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Shame, in contrast to guilt, has typically been seen as a deleterious emotional experience associated with negative psychosocial outcomes across development. Despite this dominant model of shame, a growing body of evidence has highlighted the unique ways that this self-conscious emotion functions in collectivistically-minded cultures and families. This study sought to elucidate how family-based shame operates within the context of one such collectivistic value (familism), with a particular focus on the conditions under which shame may serve an adaptive or prosocial purpose. To answer the question, a person-centered approach was utilized to examine patterns of family-based shame, familism cultural values, and rumination in an ethnically diverse sample of college students ($N = 654$). Latent profile analysis suggests three patterns in the data, with participants high in family-based shame showing significant associations with higher depressive symptoms, but not lower academic performance, when accompanied by high rumination and familism value endorsement.

THE ROLE OF SHAME WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF FAMILISM IN EMERGING
ADULTS

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“Shame” and “guilt” have typically been understood as painful, negative emotions that are experienced when an individual feels they have violated behavioral norms, values, or expectations (Tracy & Robins, 2004). Shame has been described in the literature as the fear of negative evaluation by others, where personal failures are attributed to the global, stable self. Guilt, by contrast, reflects failing to meet one’s personal standards, and involves transient attributions constrained to specific behaviors, actions, or states (Y. Wong & Tsai, 2007). Within this conceptualization, guilt has typically been associated with more adaptive outcomes than shame, and empirical work has linked guilt with the motivation of prosocial behavior in samples from pre-school age children (Vaish et al., 2016) to college students (Quiles & Bybee, 1997). By contrast, shame has typically been associated with avoidance, withdrawal, anger, and depression, leading some researchers to declare that “shame is bad and guilt is good” (Patock-Peckham et al., 2018). Meta-analyses support the idea that shame is more associated than guilt with negative outcomes, and demonstrate that when controlling for the shared variance of shame and guilt, only shame typically remains significant in two-predictor models of anxiety (Cândea & Szentagotai-Tăta, 2018; Kim et al., 2011). Shame has also been related to more risky and self-destructive behaviors than guilt, including alcohol-

related problems (Dearing et al., 2005), and to increased social conflict and lower social support (Kim et al., 2011).

Functionalist Theories of Shame

Despite associations with psychopathology, functionalist theories of emotions posit that shame is an adaptive emotion that serves behavioral, internal, and social regulatory roles, helping individuals maintain the approval of others and further their self-knowledge and improvement (Mills, 2005). Empirical work has begun to clarify this paradoxical idea of adaptive shame, demonstrating that it motivates prosocial behavior and self-improvement when related to a salient decision, task, or goal, while diffuse feelings of shame are related to negative outcomes (de Hooge et al., 2008, 2018).

Additionally, state-based shame experienced by undergraduates who performed poorly on a test has been related to later academic improvement and resiliency when students had clear academic goals (Turner et al., 2002; Turner & Schallert, 2001). It is notable that students with high levels of trait shame-proneness are less likely to engage in reparative behavior in response to state-based shame than are students with low-levels of shame-proneness (Thompson et al., 2004), further suggesting that goal-oriented, state-dependent shame is adaptive while trait-based shame is not.

Cultural Variation in Shame

This concept of adaptive shame may be even more relevant for non-Western societies, where a growing literature suggests considerable cross-cultural variation within the antecedents, experiences, and behavioral consequences of shame and guilt (Y. J. Wong et al., 2014). In collectivist cultures where the self is defined in relationship to

one's family, friends, and society writ-large, shame (an emotion that emerges in the face of disapproval or negative evaluation by others) may be a normative and salient motivator for self-improvement (Y. Wong & Tsai, 2007). Cross-cultural research, although limited in quantity, has supported the idea that the impact of shame is moderated by culture. For example, although individuals from the Philippines and the Netherlands experience shame in similar ways, Filipino salespersons respond to shame with increased helping behavior, while Dutch salespersons respond with negative and avoidant behavior (Bagozzi et al., 2003). The authors hypothesize that while shame is clearly connected to social goals (e.g., harmony and collective improvement) and to the "social self" in the Filipino sample, for Dutch salespersons negative evaluation by others indicate a failure to individually excel, leading to negative withdrawal behaviors to protect the "individual self." Additionally, work by Bear and colleagues found that although both shame and anger were more commonly experienced by Japanese children than U.S. children, shame was only related to higher anger in the U.S. sample (Bear et al., 2009). That levels of shame were higher in Japanese children is perhaps not surprising, given that qualitative and quantitative work has also highlighted shame as an important dimension of child rearing in East Asian samples (Fung, 1999; Fung et al., 2003; Lieber et al., 2006). Bedford and Hwang (2003) theorized that this emphasis on shame is more useful in collectivistic cultures as it encourages adherence to norms and ethics that are contextually dependent, particularly as one is expected to adapt their behavior based on the particular social setting, whereas guilt is more useful in individualistic cultures where one is primarily expected to adhere to absolute, internalized moral standards across

