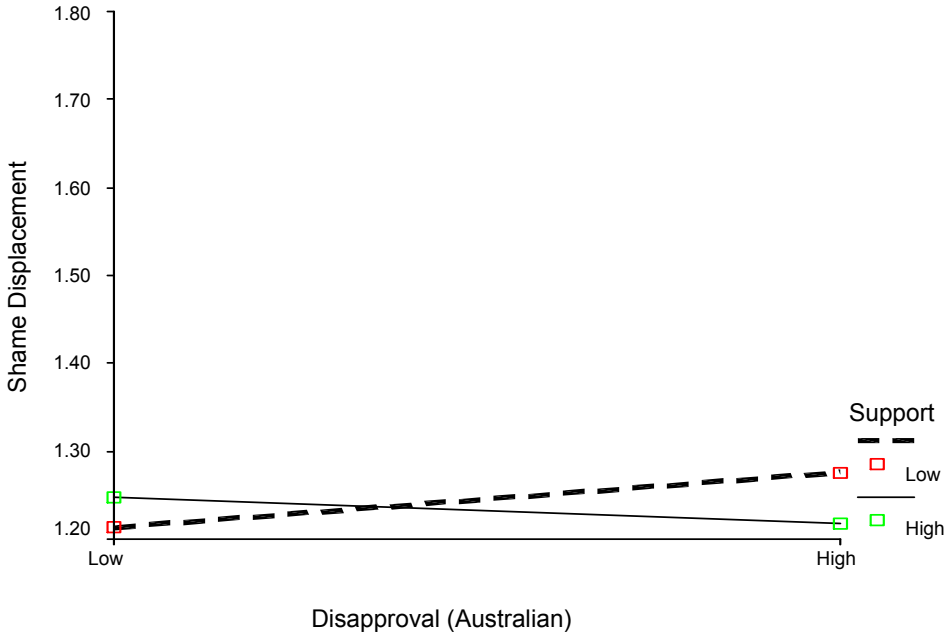
	Australia		Korea	
Variables	R	β	r	β
Control Variables				
- Shame Acknowledgement	-.24***	-.41***	-.19***	-.45***
- Withdrawal	-.03 (ns)	.20**	.17**	.41***
Problem Resolution Practice				
- Disapproval	-.03 (ns)	.08 (ns)	.20***	.11^{+}
- Support	-.01 (ns)	.07 (ns)	.26***	.20 ***
- Disapproval *X* Support	__	-.14*	__	.11*
R^2 Change (the second block only)		.02 (ns)		.08***
Adjusted R^2		.11 ***		.22***

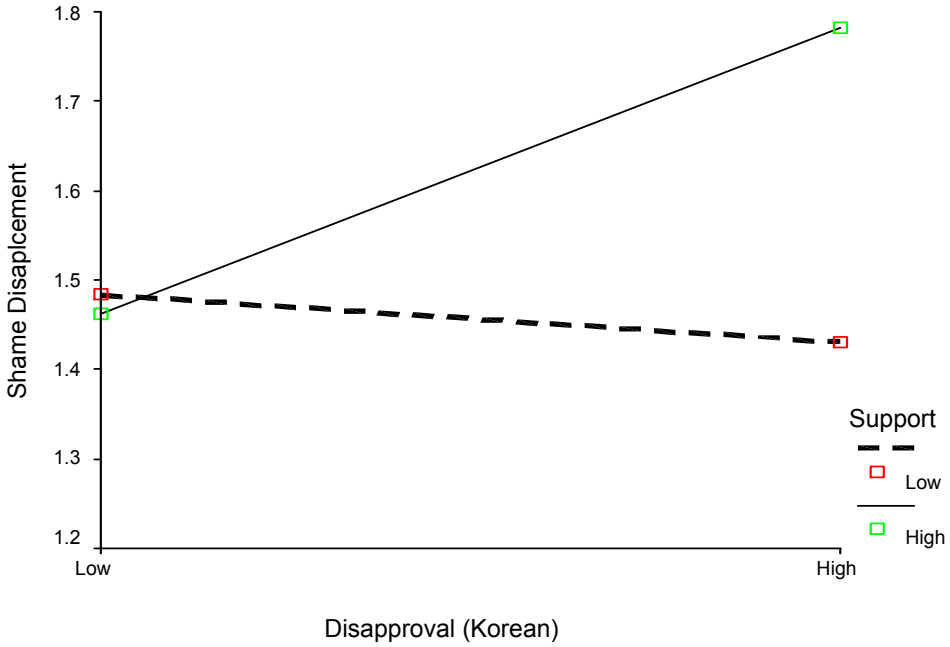
Note* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 $^{+}$p < .06 (ns) not significant

To investigate the nature of the interaction effect in relation to shame displacement in both samples, the graph was plotted for each sample in the same manner as was done with shame acknowledgement. Figure 7.2 presents a graph of the interaction for the Australian sample (top) and a graph of the interaction for the Korean sample (bottom).

Figure 7.2

The Effect of Support on Shame Displacement for Different Levels of Disapproval in the Australian (top) and Korean (bottom) samples





In the Australian sample, high levels of support tended to decrease the adverse effect of disapproval in the shame displacement context, but basically the effect is negligible (it is of note that the R^2 Change in Table 7.2 is not significant as discussed below). The nature of the relationship, however, is consistent with **Problem Resolution Practice-Shame Displacement Hypothesis**.

Apart from the interaction effect of disapproval and support, neither disapproval nor support made a significant main effects contribution towards predicting shame displacement in the Australian sample ($\underline{\beta} = .08$, $\underline{p} = .22$ for disapproval, and $\underline{\beta} = .07$, $\underline{p} = .28$ for support). As shown by the R^2 change in Table 7.2, the effect of the anticipated problem resolution practice variables in the Australian sample did little to alter the level of shame displacement by only accounting 2 per cent of the variance [$\underline{F}$ (259) = 2.1, $\underline{p} = .11$].

In the Korean sample, disapproval is likely to increase shame displacement just as it increased shame acknowledgment. But if support for the individual is high, the effect of disapproval on shame displacement should be less marked. The support should dampen any rapid increase in shame displacement. The graph in Figure 7.2 for the Korean sample, however, shows support working in the opposite direction to that expected; that is to say, shame displacement increased when other work colleagues showed high levels of support during the experience of shame. The **Problem Resolution Practice-Shame Displacement Hypothesis** was rejected in the Korean sample. This finding is very interesting and will be explored in a post-hoc analysis at the end of the chapter.

The regression analysis in the Korean sample revealed the independent contributions of anticipated problem resolution practice variables towards predicting shame displacement. Both support ($\underline{r} = .26$, $\underline{p} < .001$; $\underline{\beta} = .20$, $\underline{p} < .001$) and disapproval of wrongdoing ($\underline{r} = .20$, $\underline{p} < .001$; $\beta = .11$, $p = .057$) fostered displacement of shame, although the impact of disapproval on shame displacement was only marginally significant in the regression analysis. Anticipated problem resolution practice variables explained a notable significant 8 per cent of the variance [$\underline{F}$ (354) = 12.98, $\underline{p} < .001$] in the Korean sample.

7.3.3 Predicting Withdrawal

Table 7.3 shows the extent to which withdrawal, as a form of shame management, was affected by the problem resolution practice in the workplace. The interaction effect of disapproval and support on withdrawal was not found in either cultural group. However, disapproval contributed significantly towards predicting withdrawal in the Australian sample ($r = .33$ $p < .001$; $\beta = .15$, $p < .05$). The greater the disapproval expected from work colleagues, the more individuals were likely to withdraw from the scene. The tendency was also shown in the correlation coefficient in the Korean sample ($r = .13$, $p < .05$). However, this relationship was not confirmed in the regression analysis.

Table 7.3

Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients and the Standardised Regression Coefficients for a Least Squares Regression Model Predicting Withdrawal in the Australian (N = 264) and Korean (N = 359) Samples

	Australia		Korea	
Variables	r	β	r	B
Control Variables				
- Shame Acknowledgement	.50***	.48***	.57***	.64***
- Shame Displacement	.03 (ns)	.16**	.17**	.31***
Problem Resolution Practice				
- Disapproval	.33***	.15*	.13*	-.00 (ns)
- Support	.00 (ns)	-.11 (ns)	.04 (ns)	-.06 (ns)
- Disapproval X Support	__	.04 (ns)	__	-.08 (ns)
R^2 Change (the second block only)		.02*		.01 (ns)
Adjusted R^2		.28***		.41***

Note. * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 (ns) not significant

The effects of problem resolution practice on withdrawal were not great, accounting for only 2 per cent of the variance in the Australian sample [F (259) = 2.77, p < .05]. There was not a significant R^2 Change in the Korean sample [F (354) = .01, p = .15].

7.4 Discussion

In the Australian sample, disapproval increased shame acknowledgement, increased withdrawal, but had no effect on shame displacement. Support, which was expected to dampen any displacement or withdrawal in this context, failed to do so. The only significant effect of support among Australian teachers was to weaken the likelihood of acknowledgement. For the Australians, it seems that support may have been a way of trivializing the bullying event—of colleagues saying, 'It doesn't matter, you should not feel upset by it.' These findings show the difficulty of capturing disapproval of the act and support for the person in the research context.

In the Korean sample, disapproval and support were both important in understanding acknowledgement and displacement of shame, but neither influenced withdrawal significantly. The Koreans were like the Australians on disapproval in the shame acknowledgement context. Disapproval increased shame acknowledgement but the effect was less marked under conditions of high support. Again it seems likely that the support measures that were used trivialised the sanctioning that was involved in the disapproval of the act of bullying. An interesting finding to emerge with support, however, occurred in the Korean sample.

Work colleagues' support that was hypothesised to serve a reintegrative function and facilitate adaptive shame management increased the likelihood of not only shame acknowledgement but also shame displacement among Korean teachers. This was opposite to predictions. Reintegrative shaming theory predicts that firm disapproval of wrongdoing backed up by support for the wrongdoer should dampen shame displacement.

To test the hypothesis that the reintegrative shaming questions were not adequately detecting support with disapproval, a set of ad-hoc independent t-tests were carried

out in which the group who were reporting high disapproval and high support were compared to all others. The groups were formed by dividing scales at the mid-point of the disapproval and support measures. Four conditions of problem resolution practice were obtained from the two-by-two combination: the low disapproval-low support condition, the low disapproval-high support condition, the high disapproval-low support condition, and the high disapproval-high support condition. However, the focus of the investigation is the last condition: high disapproval-high support (i.e., reintegrative shaming practice). Therefore, the three remaining patterns of workplace practice formed a non-reintegrative shaming condition; and this non-reintegrative shaming practice was tested against reintegrative shaming practice. These comparisons were needed for both the Korean and Australian samples. Five outcome variables were chosen because of their theoretical importance in differentiating the high disapproval-high support group.

Appendix G presents independent sample t-tests for the Australian and Korean samples. The results for the Australian and Korean teachers are much the same. Below in the text, only the Korean results are discussed. Korean teachers who assigned themselves to the reintegrative shaming practice workgroup felt forgiven more ($\underline{M}$ = 2.56, $\underline{SD}$ = .57) than those in the workplace with non-reintegrative shaming practice [$\underline{M}$ = 2.02, $\underline{SD}$ = .59; $\underline{t}$ (350) = -8.48, $\underline{p}$ < .001]. Furthermore, Korean teachers in the reintegrative shaming condition felt that they were treated respectfully by their workmates ($\underline{M}$ = 3.70, $\underline{SD}$ = .44) and the organisation ($\underline{M}$ = 2.99, $\underline{SD}$ = .59) more than those who were not [$\underline{M}$ = 3.52, $\underline{SD}$ = .48; $\underline{t}$ (350) = -3.56, $\underline{p}$ < .001; $\underline{M}$ = 2.70, $\underline{SD}$ = .59; $\underline{t}$ (349) = -4.57, $\underline{p}$ < .001, respectively]. Moreover, teachers in the workplace where reintegrative shaming was exercised were more likely to feel relatedness towards their workmates ($\underline{M}$ = 3.40, $\underline{SD}$ = .55) than those who were not [$\underline{M}$ = 3.15, $\underline{SD}$ = .60; $\underline{t}$ (348) = -4.03, $\underline{p}$ < .001]. Lastly, Korean teachers in the reintegrative shaming condition reported lower levels of work-related stress ($\underline{M}$ = 2.24, $\underline{SD}$ = .48) than those in the non-reintegrative shaming practice condition [$\underline{M}$ = 2.39, $\underline{SD}$ = .48; $\underline{t}$ (346) = 2.70, $\underline{p}$ < .001]. This means that reintegrative shaming practice in the Korean workplace produces expected outcomes (i.e., feeling forgiven) and is operated in a safe space for dealing with shame (i.e.,

more respectful treatment from colleagues and organisation, more feelings of relatedness, and less work-related stress).

These results suggest that Koreans and Australians both felt very comfortable at work if they had assigned themselves to the high disapproval-high support group. Given these results, Koreans' increasing tendency of shame displacement in the reintegrative shaming condition becomes more interesting. They acted as if they were threatened, even though they reported social conditions in which they were likely to feel safe in dealing with their shame. Australians in these 'safe' conditions conformed to expectations in how they managed shame—they displaced shame slightly less. This might indicate that Koreans' shame management may differ from Australians in the reintegrative shaming situation.

A perspective taken from Korean indigenous psychology gives insight into this phenomenon. A Korean psychologist, Choi (2000) argues that Koreans' intention of expressing anger is not to harm or blame others but 'to speak out one's feeling to others' in order to get the understanding and empathy of others. The implicit meaning of expressing anger for them might be a wish to restore the relationship. However, he argues that Koreans would not voice their anger, when they could not anticipate the likelihood of reconciliation and getting empathy; rather, they are likely to keep silent.

Translating Choi's argument into the present context of shame management, Koreans in the reintegrative shaming practice condition feel safe to acknowledge shame over their bullying behaviour. However, they are likely to express their shame-related anger along with acknowledging they have done something wrong, in order to communicate their awkward feelings. They do so in the hope that others will give them understanding and empathy.

This kind of shame resolution can be found in this Korean narrative:

> On one ordinary morning, a mother and her son had a quarrel. The son stormed out heading for school ignoring his mother's word to take an umbrella. It was going to rain on that afternoon. Then it rained. The mother went to her son's

> school and waited for him outside. The son saw his mother. The son angrily said, while taking the umbrella from his mother, "I didn't ask you to come with an umbrella." Mother said calmly, "I'm sorry to bring it to you." Together they headed home (Choi, 2000, p. 112).

