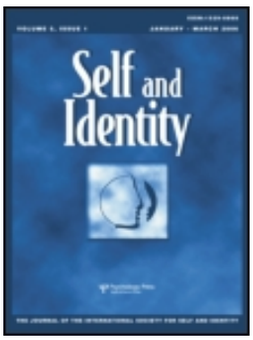

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Cross-cultural Continuities and Discontinuities in Shame, Guilt, and Pride: A Study of Children Residing in Japan, Korea and the USA

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In a study of 144 Japanese, 180 Korean, and 688 US children, grades 3–6, differential item functioning analysis supported the cross-cultural equivalence of the TOSCA-C measure of shame, guilt, and pride. Substantial differences were observed in the mean levels of shame, guilt and pride, with Japanese children scoring highest on shame, Korean children scoring highest on guilt, and US children scoring highest on pride. The pattern of correlations, however, was more similar than different across cultures. In all groups, shame-proneness was positively correlated with aggression-relevant constructs, whereas guilt-proneness was associated with a tendency to take responsibility for failures and transgressions.

Keywords: Culture; Guilt; Pride; Self-conscious emotions; Shame.

Shame, guilt, and pride are self-conscious emotions, feelings we experience in reference to ''the self'' (Tangney, 1991). In the face of failure, transgression or accomplishment, we often turn toward ourselves, reflecting, evaluating and judging our actions, abilities and who we are. With such contemplation, we experience emotions about the self—feeling ashamed, guilty or proud. The self-conscious emotions of shame, guilt and pride appear to be universally recognized and experienced (Matsumoto, Kudoh, Scherer, & Wallbott, 1988; Mauro, Sato, & Tucker, 1992; Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2007a; Wallbott & Scherer, 1988), but the nature of the experiences are thought by many to be profoundly influenced by culture.

In this paper, we empirically examine similarities and differences in shame, guilt, and pride assessed in children residing in the United States, Korea, and Japan to

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address four questions. Question 1 is a practical question. Can scenario-based measures of self-conscious emotions be used with confidence across cultures?[1] Scenario-based methods (Reimer, 1995; Tangney, Wagner, Burggraf, Gramzow, & Fletcher, 1990) are most frequently used in research on individual differences in shame, guilt, and pride. Tangney (1996) argued that it is difficult if not impossible to reliably distinguish between shame and guilt using conventional global self-report methods (e.g., "I always feel guilt"). To assess guilt about behavior, distinct from shame about self, it is necessary to assess emotions *embedded in specific situations*—yet it is precisely the introduction of specific situations that renders scenario-based methods vulnerable to cultural effects.

Question 2 is more conceptual. What substantively do analyses of a scenario-based measure reveal about cross-cultural continuities and discontinuities in the *nature* of shame, guilt, and pride experiences? Question 3 pertains to means. Are there cultural differences, on average, in children's propensity to experience shame, guilt, and pride? Question 4 pertains to correlates. Does the propensity to experience shame, guilt, and pride have similar implications for adjustment and behavior across cultures? In the current study, we focused on one domain of theoretical and applied importance—the externalizing spectrum (Krueger, 2002)—e.g., externalization of blame, anger, aggression and other related problem behaviors.

What's the Difference between Shame and Guilt?

Benedict (1947) coined the terms "shame-culture" and "guilt-culture" in her analysis of mid-century Japan and the USA, respectively. Benedict and others (e.g., Ausubel, 1955; Mead, 1952; Triandis, 1988) defined shame as an external (public, socially-driven) emotion, and guilt as an internal (private, self-driven) emotion. Smith, Webster, Parrott, and Eyer (2002) have presented data showing that when feeling shame, people are *more concerned with* others' negative evaluations than when experiencing guilt. However, other studies of US children and adults show that most episodes of *both* shame and guilt occur in public contexts, about behavior known to others (Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996). Actual audience *awareness* does not vary as a function of shame and guilt (Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007; Tracy & Robins, 2006).

Much recent theory and research on shame and guilt has adopted Lewis's (1971) self versus behavior distinction (Tangney et al., 1996; Tangney & Dearing, 2002a; Tracy & Robins, 2006, 2007b). When people feel shame, they feel bad about the self ("How could *I* have done that?") When people feel guilt, they feel bad about a specific behavior ("How could I have *done that*?"). Research employing a range of methods has confirmed this distinction between shame and guilt (Lindsay-Hartz, 1984; Niedenthal, Tangney, & Gavanski, 1994; Tangney, 1992; Tangney & Dearing, 2002a; Tracy & Robins, 2006, 2007b; Wicker, Payne, & Morgan, 1983). Wolf, Cohen, Panter, and Insko (2010) have argued that the self versus behavior distinction between shame and guilt is not incompatible with the public versus private conceptualization and both contribute to the differential constructs.

Why Should Culture Matter When Considering Shame, Guilt, and Pride?

Many theorists associate shame with collectivism and guilt with individualism (e.g., Benedict, 1947; El-Jamil, 2003; Hofstede, 1980; Miller, 2002; Ratanasiripong, 1997; Triandis, 1989). Others have questioned the contrast between shame-oriented Eastern

(especially Japanese) cultures and guilt-oriented Western cultures (Creighton, 1990; Hamaguchi, 1985). When considering contemporary (self-behavior) conceptualizations of shame and guilt, there is good theoretical reason to expect differences across culture. Shame and guilt are emotions experienced with reference to self. To the extent that the very nature of the self differs across cultures and nations (Kitayama, Markus, & Matsumoto, 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989), one might expect parallel differences in the experience of "self-conscious" emotions (Goetz & Keltner, 2007; Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006; Mesquita, 2001).

Specifically, it has been noted that people in the USA tend to define themselves in terms of their unique characteristics and abilities (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In pursuit of high self-esteem, they focus on information and engage in activities that allow them to affirm their innate and stable positive attributes (Heine et al., 2001). In fact, most people in the USA believe they are better than average (Baumeister, Tice, & Hutton, 1989). This inclination to view the self in a positive light is incompatible with feelings of shame.

In contrast, people in Japan and Korea are more inclined to define themselves in terms of their social roles and relationships (Hyangsook, 2002; Kashima et al., 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1998). Individuals' sense of self appears largely influenced by others' opinions (Takata, 2001; Weisz, Rothbaum, & Blackburn, 1984). Japanese people are sensitive to, and are more apt to internalize, criticisms (Kanagawa, Cross, & Markus, 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1994). Situations are framed to foster self-criticism, instead of self-enhancement (Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997). From this perspective, one might expect feelings of shame to be more prevalent in Asian cultures than Western cultures.