settings. This is in line with the conceptual work of Tracey and Robins (2006), which described shame as primarily occurring when an individual violates a social norm, and Rozin (2003), who found that shame was seen as positive and socially constructive in a sample of college students in India but not in the United States.

In collectivistic cultures, it may be that shame is more likely to be connected to salient sociocultural goals and values (a key ingredient of adaptive shame) and seen as related to mutable social constructions of the self that can be rehabilitated through prosocial behavior. However, shame seen as related to the stable, internal self may be less likely to motivate amelioration. Despite evidence that state-based, goal-related shame may be adaptive (particularly in collectivistic contexts), the vast majority of the literature has utilized trait-based measures (such as shame and guilt proneness) to investigate the self-conscious emotions (Câdea & Szentagotai-Tăta, 2018), ignoring the potential prosocial components of state-based shame. Indeed, research has suggested that typical measures of shame and guilt measure only the adaptive components of guilt and the maladaptive components of shame (Giner-Sorolla et al., 2011), further exacerbating these biases. Clearly more research using culturally-sensitive, state-based, goal-related measures of shame are needed in order to fully understand the experience and consequences of the emotion in ethnically diverse samples.

Familism

To date, much of the work examining the cross-cultural considerations of shame has been conducted in East Asian samples, although it has been hypothesized that this relationship may extend to other groups who endorse collectivistic values and norms,

such as Latinx and African American communities (Y. J. Wong et al., 2014). Familism is one such set of collectivistically-minded values and behaviors—such as obligations to the family, expectations of familial support, and family serving as a referent when making decisions—that is typically endorsed in Latinx populations and other communities of color (Stein et al., 2014) and has been shown to have cross-cultural validity (Schwartz, 2007). Both behavioral and attitudinal familism have been associated with positive psychosocial outcomes in Latinx and immigrant youth, including increased self-esteem (Smokowski et al., 2010), lower levels of risky behaviors (Gil et al., 2000), and resilience in the face of stressors such as discrimination (Cavanaugh et al., 2017). Similar protective effects of familism have also been found in African American (Soli et al., 2009) and Asian American adolescents (Fuligni et al., 1999). Recent meta-analysis has aided in the validation and quantification of these relationships, finding stable negative associations between familism cultural values and depression ($d = 0.21$), internalizing symptoms ($d = 0.33$), and suicidality ($d = 0.20$; Valdivieso-Mora et al., 2016).

Familism and shame. Family-oriented behaviors partially explain the positive outcomes associated with familism cultural values (Hernández & Bámaca-Colbert, 2016), and individuals who experience shame in response to failing to meet family expectations may see prosocial familism behaviors (e.g., helping around the house, spending time with family) as a clear mechanism to rehabilitate oneself in the face of negative evaluation by others. However, the negative impact of shame may also be amplified by familism cultural values when individuals feel there is no available means to take reparative action in response to a perceived failure. For example, research has suggested that self-

conscious emotions (such as guilt and shame) in the presence of high-levels of familism may be associated suicidality in Latinas, particularly as suicide is seen as a way to reduce ones' perceived burdensomeness on the family (Kuhlberg et al., 2010; Nolle et al., 2012; Peña et al., 2011). In addition to suicidality, rumination may emerge as a strategy when individuals see no prosocial options to ameliorate the situation (Kim et al., 2011). This is particularly problematic as rumination has been implicated in the most pernicious effects of shame, with longitudinal and cross-sectional work suggesting that rumination mediates the relationship between shame and depression (Nolen-Hoeksema, 2000; Orth et al., 2006). Although goal-related shame can be adaptive, emerging adults who tend to engage in rumination may be less likely to identify prosocial actions that align with their goals, transforming adaptive state-based shame into a more damaging variant.