The son knew that his mother knew that he was sorry but he did not want to acknowledge it, as he was too embarrassed to do so. The mother knew that her son felt sorry but did not want to acknowledge it. For this reason, she did not want to confront him. She acknowledged shame that he displaced. Choi and his associates (2000; Choi & Choi, 1999; Choi, Kim & Kim, 1999) argue that this can happen only when people have high levels of bonding, which is called, *cheong* in Korean terms. They are likely to be enmeshed in a shame management ritual.

A similar concept is found in Japan. According to Doi (1974), the 'indulgent dependency' (which is called, *amae*) shared among Japanese allows one to express childish emotions in a close relationship. It originally referred to the action and emotional state of mind of a baby towards its mother (care giver), which is related to the expectation, need or desire to evoke love in the other. Doi argues that acting like a baby, although he or she is a grown-up, is satisfying the relationship in which both parties feel interdependent. Doi seems to identify similar processes in the emotional life shared between Koreans and the Japanese. The Korean anecdote illustrated above can be explained in the framework of *amae*. The boy acted like a baby even though he understood the situation intellectually. He avoided embarrassment of acknowledging his wrongdoing; instead he complained and got angry. The mother, too, understood the whole situation intellectually, but let the boy get away with his anger, as she understood how sorry he was for it. In Doi's terms, the mother in a way felt satisfied by the boy's baby-like behaviour. The childish act is a sign of his dependence on her, and his dependence on her underscores her significance to him.

In the present study, Korean teachers who expected their colleagues to support them might have enacted their *amae*-like mentality to manage their shame. They knew that bullying was shameful but they felt safe to displace it onto others. However, Australian teachers did not interpret work colleagues' support as permission to

ventilate and displace their shame. It is of note that among Australians high levels of support tended to reduce the sense of urgency to acknowledge shame. These findings might reflect different cultural expectations in the interpersonal relational context. This indicates that cultural reactions to reintegrative shaming practices might differ from culture to culture.

Finally, an evaluation is in order of the measure of disapproval. Disapproval may be difficult to measure 'purely' without overtones of stigmatised shaming or reintegrative shaming (Harris, 2001). That is to say, the current disapproval scale, while seeking to avoid stigmatising overtones, may have gone too far in tapping the gentler side of shaming. For example, 'Try to persuade you to stop something that is harmful' might be interpreted as disapproval of the act while communicating more support than that intended, that is basic respect for the person. If this is the case, the interaction effect hypothesised in this chapter might not be valid because the disapproval measure itself contains reintegrative elements.

7.5 Summary

In the present chapter, the impact of reintegrative shaming practices on shame acknowledgement, shame displacement and withdrawal were examined. Australians managed shame in a way that was partially consistent with reintegrative shaming; disapproval increased acknowledgement and support reduced displacement. The findings in the Korean sample, however, conflicted with the theory. Disapproval with high support seems to increase shame displacement, and to a limited extent decrease shame acknowledgement. These data suggest a need to reconceptualise the effects of reintegrative shaming on how shame is managed in other cultures, such as Korea. The findings are also a reminder of the importance of undertaking longitudinal studies that allow for better disentangling of cause and effect.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE WORKPLACE BULLYING EXPERIENCE AND SAFE SPACE FOR ADAPTIVE SHAME MANAGEMENT

8.1 Introduction

Visits to several spheres of institutional space, through chapters 5, 6, and 7, have shown that the ways we manage shame are related to the ways we engage with others in our daily lives.

The purpose of these chapters has been to try to define the kind of environment that people must see themselves as being in, if they are to manage shame in an adaptive way. For present purposes, managing shame well means acknowledging the harm that was done to another and repairing the damage, while at the same time, not hitting out at others to relieve feelings of rejection or failure, nor withdrawing completely from the social relationship. This has been referred to as shame acknowledgment without displacement and without withdrawal.

To briefly recapitulate on the findings so far, the conditions necessary for adaptive shame management vary across cultural settings, but some variables stood out more than others in explaining what safe space means to Australians and Koreans. These variables were the value orientations of horizontal collectivism and vertical individualism, the group variable of a sense of belonging, and the problem resolution practice variables of disapproval and support. All of these variables contributed to adaptive shame management at some level with the exception of vertical individualism in both samples, and support in problem resolution in the Korean sample. Vertical individualism was associated with non-adaptive shame

management. Support in the Korean problem resolution context increased shame displacement.

Of the remaining variables tested in Chapters 5 to 7, horizontal individualism and commitment to workgroup identity could not be identified completely either as a variable for adaptive shame management or as a variable for non-adaptive shame management, because of the lack of relatedness (i.e., horizontal individualism), and because of enmeshment with the group (i.e., commitment-to-identity). Nonetheless, horizontal individualism was associated negatively with shame displacement and commitment-to-identity was positively associated with shame acknowledgement in both cultural groups.

An underlying assumption of this thesis and one that has arisen out of the work of Ahmed and her colleagues is that poor shame management leads to bullying (Ahmed, 2001; Braithwaite, Ahmed, Morrison & Reinhart, 2003). This is why it is important to understand shame management processes and the conditions that result in adaptive management rather than non-adaptive management. But another assumption that has been made in the preceding chapters is that we can identify the characteristics of safe space without taking account of the fact that bullying and victimisation are already occurring in the workforce. This is highly unlikely. Previous work has shown that bullying can be institutionalised in the workplace (Rayner, 1997; Salin, 2001) in a way to achieve organisational (Archer, 199; Zapf, 1999) or senior staff's personal (Gleninning, 1999) goals. In this chapter, therefore, measures of workplace bullying and victimisation are entered into the regression analysis with the 'safe space' variables listed above. The question addressed is whether or not these safe space variables can be expected to have an effect on shame management after taking account of who has been involved in workplace bullying and victimisation and who has not.

8.2 Revisiting Bullying and Shame Management

It was argued in Chapter 1 that the existing literature on bullying has not been eager to investigate the emotional processes that people engage in when bullying occurs in the workplace. In this respect, Ahmed and colleagues (Ahmed, 2001, 2002; Ahmed & Braithwaite, forthcoming; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004; Braithwaite, Ahmed, Morrison, & Reinhart, 2003) approach to the bullying problem has been innovative. They integrate the experience of bullying and victimisation within the shame-management framework, and argue that skills of managing shame are critical to understanding bullying behaviours.

The research project of Ahmed (2001), the 'Life at School Project,' is longitudinal and has been ongoing since 1996. Using the data from the second follow-up study undertaken in 1999, Braithwaite (2005) has shown that the experience of bullying itself—either being bullied or bullying others—is part of a process through which people learn how shame should be managed, which, in turn, influences future bullying behaviour. That is to say, the experiential learning from bullying is internalised and affects the future self-regulation and disapproval of a person's own bullying behaviour. Braithwaite has concluded, like others (e.g., Ahmed, 2002) that current bullying behaviour is a good indicator of a child being identified as a bully three years later. However, this relationship was significantly weakened if the child learned from the experience by acknowledging: 'I've done the wrong thing by bullying others and I'm responsible for that action.' Although the learning experience for victims in terms of shame management was not as clear as for bullies, unresolved shame seemed to sit in their minds as well, and was a good indicator of victim-status among children in the future (Ahmed, 2002).

Drawing on Ahmed and her colleagues' (Ahmed, 2001, 2002; Braithwaite et al., 2003) framework, it is argued here that the experience of bullying is an important indicator affecting the ways that shame is managed in the workplace. The present study is cross-sectional, and therefore it is not possible to satisfactorily resolve the causal relationship between bullying experience and shame management in the present context. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that if we want to create

safe space in the workplace so that shame management can be adaptive, we need to take account of the fact that some bullying and victimisation will be present and this may limit the effectiveness of intervention. In the present research context, the measures lend themselves to testing this hypothesis, though admittedly not going so far as to solve the causal inference problem mentioned above. The bullying experience measures relate to what has happened in the past year, while the shame management questions ask people what they would feel now if they found themselves bullying someone else.

8.3 Analytical Procedure

In this chapter, the association between safe-space variables and other shame management variables will be investigated after controlling for bullying experiences. Therefore, experience of bullying is entered in the first block of the regression analysis. Then, those variables that were considered to be important for safe space, as identified in the previous chapters, are entered: horizontal collectivism and vertical individualism (in the cultural value orientation cluster), belongingness (in the endorsement of workplace identity cluster), support and disapproval (in the problem resolution practice cluster). Finally, the past practice of controlling for the remaining shame management skills is followed, so that a picture emerges of the safe space for acknowledgement, for example, excluding confounding from displacement and withdrawal. This practice inflates the adjusted R^2. The adjusted R^2 without shame management controls appears beneath the R^2 for the whole model. More will be said about the meaning of this outcome in the discussion.

Of the safe-space variables, commitment-to-identity and horizontal individualism were excluded. Although they had significant relationships with some shame management variables in previous chapters, the role they played tended to be overshadowed by the other variables in the same cluster: belongingness in the case of commitment-to-identity, and horizontal collectivism or vertical individualism in the case of horizontal individualism. The interaction term of commitment-to-identity

and belongingness—commitment X belongingness—and that of disapproval and support—disapproval X support—were also omitted, to streamline the analysis.

Finally, the interaction effects of bullying experiences and safe-space variables on shame management variables are entered in the analysis in order to find out whether or not bullying experiences modified the relationships between safe space variables and shame management. To test the possibility of the interaction between bullying experiences and the safe-space variables, the interaction term is entered into OLS regression analyses as the cross product of the centred scores (i.e., actual scores minus mean scores) for each variable, in order to reduce the problem of multicollinearity (Cohen & Cohen, 1993). Each of the five safe space predictor variables was tested as an interaction term with bullying and subsequently with victimisation. Only significant terms are represented in the final regression model.
Prior to conducting the main analysis, the phenomenon of bullying in the workplace of teachers, i.e., at school, will be examined.

8.4 Results

8.4.1 Bullying at School from the Perspective of Teachers

Two hundred and ninety-six secondary school teachers in Canberra, Australia (missing data = 8) and 359 secondary teachers in Seoul, Korea (missing data = 3) reported their experiences of bullying in their workplace. In Chapter 1, bullying was operationalised as the frequency of hurtful or derogatory behaviour experienced at the hands of others in the workplace (more senior or more junior in the hierarchy). Regarding the bullying of others, teachers were asked four questions: 1) since the beginning of the year, have you ever made fun of a colleague or colleagues in your school?; 2) since the beginning of the year, have you ever put down a colleague or colleagues in your school?; 3) since the beginning of the year, have you ever acted unfairly to a colleague or colleagues in your school?; and 4) since the beginning of the year, have you ever frightened a colleague or colleagues in your school? Teachers were given four responses to choose: 1) no, never; 2) yes, once; 3) yes sometimes; and 4) yes, often. Responses to each question were aggregated and

divided by the number of questions. Thus, the measure of bullying that was used was behavioural, encompassed repetitions of these behaviours, but did not include extreme forms of behavioural aggression.

Forty-eighty per cent of Australian teachers reported that they had never bullied others in any form, while about 6.7 per cent of teachers disclosed that they had bullied other colleagues more than once (averaged over the four criteria) since the beginning of that year (approximately nine months or so preceding the survey). In the Korean sample, more than 77 per cent of Korean teachers reported that they had not bullied other colleagues, whilst about 5.3 per cent of teachers revealed that they had bullied others more than once, again averaged over the four criteria.

Table 8.1

Descriptive Statistics (Means and SDs) for the Occurrence of Bullying at Work for the Australian (N = 295) and Korean (N = 359) Samples

	Australia			Korea		
Bullying Experience	%	M	SD	%	M	SD
Bullying		1.36	.46		1.17	.43
- Never	48.1			77.2		
- Once	45.0			17.6		
- Sometimes	6.4			3.3		
- Often	.3			2.0		
Victimisation (overall)*		1.66	.66		1.36	.53
- Never	32.8			54.4		
- Once	45.2			34.8		
- Sometimes	18.9			8.9		
- Often	3.0			.9		

* The figure for 'Victimisation (overall)' means the averaged total scores of the experiences of being bullied by student(s), parent(s), and work colleague(s).

To measure victimisation from bullying in the teachers' workplace, three direct questions were asked, which referred to three main groups in the school community:

students, parents and teachers. The questions were: 1) since the beginning of the year, have you ever been bullied by a student or students in your school?; 2) since the beginning of the year, have you ever been bullied by a parent or parents in your school?; and 3) since the beginning of the year, have you ever been bullied by a colleague or colleagues in your school?[20]

Although the results need to be interpreted cautiously, as the data depend on the self-report survey method, the experience of victimisation was more prevalent than the experience of bullying in teachers' workplaces. The percent of Australian teachers who had never been victimised was 32.8 per cent. Fifty per cent of Australian teachers reported that they had been victimised by students, 34 per cent by parents and 34 per cent of teachers reported that they had been victimised by other teachers in their school. Overall, 21.9 per cent of Australian teachers experienced victimisation in the months preceding the survey more than once averaged over the three contexts. The Korean teachers reported fewer incidents of victimisation in their workplace compared to the Australian respondents. Those who had never been victimised represented 54.4 per cent of the Korean sample. About 30 per cent of Korean teachers reported that they experienced victimisation by students and about 20 per cent by parents and 23 per cent by other teachers. Overall, 9.8 per cent of Korean teachers experienced victimisation by colleagues, parents or other teachers more than once in the months preceding the survey.

These incidents of bullying by different social groups—i.e., parents, students, and colleagues—were aggregated into an overall victimisation score to reflect bullying experiences at school for each individual teacher. This is because, regardless of who bullied them, the bullying incidents are likely to reflect unhealthy communication at school. Percentages of victimisation shown in Table 8.1 are based on aggregated scores that have been divided by the number of questions (that is, 3) to bring the score back to the original item metric of 1 (no, never) to 4 (yes, often).

[20] There is no specific word for 'bullying' in the Korean language. Although '*wangdda* (a Korean equivalent of bullying)' is in popular usage, it mainly means 'exclusion,' and therefore refers to a special kind of bullying behaviour. Therefore, it was decided to give a full description of bullying in the Korean version of the survey.

