

*Parental Beliefs about Shame and
Moral Socialization in Taiwan,
Hong Kong, and the United States*

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Every culture attempts to socialize its youngsters into culturally desirable, mature members. What is seen as desirable and how such a goal is achieved may vary across different cultural groups. This study examines whether and how the sociomoral emotion may play a role in this process. After a long period of relative neglect, there has been a renewed interest among psychologists and psychiatrists in the concept of shame. Coupled with the recent rise of the functionalist approach to emotions, shame is now increasingly being treated as a differentiated, complex, and important emotion. Nevertheless, its sociomoral functions are often seen as mere responses to external forces caused by a real or imaginary audience, having little to do with the long-term socializing effect. Moreover, since Freud, a frequent association with narcissism and loss of self-esteem has aroused anxiety about the consequences of excessive shame, if not about shame itself, and a tendency to dismiss the legitimate functions of shame (Schneider, 1977; Broucek, 1991; Sabini & Silver, 1997). With few exceptions, shame is often viewed negatively as a problem to be solved or a disease to avoid, and its adaptive form is often overlooked (Schneider, 1977, 1987; Creighton, 1990). In order to restore shame to its rightful place in the moral spectrum, in this study parents of preschoolers from three different sociocultural groups were directly asked about when and in what situations they believed that their children had begun to know shame and distinguish right from wrong.

SHAME IN AMERICAN AND CHINESE CULTURES

Shame, along with guilt, pride, and embarrassment, is considered a secondary or self-conscious emotion emerging later in life as opposed to the inborn primary emotions (e.g., anger, fear, joy) (Lewis, 1992; Stipek & DeCotis, 1988; Ferguson & Stegge, 1995; Ferguson, Stegge, & Damhuis, 1991; Lewis, Alessandri, & Sullivan, 1992; Lewis, Sullivan, Stanger, & Weiss, 1989). Due to the clinical presumption of shame as a much less desirable, mature, prosocial, and adaptive emotion than guilt, when studying shame, the most common approach is to make comparisons with and differentiate it from guilt (Tangney, 1998; Tangney, Burdgraf, & Wagner, 1995; Stipek, 1983; Freud, 1923; Lynd, 1958; Zahn-Waxler & Kochanska, 1990). Guilt is reportedly located in the moral domain, and involves actions perceived as controllable, such as inadequate effort. In contrast, shame is more likely to be associated with competence and deals with situations involving inadequate ability or competence, which are perceived as uncontrollable (Ferguson & Stegge, 1995; Weiner, 1986). Guilt arises internally from one's own conscience, focusing on one's own opinion of the self. The intense focus of shame, however, comes from others' opinions of the self (Ferguson, Stegge, & Damhuis, 1991). In guilt, the individual tends to make negative attributions to specific actions—things done or not done, while in shame the individual makes attributions globally to the total self (Lewis, 1992). Therefore, an individual experiencing guilt would be aware of personal power—self as agent—and actively seek control over the consequences of specific actions through confession and reparation. Behavioral responses to guilt characterize one as an amender (Barrett, Zahn-Waxler, & Cole, 1993). In contrast, when one experiences shame, the entire person becomes a recognized object being evaluated by others—self as object (Barrett, 1995, 1998). The shamed individual is hence compelled to hide the malignant and weak self and behave as an avoider (Barrett, Zahn-Waxler, & Cole, 1993). The individual passively withdraws from interaction with others or defensively externalizes humiliation and anger at the risk of serious damage to interpersonal relationships (Ferguson & Stegge, 1995; Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow, 1992; Scheff, 1987, 1990), which may lead to a range of psychopathological symptoms (Tangney, Wagner, & Gramzow, 1992, 1995; Cook, 1996). As maintained by Lewis (1992), "the emotion of guilt lacks the negative intensity of shame. It is not self destroying and, as such, can be viewed as a more useful emotion in motivating specific and corrective action" (p. 77).

This negative view of shame, considered only at the cognitive and affective level, may not be historically validated or universally shared. In his recent review, Kilborne (1995) noted that, "from Ancient Greece to the present . . . there has been an evolution culturally from shame as socially intelligible related to honor, to shame as emblematic of a basic flaw in the self, a deep, narcissistic vulnerability, and bewildering identity confusion" (p. 296). What seems to explain this shift is the absence of the moral element in shame. As

denoted in most Indo-European languages, there are dual aspects of shame—disgrace-shame versus discretion-shame (Schneider, 1977; Twitchell, 1997). Disgrace-shame involves negative affect, an intrapsychic state that is painful, disorienting, and often unexpected. In contrast, discretion-shame can be seen as an ethical virtue, a positive quality, which falls into the moral domain and reflects and sustains social values and order. Although they seem to be two strikingly different conceptions, both are necessary for an accurate and complete representation of shame. Accordingly, though an individual experiencing shame may feel self-contempt and a motivation to withdraw, there is also a deeper meaning to the experience that incites the "better" self and encourages the strengthening of character. These aspects can be understood as critical to a full understanding of the concept because, "where despair rules, there is no shame" (Schneider, 1977, p. 28).

Under the influence of Confucianism, shame has been not only a hypercognized emotion, but also an underscored moral value in Chinese culture. A significant part of the Confucian Analects dealt with the value of shame (Chu, 1972). According to Confucian ideology, "a false gentleman can be superior to a truly small man." The distinction between them is that since the former still wants and needs the appearance of propriety to rule his behavior he can be constrained by shame, whereas the latter does not even have a sense of shame (Liu & Liu, 1999). Even to this day, compared to the West, shame plays a greater role in constraining the power of the ruler in Chinese societies (Hwang, 1987; Liu & Liu, 1999). The importance of the Chinese experience of shame is well reflected in the emphasis on saving face, criticism, and evaluation in interpersonal relationships (Ho, 1976; Hu, 1944; King & Myers, 1977; Chu, 1972; Zhai, 1995; Hwang, 1987, 1997; Schoenhals, 1993). Further emphasizing this centrality is the rich variety and complexity of lexical terms and labels for shame, humiliation, embarrassment, face, and related notions (Mascolo, Fischer, & Li, *in press*; Her, 1990; Russell & Yik, 1996; Wilson, 1981; Shaver, Wu, & Schwartz, 1992).

In primary schools in Taiwan, shame anxiety or shaming with a component of ostracism and abandonment by the group was found to be a major moral training technique, serving to not only correct the wrongdoer, but also to corroborate and reinforce the rectitude of the others (Wilson, 1970, 1981). In a recent ethnographic study on the paradoxical relationship between teachers and students in a high school in China, Schoenhals (1993) concluded that Chinese culture is a "shame-socialized culture," in which members are strongly socialized to be sensitive to other people's criticisms, judgments, and evaluations and are encouraged to act so as to maximize positive esteem while avoiding disapproval and contempt from others.¹ The consequences of not doing so are much greater than in nonshame-socialized cultures. As remarked by Mascolo, Fischer, and Li (*in press*), "Whereas shame in the U.S.A. carries stigmatizing connotations, shame among the Chinese offers the promise of reintegration into the family or community following reestablishment of appropriate behav-

ior. As such, shame is not primarily a threat to self-esteem; instead, it is a vehicle for social cohesion and the development of self" (p. 29).