Another reason for expecting cultural differences in the experience and functions of self-conscious emotions is that there are differences in the degree to which such emotions are viewed as desirable. Self-criticism is encouraged in many Asian cultures as it provides an opportunity to reflect on one's weakness and improve the self to meet shared social standards (Compos, Keltner, Beck, Gonzaga, & John, 2007; Heine et al., 2001; Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999; Norasakkunkit, 2003). In fact, shame and guilt have been found to be more desirable in countries with more collectivistic values, such as Tamang versus Brahman and the USA (Cole, Bruschi, & Tamang, 2002), Spain versus the Netherlands (Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2000), China and Taiwan versus Australia and the USA (Eid & Diener, 2001), and Chinese-speaking and Japanese-speaking versus English speaking (Moore, Romney, Hsia, & Rusch, 1999). In contrast, pride is perceived as less desirable by people in collectivistic cultures (Eid & Diener, 2001; Rodriguez et al., 2000; Stipek, 1998). To the degree that shame is more normative and desirable in Asian cultures, shame may not be associated with the same psychosocial problems as has been observed in Western contexts.

Extant Research on Cross-cultural Differences in the Self-conscious Emotions

To date, the vast majority of self-conscious emotions research has been conducted in "Western" cultures, predominantly the USA. Most studies investigating cultural differences in the self-conscious emotions have compared Asian Americans and Caucasian Americans. The propensity to feel shame is higher among Asian American students and adults, compared to their non-Asian American counterparts (Lutwak, Razzino, & Ferrari, 1998; Miller, 2002; Ratanasiripong, 1997). Findings have been mixed regarding cultural differences in guilt-proneness within US samples

(Lutwak et al., 1998; Miller, 2002; Ratanasiripong, 1997). Cultural differences in the propensity to experience pride are largely unexplored. Lieber and Yu (2003) reported that, when describing achievement stories, Taiwanese students were less likely to report feelings of pride compared to American students.

Few studies have moved beyond a consideration of mean differences in the propensity to experience shame, guilt, and pride, to consider the possibility of cultural differences in the *correlates* of self-conscious emotions. Among college students from Peru, Belgium and Hungary, Fontaine et al. (2006) found that experiences of shame and guilt are highly consistent across cultures (see also Breugelmans & Poortinga, 2006). In studies of Asian Americans and non-Asian Americans, shame-proneness was similarly associated with anger (Bruno, 2000), depression and anxiety (Hyangsook, 2002), and self-doubts (Lutwak et al., 1998). Findings are mixed regarding the correlates of guilt. El-Jamil (2003) reported an inverse relationship between guilt-proneness and hostility in a US college sample, but no such relation among Lebanese college students. Lutwak, Panish, Ferrari, and Razzino (2001) found similar null relationships between guilt-proneness and self-doubt in samples of Asian-, European-, Latin-, and African American students.

In sum, the empirical literature on self-conscious emotions across culture is surprisingly limited. Most studies have contrasted ethnic groups residing in a single cultural context—typically Asian Americans and Caucasian Americans in the USA. The focus has been on cultural differences in the propensity to experience self-conscious emotions—e.g., mean differences. Evidence suggests people from Asian and other collectivistic cultures demonstrate higher proneness to shame than people from individualistic cultures. Little is known about cross-cultural differences in the correlates of shame, guilt, and pride.

The Current Study

We examined cross-cultural differences in mean levels of self-conscious emotions and their psychosocial correlates among children residing in Japan, Korea, and the USA. Our focus on children was a matter of convenience. We were fortunate to have an opportunity to gather data from children residing in Japan and Korea, resulting in samples similar in age and socioeconomic status (SES) to two existing samples of US children. We chose for this study the two cultures most likely to evidence differences in self-conscious emotions. Since Benedict's seminal work (1947) many scholars have shown interest in these particular cultures, often generalizing the Japan–USA distinction to Asian versus Western cultures. However, recent cross-cultural studies point to the unique values existing in various Asian countries (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). Thus, we aimed, in addition, to extend the cross-cultural literature on self-conscious emotions by exploring the possibility of differences between two distinct Asian cultures—Korea and Japan.

First, we used differential item functioning (DIF) analysis to empirically evaluate whether the Test of Self-Conscious Affect for Children (TOSCA-C; Tangney, Wagner, Burggraf, Gramzow, & Fletcher, 1990) measure of shame, guilt, and pride functions equivalently across these cultures, or whether particular items behave differently owing, for example, to culture-specific meanings. Second, we drew on the DIF analyses to draw more substantive conclusions about cross-cultural continuities and discontinuities in the *nature* of shame, guilt, and pride experiences. Is there evidence of cross-cultural variability in: (a) the types of situations that elicit self-conscious emotions; (b) the phenomenology of the emotions themselves; or (c) a

more complex interaction between emotion-eliciting situation and emotion phenomenology?

Third, we examined cultural differences, on average, in children's propensity to experience shame, guilt, and pride. We expected Japanese and Korean children to demonstrate higher levels of shame and guilt, and a lower level of pride relative to US children. Self-criticism and negative evaluations of self are more normative in Japan and Korea whereas US culture tends to value positive evaluations of self. Similar gender differences were anticipated across nations; females were expected to score higher on shame and guilt than males regardless of the culture, as found in Western samples (Tangney & Dearing, 2002a, 2002b). Regarding pride, we expected US children to demonstrate more pride than Japanese and Korean counterparts, owing to the emphasis on individual achievement in the USA, and the emphasis on criticism and improvement in Japanese and Korean cultures.

Fourth, as an initial step in determining whether there are cultural differences in the psychosocial implications of self-conscious emotions, we examined whether shame, guilt, and pride are differentially related to the externalizing domain (e.g., externalization of blame, anger, aggression), as a function of culture. We chose this as the focus because: (a) the positive link between shame and anger is among the most robust in studies conducted in the USA (Tangney et al., 2007); (b) rich theoretical accounts of dynamics between shame and anger/aggression exist (Lewis, 1971, 1987; Scheff, 1987; Tangney & Dearing, 2002a)—it is a clinically recognized, clinically significant phenomenon; and (c) there is ample theoretical reason to expect cross-national differences in the degree to which shame is adaptive versus maladaptive (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Tangney & Dearing, 2002a) in a manner most likely to be observed in the domains of anger arousal, anger management, and aggression.

We hypothesized that shame would be less strongly associated with aggression-relevant constructs among Japanese and Korean children, relative to children in the USA. To the degree that shame is more normative and socially desirable in Japan and Korea, shame may even be adaptive, facilitating group harmony. In the self-enhancing US culture, shame-proneness appears to have few benefits at the individual level, as indicated by a large body of empirical research (see Tangney et al., 2007, for a review). The finding of a positive relationship between shame and some positive aspect of emotional, social, or behavioral adjustment in a culture other than the USA would be remarkable. We expected consistent negative correlations between guilt and indices of externalization across the three cultures. In past studies in the USA, guilt has been inversely related to aggression-relevant cognitions (e.g., externalization of blame), emotions (e.g., anger), and behavior (e.g., aggression). There is no theoretical reason to expect differential relations for Japanese and Korean children.