Familism and educational attainment. The maintenance and endorsement of familism and obligations to family into later adolescence and adulthood has been associated with improved educational attainment, motivation, and emotional wellbeing (Esparza & Sánchez, 2008; Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002). However, ethnic minority college students often report experiencing “achievement guilt” related their academic opportunities, especially given sacrifices made by their parents (Covarrubias & Fryberg, 2015). For ethnic minority college students who are experiencing shame relating to failing to meet family expectations (e.g., not being able to live at home and provide day-to-day support), it may be that succeeding in college provides an avenue to reduce shame and evoke a family-oriented sense of achievement and pride (Stein et al., 2018). This is supported by work that suggests that youth with high familism values and a sense of

obligation to family (e.g., helping out around the house) are especially likely to endorse higher educational aspirations (Fuligni et al., 1999). Critically, students must possess academic self-efficacy if they are to be able to respond to state-based shame with increased academic effort and success. Research by Turner and colleagues found that in addition to having goals related to shame experiences students must have good study strategies and self-regulation in order to achieve their goals and recover from shame (Turner et al., 2002).

Theoretical Framework

Several theoretical frameworks exist that aid in the conceptualization of shame in relation to individual and contextual factors. This study will utilize the framework put forth by Causadias (2013) for the integration of culture into the study of psychopathology. Namely, Causadias urges researchers to “study cultural development, consider both individual-level and social-level cultural processes, examine the interplay between culture and biology, and promote improved and direct cultural assessment.” Although investigations into the biological underpinnings of shame and guilt have been fruitful in distinguishing the two through the elucidation of biological correlates and explicating their function in interpersonal contexts (e.g., Zhu, Feng, Zhang, Mai, & Liu, 2019; Zhu, Wu, et al., 2019), this study will focus on the individual (rumination) and cultural processes (shame and familism cultural values), with particular consideration given to the most effective way to assess these constructs in a culturally-appropriate fashion.

Goals and Hypotheses

Empirical research has found that the emotional underpinnings of familism may play a significant role in youth psychosocial outcomes (e.g., Stein, Cavanaugh, Castro-Schilo, Mejia, & Plunkett, 2018). Theoretical work has further suggested that shame may be both more normative and less harmful in adolescents with high-levels of collectivistic values (Y. Wong & Tsai, 2007) and serve as a motivator for self-improvement (Miceli & Castelfranchi, 2018). Despite the potential prosocial role of shame, rumination has been widely implicated in the literature as a correlate of shame that may largely explain its relationship with depression and anxiety (Nolen-Hoeksema, 2000; Orth et al., 2006) and may emerge as a maladaptive coping strategy for youth who do not see opportunities for reparative action in response to feelings of shame (Kim et al., 2011). Despite the equivocal findings regarding shame in collectivistic cultures, few studies have sought to explore how levels of shame vary with familism cultural values and ruminative tendencies in ethnically diverse youth.

The present study will therefore describe naturalistic profiles of familism cultural values, family-based shame, and rumination in an ethnically diverse sample of college students. To begin to explore how these factors emerge in young adults, the study will leverage a person-centered approach, namely latent profile analysis (LPA), using family-based shame, rumination, and familism cultural values as endogenous indicator variables. In addition, the study will test the mean differences among elicited profile groups in the distal outcome variables of depression and academic achievement. It is hypothesized that (a) at least 4 distinct profiles will emerge from the data: one profile that is relatively high

in familism cultural values, shame, and rumination, one that is high in familism cultural values and shame, but low on rumination, one that is high only in familism cultural values, and one profile that is low or at the mean across all three indicators; (b) based on research that shows familism cultural values are frequently endorsed in collectivistic cultures and are associated with adaptive outcomes, that shame may be a normative experience in collectivistic cultures with prosocial functions, and theoretical work suggesting that family-based shame is relevant for prosocial goals related to fulfilling family obligations, it is expected that the high familism cultural values, high shame, and low rumination profile and the high familism cultural values, low shame, and low rumination profile will comprise the greatest number of Latinx, Asian, and African American college students; (c) levels of depression and academic achievement will differ by profile—specifically, the high familism cultural values, high shame, low rumination profile and high familism cultural values, low shame, low rumination profile will be associated with the highest levels of academic achievement and lowest levels of depression, and the high familism, high shame, high rumination profile and the mean profile will be associated with the lowest levels of academic achievement and highest levels of depression.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