SHAME AND MORAL SOCIALIZATION

The overarching goal of moral socialization is internalization of rules and norms. How might this process work, particularly for children of a young age? Does emotion play a part in such a process? As shame is deployed as a moral training strategy in Chinese societies, does it contribute to the process of internalizing rules? Kochanska and her colleagues (Kochanska & Aksan, 1995; Kochanska, Tjebkes, & Forman, 1998) distinguished two kinds of compliance for young children: situational and committed. While the former is context-specific in nature—merely a momentary response to explicit external force—the latter reflects an emerging conscience, a complete and autonomous commitment to rules. Committed but not situational compliance represents an early form of internalization. Further, the less parental power-assertive control, stress, and negative affect are involved, the faster the child's internally based discomfort (i.e., guilt), positive esteem, and readiness to embrace parental standards will develop (Kochanska, 1991; Kochanska & Thompson, 1997). To be effective, optimal levels of discomfort and stress need to be aroused in the child (Hoffman, 1982, 1983, 1984, 2000). Too little arousal may prompt the child to ignore the standard, while too much may provoke unnecessary conflict or negative reactions (e.g., anger, resentment, anxiety, or fear). Either problem could interfere with the process of facilitating the child's internalization of rules and values—a child's compliance under these pressures would be only situational surrender to external force (Kochanska & Thompson, 1997). Guilt, based on empathetic concerns for the bad consequence caused by the child's misconduct, is believed to be an important affect in this process (Hoffman, 1982, 2000). Overall, moral affect has to be socialized, because "even when children have the cognitive and affective requisites of guilt, they may not actually experience it unless an external agent such as the parent is present to compel them to attend to the harm done to the victim and to their own role in the victim's plight" (Hoffman, 1982, p. 98).

For Chinese parents, it might be shame that serves to achieve optimal levels of arousal in moral socialization, with the goal of committed compliance in the child. In an ethnographic work (Fung, 1994, 1999; Fung & Chen, 2001), the daily interactions of nine Taiwanese children with their family members were intensively observed and videotaped over a period of two years. It was found that shaming occurred at a regular rate (2.5 events per hour) across all families at all sampling ages (2.5, 3, 3.5, and 4). The majority (78%) of these spontaneous events, seen as prototypical, were in response to the child's precipitating transgression, while the remainder involved invocations of the child's past transgression. In an attempt to forestall the transgression or to remind the child of the rules, shame feelings were elicited through the deployment of a

variety of communicative resources, verbal, nonverbal, and paralinguistic, to put the focal child in an unfavorable light. Although during parental interviews shaming was never mentioned as a disciplinary measure, parents believed that their youngsters understood shame at an early age and that this rudimentary sense of shame could be used as a tool to teach the ability to tell right from wrong.

These parents' actions exemplified an endorsed training method referred to by the parents as "opportunity education" (*jihui jiaoyu*). This method implies two connecting notions. First, instead of teaching in the abstract, the child's immediate experience, including his or her own or others' negative and positive behaviors, provides an opportunity to situate the lesson in concrete terms (immediacy, situatedness, and concreteness). And second, parents should take every opportunity to educate. Charging these occasions with shame allows them to put extra weight to the situated lesson. By provoking shame feelings (disgrace-shame), parents intentionally or unintentionally socialize the child toward the culturally desirable values of shame (discretion-shame).

The effectiveness and meaning of these practices and beliefs are best understood in terms of their situated cultural context and historical heritage. Chinese parenting is often reported as authoritarian, controlling, restrictive, or even harsh (Ho, 1986; Lin & Fu, 1990). However, Chao (1994, 1995, 1996) pointed out that existing measures of parenting styles originate from an American socio-cultural context, which is rooted in evangelical and Puritan religious influences and in firm beliefs in individualism and independence. As such, they cannot but fail to fully capture the prevailing parenting styles held by Chinese (or even most Asians) who do not necessarily share the same sociocultural traditions and values. The indigenous concepts of Chinese parenting, *training* (*jiaoxun* and *guan*), refer to the earliest possible introduction to government and guidance by exposing the child to explicit examples, or by comparison to other children while in close proximity to and with high involvement of the caregivers. Unlike its English translation, *guan* has a very positive connotation, because, based on an immense demand for parental responsibility, devotion, and sacrifice, it can mean "to care for" or "to love" as well as "to govern" (Chao, 1994). Taken together, parental shaming practices can take place in a supportive and loving context and may involve a variety of meanings.

THE CURRENT STUDY

A previous ethnographic study was conducted with a small sample of families in Taiwan, but whether the findings hold with larger samples remains in question. Do most Chinese parents believe that their children have some knowledge of shame by preschool age? How do they perceive shame? Will shame also be located in the moral rather than competence domain, serving adaptive functions in moral socialization? Do cultural comparisons shed some light on the possible relationship between having a sense of shame and telling right

from wrong in the early years of life? While acknowledging the child as an active agent and the bidirectional nature of family dynamics, parents are still believed to be the most important and influential feature of the socialization equation (Kuczynski & Grusec, 1997). Combining both qualitative and quantitative approaches, this study directly asks parents in different cultural and subcultural groups about the ages and the occasions in which their preschool-aged children began to understand shame and were able to tell right from wrong. This study does not intend to differentiate shame from guilt or develop measures of shame. Nor does it attempt to identify any causal relation between a sense of shame and knowing right from wrong. Rather, by inviting parents to write freely to open-ended questions, we sought to explore and understand parents' observations and interpretations of shame in relation to the child's moral development. Building on our earlier investigations (Fung, 1994, 1999; Fung & Chen, 2001; Fung, Leung, & Yeh, 1998; Lieber, Fung, Leung, & Leung, 1997), our expectations regarding parental ethnotheories are as follows:

1. Most parents from the three research sites—Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States—will report that their children have acquired a sense of shame and some knowledge of right and wrong by preschool age.
2. Chinese (Taiwan and Hong Kong) parents will believe that their children's knowledge of shame emerges earlier than the ability to tell right from wrong, whereas U.S. parents will believe that the reverse is true.
3. A much greater proportion of U.S. parents will be reluctant to talk about shame as compared to their Chinese (Taiwan and Hong Kong) counterparts, reflecting American psychological theories that emphasize its negative self-focus and perceived threat to self-esteem.
4. Regarding the occasions when the child was thought to begin to have a sense of shame, U.S. parents will be more likely to report instances related to the child's competence, whereas responses from their Chinese counterparts (Taiwan and Hong Kong) will tend to fall into the moral domain.
5. The parents' reports regarding occasions of telling right and wrong will demonstrate their demands or expectations of the ability of committed compliance in their children.
6. The reported occasions about children's acquisition of telling right from wrong will also, to some extent, illustrate their endorsed disciplinary strategies, for instance, opportunity education for Chinese (Taiwan and Hong Kong) parents.