As shown in Table 8.1, the data distribution of bullying experiences was skewed in both cultures. Although skewness is not likely to make a substantive difference in the regression analysis given the large samples that are being used, it is important to check the degree of asymmetry of the data distribution. Inspection of the data showed that the experience of bullying was clustered at the low end (i.e., scales of 'never' and 'once') with thin and long tails in both cultures. The skewness of each distribution was not greater than 2 with one exception; that is, the skewness of the bullying experience in the Korean sample is slightly higher than 3.

Tables 8.2 and 8.3 present the results of the multiple regression analysis in the Australian and Korean samples, respectively.

Table 8.2

Beta Coefficients and R^2 for the Effects of Variables in Predicting Shame Management Variables in the Regression Analysis for the Australian Sample (N = 261)

Variables	Acknowledgement	Displacement	Withdrawal
Bullying Experiences			
- Bullying	.01 (ns)	.15*	.03 (ns)
- Victimisation	.08 (ns)	.10 (ns)	.12*
Safe Space			
- Horizontal Collectivism	.11*	-.00 (ns)	.03 (ns)
- Vertical Individualism	-.05 (ns)	.22***	-.06 (ns)
- Belongingness	-.03 (ns)	-.08 (ns)	-.04 (ns)
- Disapproval	.29***	.08 (ns)	.18**
- Support	.04 (ns)	.11 (ns)	-.10 (ns)
- Bullying X Horizontal Collectivism	n/a	-.17**	n/a
Shame Management			
- SM1	-.27***	-.37***	.44***
- SM2	.37***	.19**	.15*
Multiple R	.64	.47	.56
Adjusted R^2	.39***	.19***	.28***
(without SM1 & SM2)	(.10***)	(.10***)	(.05***)

Note. * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 (ns) not significant
SM: shame management (for Shame Acknowledgement, SM1 = Shame Displacement, SM2 = Withdrawal; for Shame Displacement, SM1 = Shame Acknowledgement, SM2 = Withdrawal; for Withdrawal, SM1 = Shame Acknowledgement, SM2 = Shame Displacement)

8.4.2 Do Bullying Experiences Matter for Australians?

In the Australian sample, the experience of bullying was significantly associated with some shame management variables. From Table 8.2, bullying behaviour was positively associated with shame displacement ($\beta = .15$, $p < .05$); that is, people who reported that they had bullied other colleagues were more likely to displace their shame onto others in an imagined bullying scenario. This result is consistent with Ahmed's (2001) argument that bullies are likely to displace shame onto others.

Victimisation was also related to shame management. In Table 8.2, victimisation predicted withdrawal ($\beta = .12$, $p < .05$); people who experienced victimisation in the months preceding the survey reported that they would withdraw if they were to be caught out in a shame-producing bullying event.

Past bullying experiences in the Australian sample were not associated with shame acknowledgement.

8.4.3 Are Values, Belongingness and Problem Resolution Practices Still Important for Australians?

The inclusion of bullying experiences in the regression equation did not bring much significant change in the relationship between safe-space variables and shame-management variables, with the exception of the relationship between belongingness and shame displacement. Belongingness was expected to have a negative association with shame displacement on the basis of the previous analysis (i.e., $\beta = -.15$, $p < .05$, see also Table 6.2, p. 130). The relationship disappeared in the present analysis.

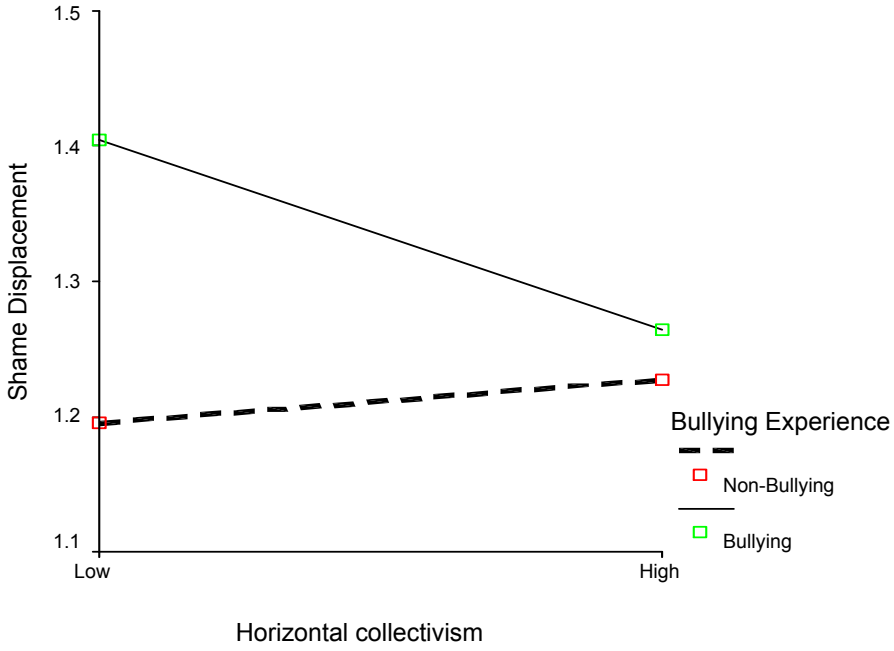
Disapproval continued to maintain its significant association with shame acknowledgement and withdrawal ($\beta = .29$, $p < .001$; and $\beta = .18$, $p < .01$, respectively). The more people perceived disapproval of wrongdoing in the workplace, the more they tended to acknowledge shame, and, at the same time, to withdraw from the situation when confronting a shame-producing event. On the other hand, vertical individualism, as expected, continued to be an important predictor of shame displacement ($\beta = .22$, $p < .001$).

8.4.4 Is the function of Safe-Space Variables for Shame Management Consistent Regardless of the Bullying Experience?

The interaction effects on shame management of bullying experiences (either bullying or victimisation) and each safe-space variable (i.e., horizontal collectivism, vertical individualism, a sense of belongingness, and the perception of support and disapproval) were investigated. One significant interaction effect on shame displacement was found between bullying another and horizontal collectivism ($\beta = -.17$, $p < .01$). In order to diagnose the direction of the interaction, the relationships between horizontal collectivism and shame displacement in the non-bullying condition and the bullying condition were plotted in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1

The Effect of Horizontal Collectivism on Shame Displacement for Different Levels of Bullying[21] in the Australian Sample



Horizontal collectivism seems to play a restraining role on shame displacement for Australians with bullying experiences. If a person had a bullying experience in the past and he or she had high levels of horizontal collectivism, the individual was less likely to displace shame in a shame-producing situation. When a person did not have bullying experiences, horizontal collectivism had less of an effect on the level of shame displacement.

[21] Bullying (or victimisation) experiences divided by the two groups: 'Bullying' and 'Non-bullying' groups. The cutting point was 'less than once' in experiencing bullying (or victimisation). The scores of bullying (or victimisation) were averaged over 4 criteria (in the case of bullying) and 3 contexts (in the case of victimisation). Therefore, if a person experienced either bullying or victimisation only one occasion, this person was technically identified as a person with no bullying (or victimisation) experience.

Table 8.3

Beta Coefficients and R^2 for the Effects of Variables in Predicting Shame Management Variables in the Regression Analysis for the Korean Sample (N = 359)

Variables	Acknowledgement	Displacement	Withdrawal
Bullying Experiences			
- Bullying	-.03 (ns)	.22***	.00 (ns)
- Victimisation	.12**	-.04 (ns)	-.01 (ns)
Safe Space			
- Horizontal Collectivism	.14**	-.02 (ns)	-.08
- Vertical Individualism	-.08*	.23***	.06 (ns)
- Belongingness	.18***	-.07 (ns)	-.23***
- Disapproval	.10*	.08 (ns)	.04 (ns)
- Support	-.03 (ns)	.23***	-.01 (ns)
- Bullying X Disapproval	n/a	.18***	n/a
Shame Management			
- SM1	-.24***	-.31***	.66***
- SM2	.63***	.28***	.23***
Multiple R	.71	.59	.69
Adjusted R^2	.48***	.33***	.46***
(without SM1 & SM2)	(.09***)	(.19***)	(.07***)

Note. * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p< .001 (ns) not significant
SM: shame management (for Shame Acknowledgement, SM1 = Shame Displacement, SM2 = Withdrawal; for Shame Displacement, SM1 = Shame Acknowledgement, SM2 = Withdrawal; for Withdrawal, SM1 = Shame Acknowledgement, SM2 = Shame Displacement)

8.4.5 Do Bullying Experiences Matter for Koreans?

From Table 8.3, the experience of bullying or being bullied is an important predictor of the likelihood of having adaptive shame management skills among Korean participants as well. Korean teachers who reported that they had bullied others in the months preceding the survey were more likely to displace shame onto others by externalising blame and displacing anger ($\beta = .22$, $p < .001$). As with the findings for the Australian sample, the findings for the Korean sample are consistent with the findings of Ahmed (2001) that bullies tend to displace shame.

Victimisation was positively associated with shame acknowledgement ($\beta = .12$, $p < .01$) for Koreans. This is an interesting and important finding. First, it is of note that it is aligned with Ahmed's (2001) finding that victims tend to acknowledge shame. But according to Ahmed, victims are also likely to internalise others' rejection. In the Korean workplace where belongingness is an important interpersonal value, victims' tendency to acknowledge shame may not be the outcome of a healthy emotional process. It may reflect accepting the shame of another to spare the other the pain of facing their wrongdoing. This study does not allow for the testing of this hypothesis. Care should be taken, however, in interpreting this finding.

8.4.6 Are Values, Belongingness and Problem Resolution Practices Still Important for Koreans?

In the Korean sample, as in the Australian sample, the associations between safe-space variables and shame-management variables were not changed much by the inclusion of bullying experiences. The exception was that the relationship between horizontal collectivism and withdrawal disappeared in the present analysis, after being significant in the previous analysis (i.e., $\beta = -.14$, $p < .01$, see also Table 5.4, p. 117). The relationship between horizontal collectivism and belongingness has a significant correlation ($r = .33$, $p < .001$, $\beta = .34$, $p < .001$). Belongingness is the major predictor of withdrawal, and its effect may have dominated horizontal collectivism in the regression analysis.

The positive influences of disapproval ($\beta = .10$, $p < .01$), belongingness ($\beta = .18$, $p < .001$) and horizontal collectivism ($\beta = .14$, $p < .01$) on shame acknowledgement

suggest that for Koreans, adaptive shame management requires shared norms, cohesion and a sense of equality. It is, therefore, not surprising that vertical individualism lessens the individual's capacity to acknowledge shame in the Korean teaching workplace ($\beta = -.08$, $p < .05$).

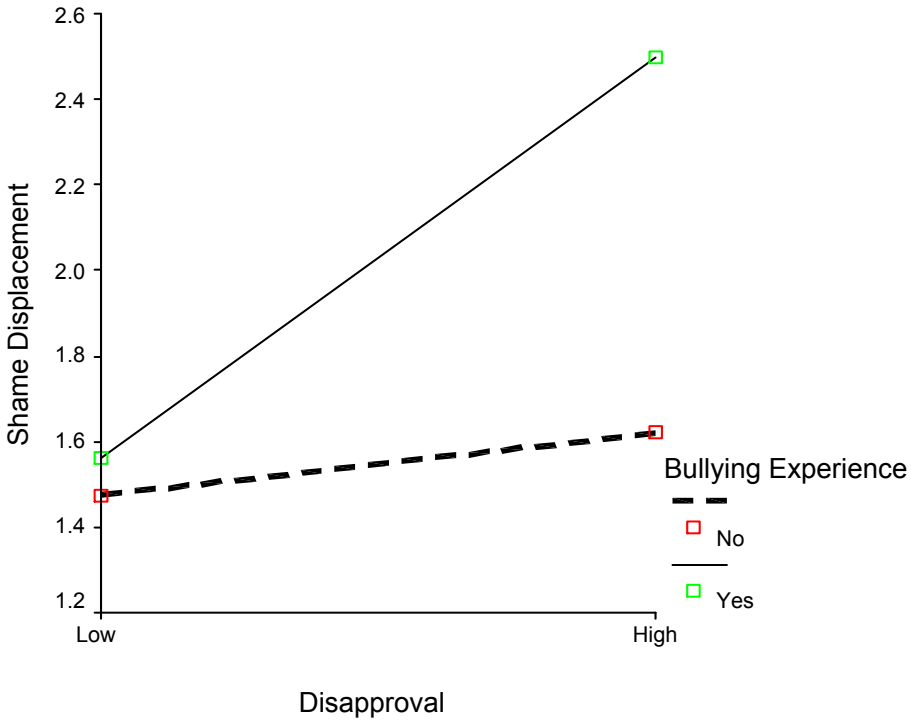
From Table 8.3, the effects of vertical individualism ($\beta = .23$, $p < .001$) and support ($\beta = .23$, $p < .001$) on shame displacement continue to be significant once bullying experiences are controlled. Both increase shame displacement. Interestingly, while support is associated with shame displacement, the concept of belongingness is associated with acknowledgement of shame ($\beta = .18$, $p < .001$) and withdrawal ($\beta = -.23$, $p < .001$). A sense of belongingness seems to be the most important factor for the creation of safe space in the Korean context. In contrast, support, which does not convey any enduring dimension to a relationship (support is a situational measure), does not conform to theoretical predictions.

8.4.7 Is the function of Safe-Space Variables for Shame Management Consistent Regardless of the Bullying Experience?

One significant interaction effect was found between bullying experience and disapproval ($\beta = .18$, $p < .001$) in the prediction of shame displacement. This means that the function of disapproval in terms of shame displacement was modified by bullying experiences among Koreans. In order to diagnose the direction of the interaction, the effect of disapproval on shame displacement was plotted for those with and without bullying experience in Figure 8.2.

Figure 8.2

The Effect of Disapproval on Shame Displacement for Different Levels of Bullying in the Korean sample



From Figure 8.2, having bullied someone seems to be an important factor that determines how an individual reacts to high levels of disapproval of wrongdoing for Koreans. When people did not have past experience of bullying someone, displacement increased, but only slightly, according to the level of disapproval. However, when people had the experience of bullying others, the likelihood of shame displacement increased strongly with high levels of disapproval. The finding seems to be consistent with the work of Zapf and Einarsen (2003). They argue, using the framework of Baumeister et al. (Baumeister, Smart & Boden, 1996), that bullies are people with unstable high self-esteem so that they prone to respond defensively to any unfavourable feedback.