Regarding pride, past studies of related constructs suggest that it is socially desirable in US culture. Pride in individual accomplishments may be seen as less appropriate or desirable in Japan and Korea where self-criticism and modesty are emphasized. Consequently, we expected that pride would be positively associated with maladjustment, including aggression-relevant constructs in Japan and Korea, whereas this link would be attenuated or reversed in the individualistic culture of the USA.

We expected similar gender differences in the self-conscious emotions across Japanese, Korean, and US children. Previous studies using Western samples have shown that females of all ages are more likely to experience shame and guilt compared to their male counterparts (Tangney & Dearing, 2002a). In a similar vein,

Japanese and Korean females were expected to be more guilt- and shame-prone than Japanese and Korean males respectively, since similar gender roles and expectations exist in Japan and Korea. Exploratory analyses were conducted for the gender differences in the propensity to experience pride.

Method

Participants

The Japanese sample consisted of 74 third-grade children (25 male, 49 female) and 70 fourth-grade children (25 male, 45 female) attending a private school in urban Tokyo. As individual level demographic data were not available, demographic information on the study body was provided by the school. Japanese parents' education level ranged from high school graduate to post-graduate, and socioeconomic status ranged from working class to upper-middle class. When the school year commenced, all third-grade children were age 8; fourth-grade children were age 9.

The Korean sample consisted of 65 fourth-grade children (28 males, 37 females) and 115 fifth-grade children (58 males, 57 females) attending public schools in three urban areas. Korean parents' education level ranged from high-school graduate to college graduate. When the school year commenced, all fourth-grade children were age 10; fifth-grade children were age 11.

The US sample, drawn from two sets of data gathered previously, consisted of 115 fourth-grade children (56 males, 59 females), 470 fifth-grade children (215 males, 255 females), and 103 sixth-grade children (52 males, 51 females). The mean age was 9.65 years for fourth grade, 10.6 years for fifth grade, and 11.65 years for sixth-grade children. Participants attended public schools in an ethnically and socioeconomically diverse suburb of Washington, DC; 60% of the sample was White, 31% Black and 9% other. Most were from low- to middle-income families, the typical parent had attained a high-school education and some college. US data were collected in 1990–1991, Japanese data in 2001–2002, and Korean data 2002–2003.

Measures and Procedure

Measures were developed in English, and translated for this study into Japanese and Korean by native Japanese and Korean experimenters. To ensure accuracy of translation, native experimenters who had not seen the English versions translated back from Japanese and Korean into English. The results were compared and modifications were made as necessary. Measures were distributed by classroom teachers who emphasized the anonymous, non-evaluative, and voluntary nature of participation. Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics and reliabilities (Cronbach's α) for the samples of Japanese, Korean and US children.

The *Test of Self-Conscious Affect for Children* (TOSCA-C; Tangney et al., 1990) was used to measure children's propensity to experience shame, guilt, and pride. Questions have been raised regarding the comparability of translations of "shame" and "guilt" across languages (e.g., Bedford, 2004; Li, Wang, & Fischer, 2004) and people often use the English terms "shame" and "guilt" interchangeably, however the TOSCA-C does not use the terms "shame" and "guilt" directly in assessment of these emotion dispositions. Rather, emotions are assessed via phenomenological descriptions (see Tangney & Dearing, 2002a, for discussion of the validity and

TABLE 1 Descriptive Statistics and Reliabilities (Cronbach's α) in Samples of Japanese, Korea, and US Children

	Country	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	α
TOSCA-C					
Shame	Japan	141	2.94	.64	.80
	Korea	179	2.69	.53	.75
	USA	688	2.75	.64	.78
Guilt	Japan	141	3.91	.63	.83
	Korea	179	4.07	.60	.87
	USA	688	3.84	.63	.81
Pride	Japan	141	2.99	.66	.74
	Korea	179	3.31	.59	.71
	USA	688	3.88	.57	.68
Externalization of blame	Japan	141	2.51	.62	.80
	Korea	179	2.35	.46	.70
	USA	688	2.84	.53	.66
CIA[a]*/ARI*[b]					
Anger	Japan[a]	141	2.55	.61	.91
	Korea[a]	180	2.72	.45	.83
	USA[a]	359	2.91	.45	.84
	USA[b]	299	3.79	.68	.89
Devereux[c]*/CBCL*[d]					
Aggressive behavior	Japan[c]	144	1.59	.41	.86
	Korea[c]	180	1.38	.48	.90
	USA[d]	674	1.25	.40	.96
Total problem score	Japan[c]	144	1.37	.17	.86
	Korea[c]	180	1.27	.02	.94
	USA[d]	673	1.21	.24	.97

Notes: [a]CIA was administered in Japanese and Korean samples, and in the US sample, CIA was administered to a subsample of 359 children. [b]In the US sample, ARI was administered to a subsample of 299 children. [c]Devereux was administered in Japanese and Korean samples. [d]TCBCL was administered in US sample.

reliability of various shame and guilt measures).[2] By using phenomenological descriptions of shame and guilt, rather than the emotion labels, we largely circumvented the problem that the words themselves may have different meanings—the problem of linguistic non-equivalence. The words used in our phenomenological descriptions may vary somewhat in translation. But any confound of culture with linguistics remains at the item level. It is unlikely that linguistic biases would be consistent across multiple varying phenomenological descriptions.

The TOSCA-C is composed of brief scenarios depicting common situations. Ten *negative* scenarios describe failures or transgressions, each followed by shame, guilt and externalization of blame responses; five positive scenarios describe individual accomplishments followed by shame, guilt, alpha pride (pride in self), beta pride (pride in behavior), and externalization of blame responses. Children rate on a 5-point scale (from *not at all likely* to *very likely*) their likelihood of reacting in each

manner indicated. For example, a scenario reads, ''You and your best friend get into an argument.'' Children rate associated responses including: (a) ''I'd probably feel real lousy about myself'' (Shame); (b) ''I would feel sorry and feel like I shouldn't have done it'' (Guilt); and (c) ''It was my friend's fault'' (Externalization of Blame). Another scenario reads: ''You get your report card and tell your best friend you made the honor roll. You find out your friend did not.'' Respondents rate: (a) ''I'd feel bad because I was bragging about it and I made my friend feel bad'' (Guilt); (b) ''I'd feel good about myself for being such a good student'' (Alpha Pride); (c) ''I'd be proud of my grades'' (Beta Pride); and (d) ''My friend might think I'm a show-off'' (Shame). Alpha and beta pride scores were highly correlated (USA $r = .62$; Japan $r = .64$; Korea $r = .57$), and so combined into a single Pride scale to enhance reliability.[3]

The *Children's Inventory of Anger – Short Form* (CIA; Finch, Saylor, & Nelson, 1987) is a 21-item self-report measure assessing anger, the emotion, not aggressive behavior, per se. In the current samples, the Japanese and Korean versions of the CIA were reliable. A subsample of 299 US children also completed the *Anger Response Inventory – Children* (ARI-C; Tangney et al., 1996) a scenario-based self-report measure assessing anger in response to 20 common situations, each rated on a 5-point scale, with demonstrated reliability and validity (Tangney et al., 1996).