Design and Method

Procedure

This study was part of a larger survey on parental child-rearing beliefs across cultures, involving ten open-ended questions, eighty-five six-point Likert items, and demographic information. The questionnaire was first established in Chi-

nese and then translated into English for the U.S. data collection. School administrators in seven daycare centers and preschools in Taipei, Taiwan; six in Hong Kong; and nine in Los Angeles, California, helped to first distribute informed consent letters, and then distribute questionnaires to children's parents and collect them once completed. The return rate in each school varied from 60% to 94%.² In this particular study, we examined parental beliefs on the child's acquisition of sense of shame and ability to tell right from wrong by analyzing two straightforward open-ended questions from the survey. The two questions examined here are the following: (1) At about what age do preschool-age children begin to have a sense of shame (*xiukuigan*)? If your child has begun to understand shame, please give an example of an occasion when he or she showed this understanding; and (2) At about what age do preschool-age children begin to be able to tell right from wrong (*bianbie shifeishane*)?³ If your child has begun to be capable of telling right from wrong, please give an example of an occasion when he or she showed this understanding.

Since these questions belonged to a much larger survey, only those who provided answers (including "not yet" and "cannot remember") to both the knowing shame and knowing right from wrong questions were processed in this study. For easier management, the age questions and the occasion questions were analyzed separately. Answers to the age questions were analyzed with quantitative approaches, while the effective answers for each occasion question in each research site were analyzed with qualitative approaches. Codes (or subcategories) were derived in an iterative grouping and regrouping of the emerging similar wording, characteristics, or themes in the caregivers' answers in their original languages. Subcategories that were similar in nature were then grouped into larger categories. In order to enhance reliability of the coding system, two coders each independently coded the same randomly selected Taiwan, Hong Kong, and U.S. data. In each case, one of the two coders was a native of the research site. For the question regarding the child's knowledge of shame, the intercoder reliability check was performed on 36.4% of the Taiwan data, 47.9% of the Hong Kong data, and 46.0% of the U.S. data, with kappa coefficients of 0.95, 0.92, and 0.82, respectively. For the question on knowing right from wrong, the intercoder reliability check was performed on 37.5% of the Taiwan data, 47.9% of the Hong Kong data, and 49.7% of the U.S. data, with kappa coefficients of 0.91, 0.78, and 0.81, respectively.⁴

Subjects

There were 1,249 Taiwanese parents, 710 Hong Kongese parents, and 162 American parents who participated in this study. The mean ages in months of their children (and standard deviation) at the time were 57.4 ($SD = 11.6$), 50.7 ($SD = 12.0$), and 50.7 ($SD = 10.2$), respectively. Taiwanese children were significantly older than their Hong Kong and U.S. counterparts ($F(2, 2061) = 82.66, p < 0.001$; also supported by a post-hoc Tukey HSD test). These chil-

dren were equally distributed in terms of gender: 53.7% boys and 45.3% girls in the Taipei sample (1.0% unknown), 49.7% boys and 49.2% girls in the Hong Kong sample (1.1% unknown), and 56.2% boys and 43.8% girls in the Los Angeles sample. Questionnaires were completed mostly by mothers (i.e., 67.1% in Taiwan, 63.4% in Hong Kong, and 86% in the United States), followed in frequency by both parents (i.e., 16.5% in Taiwan, 17.7% in Hong Kong, and 9.1% in the United States), and then fathers (i.e., 15.6% in Taiwan, 16.6% in Hong Kong, and 4.9% in the United States).⁵ The mean age of parents at each research site was similar: Most mothers were in their mid-thirties: 35.1 in Taiwan, 33.3 in Hong Kong, and 34.6 in the United States; while the fathers were in their late thirties: 38.0 in Taiwan, 36.9 in Hong Kong, and 37.5 in the United States). The majority of the parents had received an education of at least twelve years—96.9% of fathers and 97.5% of mothers in Taiwan, 66.1% of fathers and 68.5% of mothers in Hong Kong, and 96.7% of fathers and 100% of mothers in the United States. The racial makeup of the subsamples was predominantly Chinese for the Hong Kong and Taiwan samples and Euro-American for the U.S. sample.⁶ Finally, after conversion to U.S. dollars, average household annual income was reported at \$31,530, \$35,290, and \$61,400 for Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States, respectively. Given the difference in cost of living from site to site, these annual family incomes are roughly comparable and correspond to middle and upper-middle class levels.

Results

Acquisition Age and Developmental Sequence

One of the central questions here focuses on the age at which parents report their children to demonstrate knowledge of shame and being able to tell right from wrong and how the ages for these two types of knowledge are related to each other. In the analyses related to age acquisition, answers of “not yet” and “cannot remember” were treated as missing values. For the age of acquiring knowledge of shame, the effective answering rates were 94.8%, 93.1%, and 89.5% for Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States, respectively. Further, the average reported ages of acquisition (in months) were 35.83 ($SD = 10.22$), 31.27 ($SD = 9.89$), and 36.43 ($SD = 11.67$) in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States, respectively. For the knowing right from wrong question, the effective answering rates were 94.6% for Taiwan, 91.6% for Hong Kong, and 96.9% for the United States. And, the average reported ages of acquisition (in months) were 39.02 ($SD = 10.48$), 34.44 ($SD = 10.56$), and 32.29 ($SD = 10.26$) in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States, respectively.⁷

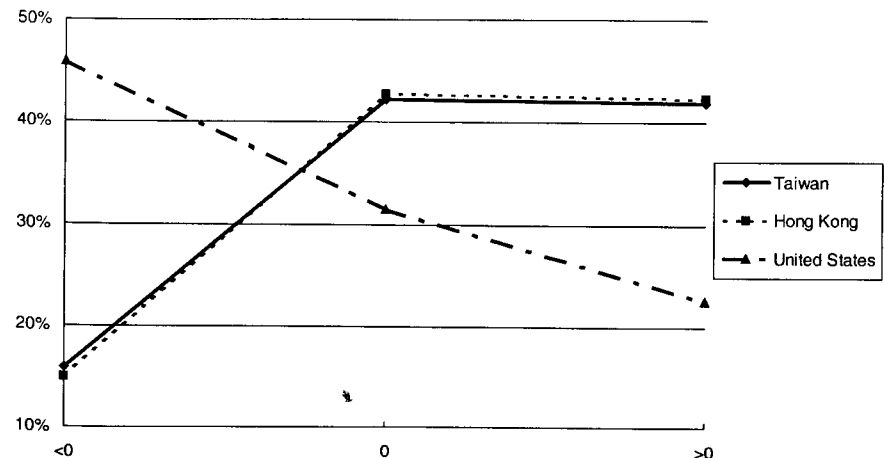
An issue arose regarding how the child's present age might influence parents' reports of the age at which the child acquired a sense of shame or ability to tell right from wrong. To address this concern, correlation analyses were performed among these variables. Significant positive relationships were found for each subsample between the child's age and the reported age at which the

child began to know shame: r 's = 0.30, 0.40, and 0.35 for the Taiwan, Hong Kong, and U.S. groups, respectively (all at $p < 0.01$). A similar pattern was found for the relation between the child's age and the parents' report of the age at which the child knew right from wrong: r 's = 0.35, 0.44, and 0.25 for the Taiwan, Hong Kong, and U.S. groups, respectively (all at $p < 0.01$). These findings indicate that attention should be paid to the child's age in any such analysis. However, as will be described, such a bias is eliminated in our analysis here related to developmental sequence by the creation of difference scores that remove these age effects.