8.5 Summary and Discussion

Some important findings were revealed in this chapter. First, although bullying experiences and shame management skills are linked, as Ahmed and her colleagues argue (e.g., Ahmed, 2001, Braithwaite et al., 2003), both past experiences and characteristics of the workplace are important in understanding why shame is managed as it is. The main findings are summarised below.

People who reported that they had bullied others in recent months were likely to displace their shame onto others in both Australia and Korea. Ahmed and her colleagues (2001; Braithwaite et al., 2003) have argued that children with bullying behaviour tend to use displacement of shame as their strategy for getting away with bullying. Braithwaite (2005) has warned further that, if a person bullies others and does not learn from the experience through acknowledging shame over bullying, and further, if the individual strengthens his or her experiences through deflecting shame and anger onto others, a vicious circle may develop whereby bullying action is positively, not negatively reinforced.

Victimisation has a positive relationship with withdrawal in the Australian sample and with shame acknowledgement in the Korean sample. These findings require further investigation to uncover the 'meaning' of withdrawal and acknowledgement in this context. The degree to which these responses should be interpreted as non-adaptive or adaptive may depend in part on the organisational culture in which they are occurring.

Horizontal collectivism is associated with shame acknowledgement positively in both cultural groups. Values that emphasise benevolence and empathetic relatedness encouraged acknowledging shame when confronted with shameful events in the workplace. Horizontal collectivism helped people with a bullying past to restrain their displacement in an imagined bullying situation in the Australian sample.

Vertical individualism is, in contrast, associated with non-adaptive management of shame in the Australian and Korean samples. In the Australian sample, it was

associated with increased shame displacement. In the Korean sample, it was associated with increased shame displacement and, at the same time, decreased shame acknowledgement. In modern workplaces, regardless of their formal organisational status, people are exposed to the danger of bullying in relation to high levels of work-related stress (Hoel, Cooper & Faragher, 2001). However, according to these findings, it may be values, and not just workloads, that result in the deflection of blame onto others.

The positive effect of disapproval on shame acknowledgement is commonly found in both cultures. This is an important finding because this means people care about others' opinion. Unlike Benedict's (1946) proposition that only people in a particular culture (so-called shame cultures) respond to others' disapproval, how others view us seems to be an important source of our moral justification across cultures. An organisational culture that firmly disapproves of wrongful action can be a valuable asset for creating a safe working environment, if disapproval can be communicated respectfully and reintegratively.

Support for wrongdoers yields culturally specific and controversial outcomes. In the Australian sample, support for the wrongdoer did not significantly affect any shame management variable. In the Korean sample, support was associated positively with shame displacement. This finding was counter to predictions. Further work is needed to find out if support in the Korean context was interpreted as 'condoning' or 'trivialising' the wrongdoing. It may convey the message: 'you are not supposed to do it, but we do—just don't get caught next time.' Alternatively, support may need a more culturally nuanced interpretation (see Chapter 9).

Belongingness is a very important factor in understanding Korean's shame management behaviours. In the Korean workplace, belongingness encouraged shame acknowledgement, while restraining the desire to avoid the responsibility of the wrongdoing by withdrawing from the situation. However, in the Australian sample, belongingness was not related to any shame management variable.

In summary, the functions of some safe-space variables are affected by the past experience of bullying, but in general the safe space thesis holds up well. Australians with bullying experience were lower on shame displacement when they endorsed high levels of horizontal collectivism. On the other hand, high levels of disapproval provoked further shame displacement among Koreans with a bullying past.

So far, the effects of safe space on shame management with the experience of bullying have been explored. Although safe space is a significant theoretical concept for shame management, the adjusted R^2s of the safe-space variables for the prediction of shame management found empirically in the present research were rather smaller than one would have expected. The range of adjusted R^2s for safe space variables above were between 5 per cent and 19 per cent; that is, around 10 per cent of variance in shame management on average, was explained by safe-space variables.

The other large portion of variance in shame management is likely to be explained by individual differences. Shame management is a kind of emotional intelligence (Ahmed & Braithwaite, forthcoming). That is to say, some individuals learn to manage shame adaptively and this skill stays with them across time and context, while other individuals do not. The personal dispositional perspective of shame management calls to attention the work of scholars like Tangney and her colleagues (e.g., 1990; Tangney et al., 1995, 1996a). This thesis concludes with the assertion that there is room for both dispositional and institutional analyses of shame management. The interest of the present study is to design the institutional culture that improves adaptive management of shame while dampening the adverse effects of shame, despite the individual differences found in any organisation. Even though the adjusted R^2s are small in the present study, the concept of safe space offers potential and gives insights for the ways institutions may design safe space for improved shame management for everyone.

One possible way of creating safe space in the workplace would be to promote values that highlight cooperation, a sense of community, and caring, represented in

this chapter as horizontal collectivism. Abstract values, however, may be vulnerable as leverage points for change when the reality experienced contradicts them. As Selznick (1995) observes, morality needs to be followed by firm credence and concrete conduct; if morality is based on abstract ideals only, it is vulnerable to the challenge of the reality. In an important respect, this study confirms Selznik's point. Adaptive shame management is linked not only to values but also to what is happening and expected to happen in the workplace.

The order in which different levels of intervention should be introduced is beyond the scope of this thesis empirically. It makes sense, however, that actual workplace practice that deals with conflicts and disputes ideally would sustain some order and safety so that institutional change to reduce non-adaptive shame-management strategies could be introduced. In the present study, disapproval of wrongdoing, as assumed, produced shame acknowledgement in both cultural groups. However, in the Australian sample, disapproval was simultaneously associated with an increased level of withdrawal; and the support, assumed to back up the effect of disapproval, did not play any significant role. In the Korean sample, on the other hand, disapproval was not coupled with any increase in defensive shame management, (i.e., shame displacement or withdrawal). However, support for the wrongdoer increased displacement of shame. Moreover, disapproval worsened the shame management of Koreans with a bullying history. The relationship between shame management and workplace practice, while it seems the obvious place to start in institutional reform, appears to be more complex than expected.

Although the findings in the present study are complex and raise many new questions, some progress has been made. The keys to improved shame management at the institutional level seem to lie in patterns of actual relationships an individual engages with: a) at the abstract level of values, b) in the workplace culture, c) in regulatory acts between colleagues, and d) in the expression of conflict. Prior to implementing any safe space intervention, the current workplace culture should be analysed in these terms. As shown in this chapter, the effect of institutional effort to create safe space at work needs to be analysed while being mindful of any existing

bullying culture. Safe space within an organisation needs to be constructed against the backdrop of knowledge about the existing bullying culture of the organisation.

CHAPTER NINE

DESIGNING EMOTIONALLY INTELLIGENT INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE: HOPES AND HITCHES

Where the heart's past hope, the face is past shame (a Scottish proverb).

9.1 Overview

The starting point for the present thesis is acknowledgement of the problem of bullying in the workplace. It is argued that the creation of safe space in the workplace encourages adaptive shame management, and this is assumed to help contain bullying behaviour at work. A diverse array of perspectives is explored for a deeper understanding of safe space for shame management in the workplace. Ahmed's (1999, 2001) shame management theory, Triandis' (1995) cultural value orientation theory, Braithwaite's (1989) reintegrative shaming theory and other relevant theories on shame (e.g., Doi, 1974; Gilligan, 1996; Lewis, 1971; Scheff, 1997; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991) are examined in order to search for safe space for adaptive shame management.

In what follows, findings are discussed not only from the theoretical standpoint, but also from an applied perspective that searches for institutional solutions for the problems that currently reduce organisational and individual wellbeing. Three sets of results relating to safe space at work concerning cultural value orientations, the salience of workgroup identity, and problem resolution practices in the workplace are described briefly along with their implications. Finally, limitations, strengths and future directions from the research are discussed.

9.2 Summary of Findings

9.2.1 The Importance of Cultural Value Orientations

The present study demonstrates that people's cultural value orientations are important for shame management skills. Values that emphasise sharing and caring between people (i.e., horizontal collectivism) create institutional safe space in which people demonstrate their acknowledgement of shame over their own wrongdoing (see Table 5.2).

However, values that stress winning and competition (i.e., vertical individualism) create an atmosphere in which taking responsibility for wrongdoing is too risky so that others are blamed and shame is displaced. This tendency is constrained under horizontal individualism which also stresses independence but embraces equality among people. When individuals cannot rationalise their superiority to others, lower levels of shame displacement are likely to occur (see Table 5.3). From the perspective of designing institutions, this implies that the hierarchical, rather than individualistic, aspect of self-construal in relation to others is responsible for shifting blame to other people in a shame-producing event.

In a competitive work environment where values of equality among workers are often side-lined, people with strong power motivation are more likely to prosper (Gleninning, 2001; Ng & Van Dyne, 2001). Those who want power are likely to be strong on vertical individualism. If they succeed in their ambitions, the problem of poor shame management, particularly in relation to displacement, is likely to become endemic from the top of the organisation down (e.g., Ashforth, 1994; Gleninning, 2001). That said, it should be acknowledged that the cause of bullying would not be in the organisational hierarchy itself but in the abuse of power that can occur in poorly regulated hierarchies (Adams, 1992). If a person with high vertical individualism manages his or her shame badly and if an organisation is top heavy with such people, the solution may lie in individual training for senior management, providing them with the personal insight and skills they need to manage their shame more constructively. These data should not be read as a rationale for condemning

vertical individualists or stripping them of their power. The focus should be on extending the skill set that has got them to positions of responsibility.

9.2.2 The Importance of the Salience of Workgroup Identity

Cultural value orientations have been discussed as a significant component of safe space for adaptive shame management. However, values about what should happen and what people would like to happen are not necessarily related to what really happens when individuals engage with others at work. The salience of workgroup identity addresses the issue of how one engages with others in the group in the workplace. When personal identity is enmeshed with workgroup identity, Australian and Korean teachers see themselves first and foremost as a member of the teaching profession. Under these conditions, they are more likely to acknowledge shame over wrongdoing. Interestingly, in the Australian sample, having a strong teacher identity is associated with shame displacement as well as shame acknowledgement (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2). Australian participants, who define themselves in terms of their work identity and are failing to live up to that identity, possibly may feel that the security of their social bonds is threatened. The fear that they will be held excessively responsible and ostracised by the group may lead them to displace shame, at the same time, as they acknowledge it.

Placing importance on being part of the teaching profession is one aspect of identity. Another is feeling that others value you, that you belong. Feelings of belongingness restrain the use of defensive strategies to manage shame—that is, shame displacement (in the Australian sample, see Table 6.2) and withdrawal (in the Korean sample, see Table 6.3). Feelings of belongingness or being respected in their own group have attracted the attention of many shame scholars because the lack of these feelings has been observed to weaken the individual's capability of managing shame adaptively (e.g., Gilligan, 1996). Feelings of belongingness seem to empower the wrongdoer to face shame without fear of rejection.

Does building a sense of belongingness conflict with the rise of vertical individualism (see pp. 120-121 for a discussion of the phenomenon in Chapter 5) in corporations? Not necessarily. Tyler and his colleagues (Tyler, 1990; Tyler &

Blader, 2000; Tyler & Smith, 1999) propose that people comply with the law when they feel that their opinions are respected and valued during the decision-making process. Reinforcing procedural justice practices in the workplace would be a healthy starting point for the establishment of safe space in the workplace. In this way, it may be possible to build belongingness even in an organisation that thrives through the efforts of vertical individualists.

9.2.3 The Importance of Problem Resolution Practices

The relevance of problem resolution practices at work in relation to shame management styles was divergent across the two countries. In the Australian sample, disapproval of wrongdoing increased shame acknowledgement, while support for the wrongdoer decreased shame displacement (see Tables 7.1 and 7.2). In other words, a culture of adaptive shame management in Australia should be possible with the disapproval of actions combined with support for the person. This is the classic formulation of reintegrative shaming theory (Braithwaite, 1989).

In the Korean sample, however, the results are in conflict with reintegrative shaming theory. Disapproval with high support slightly decreased shame acknowledgement and notably increased shame displacement, exactly the opposite to predictions from reintegrative shaming theory (see Tables 7.1 and 7.2). In order to assess the psychological significance of reintegration in the two cultural groups, reintegrative and non-reintegrative shaming conditions were compared. It is clear that Koreans, like Australians, felt better when they were in a workplace that exercised reintegrative shaming practice. That is to say, Korean teachers in a reintegrative shaming condition, are more likely than those in a non-reintegrative shaming condition, to say that they have been treated respectfully both by their colleagues and organisations, to feel more affection towards other colleagues, and to feel less work-related stress. Furthermore, they report that they would expect to feel forgiven over their wrongdoing more than people in a non-reintegrative shaming condition (see Appendix G).

Given these results, Koreans' increasing use of shame displacement in a shame-producing situation becomes more interesting. There is need for further research that

can interrogate the meaning of shame acknowledgement and displacement in more depth within Korean culture. At this point, what is of significance is the cultural sensitivity of the shame management concepts: the concepts clearly have relevance, but the social conditions that shape them need to be better understood.

9.2.4 The Importance of the Bullying Experience

Bullying does not seem to be a rare phenomenon for teachers. According to the report of teachers who participated in the present study, bullying is a relatively common experience (see Table 8.1).

As expected, experiences of workplace bullying affect shame management styles. People with a history of bullying others are more likely to blame and displace their anger in a shame-producing situation. This occurred in both cultural groups (see Tables 8.2 and 8.3).

The experience of victimisation also was associated with shame management styles. Victims when asked to imagine themselves in a bullying situation were likely to withdraw from the shameful situation (in the case of Australians) or acknowledge shame (in the case of Koreans) (see Tables 8.2 and Table 8.3, respectively). Shame acknowledgement among Korean victims, however, may not be a totally positive consequence of adaptive shame management, just as withdrawal, may be undesirable among Australian victims.

Both bullies and victims carry history in the workplace that possibly makes it difficult for them to be leaders in introducing adaptive shame management skills, at least in their current workplace. For victims and bullies themselves, special interventions may be required and tailored to their needs; assertiveness training may be particularly helpful in helping those who have been victimised develop a stronger sense of self (Smith & Sharp, 1994)

One of the important findings of the present study is that the experience of bullying might inhibit or alter the function of safe space for adaptive shame management. Overall, the results held up well when bullying experiences were taken into account.