Teacher's Child Behavior Checklist (TCBCL; Edelbrock & Achenbach, 1984) was completed by US teachers (rating multiple symptoms on a 3-point scale) yielding a Total Problem score and subscores on several internalizing and externalizing problem areas. The Aggressive Behavior scale (25 items) included items such as: ''Explosive and unpredictable behavior'' and ''Gets in many fights.'' Internal consistency of the TCBCL's Total Score and the Aggressive Behavior subscale indicated good reliability. Due to time constraints, it was not possible for Japanese and Korean teachers to complete the TCBCL. Because the purpose of teacher ratings was not to compare mean frequencies of behavior problems, but rather to evaluate cultural differences in the *correlates* of shame, guilt and pride, the shorter *Devereux Behavior Rating Scale – School Form* (Devereux; Naglieri, LeBuffe, & Pfeiffer, 1993) was used to measure aggressive and problem behavior among the Japanese and Korean children. Teachers in Japan and Korea rated children on items using a 3-point scale. An Aggressive Behavior scale was created using seven content-relevant items (e.g., ''Became very upset or emotional if he/she did not get what he/she wanted'', ''Expressed anger in a poorly controlled way''). The Total Problem score and Aggressive Behavior scale were reliable in both Japanese and Korean samples.

Results

Analysis of Differential Item Functioning (DIF): Evidence for the Cross-cultural Equivalence of Japanese, Korean, and English Versions of the TOSCA-C?

Logistic regressions were conducted to examine uniform and non-uniform differential item functioning (DIF) for the TOSCA-C in Japanese, Korean, and US samples. DIF assesses the degree to which items function similarly for individuals from distinct subpopulations. For each item, two types of deviation from ''measurement invariance'' were tested: *uniform* and *non-uniform* DIF. Uniform DIF is present when members of one group score consistently higher (or lower) on an item than members of another group, matched on level of construct, *across all levels of the construct*. Uniform DIF would occur on a scenario-based measure, such

as the TOSCA-C, if there were substantial cultural differences in the affective weight of a given situation or response. For example, on the TOSCA-C, children are asked to imagine: ''Your report card isn't as good as you wanted. You show it to your mother when you get home.'' If the affective weight (and shame-inducing power) of this achievement-oriented failure situation differs substantially across cultures, differential item functioning would be expected for the associated shame responses. Uniform DIF is designed to detect such inter-group anomalies.

Non-uniform DIF is present when members of one group score consistently higher (or lower) on an item than members of another group, matched on level of construct, *at some levels of the construct, but not others*. Non-uniform DIF would occur on a scenario-based measure under many circumstances. Most likely in cross-cultural studies, non-uniform DIF could arise if an item or scenario is meaningful and relevant for one cultural group as intended, but is unfamiliar or otherwise not similarly interpreted in the other cultural group. For example, on the TOSCA-C children are asked to imagine: ''Your aunt is giving a big party. You are carrying drinks to people and you spill one on the floor.'' Colleagues familiar with Japanese culture indicate that ''parties'' in the American sense are unlikely to take place at a private home. Non-uniform DIF would occur if US children responded to the shame and guilt items according to their true trait levels, but Japanese children rated the shame and guilt items as ''unlikely'' because they couldn't relate the situation, and thus couldn't imagine feeling shame or guilt. Cultural non-equivalence *of the scenario's familiarity or relevance* is one of a number of anomalies non-uniform DIF is able to detect.

As a second example relevant to this study, non-uniform DIF would be expected if particular components of a multidimensional construct are relevant in one culture, but not another. For example, non-uniform DIF would occur if a particular component of shame (e.g., the motivation to hide) were present in one group (e.g., US), but not another (e.g., Korean).

Results of the DIF analysis indicate that the TOSCA-C is psychometrically invariant across groups. Of 220 pairs examined, only one comparison was statistically significant, far less than would be expected by chance. In short, this suggests that the TOSCA-C can be used with confidence to assess self-conscious emotions in US, Japanese, and Korean cultural contexts.

Analysis of Means: Are there Cultural Differences in Proneness to Shame, Guilt, and Pride?

Two-way analyses of co-variance (ANCOVAs) were conducted to examine the main effects of Culture and Gender, and their interaction, controlling for age group, with Shame, Guilt and Pride as the dependent variables (see Table 2). In no case did age emerge as a statistically significant covariate.[4] There was a significant effect of Culture for Shame, and the Gender by Culture interaction was not significant. Regardless of gender, Japanese children scored higher on shame than Korean and US children, who themselves did not differ, as indicated by Bonferroni post hoc comparisons. There was also a significant main effect of Gender. As shown in Table 2, females scored higher on shame across cultures.

Guilt similarly showed a significant main effect of Culture, and no Gender by Culture interaction. In this case, Korean children scored higher on Guilt than US children, regardless of gender. Japanese children were intermediate but did not differ significantly from US or Korean children based on Bonferroni post hoc

TABLE 2 Levels of Shame, Guilt, and Pride in Samples of Japanese, Korean, and US Children

	Country	*N*	*M*[a]	*F*	*p*
Shame					
Grade		1008		1.07	*ns*
Culture	Japan	141	2.99	5.34	.01
	Korea	179	2.66		
	USA	688	2.74		
Gender	Male	457	2.74	5.67	.05
	Female	551	2.86		
Culture × Gender				2.51	*ns*
Guilt					
Grade		1008		1.08	*ns*
Culture	Japan	141	3.85	11.54	.00
	Korea	179	4.10		
	USA	688	3.83		
Gender	Male	457	3.84	12.65	.00
	Female	551	4.01		
Culture × Gender				2.05	*ns*
Pride					
Grade		1008		0.58	*ns*
Culture	Japan	141	3.04	139.94	.00
	Korea	179	3.29		
	USA	688	3.88		
Gender	Male	457	3.42	0.40	*ns*
	Female	551	3.39		
Culture × Gender				0.72	*ns*

Note: [a]Adjusted for grade.

comparisons. In addition, there was a main effect of Gender, with females scoring higher than males across cultures.