The developmental sequence of the age of knowing shame in comparison to knowing right from wrong was examined by subtracting the reported age at which the children know shame from the age at which they can tell right from wrong within each research site.⁸ Three groups were then created based on the parents' beliefs. Parents reporting the belief that knowing right from wrong occurs earlier than knowing shame were coded < 0 . If the reverse were true, they were coded as > 0 . And parents reporting the same age for knowing shame and right from wrong were coded as $= 0$.

As shown in Figure 5.1, the U.S. developmental pattern is distinctive from both of the Chinese groups. Nearly half (45.9%) of the U.S. parents believed that telling right from wrong came earlier than knowing shame, while almost all of the Chinese parents believed that knowing shame came either earlier than (Taiwan = 41.9% and Hong Kong = 42.3%) or concurrently with the ability to tell right from wrong (Taiwan = 42.2% and Hong Kong = 42.8%). Significant group effects were confirmed by a two-tailed chi-square analysis [$\chi^2 (4, N = 1988) = 86.96, p < 0.001$]. Additional pairwise comparisons re-

Figure 5.1
Developmental Sequence (Age of Knowing Right and Wrong–Age of Knowing Shame)



vealed significant group effects between the United States and Hong Kong for the code < 0 ($z = 4.41, p < 0.001$) and the code > 0 ($z = 2.18, p < 0.05$), and between the United States and Taiwan for both the code < 0 ($z = 4.94, p < 0.001$) and the code > 0 ($z = 2.19, p < 0.05$). Finally, as described, these developmental sequence findings were consistent regardless of the child's current age in each subsample.⁹

Occasions When Children Begin to Understand Shame and Right from Wrong

Response Rates and Effective or Ineffective Answers

Turning to the qualitative data, compared to the questions about specific age, fewer parents provided answers to both open-ended occasion questions: 997 (79.8%) Taiwan, 511 (72%) Hong Kong, and 111 (68.5%) U.S. parents. However, the characteristics of these children and their families were similar to those of the larger sample.¹⁰ The responses "not yet" and "cannot remember" to these questions were treated as missing values and excluded from further analysis. For the knowing shame question, the effective response rates for each site were 93.3% in Taiwan, 91.6% in Hong Kong, and 81.1% in the United States. For the knowing right from wrong question, the effective response rates were 91.6% in Taiwan, 88.7% in Hong Kong, and 94.6% in the United States.

The U.S. parents seemed to have relatively more difficulty answering the question regarding knowing shame than their Chinese counterparts and indicated stronger opinions about the question. For example, as one U.S. parent said,

"Shame" we see as a deeply negative emotion related to *loss of self-esteem* [emphasis added]. Thus, it's stronger (and less useful and more damaging) than "guilt" as in a guilty conscience from knowing one has done something wrong once a conscience (or internalized values of right and wrong) has begun to develop. A discipline system that frequently conveys a sense of low worth can cause a child to sense shame very early, without accompanying comprehension—this can constitute abusive child-rearing, and is not necessary to successful teaching of norms of conduct and appropriate discipline. (3180US)

Among the Taiwan parents who objected to the question, there tended to be a feeling that "shame" was too heavy and serious a word for young children at this age. For example, "In principle, I hope my child understands right and wrong of things, rather than worries about losing face or not" (1853TW).

Examples of Occasion When the Child Began to Understand Shame

Of all effective answers, the first noticeable phenomenon was that explicit shame labels were often applied.¹¹ Such labels occurred in 43.8% of all the

occasions reported by Taiwan parents, 27.2% of those from Hong Kong, and 34.8% of those from the United States. A breakdown of the occurrence rates of these explicit labels for shame (including embarrassment, shyness, face, and related mixed emotions) is presented in Table 5.1. Although simple word counts at the lexical level do not reflect much of the complexity of cultural meanings, it remains intriguing to note that there were a far greater variety of shame labels expressed in Chinese than in English.

In addition, *zizunxin* (literally self-respect heart, which is the closest translation for self-esteem in Chinese) was spontaneously brought up by eight Taiwanese parents and one Hong Kongese parent in their reported occasions. Other than in the earlier noted American quote expressing the loss of self-esteem as her reason for opposing shame, no other American parent made mention of self-esteem. However, the connotation of self-esteem in the Chinese parents' words is likely somewhat different from the American parents'. Although the Chinese parents mentioned a possible threat to self-esteem and the child's defensive reaction of turning to shame-anger, they did not seem to worry much about a crisis of losing self-esteem due to shame. Further, they did not consequently reject the idea of knowing shame. Instead, the acquisition of shame (*xiuchixin* or *xiuchigan*) and positive self-esteem seemed to coexist without much contradiction, perhaps because they both point to respect for rules and sensitivity to evaluations and criticisms, as shown in the following examples:

Since my child started preschool, whenever he does something wrong or doesn't behave at home, I would pretend as if I am going to report to his teachers and fellow students. Due to his *zizunxin* and *xiuchigan* [emphasis added], he would cry and say no. (2100TW)

When he was 1½ years old, one day when we had dinner with several family friends, he ate a lot and very fast. I inadvertently said to him, "You are eating too much, swallowing like a wolf and tiger." He immediately turned red and cried aloud. I suddenly realized that he had already acquired *zizunxin* and *xiuchixin* [emphasis added]. (0220HK)

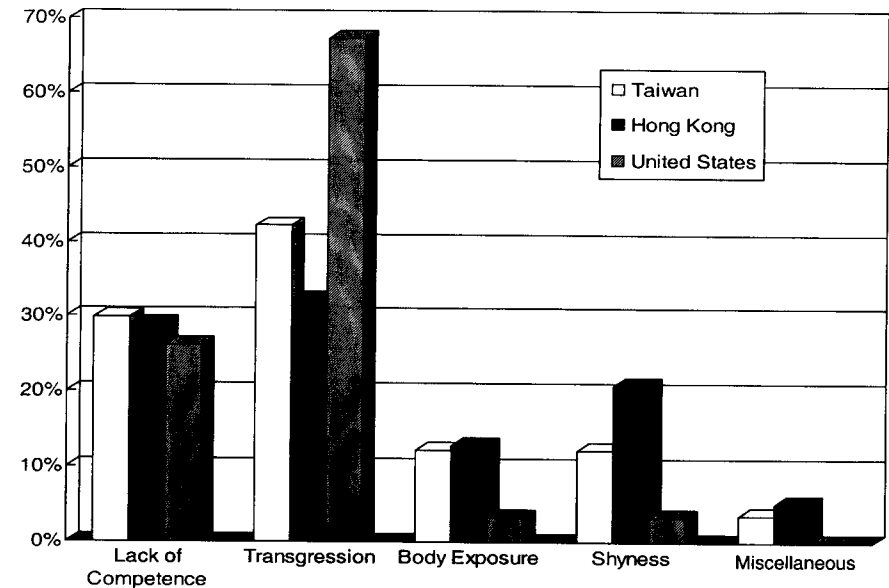
As stated earlier, codes or subcategories were derived through iterative grouping and regrouping of similar themes arising from caregivers' answers to the open-ended occasion questions within each group. For the open-ended question regarding occasions of knowing shame, the subcategories fell into four major categories, the general pattern of which is shown in Figure 5.2. Significant group effects were found by a two-tailed chi-square analysis [$\chi^2(8, N = 1,582) = 63.69, p < 0.001$]. Pairwise post-hoc tests further confirmed that, for the category of "transgression," there was a significant group effect between the United States and Taiwan ($z = 4.33, p < 0.001$), between the United States and Hong Kong ($z = 6.63, p < 0.001$), and between Taiwan and Hong Kong ($z = 3.72, p < 0.001$). For the category of "shyness," significant group differences were found between Hong Kong and the United States ($z = 18.78, p < 0.001$), between Hong Kong and Taiwan ($z = 9.88, p < 0.001$), and between Taiwan and the