In some cases, the results were better than expected, in other cases not. Specifically bullies with strong horizontal collectivism were more likely to restrain from shame displacement. In contrast, Koreans with a bullying past increased their shame displacement in the high disapproval condition. While it appears possible to create institutional safe space that enhances shame management skills for both bullies and victims, bully/victim status should not be disregarded. If people in a workplace are already exposed in a bullying culture either by being bullied or bullying others, one needs to be mindful that domination may override any institutional effort to introduce safe space for shame management in the workplace.

For organisational policy purposes, the results of this thesis have important implications. Implementing new guiding principles for anti-bullying at work can be ineffective without the correct diagnosis of the patterns of interactions at work. If an organisational culture is identified as a bullying culture, it is likely to be practically important to prioritise dealing with the regulation of hierarchical power, the establishment of group goals, and clear behavioural codes of conduct for resolving conflicts. The specifics need attention so that people are then able to consider their collective values and communal identity in order to build safe space in the organisation. This position is supported by one particular piece of evidence. In the Korean sample, people who bullied in the past tended to displace more when they perceived high levels of disapproval of wrongdoing. This finding implies that the bullying problem becomes worse when principles of anti-bullying are introduced without introducing changes at other levels. Interventions for introducing safe space need to occur at multiple levels.

9.3 Limitations of the Present Study

A major weakness of the present study is that it has not been successful in measuring vertical collectivism as a cultural value orientation. The low alpha coefficient of vertical collectivism in the Korean sample forced the abandonment of the vertical collectivism scale for the purpose of this study. Vertical collectivism is an important value orientation in the Korean context. Moreover, it is often associated with

interpersonal domination combined with lack of freedom and autonomy (e.g., Fiske, 1992; Scheff, 1997 to some extent). The relationship between vertical collectivism and shame management is intrinsically important. It would be wise to employ more than one set of scales to measure cultural value orientations in future studies.

Second, a question over the workplace practices scale used in Chapter 7 has arisen. The current disapproval scale may have tapped too gentle a side of shaming; for example, 'Try to persuade you to stop something that is harmful' might be interpreted as disapproval that is superficial and not sincere, particularly among Koreans when accompanied by collegial support. This might have contributed to the finding in the Korean context that was inconsistent with reintegrative shaming theory. A measure of disapproval that adequately conveys a strong regulative reaction to the behaviour without stigmatising the person and without watering down the seriousness of the wrongdoing remains a challenge for future research.

Third, the extent to which disapproval of wrongdoing, as a workplace practice, forms a collective voice was not given sufficient recognition in the present study. Individual disapproval not backed up by organisational support is likely to have limited effectiveness in educating or influencing people to manage shame adaptively and change their harmful behaviour eventually. It may be that disapproval that lacks legitimacy brings about some adverse consequences like displacement and withdrawal. Therefore, future measurement in this context should include items that capture the level of institutional consensus on sanctioning bullying.

Finally, the measure of bullying experience in the present study was self-report. The measure was developed in order to be compatible with the shame management scales, but reliance on self-report is not adequate. To increase the validity of the measure, multi-method approaches are recommended (e.g., Cowie, Naylor, Rivers, Smith, & Pereira, 1999), which means taking perspectives from the bully and the victim, as well as bystanders. However, with limitations of time and space it was difficult to employ such an approach in the present study.

9.4 Strengths of the Present Study

Despite the drawbacks of the study, there are some strengths. Except for a handful of studies (Ahmed, 1999, 2001; Ahmed, 2005; Ahmed & Braithwaite, forthcoming; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004; Braithwaite, Ahmed, Morrison, & Reinhart, 2003), the existing workplace bullying literature has given little attention to the role of shame in the bullying context. This study, like those on which it is based, places the spotlight on shame management as an important social skill, which enables individuals to cope with shame situations in an adaptive and healthy way and to self-regulate bullying behaviour in the future. The present research, based on the safe-space concept for shame management (Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001), investigates institutional space that encourages or discourages adaptive shame management in the workplace. This research has integrated two key constructs. Reintegrative shaming theory (Braithwaite, 1989) deals with the emotion of shame at the societal level. Shame management theory (Ahmed, 2001) deals with the emotion of shame at the individual level. The current research actively operationalises reintegrative shaming concepts in a work setting in order to identify the appropriate conditions for adaptive shame management of individuals.

This approach produces an encouraging beginning to understanding how institutions can be designed to maximise the likelihood of shame being managed adaptively. In this context, it should be emphasised that institutional design does not trump psychological predispositions. The psychological makeup of individuals is alive and well when we consider shame management skill. These predispositions, however, can be modified by the way in which institutions function.

The research project of Ahmed and colleagues (1999; 2001; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004; Braithwaite et al., 2003), the 'Life at School Project,' looked at bullying problems among school children. The present research, as a part of the 'Life at School Project,' is concerned with teachers' bullying problems. Teachers are an important group within the school community. Their views and experiences on bullying are critical in planning successful interventions. A number of scholars in the study of school bullying (e.g., Baker, 1998; Olweus, 1994; Smith & Sharp, 1994;

Suckling & Temple, 2002) argue for a whole-of-school approach for the prevention of bullying. The ways in which teachers interact with other colleagues form a sub-culture that is an integral part of the school culture. The success of school-based intervention programs is, therefore, likely to depend as much on how teachers engage with each other as on how they teach their pupils to behave towards each other. In this regard, studying how teachers acknowledge shame over wrongdoing gives an insight into how likely it is that the school will succeed in promoting an anti-bullying culture.

Importantly, the study introduces Eastern views on shame and its management in order to expand understandings of the findings. Even though shame and shaming have been actively utilised in the everyday life of Asian countries, Eastern views on shame have been largely isolated or too readily dismissed in the shame literature so far. For example, Doi's (1974) view on shame has not been given full consideration in the Western shame literature; as a result, his encouraging views that shame has a positive function for the restoration of relationships does not seem to be considered seriously. *Cheong,* a Korean indigenous emotion, is another example of how Eastern views can provide a more nuanced understanding of something like shame displacement. It is argued that increased intersubjectivity in the *cheong*-relationship allows individuals to deflect shame to others in the hope that others will give them understanding and empathy. The utilisation of indigenous emotions helps translate culturally specific results found in shame management. This idea is particularly relevant to the finding that Koreans displace shame when they perceive disapproval in an environment of high support. This may be a useful direction for future research that tries to apply reintegrative shaming theory to Korean contexts.

Finally, the present study identifies another defensive shame management strategy that has not been found in previous analyses using the MOSS-SASSD (Ahmed, Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 1996). Previously, Ahmed (1999, 2001) identified two kinds of shame management using children's responses: namely, shame acknowledgement and shame displacement. Later, with an adult sample, Ahmed (2005) identified another defensive strategy for feeling shame employing a new version of MOSS-SASSD, that is, avoidance. The present study identifies

withdrawal using adult cases in a cross-cultural context. Withdrawal involves a desire to be away from others and the situation, whereby shame is not confronted even though it deeply affects the self, and sometimes results in total alienation (Nathanson, 1992; Scheff & Retzinger, 1997). The identification of withdrawal, along with avoidance (Ahmed, 2005), neither of which were identified in children's shame management responses, seems to be aligned with the argument of Kaufman (1996) that the defensive scripts of how to respond to the shame experience are elaborated as we grow.

9.5 Future Research Directions

The results and limitations of the study discussed so far suggest some additional directions for future research. In modern society, the rise of vertical individualism, and the decline of feelings of belongingness to the workgroup that is fostered by the market-driven economy seem to challenge the idea of adaptive shame management. The answer lies in designing an institutional safe space that is resilient and flexible in response to organisational processes. What this institutional space should look like to promote adaptive shame management in the modern workplace is a question for future research.

The sensible and practical application of reintegrative shaming practice seems to be a logical starting point for shame management. Braithwaite (1989, 1996; Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001) argues that the necessity of mutual cooperation and interdependency has not decreased, but rather has increased in modern society. For this reason, reintegrative shaming practices are still able to function as a means of social control. In future research, therefore, developing better ways of measuring reintegrative shaming practice and accommodating local cultural nuances in expressions of disapproval and support would benefit our understanding of shame management.

Although the present study has successfully identified withdrawal as a defensive shame management strategy, it has not been so successful in linking withdrawal with

safe-space variables. Understanding the factors that reduce withdrawal from a shameful situation is important because the individual cannot learn from the experience once he or she has withdrawn. If withdrawal becomes an acceptable behavioural strategy in a shame-producing situation, the individual's social and interpersonal skills are unlikely to develop to the level of adaptive shame management. Therefore, future research is needed to tackle the meaning of withdrawal for shame management in a fuller sense. In doing so, sensitivity should be shown to the possibility that withdrawal, more than acknowledgement and displacement is a dispositional variable.

Finally, this study provides glimpses of the social contexts in which shame acknowledgement may not be adaptive for the individual or the society. Victims' acknowledgement of the shame of bullying may be nothing more than an expression of moral outrage over unacceptable behaviour. Or it may reflect a tendency to become overwhelmed by shame and to internalise shame to an unhealthy level. The question of when acknowledgement is undesirable needs much further theoretical explanation and development. That said, this thesis has sought to highlight the positive side of shame acknowledgement and does not back away from the position that these virtues are real and tend to be undervalued by our social institutions.

9.6 Concluding Comments

'Culture of denial' (Cohen, 2001; Twitchell, 1997) and 'fear of dependency' (Gilligan, 1996) are some phrases that might describe modern culture. The backdrop of these cultural phenomena is the lost hope that the individual is valued and respected. The proverb quoted in the title of this chapter, 'Where the hearts past hope, the face is past shame,' captures such a notion. Applying this to the shame management context, people manage shame adaptively, because they see the hope that they would be reintegrated to the group and reaffirm their identity by showing the better side of the self. However, according to the description, modern culture is unlikely to accommodate adaptive shame management—that is, acknowledging

shame over wrongdoing and demonstrating the willingness to repair the harm done to the relationship.

Braithwaite (2004) argues that hope is an underlying psychological component for people who cooperate with the system. She argues further that the hope maintained at a collective level towards a better society can be an affirmative force for social change. Braithwaite's (1989) reintegrative shaming theory, and Doi's (1974) conceptualisation of shame as well, which have been influential in the present study, emphasise that social behaviours of individuals mirror the relationships in which they engage in the world where they live.

The present study argues that feelings of shame, which have often been dealt with as a private and lonely affair are, in fact, an issue in which 'others' and the relationships people have with others play a key role in their management. Shame is acknowledged where not only individuals' but also others' goodwill is supported and hoped for. In this respect, shame acknowledgement is meant to be an emotional expression of our hope towards others as well as the self and of all who can share a vision of a community that can live in harmony together.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire

LIFE AT SCHOOL

TEACHERS' VIEWS AND EXPERIENCES

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ABOUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is being conducted to understand the extent to which our relationships with work colleagues and our trust in educational institutions affects us in the work place.

This questionnaire is voluntary. The information you provide will be treated in the strictest confidence and none of your individual responses will be revealed to anyone. In part 6 of the questionnaire we have asked for some background information from you. This is not meant to be an invasion of privacy but it is important to allow us to assess the ways in which trust is experienced differently by different groups in the community.

Please read each question carefully. Remember there are no right or wrong answers. We just want to know your own personal opinion. Once completed, please return your questionnaire to the front office as soon as possible.

This questionnaire consists of 6 parts:

Part 1: Your values
Part 2: Your trust and views on the school community
Part 3: Your feelings about yourself and others
Part 4: What if……...?
Part 5: Your views on school bullying
Part 6: Background information

Would you please ensure that you:

1. ***Answer all questions;***
2. ***Complete all 6 parts.***

Please answer each question honestly, thoughtfully, and privately.
And thank you very much for helping.

Your Values _____ Part 1

[1] *Below are 16 goals that refer to our society, our nation, and to people in general. Please indicate the extent to which you accept or reject each of the following as principles that guide your judgments and actions. Do this by choosing the number that comes closest to the way you feel about each goal and circle the number. Use the following code to decide which number to select:*

1 = Reject
2 = Inclined to reject
3 = Neither reject nor accept
4 = Inclined to accept
5 = Accept as important
6 = Accept as very important
7 = Accept as of utmost importance

1. **A Good Life for Others** (improving the welfare of all people in need)…….…….	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. **Rule by the People** (involvement by all citizens in making decisions that affect their community)…….	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. **International Cooperation** (having all nations working together to help each other)……..	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. **Social Progress and Reform** (readiness to change our way of life for the better)……...…….	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. **National Greatness** (being a united, strong, independent, and powerful nation)…….....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. **A World at Peace** (being free from war and conflict)…….……..	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. **A World of Beauty** (having the beauty of nature and the arts: music, literature, art, etc.)…..…….	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. **Reward for Individual Effort** (letting individuals prosper through gains by initiative and hard work)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. **Human Dignity** (allowing each individual to be treated as someone of worth)……..	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. **National Security** (protection of your nation from enemies)……..	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. **Equal Opportunities for All** (giving everyone an equal chance in life)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. **Freedom** (being able to live as you choose whilst respecting the freedom of others)……...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. **Greater Economic Equality** (lessening the gap between the rich and the poor)……...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. **The Rule of Law** (living by laws that everyone must follow)……..……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. **National Economic Development** (having greater economic progress)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. **Preserving the National Environment** (preventing the destruction of nature's beauty and resources)……..…….…….	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[2] *Below is another list, this time made up of personal goals and ways of living that different people use as guiding principles in their daily lives. Please indicate the extent to which you accept or reject each of these goals as principles that <u>you try to live by.</u> Do this by circling the numbers as you did on the previous page. Before you start, quickly read through the entire list to get a feel for how to score your answers.*

1 = Reject
2 = Inclined to reject
3 = Neither reject nor accept
4 = Inclined to accept
5 = Accept as important
6 = Accept as very important
7 = Accept as of utmost importance