Pride showed a significant effect of Culture, with no Gender by Culture interaction. As anticipated, regardless of gender, US children scored highest on Pride, Korean children intermediate, and Japanese children lowest. Bonferroni post hoc tests indicated that all groups were significantly different from one another. There was no main effect of Gender for Pride.

Analysis of Correlations: Do Cultures Differ in the Correlates of Self-conscious Emotions?

Intercorrelations among shame, guilt, and pride. Table 3 presents the intercorrelations of shame, guilt, and pride among Japanese, Korean, and US children.[5] As in previous studies of US college students, non-college adults, adolescents, and middle-school children, shame and guilt were moderately correlated in the current samples (Tangney & Dearing, 2002a). Positive bivariate correlations were observed between guilt and pride in all groups; moreover, part correlations indicate that proneness to "shame-free" guilt (the unique variance in guilt) was significantly

TABLE 3 Correlations of Shame, Guilt, and Pride in Samples of Japanese, Korean, and US Children

	n	Shame (Part)[a]	Guilt (Part)[a]
Guilt			
Japan	141	.39**	
Korea	179	.34**	
USA	688	.44**	
Pride			
Japan	141	.24**[b] (.23**[d])	.17* (.08)
Korea	179	.11 (−.01[e])	.32* (.30**)
USA	688	.02[c] (−.08*[e])	.20** (.21**)

Notes: *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$. [a]The coefficients presented for shame and guilt are part correlations in which shame was factored out from guilt and vice versa. [b,c]A t-test indicated a significant difference in the magnitude of correlations ($p < .05$). [d,e]A t-test indicated a significant difference in the magnitude of correlations ($p < .05$).

correlated with pride in Korean and US samples.[6] Cultural differences in the structure of self-conscious emotions were most evident for shame and pride. Shame was positively correlated with pride in the Japanese sample, but no such relation was observed among Korean and US children. When considering the unique variance in shame (part correlations controlling for guilt), shame was positively related to pride among Japanese children. In contrast, shame was modestly but significantly negatively correlated with pride in the US sample.

Correlations of self-conscious emotions with externalizing dimensions. Our primary interest was whether the psychological implications or functions of self-conscious emotions differ by culture. Is the link between shame and anger/aggression less pronounced among children immersed in Japanese and Korean culture? Table 4 presents the correlations of shame, guilt, and pride with aggression-relevant cognition (externalization of blame), emotion (anger), and behavior (aggression), and with an overall index of behavior problems.

Surprisingly, similar correlational patterns were observed for shame among Japanese, Korean, and US children. Shame was largely positively associated with aggression-relevant constructs in both Korean and US samples. Among Japanese children, shame was positively associated with self-reports of anger and externalization of blame, but unrelated to teachers' reports of aggression and overall behavior problems. In the face of failure or transgression, shame-prone children in all cultures were inclined to blame others. In no case did we see an inhibitory effect of shame on aggressive or other problem behavior.

Like shame, the correlates of guilt were similar in Japanese, Korean, and US children. Regardless of culture, guilt appeared to have positive implications, especially in terms of lower levels of externalization of blame. In addition, among Korean and US children, guilt-proneness was negatively associated with teachers' reports of aggression and other problem behaviors.

Pride was positively correlated with externalization of blame in all cultures, and this relationship was most pronounced in the Japanese sample. Pride was largely unrelated to anger, aggression and other problem behaviors, in all samples.

TABLE 4 Correlations of Shame, Guilt, and Pride with Aggression Relevant Cognition, Emotion, and Behavior, and Overall Problem Behavior in Samples of Japanese, Korean, and US Children

				Anger		Teacher rating			
						Aggressive behavior		Total score	
	Country	*N*	Externalization of blame	CIA[a]	ARI[b]	Devereux[c]	TCBCL[d]	Devereux	TCBCL
Shame	Japan	141	.45**	.25**		.09		−.03[e]	
	Korea	179	.28**	.10		.17*		.23**[f]	
	USA	688	.34**	.25**	.18**		.06		.10*
Guilt	Japan	141	−.41**	−.15		−.00		−.02[g]	
	Korea	179	−.40**	−.02		−.16*		−.25**[h]	
	USA	688	−.29**	−.15**	−.14*		−.14**		−.15**
Pride	Japan	141	.51**[i]	.03		.08		.02	
	Korea	179	.22**[j]	−.14		−.11		−.17*	
	USA	688	.28**[j]	−.05	.10		.06		.08*

Notes: *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$. For shame and guilt, part correlations are presented (shame was factored out from guilt and vice versa). [a]In the US sample, CIA was administered to a subsample of 359 children. [b]In the US sample, ARI was administered to a subsample of 299 children. [c]Devereux was administered in Japanese and Korean samples. [d]TCBCL was administered in US sample. [e,f]A t-test indicated a significant difference in the magnitude of correlations ($p < .05$). [g,h]A t-test indicated a significant difference in the magnitude of correlations ($p < .05$). [i,j]T-tests indicated the magnitude of correlation in the Japanese sample was different from Korean and US samples' correlations ($p < .01$).

Omnibus Test of Cross-cultural Correlates of the Self-conscious Emotions

Although the pattern of bivariate correlations was similar across samples of children residing in the USA, Japan, and Korea, some statistically significant differences were observed. Are these differences attributable to chance? As an omnibus test of the degree to which the correlates of shame, guilt, and pride are invariant across culture groups, we used Mplus to evaluate a series of nested models. In each case, a chi-square difference test compared Model A in which critical path coefficients were constrained to be equal across groups, with an identical Model B, where critical paths were freed to be estimated separately by cultural group.

Relation between self-conscious emotions and externalization. We began with a Model 0 in which no paths were constrained to be equal across groups and which included: (a) the intercorrelations among self-conscious emotions (Table 3); (b) the correlations of each self-conscious emotion to each anger-related outcome measure (Table 4); and (c) the intercorrelations among externalizing measures (not of focal interest, here).[7] We first examined whether the relation of shame to four measures of externalization is invariant across countries by constraining those correlations to be equal across groups (Model 1). The resulting model fitted well $\chi^2(8) = 13.82$, $p = .086$, with RMSEA = .058, SRMR = .038, and CFI = .995. Thus our primary hypothesis was not borne out. There were no cross-cultural differences in the degree to which shame is linked to anger and externalization.

Next, we added the constraint that guilt be related equivalently to the four measures of externalization, across groups (Model 2). This model, too, fitted well $\chi^2(16) = 24.04$, $p = .089$, with RMSEA = .048, SRMR = .045, and CFI = .993, and did not significantly differ from the Model 1, indicating that guilt was equivalently related to anger and externalization across cultures.