Table 5.1
Explicit Shame Labels Applied to the Focal Child

	Taiwan	Hong Kong	United States
Shame/Shameful	<i>Xiuxiulian</i>	<i>Xiuxiu</i>	Shame
	<i>Xiuxiu</i>	<i>Haoxiu</i>	Shameful
	<i>Xiuchigan</i>	Shame	Humiliated
	<i>Haoxiu</i>	<i>Mengxiu</i>	
	<i>Xiuchi</i>		
	<i>Xiuhonglelian</i>		
Ashamed	7.9%	3.1%	21.9%
	<i>Xiukuei</i>	<i>Xiukuei</i>	Ashamed
	<i>Xiukueigan</i>	<i>Xiukueigan Xiukueixin</i>	
	<i>Xiukueixin</i>	<i>Yixiaozhekuei</i>	
	<i>Cankuei</i>		
	<i>Kueijiu</i>		
Embarrassed/Shy	<i>Youkueiyuxin</i>		
	34.1%	76.7%	46.9%
	<i>Buhaovisi</i>	<i>Buhaovisi</i>	Embarrassed
	<i>Haixiu</i>	<i>Haixiu</i>	Embarrassment
	<i>Haixiugan</i>	<i>Paxiu</i>	Shy
	<i>Xiuse</i>	Shy	
Shame-face	<i>Xiusegan</i>	<i>Xiuse</i>	
	<i>Nanweiqing</i>	<i>Hanxiudada</i>	
	52.1%	13.9%	31.2%
	<i>Diulian</i>	<i>Wudizirong</i>	
	<i>Meimianzi</i>		
	<i>Diudiulian</i>		
Shame-anger	<i>Wudizirong</i>		
	3.8%	0.8%	--
	<i>Naoxiuchengnu</i>	<i>Naoxiuchengnu</i>	
	<i>Naoxiuchengkuei</i>		
	<i>Xiufen</i>		
	2.0%	0.8%	--
Shame-ugly		<i>Chou</i>	
		<i>Chouchou</i>	
		<i>Chouguai</i>	
		<i>Chouxu</i>	
		<i>Yixiaozhechou</i>	
	--	4.7%	--
Total	100%	100%	100%

Note: Labels for shame in each category are listed in the order of their occurring rates. Although Taiwan and Hong Kong parents spoke different dialects, they shared the same writing system and the romanization presented here is in Mandarin.

Figure 5.2
Occasion When C Began to Understand Shame



United States ($z = 2.57, p < 0.05$). Finally, for the category of “body exposure,” group effects were found between Hong Kong and the United States ($z = 2.64, p < 0.01$), and between Taiwan and the United States ($z = 2.57, p < 0.05$).

The list and distributions of these categories and their subcategories are presented in Table 5.2. These data-driven categories and subcategories are defined as follows:

1. *Lack of competence.* Instances in this category belong to the competence domain, in which the child’s behavior failed to match up with his or her age, gender, or standards set by himself, herself, or others. The specific subcategories include the following: (a) Age-inappropriate behaviors, which include accidents in toilet training (i.e., wetting or soiling pants), sucking the fingers, pacifier, or blanket, and drinking from a bottle. As reported by one U.S. parent, “While sucking her binky in a public place—someone remarked that she no longer needed such a thing. She quickly hung her head” (3163US); (b) gender-inappropriate behaviors, in which gender was an issue explicitly raised, for example, a girl behaved like a rough boy or failed to sit properly, or a boy was teased for going into the wrong restroom with his mom; (c) weakness or special needs in body or character, such as having oversensitive skin or specially thin hair; (d) failure to recognize own parents or relatives, for instance, mistakenly identifying or calling one person for another; and (e) failure to achieve a goal or losing when competing or being compared with other children, such as losing in a game, and failing to tie shoelaces indepen-

Table 5.2
Examples of Occasions When a Child Began to Understand Shame

Occasion		Taiwan	Hong Kong	U.S.A.
Lack of competence	•age-inappropriate behavior	23.9%	20.1%	26.1%
	•gender-inappropriate behavior	0.2%	0.4%	--
	•weakness in body or character	0.6%	0.2%	--
	•failure to recognize own parents or relatives	0.3%	1.3%	--
	•failure to achieve a goal or loss in competition or social comparison	4.9%	6.9%	--
		29.9%	28.9%	26.1%
Rule violation or transgression	•as soon as transgressing rules	16.3%	12.1%	43.5%
	•being punished/publicly reprimanded	18.5%	15.5%	15.2%
	•when invoking C's past misdeed	4.7%	1.9%	2.2%
	•when making parents upset or hurt	0.6%	1.7%	5.4%
	•being punished by teacher in school	1.4%	0.8%	--
	•shame brought by other's transgression	0.3%	0.2%	--
	•when being disliked by others	0.4%	--	1.1%
		42.2%	32.2%	67.4%
Body exposure	•exposing own body	11.1%	12.3%	3.3%
	•being exposed to other people's intimate behavior	1.1%	0.4%	--
		12.2%	12.8%	3.3%
Shyness	•when performing in public	1.5%	0.6%	1.1%
	•meeting strangers	4.6%	12.3%	--
	•being praised	1.8%	2.9%	--
	•being the center of attention	3.4%	5.0%	2.2%
	•wearing inappropriate clothes	0.9%	--	--
		12.2%	20.9%	3.3%
Miscellaneous		3.6%	5.2%	--
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

dently or answer a teacher's question in class. One Hong Kong parent wrote, "When she was four, all her fellow students left school except her, because she hadn't finished her schoolwork yet. After finally finishing it, she felt very ashamed and started to cry" (0375HK).