1. **Wisdom** (having a mature understanding of life)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. **Conscientious** (being hardworking)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. **Authority** (having power to influence others)……..	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. **Recognition by the Community** (having high standing in the community)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. **Polite** (being well-mannered)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. **The Pursuit of Knowledge** (always trying to find out new things about the world in which we live)……..……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. **Self-knowledge/Self-insight** (being more aware of what sort of person you are)……..	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. **Economic Prosperity** (being financially well-off)…….	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. **Self-respect** (believing in your own worth)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. **Patriotic** (being loyal to your country)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. **Self-improvement** (striving to be a better person)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. **Efficient** (always using the best method to get the best results)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. **Forgiving** (willing to pardon others)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. **Ambitious** (being eager to do well)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. **Prompt** (being on time)……..…….	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. **Refined** (never being coarse or vulgar)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. **Inner Harmony** (feeling free of conflict within yourself)……..	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. **Showing Foresight** (thinking and seeing ahead)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. **Resourceful** (being clever at finding ways to achieve a goal)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. **Knowledgeable** (being well-informed)……...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. **Trusting** (having faith in others)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. **Clean** (not having dirty habits)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. **Giving Others a Fair go** (giving others a chance)…….	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. **Self-disciplined** (being self-controlled)……..	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. **Generous** (sharing what you have with others)…….	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. **Reliable** (being dependable)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. **Neat** (being tidy)……..	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. **Competitive** (always trying to do better than others)…	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. **Understanding** (able to share another's feelings)…….	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. **Logical** (being rational)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. **Helpful** (always ready to assist others)……	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. **Cooperative** (being able to work in harmony with others)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[3] *Below are some statements about how you see the world. We want to know if you strongly agree or disagree with the following statements. If you strongly agree, enter a 9 in the blank space; if you strongly disagree, enter a 1 in that space; if you are unsure, enter a 5 next to the statement. In short use this key:*

We want to know if you strongly agree or disagree with following statements. If you strongly agree, enter a 9 in the blank space; if you strongly disagree, enter a 1 in that space; if you are unsure, enter a 5 next to the statement. In short use this key:

Strongly Disagree				Unsure				Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1. I prefer to be direct and forthright when I talk with people. ____
2. My happiness depends very much on the happiness of those around me. ____
3. I would do what I had to do to please my family, even if I detested that activity. ____
4. Winning is everything. ____
5. One should live one's life independently of others. ____
6. What happens to me is my own doing. ____
7. I usually sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of my group. ____
8. It annoys me when other people perform better than I do. ____
9. It is important for me to maintain harmony with my group. ____
10. It is important to me that I do my job better than others. ____
11. I like sharing little things with my neighbours. ____
12. I enjoy working in situations that involve competition with others. ____
13. We should keep our aging parents at home with us. ____
14. The wellbeing of my co-workers is important to me. ____
15. I enjoy being unique and different from others in many ways. ____
16. If a relative were in financial difficulty, I would help within my means. ____
17. Children should feel honoured if their parents receive a distinguished award. ____
18. I often do 'my own thing'. ____
19. Competition is the law of nature. ____
20. If a co-worker gets a prize I would feel proud of them. ____
21. I am a unique individual. ____
22. To me, pleasure is spending time with others. ____
23. When another person does better than I do, I get tense and anxious. ____
24. I would sacrifice an activity that I enjoy very much if my family did not approve of it. ____
25. I like my privacy. ____
26. Without competition it is not possible to have a good society. ____
27. Children should be taught to place duty before pleasure. ____
28. I feel good when I cooperate with others. ____
29. I hate to disagree with others in my group. ____
30. Some people emphasise winning; I am not one of them. ____
31. Before taking a major trip, I consult with most members of my family and my friends. ____
32. When I succeed, it is usually because of my abilities. ____

Your Trust and Views on the School Community _____Part 2

[4] *The following questions asks about how you see your relationship with your employer. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?*

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
1. I feel that my employer will keep their word	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel that my employer tries to get out of their commitments…..…….	1	2	3	4	5
3. I think that my employer meets their obligations..……..	1	2	3	4	5
4. In my opinion, my employer is reliable……	1	2	3	4	5
5. I feel that my employer communicates with teachers honestly……..…….	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel that my employer meets joint expectations of collaboration fairly……..	1	2	3	4	5
7. I think my employer tells the truth in their communication with teachers……...	1	2	3	4	5
8. I think my employer misleads teachers..….	1	2	3	4	5
9. I think that my employer takes advantage of teachers…….……...	1	2	3	4	5

[5] *This time please think of* ***your work colleagues in general.*** *To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements.*

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
1. I feel that my colleagues will keep their word..……	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel that my colleagues try to get out of their commitments……	1	2	3	4	5
3. I think that my colleagues meet their obligations…….	1	2	3	4	5
4. In my opinion, my colleagues are reliable....	1	2	3	4	5
5. I feel that my colleagues communicate with me honestly…….……..	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel that my colleagues meet joint expectations of collaboration fairly…..……	1	2	3	4	5
7. I think my colleagues tell the truth in their communication with me.…….…….	1	2	3	4	5
8. I think my colleagues mislead me..……..	1	2	3	4	5
9. I think that my colleagues take advantage of me……..……..	1	2	3	4	5

[6] *People differ on how well they feel that their employer treats them. The questions below ask about how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about your employer's treatment. Please indicate your feelings by circling a number.*

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
1. My employer takes into account my goals and values……	1	2	3	4	5
2. My employer disregards my best interests when making decisions……..	1	2	3	4	5
3. Help is available from my employer when I have a problem……..	1	2	3	4	5
4. My employer really cares about my well-being……..	1	2	3	4	5
5. My employer will go out of their way to help me…….	1	2	3	4	5
6. My employer cares about my satisfaction…….	1	2	3	4	5
7. My employer cares about my opinion...	1	2	3	4	5
8. My employer values the work I do…..	1	2	3	4	5
9. My employer is concerned about my self- growth…….	1	2	3	4	5

[7] *Now think of* ***your current colleagues in general****. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your colleagues' treatment of you. Please indicate your feelings by circling a number.*

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
1. My colleagues respect my rights……..	1	2	3	4	5
2. My colleagues treat me with dignity….	1	2	3	4	5
3. My colleagues usually give me an honest explanation about decisions they make……...	1	2	3	4	5
4. My colleagues consider my views when decisions are being made…….	1	2	3	4	5
5. My colleagues take account of my needs when making decisions……	1	2	3	4	5
6. My colleagues treat me fairly when making decisions……..	1	2	3	4	5

[8] *The following questions ask you what you think is required to bring about and maintain trust in our institutions. In order to be trustworthy, how important is it for your employer to…..*

1 = Not at all
2 = Somewhat important
3 = Fairly important
4 = Important
5 = Very important
6 = Essential

1. Not take risks with teachers' wellbeing…….	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Support high quality education……..…….	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Be efficient in its day-to-day operations...…….	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Be consistent in its decision making……	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Be accountable for its actions……..	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Be predictable in the way it goes about solving problems……	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Share the views of teaching staff in the school community……..……	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Have an interest in the wellbeing of teachers….	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Be clear in its communication with teachers …..	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Consult widely with people in the teaching profession …….	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Understand the position of teachers……	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Treat teachers with respect……..	1	2	3	4	5	6

[9] *Now we want you to think about the feelings that you hold when you trust an institution that you belong to. How relevant do you think the following feelings are for bringing about and maintaining trust in that institution?*

1 = Not at all relevant
2 = Somewhat relevant
3 = Fairly relevant
4 = Relevant
5 = Very relevant
6 = Essential

1. A feeling of closeness…….……..	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. A feeling of superiority ……..……	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. A feeling of excitement..……..…..…...	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. A feeling of high regard towards the institution...	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. A feeling of affection……...…….…….	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. A feeling of pride…….	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. A feeling of belongingness……	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. A feeling of confidence…….……	1	2	3	4	5	6

[10] *Below are some statements that describe the way teachers see their profession and their lives at school. Circle the number closest to your view.*

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
1. Teaching is the most rewarding profession I know…….…….	1	2	3	4	5
2. If I find that I am not doing what my employer wants, I'm not going to lose any sleep over it…….……...	1	2	3	4	5
3. Our education policy may not be perfect but it works well enough for most of us……..	1	2	3	4	5
4. My friends in this profession often say to me that it is important not to let my employer push me around…….	1	2	3	4	5
5. I have the attitude that the welfare of students and teachers must be the number one priority no matter what the cost..…….	1	2	3	4	5
6. Overall, I value my job……..……	1	2	3	4	5
7. My own feelings are not generally affected much one way or the other by how well I do this job…….....	1	2	3	4	5
8. I really don't expect anything from this job………..	1	2	3	4	5
9. Teachers and administrators agree with most of our education policies..…...……..	1	2	3	4	5
10. No matter how cooperative or uncooperative the school authorities are with me, the best policy is to always be cooperative with them……	1	2	3	4	5
11. The teaching profession needs more people willing to stand up against educational authorities……...	1	2	3	4	5
12. It is impossible for teachers to improve their performance unless they are paid more……	1	2	3	4	5
13. I resent the fact that I am stuck in the teaching profession……	1	2	3	4	5
14. I take my responsibility of educating students very seriously……..…..……	1	2	3	4	5
15. I personally don't think that there is much my employer can do to improve my life at school……..…….	1	2	3	4	5
16. If my employer gets tough with me, I'm not going to cooperate with them…..	1	2	3	4	5
17. People in the school community will respect me as long as I am doing my best	1	2	3	4	5
18. If I cooperate with my employer they are likely to cooperate with me…….…….	1	2	3	4	5
19. Once my employer has me branded as a bad teacher, they never change their mind……..	1	2	3	4	5
20. If I am not cooperative with my employer they will get tough with me…..	1	2	3	4	5

Your Feelings about Yourself and Others _____Part 3

[11] *The following statements ask about your feelings when you think of your job. Please indicate your feeling by circling a number next to the statements to show how much you feel this way now about your job.*

1 = Definitely do not feel this way
2 = Don't know /cannot decide
3 = Slightly feel this way
4 = Definitely feel this way

When you think of your job…….

1. How tense do you feel?……..……...……	1	2	3	4
2. How calm do you feel?……...……..……..…	1	2	3	4
3. How worried do you feel?..……	1	2	3	4
4. How uneasy do you feel?……....……..….	1	2	3	4
5. How up-tight do you feel?….…….	1	2	3	4
6. How relaxed do you feel?…….……..	1	2	3	4
7. How comfortable do you feel?……	1	2	3	4
8. How cheerful do you feel?……...……...	1	2	3	4
9. How contented do you feel?……...…	1	2	3	4
10. How distressed do you feel?...……...……...	1	2	3	4
11. How apprehensive do you feel?……	1	2	3	4
12. How jittery do you feel?…….…….	1	2	3	4
13. How bothered do you feel?……..……	1	2	3	4
14. How dejected do you feel?……..…….	1	2	3	4
15. How restful do you feel?……..……	1	2	3	4
16. How pleasant do you feel?……..…….	1	2	3	4
17. How nervous do you feel?……..…….	1	2	3	4
18. How peaceful do you feel?……...……	1	2	3	4

[12] *Below are some statements which describe certain feelings that you may have about yourself. Please read each statement and circle a number that most closely matches your feeling.*

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I am able to do things as well as most other people……..	1	2	3	4
2. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.……..	1	2	3	4
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities….	1	2	3	4
4. I am pretty sure of myself…….……..…	1	2	3	4
5. I sometimes think of myself as a failure……..…	1	2	3	4
6. I feel I do not have much to be proud of…..…	1	2	3	4
7. I wish I could have more respect for myself…..	1	2	3	4
8. I certainly feel useless at times……..……	1	2	3	4
9. At times I think I am no good at all……	1	2	3	4

[13] *Please think about the relationship you have with your current work colleagues. Would you say you…*

1 = Almost never
2 = Occasionally
3 = Sometimes yes, sometimes no
4 = Most times
5 = Almost always

1. Feel that you are valued……..……..…	1	2	3	4	5
2. Feel comfortable with them……..…….	1	2	3	4	5
3. Feel a sense of solidarity with them.…….…….	1	2	3	4	5
4. Feel a sense of oneness with them……..……	1	2	3	4	5
5. Feel uneasy with them…….……	1	2	3	4	5
6. Feel that you depend on each other..……...	1	2	3	4	5
7. Feel that you can trust them…….…..…….	1	2	3	4	5
8. Feel that you can open up to them…..……..……..	1	2	3	4	5
9. Feel warmth towards them…..……..……..	1	2	3	4	5
10. Feel a common destiny with them…….……..…..	1	2	3	4	5
11. Feel that they understand your point of view……..…	1	2	3	4	5
12. Feel secure in your relationship with them…….	1	2	3	4	5
13. Feel a sense of belongingness ….……...	1	2	3	4	5
14. Feel that you should go along with their decisions….	1	2	3	4	5
15. Feel that you can endure hard times together…….	1	2	3	4	5

16. To what extent do you feel that your individuality is restricted when you are identified as a teacher in a particular school?

Not at all Restricted				Extremly Restricted
1	2	3	4	5

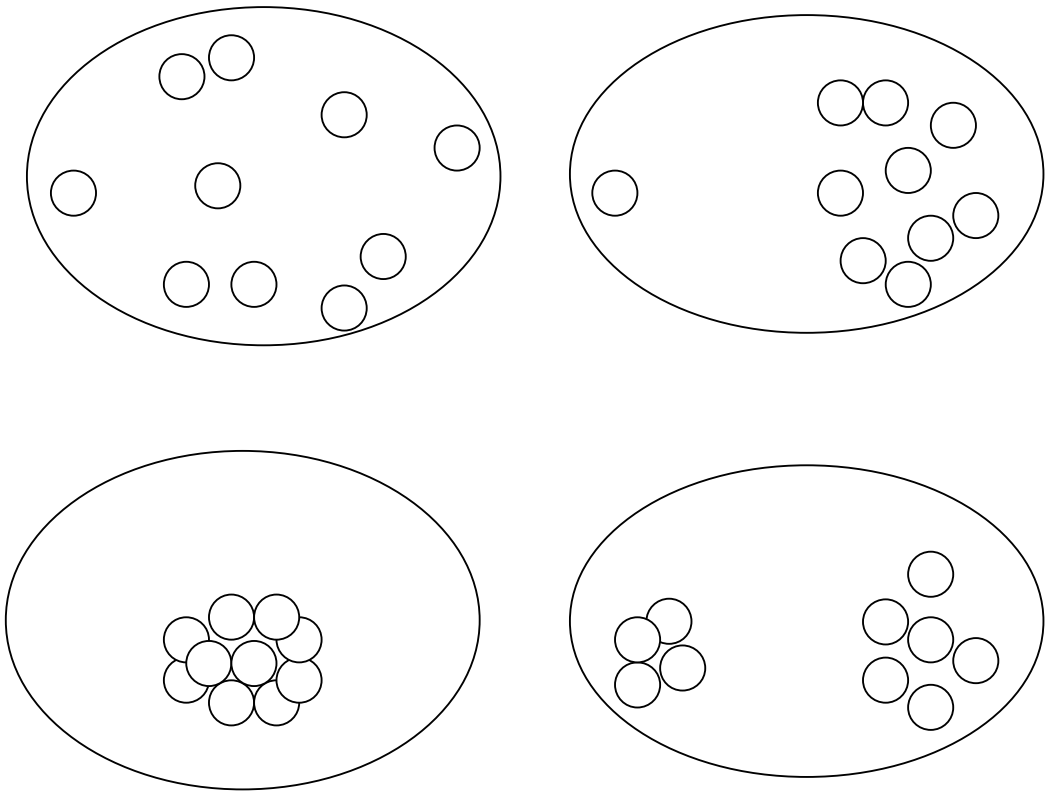
17. To what extent do you feel that your autonomy is restricted when you are identified as a teacher in a particular school?