Participants were recruited from a psychology subject pool at a large public university in the southeastern United States. The subject pool comprised primarily students in general education, introductory psychology courses. Students are required to participate in research studies or complete an alternative assignment. The subject pool also included some students in more advanced courses who completed studies for extra credit. Of the 812 participants who opted to participate in the survey, 86 were removed from analyses as they fell outside of the study age range (18 – 25) or had submitted unweighted GPA scores outside the required 0.00 – 4.00 range. An additional 67 participants were removed due to infrequency scores above the 11.5 inattentiveness cut point (see Maniaci & Rogge, 2014). Finally, an additional 5 participants were removed due to not submitting the survey (i.e., not completing), leaving a final sample of 654 individuals. Participants primarily identified as female (76.3% female), with 22.8% identifying as male, and 0.9% identifying as other. Participant age ranged from 18 to 25 ($M = 19.035$, $SD = 1.383$). Participant ethnicities were diverse and follow: 36.9% White, 32.0% African American/Black, 13.0% Latinx/Latina/Latino, 11.2% Multiracial, 5.2% Asian/Asian American, 1.2% Middle Eastern/North African, 0.3% Native American and 0.3% other. Participants were primarily (70.9%) third generation (both parents and

participant U.S. born), with 21.6% identifying as second generation (parents foreign born, participant U.S. born) and 7.5% identifying as first generation (both parents and participant foreign born). Student class years follow: 62.2% 1st year, 20.6% second year/sophomore, 10.6% third year/junior, 4.6% senior, and 2.0% other.

Procedures

The online survey designed and distributed using Qualtrics Survey Software, and students used a mouse to click on different response categories. The survey began with a (1) consent form followed by a (2) brief demographic questionnaire. After, the following measures were presented in randomized order: (3) familism measure, (4) family-based shame measure, (5) depression measure, (6) rumination measure, (7) academic efficacy measure, (8) academic achievement measure, and (9) inattention measure. The study was a part of larger survey research project that included additional measures not used in analyses for this project. The inattention measure included 11 “check questions” from the ARS-33 Infrequency Subscale (e.g., “I don’t like getting speeding tickets”) developed by Maniaci and Rogge (2014) as it has been shown to accurately assess inattention and improve power (see Appendix B). Respondents who scored above the prescribed cut-score of 11.5 were flagged as inattentive responders and removed from analyses ($n = 67$).

Measures

Familism. Attitudinal familism was measured with the Filial Obligations & Attitudes Scale (see Appendix B), which was originally developed by Fuligni, Tseng, and Lam (1999) to measure values, attitudes, and beliefs regarding family obligations among diverse adolescents living in the United States. The adolescent version of the measure

utilizes a five-point, section-dependent Likert-style scale (e.g., from 1 = “*Not At All*” to 5 = “*Very Important*”). The scale also provides options for “*Don't Know*,” “*Refuse to Answer*,” and “*Not Applicable*,” which were treated as missing data. For the purposes of this study, seven items related to family respect, i.e., showing respect to and following the wishes of family (α 's = .69 – .85 across an ethnically diverse sample; Fuligni et al., 1999) and six items related to future family support, i.e., supporting and living near family in the future (α 's = .72 – .82 in the aforementioned sample) were used to represent the construct of familism cultural values, which has demonstrated construct validity across a range of studies (Stein et al., 2014). Composite scores for family respect and future family support were created by averaging across items in the various subscales. In the current study sample the subscales demonstrated adequate reliability, with α 's of .75 and .72 for family respect and future family support, respectively.