2. *Rule violations or transgressions.* Subcategories in this category differ from one another as to when and how the child's shameful expressions occurred in relation to his or her transgression. They include the following: (a) As soon as the child transgressed, in which the child's expression of shame occurred before being corrected or reprimanded by an adult (or at least, with no description of any adult's intervention after the child's transgression). Over 40% of U.S. answers belonged to this subcategory, for instance, "My child felt ashamed when he broke a statue of mine. He had been told not to throw his ball in the house and he did it anyway, hitting the statue and breaking it. He said he wouldn't do it again" (4210US); (b) When the child was punished or publicly reprimanded. Punishment or reprimand was overtly and explicitly depicted here, as described vividly by a Taiwan parent: "One day, after my daughter wet her clothes in school, the teacher mistakenly changed her with another kid's clothes. I found that out when I later picked her up and asked her to change back. She was very reluctant, because she loved that dress. While that child and her mom were waiting aside, I forced her to take it off, which made her cry badly. I acted as if I were mad, walking home quickly and leaving her behind. She chased after me. I turned back and asked if she had done anything wrong. She finally apologized" (1444TW); (c) When the parents invoked or related the child's past misdeed or bad habit to others; (d) When the child physically hurt or emotionally upset or disappointed the parent; (e) After the child was punished or corrected by teachers in school; (f) When the child felt ashamed by his or her parent's or sibling's transgression: In other words, the child's shame was brought on by other family members, as in the following report: "My boy shed tears and didn't talk to his dad when his dad accidentally drove through a red light. He thought his dad did it intentionally" (2230TW); and (g) When the child was disliked or rejected by peers due to his or her wrongdoing.
3. *Body exposure.* Body exposure references can be divided into two subcategories: (a) exposing one's own body—when the child did not allow others to get close to him or her when he or she was undressed or in the bathroom; and (b) when being exposed to other people's intimate behavior or bare body in person or in the media (such as TV, movies, books, or magazines).
4. *Shyness.* Occasions here concern the child's experiences of being shy due to the following situations: (a) when the child was asked to perform or act in public, and when his or her private dancing or singing was being observed by others; (b) when meeting strangers, including a relative whom the child had not seen for a while, or a child's opposite-sex friend; (c) when being praised or receiving an award or gift from others; (d) when becoming the center of attention, in situations when people watched, laughed at, or paid particular attention to the child for his or her cute, funny, or mischievous behavior (though not perceived as a transgression), or simply for being the youngest in the group; and (e) when wearing inappropriate clothes, for instance, missing the required accessories (such as a name tag or a handkerchief) to go with the preschool's uniform, or wearing pajama-like pants, with or without other's comments and laughter.

Taken together, across all research sites, parents overwhelmingly located shame in the moral domain, with significant group differences not only between Americans and Chinese, but also between Taiwanese and Hong Kongese. The subcategory of “shame occurring as soon as the child transgressed without the parents’ reprimand” was most frequently cited among American parents, whereas Chinese parents’ reports in this category mostly fell into two subcategories: “as soon as transgressing” and “after being punished or reprimanded.” “Occasions with regard to the competence domain” were the next most frequently reported category across all research sites with no significant group difference emerging; almost all instances belonged to the subcategory of “age-inappropriate behaviors,” which ranks the highest across all subcategories for Chinese parents, and the second highest for American parents. Compared to their American counterparts, Chinese parents came up with a more varied range of answers in this category. Instances involving body exposure and being shy ranked the lowest, particularly among American parents. Significantly more Hong Kongese parents reported instances regarding shyness, most of which fell into the subcategory of “meeting strangers.”

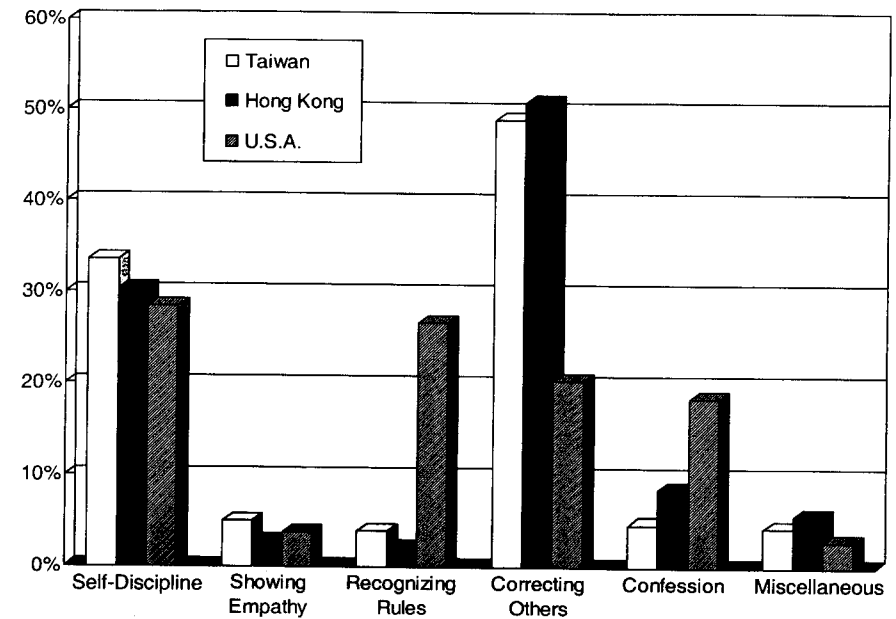
Examples of Occasions When the Child Began to Understand Right from Wrong

The overall pattern of responses to occasions when the child began to understand right from wrong are shown in Figure 5.3. Significant chi-square analysis results were found for the distribution of these responses across groups [$\chi^2(10, N = 1,560) = 170.01, p < 0.001$]. Post-hoc pairwise comparisons confirmed significant group differences for the category of “recognizing rules” between American and Taiwanese parents ($z = 22.24, p < 0.001$) and between American and Hong Kong parents ($z = 30.26, p < 0.001$). For the category of “correcting other,” significant group effects were also revealed between Taiwan and the United States ($z = 9.09, p < 0.001$) and between Hong Kong and the United States ($z = 8.96, p < 0.001$). Finally, for the category of “confession,” significant differences were found between American and Taiwanese parents ($z = 14.90, p < 0.001$), between American and Hong Kongese parents ($z = 3.07, p < 0.01$), and between Hong Kongese and Taiwanese parents ($z = 2.89, p < 0.01$).

All the categories and subcategories of responses to the right versus wrong occasion question are presented in Table 5.3. The following is a description of the five major categories and their subcategories derived from the parents’ freely written answers:

1. *Autonomous self-discipline.* This category involves instances in which the child was able to take the initiative to observe rules, which can be decomposed into the following specific subcategories: (a) Self-initiating or invoking rules, which refer to instances when the child specifically and correctly spelled out rules by himself

Figure 5.3
Occasion When C Began to Understand Right from Wrong



or herself, as shown in the following example: “When crossing the street at the traffic light, my child said to me, ‘Daddy, don’t cross the street when the little man (the figure on the traffic light) is red; cross it when the little man turns green’” (0187HK); (b) Refusing to transgress even when being tempted or under pressure; (c) Internalizing rules or showing self-discipline. What distinguishes this subcategory from “self-initiating” is that “self-initiating” emphasizes what the child has said, and “internalizing” focuses on the child’s spontaneous behavior. For example, “After buying her favorite food in the supermarket, she could bear waiting to open it until after paying the bill and arriving home” (1330TW).