Not at all Restricted				Extremly Restricted
1	2	3	4	5

18. Is being identified as a teacher in a particular school important for you in establishing social relationships with others in the community?

Not at all Important				Extremly Important
1	2	3	4	5

[14] *Look carefully at the diagrams below. First, put a box around the large oval that best represents the way individuals cluster in your school. Second, from the oval you've chosen put a cross (X) in the small circle that best represents you. To make it easier, people in all work places are represented by 10 small circles.*



[15] *How often do you do the following things?*

	Never	Some-times	Often	Very often
1. Discuss your views about local issues with your neighbours…….	1	2	3	4
2. Attend public meetings on community or school issues…	1	2	3	4
3. Communicate your views about local issues with community leaders……	1	2	3	4
4. Read the community newspaper……	1	2	3	4
5. Visit friends and family……..……	1	2	3	4
6. Attend religious services……	1	2	3	4
7. Volunteer to help out your community…….	1	2	3	4
8. Meet with neighbours for a social evening……	1	2	3	4

[16] *People are different in how connected they feel to their work organisation and work setting. When you think about <u>your job</u>, would you agree or disagree that……*

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. My work as a teacher is important to the way I think of myself as a person……	1	2	3	4	5
2. When someone praises the accomplishments of my school, it feels like a personal compliment to me……..…	1	2	3	4	5
3. When I talk about the school where I work I usually say "we", rather than "they"……	1	2	3	4	5
4. I feel a sense that I personally belong at my school……..……	1	2	3	4	5
5. I feel that the problems of my school are my own "personal" problems……..	1	2	3	4	5
6. I do <u>not</u> feel close to other people within my school……..…….	1	2	3	4	5
7. There are people at school that I think of as good friends……..	1	2	3	4	5
8. When someone from outside criticizes my school it feels like a personal insult…	1	2	3	4	5
9. I feel like a valued member of my school……..……	1	2	3	4	5
10. When something goes wrong at my school, I feel a personal responsibility to fix it……..……..……	1	2	3	4	5
11. I do <u>not</u> feel like an important part of my school……..……	1	2	3	4	5
12. The school in which I work says a lot about who I am as a person……..…….	1	2	3	4	5

What If …….?_____Part 4a

The questions below ask about how you would feel if you found yourself in the following situations. They may not typically happen to you but they could happen. As you read each story, try to imagine yourself in that situation. Then indicate how you would feel by putting a circle around a number following the question.

A new teacher (A) joins you in the staff room and eagerly asks you questions about the school because you are the teacher who holds the necessary information. You initially answer superficially, then you stare contemptuously at teacher A, finally you stand up and say, "Didn't you do any preparation for this job?" Then you realise that the other teachers in the staff room are listening and watching you.

[17] Would you……	Not likely	May happen	Likely	Almost certain
1. Feel that you had let down people around you…….	1	2	3	4
2. Feel ashamed of yourself…….…….	1	2	3	4
3. Feel guilt……	1	2	3	4
4. Feel concerned to put matters right and put it behind you……..	1	2	3	4
5. Feel bad that you put yourself in this situation.……	1	2	3	4
6. Feel humiliated.……..……	1	2	3	4
7. Feel embarrassed…..…….	1	2	3	4
8. Feel sorry or remorseful for your action…….…….	1	2	3	4
9. Feel that the action you've taken was wrong……...	1	2	3	4
10. Feel angry with teacher A…….…….	1	2	3	4
11. Feel that you wanted to get even with teacher A....	1	2	3	4
12. Feel like blaming others for what happened…..….	1	2	3	4
13. Feel like walking out and slamming the door behind you……	1	2	3	4
14. Feel like hiding…...…..……	1	2	3	4
15. Feel like being alone…….…….	1	2	3	4
16. Pretend that nothing happened…….……...	1	2	3	4
17. Make a joke of it…..…….……..	1	2	3	4
18. Feel like "So what?" I don't care……...	1	2	3	4

[18] *What would you expect from your colleagues if the event in the previous page had happened?*

Your colleagues would……	Not likely	May happen	Likely	Almost certain
1. Show affection and speak warmly to you……	1	2	3	4
2. Make some effort to spend some time or do things together with you……..……	1	2	3	4
3. Enquire about your thoughts and feelings……..…	1	2	3	4
4. Initiate play, e.g. games, jokes, and share humour with you……	1	2	3	4
5. Listen to you attentively……	1	2	3	4
6. Do things to soothe or calm you……	1	2	3	4
7. Do things to protect you from becoming stressed…	1	2	3	4
8. Act as a third party to resolve conflict between you and teacher A……..……..	1	2	3	4
9. Discuss with you the practice and guidelines of the school……...	1	2	3	4
10. Point out to you that you might be upsetting others…….	1	2	3	4
11. Try to help you think through the consequences of your behaviour……..	1	2	3	4
12. Try to persuade you to stop something that is harmful……..	1	2	3	4

[19] *To what extent do you believe that the following would happen on resolution of the incident in the previous page?*

	Not likely	May happen	Likely	Almost certain
1. You would feel forgiven for your action……..…	1	2	3	4
2. Closeness would increase between yourself and other colleagues…….	1	2	3	4
3. Your sense of belonging with your colleagues would increase…… ……..	1	2	3	4
4. Your sense of self worth would be lowered by this incident……..…….	1	2	3	4
5. Your sense of pride in your work would be damaged	1	2	3	4

What If …….?_____Part 4b

Imagine you are in a staff meeting discussing the upcoming multicultural festival at the school. Another teacher (B), who happens to be from a different ethnic group than yourself, makes a suggestion you don't like. You make a comment that has racist overtones. The room goes silent.

[20] Would you……	Not likely	May happen	Likely	Almost certain
1. Feel that you had let down people around you…….	1	2	3	4
2. Feel ashamed of yourself…….…….	1	2	3	4
3. Feel guilt……	1	2	3	4
4. Feel concerned to put matters right and put it behind you……..	1	2	3	4
5. Feel bad that you put yourself in this situation.……	1	2	3	4
6. Feel humiliated.……..……	1	2	3	4
7. Feel embarrassed…..…….	1	2	3	4
8. Feel sorry or remorseful for your action……...	1	2	3	4
9. Feel that the action you've taken was wrong……	1	2	3	4
10. Feel angry with teacher B..…….……	1	2	3	4
11. Feel that you wanted to get even with teacher B....	1	2	3	4
12. Feel like blaming others for what happened…..….	1	2	3	4
13. Feel like walking out and slamming the door behind you……	1	2	3	4
14. Feel like hiding…...…..……	1	2	3	4
15. Feel like being alone…….……..	1	2	3	4
16. Pretend that nothing happened…….…….……..	1	2	3	4
17. Make a joke of it…….……..……..	1	2	3	4
18. Feel like "So what?" I don't care……...	1	2	3	4

[21] *What would you expect from your colleagues if the event in the previous page had happened?*

Your colleagues would……	Not likely	May happen	Likely	Almost certain
1. Show affection and speak warmly to you…….	1	2	3	4
2. Make some effort to spend some time or do things together with you……..……	1	2	3	4
3. Enquire about your thoughts and feelings……..…	1	2	3	4
4. Initiate play, e.g. games, jokes, and share humour with you……	1	2	3	4
5. Listen to you attentively……	1	2	3	4
6. Do things to soothe or calm you……	1	2	3	4
7. Do things to protect you from becoming stressed…	1	2	3	4
8. Act as a third party to resolve conflict between you and teacher B……..……..	1	2	3	4
9. Discuss with you the practice and guidelines of the school……...	1	2	3	4
10. Point out to you that you might be upsetting others……	1	2	3	4
11. Try to help you think through the consequences of your behaviour……..	1	2	3	4
12. Try to persuade you to stop something that is harmful……..	1	2	3	4

[22] *To what extent do you believe that the following would happen on resolution of the incident in the previous page?*

	Not likely	May happen	Likely	Almost certain
1. You would feel forgiven for your action.……..…	1	2	3	4
2. Closeness would increase between yourself and other colleagues…….	1	2	3	4
3. Your sense of belonging with your colleagues would increase…… ……..	1	2	3	4
4. Your sense of self worth would be lowered by this incident……..…….	1	2	3	4
5. Your sense of pride in your work would be damaged	1	2	3	4

Your Views on School Bullying_____Part 5

[23] *We want to ask you about your experience with bullying in your school.* ***Bullying*** *is the systematic abuse of power which causes distress to the victim. It could be physical, emotional, or social in nature. Please indicate the degree to which the following has happened to you by circling around the number that best describes your experience.*

	No, Never	Yes, Once	Yes, Sometimes	Yes, Often
1. Since the beginning of the year, have you ever been bullied by a student or students in your school?…….	1	2	3	4
2. Since the beginning of the year, have you ever been bullied by a parent or parents in your school?…….	1	2	3	4
3. Since the beginning of the year, have you ever been bullied by a colleague or colleagues in your school?…….	1	2	3	4
Now, think about your own behaviour.				
4. Since the beginning of the year, have you ever made fun of a colleague or colleagues in your school?……..	1	2	3	4
5. Since the beginning of the year, have you ever put down a colleague or colleagues in your school?……..	1	2	3	4
6. Since the beginning of the year, have you ever excluded a colleague or colleagues in your school from participating in any activity?……	1	2	3	4
7. Since the beginning of the year, have you ever acted unfairly to a colleague or colleagues in your school?……	1	2	3	4
8. Since the beginning of the year, have you ever frightened a colleague or colleagues in your school?……..	1	2	3	4

[24] Bullying among students *is our next concern. The following questions ask about your views on bullying among students. Please indicate your views by putting a circle around the number which corresponds to your view.*

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
1. In many cases, I realise that what bullies need is understanding and love from others……..…	1	2	3	4	5
2. Bullies should be encouraged to repair the harm they've done……	1	2	3	4	5
3. Bullies should be punished formally to teach them a lesson……	1	2	3	4	5
4. When I confront the wrongdoing of bullies I still respect them as human beings……..	1	2	3	4	5
5. Bullies are not capable of acknowledging their wrongdoing……	1	2	3	4	5
6. Bullies still care about people who they love and respect……..…..	1	2	3	4	5
7. Once a bully, forever a bully……...	1	2	3	4	5
8. Someone who victimises his/her peers doesn't deserve forgiveness…….....	1	2	3	4	5

[25] *How important would you consider the following school actions to be in dealing with bullying? Please use the following code to decide which number to select for each statement.*

1 = Undesirable, would make things worse
2 = Neither undesirable nor desirable
3 = Somewhat desirable, not a high priority
4 = Desirable, high priority
5 = Essential, the highest priority

1. Consulting with parents to develop policy guidelines….	1	2	3	4	5
2. Consulting with students to develop policy guidelines....	1	2	3	4	5
3. Suspension for a week or two for students who have bullied	1	2	3	4	5
4. Discussion groups for parents of students who bully or are bullied……..	1	2	3	4	5
5. Conflict resolution classes within the school curriculum	1	2	3	4	5
6. Expulsion of students who have been repeatedly involved in bullying others……	1	2	3	4	5
7. Taking away privileges from students who bully…….	1	2	3	4	5
8. Workshops/classes on democratic decision making…….	1	2	3	4	5
9. Immediate 'time out' for any student who has been caught bullying……..	1	2	3	4	5
10. Formal confrontation of bullies in the Principal's office	1	2	3	4	5
11. Programs that build a sense of community for the students…….	1	2	3	4	5

Background Information_____Part 6

The final part of the questionnaire asks about you. These characteristics enable us to understand how different people in different circumstances feel about their workplaces.

[26] What is your age in years? _____ years

[27] What is your sex?
Male……1
Female…...…..……..2

[28] How long have you worked in this school? _____ years _____ months

[29] How long have you been in the teaching profession? _____ years

[30] How many schools have you worked in? _____ school(s)

[31] What is your job status?
Permanent / full time…….……1
Permanent / part time…….……2
Contract / full time....…….……3
Contract / part time……..…..…….....4
Other…….……..……....5

[32] What is your job title (i.e., position)? _____

[33] At which school do you currently work? You may choose more than one.
Primary school……..……..……...1
High school……...……..……...2
College…….……..3
University……..4
Other……..5

[34] Do you currently work in…….?
Government school……....1
Private School……2
Both / other……....3

[35] What is your religious denomination?
Catholic……..……....1
Anglican (C of E)……...2
Methodist…….....3
Presbyterian……4
Uniting church……5
Baptist……6
Greek Orthodox……...7
No religion……..8
Other……...…9

* If you would like to add any comments / experiences relating to the issue which have been discussed in the questionnaire, please write them below. Your comments are very much appreciated.

……

……

……

……

……

……

……..

*If you would like to be involved in some follow up interviews, please give your contact information below.

Name:

Address:

Phone/Email:

Thank you very much for filling out the questionnaire.

Your answers to this questionnaire are very important to us and we really appreciate your cooperation. Please put the completed questionnaire in the envelope again and returning it to the collection box in the front office as soon as possible. Thanks again!