Next, we added the parallel constraint for pride to externalization, across groups (Model 3). This model, testing group invariance for all three self-conscious emotions, was a poor fit to the data, $\chi^2(24) = 50.31$, $p = .0013$, with RMSEA = .071, SRMR = .070, and CFI = .977, significantly worse than Model 2, $\chi^2(8) = 26.27$, $p < .001$. One modification index was greater than 10, suggesting that the path between pride and externalization of blame be freed for Japan. This post hoc suggested modification does not converge with any theoretical expectation, thus we opted to not to retain Model 3.

Relations among self-conscious emotions: Test of group invariance. Next, we modified Model 2 so that the intercorrelations among shame, guilt, and pride were constrained to be equal across groups (Model 4). This model did not fit the data particularly well, $\chi^2(22) = 40.23$, $p = .0102$, with RMSEA = .062, SRMR = .060, and CFI = .984, and was significantly worse than Model 2, $\chi^2(6) = 16.185$, $p < .05$. There were, however, no modification indices greater than 10; the model was simply not a particularly good fit. Thus we rejected Model 4 in favor of Model 2. There is insufficient evidence to conclude that the intercorrelations among shame, guilt, and pride are invariant across these three cultures, but no particular differences stand out.

Relations among indices of externalization: Test of group invariance. Although not a focus of the current paper, we made one additional modification to Model 2 constraining the intercorrelations among indices of externalization to be equal across countries (Model 5). This model fitted reasonably well, $\chi^2(28) = 40.11$, $p = .0647$,

with RMSEA = .045, SRMR = .070, and CFI = .990, and was not significantly different from Model 2, $\chi^2(6) = 16.185$, $p < .05$. The intercorrelations among externalizing dimensions were equivalent.

Discussion

This study examined differences in proneness to shame, guilt, and pride among children residing in Japan, Korea and the USA. Results support the cross-cultural equivalence of the TOSCA-C, and indicate that although there are significant group differences in children's propensity to experience self-conscious emotions, the *correlates* of proneness to shame and guilt (but not pride) are remarkably similar across these three cultures, in at least one important domain—anger and aggression.

Shame: Cross-cultural Continuities and Discontinuities

As expected, Japanese children were more shame-prone than children in the USA and Korea. In this sense, Japan may indeed represent a "shame" culture (Benedict, 1947) in a way that is distinct from another Asian culture—Korea. Regarding the correlates of shame-proneness, we hypothesized that shame would be less problematic, presumably because it is more normative and less painful in the self-critical Japanese culture. There were, however, surprisingly few differences in the relationship of shame to aggression-related cognitions, emotions, and behavior. In the face of failure or transgression, shame-prone children in Japan, Korea, and the USA are more inclined to blame others and feel anger, relative to their less shame-prone peers. Although some differences were observed in the relation of shame to teacher reports of total problem behavior (among Korean children and to some extent among US children, shame was positively correlated with problem behavior, but such was not the case for Japanese children), aggression-relevant correlates of shame did not differ across culture beyond what one would expect by chance. Notably, in no case did shame seem to inhibit aggression-relevant cognitions, emotion or behavior.

In short, although there are substantial cultural differences in mean levels of shame-proneness, the *correlates* of shame in one important domain suggest that shame's functions or psychological implications are similar across cultures. The propensity to experience shame in day-to-day situations was associated with negative consequences, including a tendency to externalize blame and the propensity to experience anger. Although shame may be more socially desirable in Japanese and other Asian cultures, relative to Western contexts, the tendency to experience shame more often than one's culturally-matched peers appears to be maladaptive across these three distinct cultures.

Guilt

Whereas Japanese children appear most prone to self-evaluative emotion focused on the self (shame), Korean children were more prone to self-evaluative emotion focused on specific behaviors (guilt), relative to Japanese and American children. Thus, there was no support for the notion of a Western "guilt culture." When considering the aggression-relevant correlates of guilt-proneness, guilt emerged as an adaptive emotion in all three cultures. Guilt-prone Japanese and Korean children as well as US children were inclined to take responsibility, eschewing the temptation to blame others for their mistakes and misdeeds, relative to their less guilt-prone peers. Guilt

was significantly negatively related to behavioral maladjustment among Korean and US children. Although this link at the behavioral level was not evident among Japanese children, taken together with other indices of externalization, the difference was not more than would be expected by chance. Omnibus tests indicate that guilt is negatively linked to externalization, equivalently across the three cultures.

Pride

As expected, US children demonstrated the highest level of pride, and Japanese children the lowest, reflecting the emphasis on self-enhancement in US culture and the emphasis on self-critical examination in Japanese culture. Level of pride among Korean children was intermediate. In terms of psychosocial correlates, among Japanese, Korean and US children alike, pride was positively correlated with adaptive feelings of guilt, perhaps reflecting the agentic aspects of each. But pride was also associated, cross-culturally, with a tendency to externalize blame for negative events, instead of taking responsibility. Such external attributions of blame may reflect defensive, self-serving biases to support perceptions leading to pride.

There also appear to be cross-cultural differences in the correlates of pride. For example, among Japanese children, there appears to be a special link between pride and shame, perhaps reflecting that both function as the "glue of social relationships" (Menon & Shweder, 1994), and perhaps also because pride is an undesired emotion in Japanese culture, one apt to induce shame.

Gender Differences

Gender differences in shame and guilt were found in Japanese, Korean and US samples. Across cultures, girls were more prone to both shame and guilt than boys. Boys' and girls' propensity to experience pride was equivalent across countries. Previous research in the USA has shown such gender differences in shame and guilt across individuals of all ages (Tangney & Dearing, 2002a, 2002b). The current results, representing the first cross-cultural examination of gender differences in self-conscious emotions, indicate that gender differences are remarkably robust across culture as well as developmental levels.

TOSCA-C: Evidence for Measurement Invariance across Culture

To what extent can we have confidence in the current study's results? The TOSCA-C was developed based on phenomenological studies with Western samples, drawing on scenarios and responses generated by children residing in the USA (Tangney et al., 1996). Might there be a confound between culture and measurement validity? Drawing on Millsap's (1997) framework for evaluating measurement equivalence via an examination of measurement and predictive bias, the empirical evidence weighs strongly in favor of the cross-cultural equivalence of the TOSCA-C as a measure of proneness to shame and guilt. There was little variation across three distinct cultures in: (1) internal consistency (e.g., the degree to which items tapping guilt phenomenology "hang together" among Asian participants compared to US participants); (2) the correlation between shame and guilt; (3) uniform and non-uniform DIF (i.e., TOSCA-C items appeared to measure the latent traits of shame, guilt and pride similarly for children in the USA, Japan, and Korea); and (4) the social and emotional correlates of shame and guilt.