2. *Showing empathy.* This category involves occasions when the child demonstrated a sense of justice or the ability to be altruistic: (a) Showing sympathy to people or animals or protecting and taking care of family members;¹² (b) Being considerate. This subcategory refers to occasions when the child showed consideration and understanding, and was willing to please others.¹³
3. *Recognizing rules, although not necessarily following them.* According to the parents’ descriptions, this category involves three subtly different subcategories: (a) Transgressing while knowing the rule. This refers to instances in which, according to the parent, the child knowingly violated the rule, mainly due to a lack of self-control; (b) Recognizing transgression without reparation. Parents believed that the child understood rules, because after transgressing, although the child did not confess, she ran away to hide or pretended that nothing had happened. For

Table 5.3
Examples of Occasions When a Child Began to Understand Right from Wrong

Occasion		Taiwan	Hong Kong	U.S.
Autonomous self-discipline	•self initiating or invoking rules	10.5%	7.9%	5.5%
	•refusing to transgress even when being tempted	0.9%	0.9%	--
	•internalizing rules or showing self-discipline	22.1%	21.5%	22.9%
		33.5%	30.3%	28.4%
Showing empathy	•showing empathy to people or pet or protecting family members	3.6%	2.8%	3.7%
	•being considerate	1.3%	--	--
		4.9%	2.8%	3.7%
Recognizing rules (although not necessarily having self-control)	•transgressing while knowing the rule	0.7%	0.4%	8.3%
	•recognizing transgression with no reparation	1.5%	1.5%	14.7%
	•checking adult's reaction before or during transgression	1.6%	0.2%	3.7%
		3.8%	2.1%	26.6%
Correcting others	•pointing out other child's misdeed	14.3%	17.2%	13.8%
	•pointing out adult's wrongdoing	11.1%	10.7%	4.6%
	•identifying moral or distinguishing good and bad characters in story	22.1%	21.5%	1.8%
	•learning from observing others being reprimanded	1.5%	1.5%	--
		49.0%	50.9%	20.2%
Confession	•accepting punishment after violating rules	1.0%	2.8%	0.9%
	•confessing and apologizing after transgression	3.6%	5.6%	17.4%
		4.6%	8.4%	18.3%
Miscellaneous		4.2%	5.6%	2.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

example, "He took some candy from his grandma and hid in his closet and ate it. When I found him and asked him what was happening. He told me he took the candy and was hiding because he was being bad and didn't want anybody to know" (4032US); (c) Checking the adult's reaction before or while transgressing the rule. In this case, the child would check, test, or watch the parents' reaction or seek their approval.¹⁴

4. *Correcting or identifying others' wrongdoings.* (a) Pointing out other children's misdeeds. Instances include when the child pointed out, corrected, or reported to an adult about other children's wrongdoings, which the child witnessed or experienced as a victim. For instance, "When my daughter saw a child throwing a tantrum on the street, she said, 'Mommy, he's not a good child'" (0403HK); (b) Pointing out the adult's wrongdoing. Similar to the former subcategory, but the target here is someone in an older generation rather than the child's peer; (c) Identifying the moral or distinguishing between the good and the bad characters in stories, films, cartoons, soap operas, or news reports. Here is one Taiwan parent's report: "Once we watched a cartoon on TV, which was about a boy who played with a ball while walking on the street, and it almost caused a car accident. I therefore conveniently gave her an 'opportunity education' (*jihuijiaoyu*) and asked her, 'Is it alright to cross the street as that boy did on TV? Can we do that?' She immediately answered, 'Mama, it's not alright, because it's very dangerous and would make his daddy upset'" (1158TW); (d) Learning from observing others (e.g., a sibling or peer), being punished or reprimanded. Instances here refer to the child's ability to draw lessons from witnessing how siblings or fellow students are being taught, punished, or reprimanded by an adult.
5. *Confession.* (a) Accepting punishment after violating rules. Instances reported here refer to situations in which the child was able to accept punishment as the consequence of his or her transgression; (b) Confessing and apologizing after a transgression. Examples include the child admitting his or her own mistake, saying sorry, or asking for forgiveness, with or without punishment, as shown in the following: "During a mommy-n-me class, she bit another child. I immediately removed her from the area and gave her a time-out. We made a fuss over the other child and later I told her she was not allowed to hurt other children. She commented that the bite was 'bad' and that she was sorry" (3114US).

In sum, about one-third of parents reported instances regarding the child's ability to autonomously display self-discipline. This category ranked the highest for American parents and the second highest for Taiwanese and Hong Kongese parents, with no group effect. Moreover, the subcategory, "internalizing rules," ranked the highest across all subcategories in all groups. Half of the occasions reported by both Taiwanese and Hong Kongese parents fell into the category of "correcting others"—it not only was the most highly ranked, but also contained the top three subcategories. It is particularly common for Chinese parents to report instances regarding "identifying the moral in stories." Significant group difference was also found in the category of "recognizing rules," which ranked the second highest for American parents but was the least frequent among Chinese parents. Moreover, compared to Chinese parents (Taiwanese

in particular), a significantly greater proportion of American parents' answers fell into the category of "confession," particularly the subcategory, "confessing and apologizing after transgression." Group difference also existed between Hong Kongese and Taiwanese for this category. Finally, "showing empathy" was the least frequently reported category for Americans and the second least for Chinese parents, with no group difference.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on two sets of open-ended questions concerning when a child had acquired a sense of shame and some knowledge of right and wrong, remarkable similarities as well as significant differences, particularly between Chinese (Hong Kong and Taiwan) and American parents, were found. As expected, all parents believed that their youngsters had begun to demonstrate a sense of shame and some knowledge of right and wrong by preschool age. Despite the fact that American parents seem to have relatively more difficulty answering questions regarding shame, they are more likely to associate shame with transgressions of sociomoral rules than their Chinese counterparts. In other words, all parents unanimously locate shame in the moral domain, followed by the lack of competence domain. In terms of developmental sequence, Chinese parents believe that knowing shame precedes knowing right and wrong, while American parents believe the reverse. Recognized autonomous self-discipline appears equally salient to parents in all surveyed groups indicating unanimous demands and expectations for committed compliance in the child. This expectation for committed compliance is strongest for Chinese parents. While half of the Taiwanese and Hong Kongese parents reported instances regarding the child's ability to point out and correct others' wrongdoings and learning from others' experiences, only about 20% of the American parents did so. In contrast, nearly half of the American parents related occasions when their child was able to confess and apologize, and display some recognition of the rules even if a transgression had occurred, while only about 10% of the Chinese parents reported similar events. Taken together, these parental reports not only reveal their beliefs about development of their children, but also, to some extent, reflect their child-rearing attitudes and strategies.

In the other open-ended question in the survey we asked parents to offer the most effective way of teaching right and wrong to their children, "opportunity education" and its related notions came up as a popular category among Chinese, particularly in Taiwan (Fung, Leung, & Yeh, 1998). While 53.5% (ranked the highest) of Taiwanese and 37.0% (ranked the second highest, after "verbally explaining and reasoning") of Hong Kongese parents endorsed opportunity education, only 11.6% of U.S. parents did so. Specific methods included exposing the child to real-life examples, teaching through morals in stories shown on TV programs, cartoons, or in books and magazines, and promptly pointing out and correcting the child's misdeeds. In contrast, for American parents, the

most frequently endorsed teaching method was "modeling and setting example by parent" (39.4%), while only a small proportion of Taiwanese and Hong Kongese parents offered such an answer (7.9% and 9.5%, respectively).

Another noticeable point was raised by some Taiwanese parents. While *shifeishane* is how we phrased the question regarding right and wrong, 2.1% of Taiwanese parents, but no Hong Kongese parents, spontaneously made a clear distinction between *shifei* and *shane* in their reports. According to these Taiwanese parents, the acquisition of the knowledge of *shifei* came earlier than that of *shane*. This is because the former involves relatively absolute standards and values (such as traffic laws), whereas the latter may go beyond the absolute (for instance, although carrying guns is bad, police carrying guns is good), and may involve the weak and dark side of human nature (for instance, although most policemen are good, some can be bad). Since *shane* is highly context-dependent and has to be individually judged, it takes much longer to learn (even an entire lifetime, as indicated by one parent, 1882TW). The distinction between *shifei* and *shane* might also help explain why Chinese parents endorsed opportunity education, because each opportunity offers a unique context for a set of rules in concrete terms.