Appendix B

The Correlation Coefficients of the Shame Management Scale between Two Bullying Scenarios (Belittling versus Ethnic Remarks) in the Australian Sample [Items in Questions 17 (*across*) and 20 (*down*)]

	Q17a1	Q17a2	Q17a3	Q17a6	Q17a7	Q17a8	Q17a9	Q17a10	Q17a11	Q17q12	Q17a13	Q17a14	Q17a15
Q20a1	.51**												
Q20a2	.49**	.48**											
Q20a3	.53**	.51**	.51**-										
Q20a6	.45**	.47**	.49**	.56**									
Q20a7	.45**	.48**	.55**	.45**	.65**								
Q20a8	.41**	.46**	.49**	.33**	.51**	.53**							
Q20a9	.43**	.48**	.45**	.30**	.46**	.53**	.58**						
Q20a10	-.16**	-.17*	-.13*	-.08	-.09	-.09	-.17**	.42**					
Q20a11	-.20**	-.15*	-.15*	-.12	-.14**	-.19**	-.17**	.23**	.59**				
Q20a12	-.05	-.07	-.03	.07	-.01	-.13*	-.11	.30**	.26**	.51**			
Q20a13	.02	.02	.06	.14	.11	.03	-.05	.15*	.12*	.29**	.65**		
Q20a14	.28**	.32**	.38**	.39	.39**	.37**	.27**	-.13*	-.08	.05	.19**	.62**	
Q20a15	.22**	.28**	.37**	.39	.40**	.37**	.28**	-.06	-.08	.06	.25**	.62**	.68**

Note. *p < .05 **p < .01

Coefficients without any asterisk (*) mean statistical non-significance.

For the actual items, refer Appendix A.

The Correlation Coefficients of the Shame Management Scale between Two Bullying Scenarios (Belittling versus Ethnic Remarks) in the Korean Sample [Items in Questions 17 (*across*) and 20 (*down*)]

	Q17a1	Q17a2	Q17a3	Q17a6	Q17a7	Q17a8	Q17a9	Q17a10	Q17a11	Q17q12	Q17a13	Q17a14	Q17a15
Q20a1	.35**												
Q20a2	.31**	.38**											
Q20a3	.25**	.40**	.47**										
Q20a6	.07	.10	.18**	.37**									
Q20a7	.15**	.19**	.19**	.11*	.26**								
Q20a8	.22**	.36**	.36**	.06	.30**	.49**							
Q20a9	.26**	.43**	.40**	.05	.36**	.53**	.52**						
Q20a10	.25**	.37**	.36**	.06	.32**	.38**	.41**	.43**					
Q20a11	.31**	.38**	.34**	.09	.30**	.36**	.37**	.36**	.40**				
Q20a12	-.04	-.17**	-.16**	.05	-.08	-.04	-.09	-.14**	-.13*	.39**			
Q20a13	-.14**	-.20**	-.14**	.06	-.24**	-.11*	-.14**	-.19**	-.16**	.28**	.50**		
Q20a14	-.14**	-.14*	-.13**	.01	-.22**	-.04	-.07	-.15**	-.15**	.20**	.43**	.44**	
Q20a15	-.18**	-.09	-.07	.00	-.11*	.01	-.01	-.12*	-.14*	.39**	.44**	.43**	.57**

Note. *p < .05 **p < .01
Coefficients without any asterisk (*) mean statistical non-significance.
For the actual items, refer Appendix A.

Appendix C

Rotated (Oblimin) Factor Loadings for the Shame Management Items (the First Scenario: Belittling Scenario) after Principal Components Analyses in the Australian and Korean Samples

Items	Australia			Korea		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Shame Acknowledgement						
Feel that you had let down people around you	.75			.74		
Feel ashamed of yourself	.89			.83		
Feel guilt	.88			.85		
Feel humiliated	.74	.33		.74		.42
Feel embarrassed	.84			.78		.41
Feel sorry or remorseful for your action	.84			.72		.34
Feel that the action you've taken was wrong	.85			.73		.33
Shame Displacement						
Feel angry with teacher A / B			.77		.70	
Feel that you wanted to get even with teacher A / B			.65		.91	
Feel like blaming others for what happened			.80		.89	
Withdrawal						
Feel like hiding	.31	.87		.36		.82
Feel like being alone		.91				.86
Initial Eigenvalues	5.74	1.86	1.13	5.58	2.30	.87
Eigenvalues after Rotation	5.01	1.97	1.75	4.40	2.27	2.08

* Loadings under .30 are not included in the table.

Rotated (Oblimin) Factor Loadings for the Shame Management Items (the Second Scenario: Ethnic Remark Scenario) after Principal Components Analyses in the Australian and Korean Samples

Items	Australia			Korea		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Shame Acknowledgement						
Feel that you had let down people around you	.83			.77		
Feel ashamed of yourself	.93			.84		
Feel guilt	.92			.85		
Feel humiliated	.76	.35		.88		
Feel embarrassed	.82	.31		.89		
Feel sorry or remorseful for your action	.88			.87		
Feel that the action you've taken was wrong	.88			.84		
Shame Displacement						
Feel angry with teacher A / B			.78		.73	
Feel that you wanted to get even with teacher A / B			.82		.86	
Feel like blaming others for what happened			.78		.76	
Withdrawal				.32		.86
Feel like hiding		.91				.88
Feel like being alone		.91				
Initial Eigenvalues	6.07	2.01	1.23	5.75	2.12	1.08
Eigenvalues after Rotation	5.34	2.02	1.96	5.27	1.91	1.77

* Loadings under .30 are not included in the table.

Appendix D

The Correlation Coefficients of the Problem Resolution Practice Scale between Two Bullying Scenarios (Belittling versus Ethnic Remark) in the Australian Sample [Items in Questions 18 (*across*) and 21 (*down*)]

	Q18a1	Q18a2	Q18a3	Q18a5	Q18a6	Q18a7	Q18a10	Q18a11	Q18a12
Q21a1	.59**								
Q21a2	.50**	.64**							
Q21a3	.31**	.40**	.67**						
Q21a5	.37**	.37**	.53**	.66**					
Q21a6	.37**	.43**	.46**	.42**	.58**				
Q21a7	.34**	.39**	.43**	.36**	.52**	.67**			
Q21a10	-.01	.02	.23**	.11	.12	.10	.66**		
Q21a11	.11	.16**	.33**	.27**	.31**	.28**	.58**	.69**	
Q21a12	.07	.18*	.31**	.28**	.31**	.29**	.57**	.65**	.70**

**p < .01 *p < .05

Coefficients without any asterisk (*) mean statistical non-significance.

For the actual items, refer Appendix A.

The Correlation Coefficients of the Problem Resolution Practice Scale between Two Bullying Scenarios (Belittling versus Ethnic Remark) in the Korean Sample [Items in Questions 18 (*across*) and 21 (*down*)]

	Q18a1	Q18a2	Q18a3	Q18a5	Q18a6	Q18a7	Q18a10	Q18a11	Q18a12
Q21a1	.64**								
Q21a2	.40**	.48**							
Q21a3	.40**	.47**	.57**						
Q21a5	.39**	.35**	.41**	.50**					
Q21a6	.36**	.39**	.42**	.39**	.50**				
Q21a7	.44**	.43**	.49**	.37**	.37**	.54**			
Q21a10	.25**	.31**	.35**	.26**	.31**	.30**	.58**		
Q21a11	.40**	.39**	.42**	.35**	.38**	.38**	.57**	.58**	
Q21a12	.33**	.38**	.37**	.28**	.25**	.31**	.50**	.45**	.59**

**p < .01 *p < .05
Coefficients without any asterisk (*) mean statistical non-significance.
For the actual items, refer Appendix A.

Appendix E

Rotated (Oblimin) Factor Loadings for the Problem Resolution Practice Items (the First Scenario) after Principal Components Analyses in the Australian and Korean Samples

Variables	Australia		Korea	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Support				
Show affection and speak warmly to you	.78		.76	
Make some effort to spend some time or do things together with you	.78		.74	
Enquire about your thoughts and feelings	.72	.31	.77	
Listen to you attentively	.78		.78	
Do things to protect you from becoming stressed	.77		.73	
Do things to soothe or calm you	.72		.76	
Disapproval				
Point out to you that you might be upsetting others		.87		.90
Try to help you think through the consequences of your behaviour		.89	.33	.85
Try to persuade you to stop something that is harmful		.88		.85
Initial Eigenvalues	3.88	2.12	4.82	1.39
Eigenvalues after Rotation	3.49	2.56	3.64	2.57

*Loadings under .30 are not included in the table.

Rotated (Oblimin) Factor Loadings for the Problem Resolution Practice Items (the Second Scenario) after Principal Components Analyses in the Australian and Korean Samples

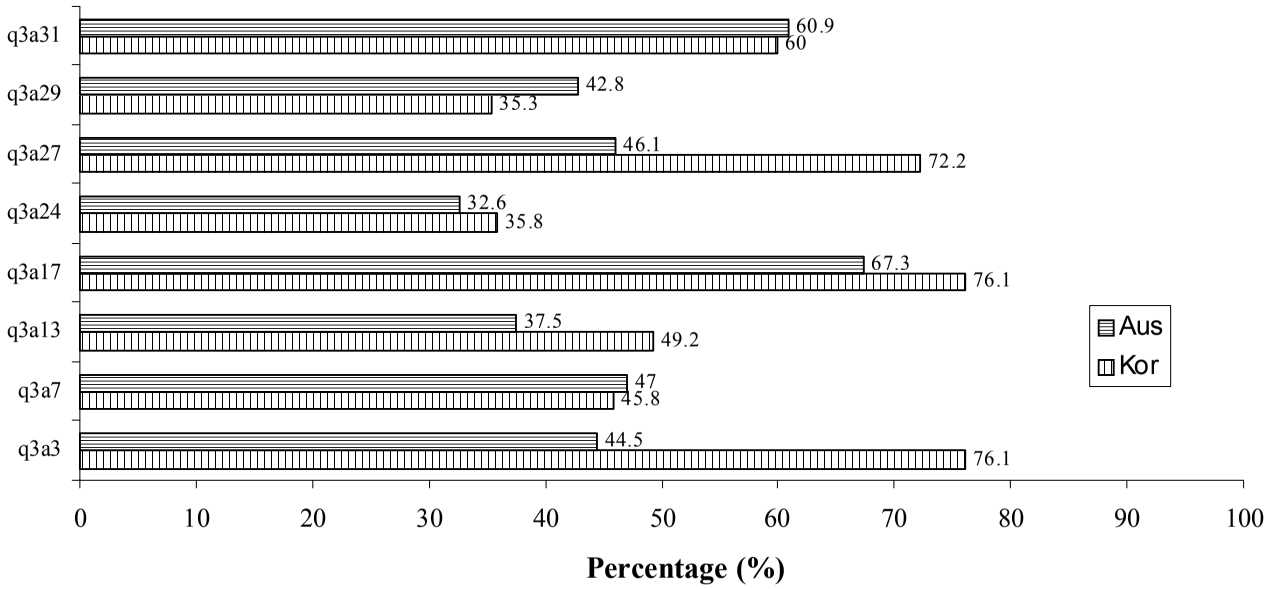
Variables	Australia		Korea	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Support				
Show affection and speak warmly to you	.78		.80	
Make some effort to spend some time or do things together with you	.80		.79	
Enquire about your thoughts and feelings	.73		.79	
Listen to you attentively	.83		.78	
Do things to protect you from becoming stressed	.79		.65	
Do things to soothe or calm you				
Disapproval				
Point out to you that you might be upsetting others		.91		.89
Try to help you think through the consequences of your behaviour		.92	.37	.81
Try to persuade you to stop something that is harmful		.92		.86
Initial Eigenvalues	4.17	2.36	4.79	1.39
Eigenvalues after Rotation	3.81	2.71	3.61	2.56

*Loadings under .30 are not included in the table.

Appendix F

The Percentages of People Who Endorsed Vertical Collectivism in the Australian and Korean Samples

* Q3a3: I would do what I had to do to please my family, even if I detested that activity.
* Q3a7: I usually sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of my group.
* Q3a13: We should keep our aging parents at home with us.
* Q3a17: Children should feel honoured if their parents receive a distinguished award.
* Q3a24: I would sacrifice an activity that I enjoy very much if my family did not approve of it.
* Q3a27: Children should be taught to place duty before pleasure.
* Q3a29: I hate to disagree with others in my group.
* Q3a31: Before taking a major trip, I consult with most members of my family and my friends.



Appendix G

Mean Scores on Feeling Forgiven and Variables on Workplace Climate for the Reintegrative Shaming Practice and Non-Reintegrative Shaming Practice in the Australian sample (Reintegrative Shaming Practice N = 104, Non-Reintegrative Shaming Practice N = 146 minimum)

Variables	Types of Practice	Mean (SD)	*t*-statistic
Feeling Forgiven	Non-Reintegrative	2.21 (.69)	-5.96***
	Reintegrative	2.70 (.61)	
Work colleagues' Treatment	Non-Reintegrative	3.73 (.63)	-5.58***
	Reintegrative	4.10 (.44)	
Organisational Treatment	Non-Reintegrative	2.53 (.86)	-2.32*
	Reintegrative	2.82 (1.09)	
Feeling of Relatedness	Non-Reintegrative	3.56 (.74)	-5.72***
	Reintegrative	4.00 (.47)	
Job Related Stress	Non-Reintegrative	2.18 (.63)	2.14*
	Reintegrative	2.02 (.55)	

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$
Workmates' Treatment: respectful treatment given by workmates
Organisational Treatment: respectful treatment given by the organisation
Non-Reintegrative: Workplaces where non-reintegrative shaming is exercised
Reintegrative: Workplaces where reintegrative shaming is exercised

Mean Scores on Feeling Forgiven and Variables on Workplace Climate for the Reintegrative Shaming Practice and Non-Reintegrative Shaming Practice in the Korean sample (Reintegrative Shaming Practice N = 143, Non-Reintegrative Shaming Practice N = 205 minimum)

Variables	Types of Practice	Mean (SD)	*t*-statistic
Feeling Forgiven	Non-Reintegrative	2.02 (.59)	-8.48***
	Reintegrative	2.56 (.57)	
Work colleagues' Treatment	Non-Reintegrative	3.52 (.48)	-3.56***
	Reintegrative	3.70 (.44)	
Organisational Treatment	Non-Reintegrative	2.70 (.59)	-4.57***
	Reintegrative	2.99 (.59)	
Feeling of Relatedness	Non-Reintegrative	3.15 (.60)	-4.03***
	Reintegrative	3.40 (.55)	
Job Related Stress	Non-Reintegrative	2.39 (.48)	2.70***
	Reintegrative	2.24 (.48)	

Note. *** $p < .001$
Workmates' Treatment: respectful treatment given by workmates
Organisational Treatment: respectful treatment given by the organisation
Non-Reintegrative: Workplaces where non-reintegrative shaming is exercised
Reintegrative: Workplaces where reintegrative shaming is exercised