One might reasonably ask whether the observed cultural differences in level of shame and guilt simply reflect that the emotion-eliciting events used in the TOSCA-C are more relevant to US as opposed to Asian children. After all, the TOSCA-C scenarios were selected to maximize relevance to children grades 4–6, drawing on hundreds of interviews with children in the USA. Given a different set of scenarios, might these cultural differences disappear—or even reverse? This seems highly unlikely. First, an effect of differential relevance would translate into *lower* levels of shame and guilt among Japanese and Korean children, relative to those in the USA, whereas just the opposite was found. Second, because each shame (and each guilt and pride) item is embedded in a different scenario—a different emotion-eliciting event—any cultural differences in scenario relevance would result in differential item functioning. If a given scenario were irrelevant (and thus not guilt eliciting) in one culture as opposed to another, differential item functioning would be observed. DIF analysis revealed no such effects beyond chance.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

As with any study, there are limitations that must be considered when interpreting the present findings. In many respects, this study just scratches the surface of the complex issue of cross-cultural differences in self-conscious emotions. First, the match between the Japanese, Korean and US samples used in the present study was acceptable, but not ideal. Replication of the correlational results in samples explicitly matched on age, socioeconomic status, etc., would be helpful. Second, regarding statistical power, although our sample sizes were sufficient to detect moderate effect sizes in differences in the correlates of shame, guilt and pride, there could be more subtle differences that we failed to detect. Future studies with more substantial samples of cultural groups of interest are warranted. Third, results observed in the current US, Japanese and Korean samples should not be interpreted as representing phenomena in other Western and non-Western cultures. Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, and Fischer (2000, 2002), for example, found theoretically consistent differences in children's understanding of "shame" and "pride" when comparing children from Spain, an "honor culture," with children from the Netherlands, an "independent culture." Fourth, research is needed to determine whether the observed cultural differences in self-conscious emotions in middle childhood hold at other points in the lifespan. It is possible that the developmental trajectories of self-conscious emotions differ across cultural contexts, as attitudes towards these emotions and perhaps the degree of internalization of cultural values are variable among cultures (Crystal, Parrott, Okazaki, & Watanabe, 2001; Tobin, 2000).

Fifth, there may be classes of situations, beyond those assessed by the TOSCA-C, that vary cross-culturally in eliciting self-conscious emotions. The TOSCA-C scenarios assess shame, guilt and pride in reference to individual transgressions, failures and accomplishments. Given the interdependent nature of Japanese culture, experiences of pride for achievements of family members, friends, or social groups may be more acceptable. If different types of pride are valued differently, it is reasonable to expect that the correlates of individualistic pride versus group-oriented pride differ across cultures. Similarly, we may observe different levels and patterns of relationships in group-oriented shame and guilt in Japan, Korea and the USA. Some researchers have found different correlational patterns of shame and guilt in other cultures and contexts. Breugelmans and Poortinga (2006) found that the experience of guilt was associated with feeling powerlessness and small whereas shame was

associated with constructive social behavior among Rara′muri Indians and rural Javanese. Bagozz, Verbeke, and Gavino (2003) reported that shame had a negative effect on customer service provided by salespersons in the Netherlands but not in the Philippines. In developing the TOSCA-C measure of self-conscious emotions, situations were drawn from autobiographical accounts of shame and guilt reported by individuals in the USA to enhance ecological validity (Tangney & Dearing, 2002a). Similar procedures could be used to further explore the nature of self-evaluative emotions in Japan and other countries. Future research would benefit from including situations eliciting group-oriented shame, guilt and pride. Such procedures would also be useful in capturing cultural variations in the constructions of moral emotions, as other researchers have identified multiple categories of shame and guilt in China (e.g., Bedford & Hwang, 2003) and Japan (e.g., Higuchi, 2000).

Sixth, the current study was exclusively quantitative in nature. We did not obtain qualitative descriptions of how shame (and guilt and pride) ''feel'' from children residing in Japan and Korea. Thus, future research employing qualitative methods cross-culturally would substantially extend the literature. Nonetheless, the results reported here have some bearing on the question as to whether there are cultural differences in the structure and phenomenology of these emotions. Consider the pattern of results that would have been observed in the current study if these emotions were fundamentally different across cultures—that is, if they ''felt'' and functioned differently in different cultural contexts, potentially along multiple dimensions (Shweder, 2003). If such were the case, DIF analyses should clearly indicate differential item functioning of the TOSCA-C items. TOSCA-C items represent brief phenomenological descriptions of what shame and guilt would ''feel'' like. Some items tap primarily affective content (feelings of remorse and regret, feeling humiliated and embarrassed), others tap cognitive content (evaluating a behavior or the self negatively), and some represent a combination of cognitive, affective, physiological, or motivational experience. If the phenomenology of shame

TABLE 5 Ethnic Differences in Self-conscious Emotions in Two US Samples

	African American	Caucasian American	Other American	F
n				
Sample 1	104	218	30	
Sample 2	131	151	41	
Shame				
Sample 1	2.73 (0.63)	2.81 (0.65)	2.81 (0.70)	0.37
Sample 2	2.63 (0.65)[a]	2.76 (0.58)	2.95 (0.67)[b]	5.14**
Guilt				
Sample 1	3.86 (0.61)	3.88 (0.58)	4.07 (0.67)	1.88
Sample 2	3.75 (0.71)	3.75 (0.64)	3.90 (0.63)	0.99
Pride				
Sample 1	3.99 (0.55)[c]	3.77 (0.55)[d]	4.01 (0.56)	7.20***
Sample 2	4.05 (0.58)[e]	3.84 (0.60)[f]	3.85 (0.57)	4.76**

Notes: **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$. [a,b]Tukey post hoc comparison test indicated a significant difference ($p < .05$). [c,d]Tukey post hoc comparison test indicated a significant difference ($p < .05$). [e,f]Tukey post hoc comparison test indicated a significant difference ($p < .05$).

and guilt were markedly different, depending on cultural background, TOSCA-C items would not "hang together" similarly, nor similarly "predict" the relevant latent construct for Japanese, Korean, and US children.

In fact, the DIF results argue against very large cross-cultural differences in the phenomenology of the self-conscious emotions, and (owing to the scenario-based structure of the TOSCA-C) in the types of situations that give rise to these emotions. This is not to suggest that no meaningful cross-cultural variation exists. Future research may yet reveal subtle but important cultural differences in: (a) the phenomenology of these self-conscious emotions; (b) the types of situations that elicit these emotions; and (c) the implications of these emotions for motivation and behavior. But such differences are likely to be relatively small. What is needed next is research utilizing sensitive qualitative methods to study more targeted domains (e.g., phenomenology of shame across cultures; cross-cultural differences in pride prompted by self vs. significant other), coupled with similarly focused quantitative studies, with samples and measurement reliability sufficient to detect small to medium effect sizes.