Family-based shame. To ensure that the culturally relevant aspects of shame for individuals with more collectivistic mindsets were captured, the Interpersonal Shame Inventory for Asian Americans (Y. J. Wong et al., 2014) was used (see Appendix B). The measure was designed to capture “state-based” shame rather than “trait-based” shame, which the literature has suggested is more likely to be associated with adaptive responses and outcomes (Cook, 2015; de Hooge et al., 2008; Turner et al., 2002). Additionally, the measure is designed to capture shame experiences that are especially relevant in the lives of collectivistically-minded individuals, and includes a five-item ISI-E subscale ($\alpha = .94$ in a sample of Asian American college students; Y. J. Wong et al., 2014) and the five-item ISI-F subscale ($\alpha = .97$ in the aforementioned study) to assess “external shame”

(using items such as, “*These days, I feel like hiding because people might view me as flawed*”) and “family shame” (using items such as, “*These days, I feel like escaping because my defects might disgrace my family*”), respectively. Participants respond using six-point Likert scale (i.e., “1 = *strongly disagree*” to “6 = *strongly agree*”). For the purposes of this study only the ISI-F subscale was used in analyses (although both were collected) due to the focus on shame that may serve as what de Hoog and colleagues termed a “commitment device” (2008) to motivate prosocial action. Prior work has found support for the differential impact of family shame, with structural equation modeling finding that the ISI-E subscale, but not the ISI-F subscale, shows significant associations with depressive symptoms, generic state shame, self-esteem, and other face-concerns, while the ISI-F subscale, but not the ISI-E subscale, shows significant associations with suicide ideation (Y. J. Wong et al., 2014). This is congruent with studies that have found shame in the face of familism can contribute to suicidality (Crowder & Kimmelmeier, 2018; Kuhlberg et al., 2010; Nolle et al., 2012; Peña et al., 2011). Composite scores for family-based shame and external shame were created by averaging across items in the various subscales. The measures demonstrated good reliability in the current study sample ($\alpha = .95$ for both subscales).

Rumination. The 22-item Ruminative Responses Scale (RRS) was used (see Appendix B), which assesses a depressive rumination style items with such as “*Why do I always react this way?*”. Participants responded on a four-point Likert scale (i.e., from 1 = “*almost never*” to 4 = “*almost always*”). Two factors for the scale have been identified that measure the specific tendencies to “ponder” and “brood,” and good reliability ($\alpha =$

.90) was found in a community adult sample (Treyner et al., 2003). To calculate the final score, the 22 items are summed (possible range from 0 – 88). In the current sample, the measure demonstrated good reliability ($\alpha = .96$).

Depressive symptoms. The Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) was used (see Appendix B) to measure current levels of depression (Radloff, 1977). The scale consists of 20 items based on clinical diagnostic criteria for depression and has been shown to be reliable ($\alpha = .88$) in an ethnically diverse sample of college students (Herman et al., 2011). The response scale is a 4-point scale that both describes the frequency and provides an amount of days in which the person felt the particular symptom (i.e., 0 = *Rarely or None of the time [Less than 1 day]*, 1 = *Some or a Little of the Time [1-2 days]*, 2 = *Occasionally or a Moderate Amount of Time [3-4 days]*; 3 = *Most or all of the time [5-7 days]*). Items 4, 8, 12, and 16 are reverse coded and a total score was calculated by summing up the items into a total score (possible range from 0 – 60). A score above 16 is considered beyond the cutoff for clinical risk of depression. The scale includes items such as “*I thought my life had been a failure,*” “*I had crying spells,*” and “*I could not get ‘going’.*” The measure demonstrated good reliability in the current sample ($\alpha = .93$).

Academic efficacy. The self-regulated learning scale was used (see Appendix B) to measure perceived academic self-efficacy. The scale includes 11 items that measure students' perceived ability to leverage various self-regulated learning strategies and has shown adequate reliability ($\alpha = .87$) in a high school student sample (Zimmerman et al., 1992). The response scale is a five-point Likert scale that asks respondents to rate their

confidence in their ability to employ a strategy (i.e., from 1 = *Not confident at all* to 5 = *Very confident*). The scale includes items such as “*Get yourself to study when there are other interesting things to do*” and “*Finish homework assignments by deadlines.*” A composite score was created by averaging across items in the scale. In the current sample, the measure demonstrated good reliability ($\alpha = .91$).

Academic achievement. Students were asked to report their unweighted GPA (i.e., 0.00 – 4.00) from both high school and college (see Appendix B) provided they have completed at least one semester of college coursework. Given the high number of first-year students, only high school grades were used for analyses.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to conducting study analyses, the descriptive statistics (including means, standard deviation, range, skewness, and kurtosis) were computed for all demographic and study variables to characterize the sample (see Appendix A, Table 1). Outliers were not removed from the data due to the exploratory nature of this study unless participants were determined to be inattentive responders (Maniaci & Rogge, 2014), were outside the study age range (18 – 25), or provided unweighted GPAs outside the 0.00 – 4.00 range. Correlations for all variables of interest were also computed (see Appendix A, Table 2).