In contrast, instead of pointing out and correcting the child's misdeeds, and taking every opportunity to educate the child, U.S. parents seem to be much more relaxed and willing to grant the child the ability to tell right from wrong as soon as the child recognizes his or her transgression or says sorry, even if the child may not yet be able to control his or her impulses. To some extent, this tendency may be consistent with an emphasis on protecting and enhancing the child's self-esteem, what Harwood, Miller, and Irizarry (1995) term *self-maximization*, common among Euro-American child-rearing beliefs and practices. Interestingly, several Chinese parents also spontaneously brought it up, though with somewhat different connotations than in English. To them, provoking shame does not seem to be a serious threat to positive self-esteem, and having too high self-esteem can be equally damaging as having too much shame. Hence, having a reasonable amount of both shame (*xiuchixin*) and self-esteem (*zizunxin*) seems to be a healthy balance between sensitivities to others and concerns for the self (see also Fung & Chen, 2001). The issue regarding the relationship between shame and self-esteem well reflects parental ethnotheories about the child's psychological well-being, which is inevitably culturally embedded, and shaped by moral visions of the good or ideal person (Christopher, 1999).

If American parents do not share such a cultural belief about the possible role of shame in moral socialization, why do nearly 70% of them associate shame with transgression of sociomoral rules? One possibility is that it has to do with the child's age. At such a young age, instances regarding the competence domain as reported by American parents are all related to age-inappropriate conduct. Future research might explore whether there is a developmental increase in occasions of incompetence and a decrease in morality when aca-

demic achievements become more important in the children's later lives. Moreover, the question may be raised as to whether the American parents in our study collectively confused shame with guilt. In a cross-cultural survey in thirty-seven countries, Wallbott and Scherer (1995) concluded that "real-shame" is predominant in collectivistic, high-power-distance, and high-uncertainty-avoidance cultures, which usually are more closed, primitive, and norm guided. In contrast, "guilt-shame" (i.e., shame experiences with features very similar to those of guilt experiences) is predominant in individualistic, low-power-distance, and low-uncertainty-avoidance cultures, which usually are more open and modern, and less norm guided. Along these lines, we could have treated cultures as a polar dichotomy assuming that American parents report guilt-shame instead of real-shame, and collectively mistake shame for guilt.

For cross-cultural research such as this, it is important to bear in mind that no single component of any theory or concept can be simply transported from one culture to another without risk of misrepresentation and misunderstanding. Further, as is the nature of open-ended questions, it is also difficult to know how similarly or differently parents might have interpreted these questions within the group as well as across groups. We have indeed raised more questions than what could possibly be answered, which calls for more empirical work with different cultural and subcultural groups in the future. Nevertheless, without imposing any presupposing theories, questions of this sort did lead the parents in our study to offer an abundant variety of answers from their own perspective. They not only are ready to report shame as an indicator for their young child's moral knowledge, but may well use it as one effective means of teaching right from wrong, particularly Chinese parents. Indeed, due to the dual aspects of shame as both an affect and a moral value, a full definition of shame may well consist of elements of both real-shame and guilt-shame. The discretionary, healthy, and adaptive form of shame should be acknowledged, as should its possible role in the process of moral socialization.

NOTES

1. This is different from a "shame culture." For criticisms of the dichotomy of guilt versus shame cultures, please see Chapter 8 in Schoenhals (1993) as well as other sources (e.g., Piers & Singer, 1953; Lebra, 1971, 1983; Creighton, 1990; Fung, 1994, 1999).

2. The disproportionate numbers of schools and children from the United States, relative to Hong Kong and Taiwan, stems from big differences in the typical number of children in U.S. preschool programs (roughly 50–100) as compared to hundreds or more than a thousand in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

3. Literally, *shifeishane* means "right-wrong-virtue-vice." However, *bianbie shifeishane* is usually the way Chinese say "telling right from wrong." Since the translation of this questionnaire into English and administration of the survey in the United States did not begin until the Taiwan and Hong Kong surveys were completed, "telling right from wrong" was the phrase adopted in English.

4. Due to the incompatible sample size, the U.S. data were used as a contrast, rather than a comparable, group.

5. The remaining 0.7% in Taiwan and 2.3% in Hong Kong were completed by others, usually an extended family member who shared childcare responsibility on a daily basis.

6. Approximately 85.5% of the U.S. parents originated from North America, 9.2% from an Asian society, and the remaining from Europe, South America, or India.

7. ANOVA's were conducted for both age variables by research site and parent sex. No significant main effect results emerged for parent sex indicating that the age variables reported were not influenced by the sex of the parent completing the questionnaire.

8. Please note that if the parent provided a specific age for one question but answered "not yet" for another, the response was included in this analysis.

9. While positive relations appeared to exist between the children's age and the age at which parents believed their children acquired the types of awareness under investigation here, no such relationship was found to influence the analyses of developmental sequence. Computation of difference score used in the analysis of developmental sequence for shame and right from wrong awareness proved to eliminate any influence of the response bias observed in parents' reports of the specific ages at which children know shame or can tell right from wrong.

10. The mean ages (in months) of their children at the time were 57.6 (ranging from 25.7 to 81.4, $SD = 11.3$), 53.0 (ranging from 24.2 to 76.8, $SD = 11.3$), and 49.3 (ranging from 26.4 to 77.0, $SD = 10.0$), respectively. Again, Taiwanese children were significantly older than their Hong Kongese and American counterparts, $F(2, 1564) = 45.02, p < 0.001$ (also supported by a post-hoc Tukey HSD test). These children were equally distributed in terms of gender—53.4% boys and 45.4% girls in the Taipei sample (1.8% missing), 48.3% boys and 49.9% girls in the Hong Kong sample (1.4% missing), and 54.1% boys and 45.9% girls in the Los Angeles sample. These occasion questions were mostly written by the mother (65.3% in Taiwan, 59.7% in Hong Kong, and 82.9% in the United States), followed by both parents, and then the father. The mean age of the parents in each research site was similar—most mothers were in their mid-thirties (35.2 in Taiwan, 33.5 in Hong Kong, and 33.9 in the United States) while most fathers in their late thirties (38.3 in Taiwan, 37.3 in both Hong Kong and the United States).

11. Please note that these labels all belong to the "shame" family (for example, "anger" alone was not included, but "shame-anger" was). Also, they were counted only when applied to the focal child's behaviors and reactions.

12. In this subcategory, a similar proportion of parents at each research site (40% for Taiwan and the United States and 44% for Hong Kong) reported instances related to family members (including younger siblings or a cousin or mother). Compared to their Chinese counterparts, there were more American parents who reported occasions that involved animals (none for Hong Kong, 26% for Taiwan, mainly referring to stray dogs, and 60% for American parents, all referring to family pets).

13. In Chinese, this is often described as "good at reading the other's mind" (*shantirenyi*) or "close to [the other's] heart" (*tiexin*).

14. In Chinese, this is often described as "looking at [the other's] face color" (*kanlianse*, *kanyanse*, or *chayanguanse*).

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