Conclusions

Results support the cross-cultural utility of the TOSCA-C as a measure of individual differences in proneness to shame, guilt, and pride. There appear to be substantial cross-cultural differences in how frequently or intensely people experience shame, guilt, and pride, but the nature and functions of shame and guilt across three distinct cultures appeared surprisingly similar. The jury is still out on pride. Additional research is needed on cultural differences in pride and its implications for self and social adjustment.

Notes

1. We have chosen to use the term "culture" throughout the manuscript to describe the group-related construct. We do so with caution, recognizing that we have not directly measured "culture," but rather are using country as a proxy for culture. Although the USA, Japan, and Korea can be differentiated along multiple dimensions (e.g., cultural, political, spatial, economic), our primary interest is in cultural factors that may impact emotion, as suggested by theory. Theory does not predict cross-political, cross-economic or cross-spatial differences in self-conscious emotions. For example, Japan could become part of Australia tomorrow, but children attending fifth grade in Tokyo would still experience shame and guilt the same way. We opted to use the term "culture," mindful of the caveats, rather than using a term that conveys no information (group) or a term tied to a construct irrelevant to theory (e.g., nation).
2. The response choices represent affective, cognitive, and motivational/behavioral dimensions associated with shame and guilt, respectively, drawn from the clinical, theoretical, and empirical literature. This is not, as some have suggested, merely a measure of behaviors (hiding vs. amending) in lieu of affect or emotion. For example, of the 15 shame items on the TOSCA-C, only one refers to a motivated behavior per se ("I would run upstairs") and another refers to a behavioral response in conjunction with an affective reaction ("I would slide down in my chair, embarrassed"). Seven shame items refer to cognitions (e.g., "My other friends might think I'm weird ... "), four refer primarily to affect (e.g., "I'd probably feel really lousy about myself"), and two reflect a mix of cognitions and affect. Similarly, of the 15 guilt items on the TOSCA-C, none refer to present or future behaviors, eight refer to cognitions (e.g., "I

should have been more careful''), and seven refer primarily to affect (e.g., ''I'd feel sorry, very sorry because ... ''). Phenomenological research (e.g., Lindsay-Hartz, 1984; Tangney, 1992; Tangney et al., 1996; Wicker et al., 1983) has indicated that feelings of regret are a hallmark of guilt, not shame; such research indicates that worrying about other people's evaluations of the self is a hallmark of shame.

3. In the process of translation, some scenarios were changed when the original situations were not common practice in Japan or Korea. The alternative situations were carefully chosen, keeping the nature of situations as similar as possible. For example, since ''patrol duty'' is not often practiced in Japan, the original scenario that read: ''You are on patrol duty and you turn in three kids.'' was changed into ''You witnessed three classmates cheating on a quiz and you turn them in'', keeping the theme of ''telling on friends''.
4. Age was not available at individual level in Japanese and Korean samples, so age-corrected grade was used as a control variable in these analyses. US children in Grades 4, 5, and 6 were on average 9.7, 10.6, and 11.6, respectively. Similarly, based on information provided by the school the Japanese children from Grades 3 and 4 were on average 8.5 and 9.5 years of age, respectively. Korean children from Grades 4 and 5 were on average 10.5 and 11.5 years of age, respectively. Thus, Korean fourth and fifth graders were recoded as fifth and sixth graders. In no case did age emerge as a statistically significant covariate. To further rule out the possibility of an age confound, secondary analyses were conducted on the subset of participants in nation-grade groups most comparable in age, with results very similar to those observed in the full sample. For example, Japanese and US fourth graders were equivalent in age. Korean fourth and fifth (recoded as fifth and sixth) were comparable to the US fifth and sixth graders. Results were essentially identical to those observed in the full sample. Finally, because school grade is only an approximate index of age, the relation of measured age to shame, guilt, and pride was examined within the US sample. Within the US sample, age was negligibly related to shame, guilt, or pride ($rs = -.05$, $-.02$, and .05, respectively, all $ps > .05$). Thus, although children's age was not precisely equivalent across cultural groups, it unlikely to account for group differences in self-conscious emotions. Three sets of analyses converge: within the age range considered, age does not appear to be relevant to the domain examined here.

   Individual-level data on socioeconomic status was not available for the Japanese and Korean samples. To assess the likelihood that SES might represent a confound with culture as it relates to self-conscious emotions, we examined the relationship of family income to shame, guilt, and pride within the US sample, where individual-level data were available. Within the US sample, income level is not related to shame, guilt, or pride ($rs = -.03$, .04, and $-.04$, respectively, all $ps > .05$). Thus, although SES was not precisely equivalent across cultural groups, it seems unlikely to account for the group differences in emotion observed here. Most relevant to the current paper, data on race/ethnicity were available at the individual level in the two US samples, and both samples were quite diverse. Secondary analyses (two-way analyses of variance; ANOVAs) assessed the main effect of ethnicity and its interaction with gender. In US Sample 2, there was a significant main effect of ethnicity for shame (see Table 5). African Americans were lower in the propensity to experience shame relative to White and Other participants ($ps < .05$). But this difference was not observed in Sample 1. (There were too few Asian participants to evaluate as a group.) In both samples, African Americans were higher on Pride than Whites. In Sample 1, Other participants were also higher than Whites. No group differences were observed for guilt, and all interactions with gender were non-significant.
5. Because significant gender differences were observed in mean levels of shame and guilt, we first analyzed the degree to which gender moderated the relation of self-conscious emotions (shame, guilt, and pride) to the four constructs of interest and among themselves, within each cultural group. Observed gender effects were no greater than

chance. Thus, for the remainder of the paper, results are presented collapsing across gender.

6. The coefficients presented for shame and guilt are part correlations in which shame was factored out from guilt and vice versa. The covariation between shame and guilt reflects the fact that these emotions share a number of features in common, and that shame and guilt can co-occur with respect to the same situation (Tangney & Dearing, 2002a). This part correlational approach allows a more precise examination of unique relations of shame and guilt to theoretically relevant constructs (Paulhus, Robins, Trzesniewski, & Tracy, 2004). Fisher's r to z transformations were used to assess the differences among Japanese, Korean, and US children in the magnitude of correlates.
7. To account for the fact that different teacher measures of aggression and problem behavior were used with US children versus children in Japan and Korea, the two teacher scales were standardized within country group. That is, teacher ratings were transformed so that within each country group, teacher scores were centered at a mean of zero with a standard deviation of 1. The transformed teacher ratings from the Achenbach and Devereux measures were then merged into a single variable indicating how different each child was from his or her group mean.

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