Regarding the indicator variables, participants displayed relatively high familism values, rating to the importance of various values related to family respect and future family support at a 4.08 and 3.42 out of 5 respectively, corresponding to responses of “somewhat” to “very” important. Participants displayed low-levels of family-based shame on average with an average response of 1.93 out of 6, corresponding to “moderately” to “slightly” disagreeing with various shame statements. Participants also displayed moderate levels of rumination on average, with a mean sum scale of 49.30 ($M_{Item} = 2.24$) corresponding to experiencing rumination symptoms “sometimes” to “often.”

Turning to the distal outcome variables, participants reported high summed depression scores on average ($M = 20.83$), notably above the clinical cut-off for individuals “at risk” for clinical depression (Radloff, 1977). By contrast, unweighted high school GPA was relatively high, with a mean score of 3.49 out of 4.00. Similarly, participants reported high academic efficacy, with an average score of 3.33 out of 5, indicating feeling “moderately confident” to “confident” about one’s ability to engage in various self-regulated learning strategies.

Latent Profile Analysis

Latent Profile Analysis was conducted using *Mplus* version 8.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 2018) to determine if profiles or groups with shared characteristics emerged from the data. Family respect, future family support, family-based shame, and rumination were used as indicator variables to generate profiles (see Appendix A, Table 3). Both family respect and future family support were utilized as indicators of familism values due to research attesting to the multidimensional nature of the construct, with most studies choosing to separate the various subscales of familism for analytical purposes (Stein et al., 2014). Furthermore, the added variation and information provided by additional indicators is useful as it can help improve model entropy and class separation (Muthén & Muthén, 2008). As several of the study variables (i.e., family respect, family-based shame) displayed non-normal distributions, the native *Mplus* “MLM” option was utilized, which computes maximum likelihood parameter estimates and chi-square test statistics with standard errors that are robust to non-normality (Muthén & Muthén, 2011).

Identifying the number of profiles. In order to determine the number of profiles which best fit the data, fit indices for models from two to six profiles were computed, namely the Akaike information criterion (AIC), sample-size adjusted Bayesian Information Criteria (SSABIC), and the Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test (LRT) (see Appendix A, Table 4). Although no formal rules of thumb exist regarding utilizing the AIC and SSABIC, each additional profile leads to reductions in the AIC and SSABIC, and the leveling out of these values suggests overfitting of the data. The LRT generates a *p*-value testing whether a model with *k* profiles provides a significant improvement in data fit over a model with *k*-1 profiles ($\alpha = .05$). Model entropy was also computed, where values greater than .80 indicate that a high quality of classification exists in the profiles (Muthén & Muthén, 2008). These various indices were considered jointly to determine the number of profiles to interpret and use in analyses.

As evident in Table 4, no overt leveling out of the AIC and SSABIC was qualitatively observed, thus providing no indication of model overfitting. The LRT likewise provided limited information, with only the two-profile solution showing statistically significant improvement over the solution with *k*-1 profiles. In addition to the two-profile solution, the three-profile and five-profile solutions were considered for selection as they displayed sufficiently high entropy (i.e., above .80). Given the exploratory nature of the LPA procedure, the mean levels of the standardized indicator variables were visualized for the two-, three- and five-profile solutions (see Appendix A, Figures 1, 2, and 3). After referencing the standardized plots, the two-profile was not selected as it failed to capture any meaningful variation in levels of familism values, with

the solution primarily driven by differences in family-based shame and rumination (i.e., one profile high and one profile low on both shame and rumination). Additionally, although both the three- and five- profile solutions captured meaningful variation across all indicators, they did not display sufficiently distinct patterns to lead to different qualitative interpretations. Thus, the more parsimonious three-profile model was selected as the final model for analyses.

Descriptions of profiles. Three profiles emerged based on the various patterns of responses on the endogenous indicators. Qualitative descriptions of the profiles follow: a profile characterized by *Low Familism* (10.84% of the sample), with individuals typically reporting lower levels of familism value endorsement (greater than 1 standard deviation below the means of family respect and future family support), slightly lower levels of family-based shame (within 0.5 standard deviations of the mean), and slightly higher levels of rumination (within 0.5 standard deviations of the mean); a second profile characterized by *Normative Familism* (68.02% of the sample), with individuals endorsing familism values (within 0.5 standard deviations of the mean), slightly lower levels of family-based shame (within 0.5 standard deviations of the mean), and slightly lower levels of rumination (within 0.5 standard deviations of the mean); a third profile characterized by *Familism Shame* (21.14% of the sample), with individuals endorsing familism values (within 0.5 standard deviations of the mean), higher levels family-based shame (greater than 1.5 standard deviations above the mean), and higher levels of rumination (greater than 0.5 standard deviations above the mean). Only the *Familism Shame* profile displayed agreement with various family-based shame experiences, with

mean-level responses ($M = 4.05$) corresponding to “slightly” to “moderately” agreeing with various shame statements.

Testing for mean-level differences in distal outcome variables. After selecting the three-profile model, the differences in proposed outcomes (namely academic achievement, depression, and academic self-efficacy) were tested using a chi-square statistic generated by *Mplus* using the distal continuous outcomes (DCON) procedure (Lanza et al., 2013), which performs well when entropy is greater than .60 (Asparouhov & Muthen, 2020). Based on analyses, the *Familism Shame* profile showed the highest level of depressive symptoms ($M = 34.85$), followed by the *Low Familism* profile ($M = 26.57$) and the *Normative Familism* profile ($M = 11.08$). Of the three profiles, only the *Normative Familism* profile displayed average depressive symptoms below the clinical cut-off of 16 (Radloff, 1977). Additionally, mean levels of depression were unequal across all three profiles based on the three individual chi-square difference tests comparing *Low Familism* to *Normative Familism*, *Low Familism* to *Familism Shame*, and *Normative Familism* to *Familism Shame* respectively ($\chi^2 = 492.69, 57.41, 598.34$; $df = 1$; $p < .001$).

The *Normative Familism* profile showed the highest average high school GPA ($M = 3.508$) and was significantly higher than the *Low Familism* profile ($M = 3.388, \chi^2 = 5.490, df = 1, p = .019$) but not significantly higher than the *Familism Shame* profile ($M = 3.491, \chi^2 = 0.206, df = 1, p = .650$). The average high school GPA for the *Familism Shame* profile trended higher than the *Low Familism* profile, but not to a level of statistical significance ($\chi^2 = 3.200, df = 1, p = .074$).

Regarding academic efficacy, the *Normative Familism* Profile again showed the highest level ($M = 3.495$) and was significantly higher than both the *Low Familism* ($M = 2.995$, $\chi^2 = 27.129$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$) and the *Familism Shame* profile ($M = 3.016$, $\chi^2 = 36.059$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). The *Low Familism* and *Familism Shame* profile did not show significant differences in mean levels of academic efficacy ($\chi^2 = 0.035$, $df = 1$, $p = .852$).

Testing for variation in racial/ethnic composition of profiles. Differences in the racial/ethnic compositions of the various profiles was tested by creating dummy coded variables and conducting difference tests using a series of chi-square statistics (see Table 7) using the distal categorical outcomes (DCAT) procedure (Lanza et al., 2013), which is the preferred method in *Mplus* (Asparouhov & Muthen, 2020). Participants who identified as “African American/Black” or “Asian/Asian American” did not statistically differ in their membership between the profiles, however, those who identified as “Latinx/Latina/Latino” were significantly less likely to belong to the *Low Familism* profile in comparison to the *Normative Familism* ($\chi^2 = 8.22$, $df = 1$, $p = .004$) or *Familism Shame* ($\chi^2 = 9.65$, $df = 1$, $p = .002$) profile. By contrast, participants who identified as “White” were significantly more likely to be in the *Low Familism* profile as opposed to the *Normative Familism* ($\chi^2 = 9.20$, $df = 1$, $p = .002$) or *Familism Shame* profile ($\chi^2 = 5.21$, $df = 1$, $p = .022$).

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The understanding that self-conscious emotions vary significantly across cultures is supported by a growing body of evidence (e.g., Crowder & Kimmelmeier, 2018), potentially blurring the previously established lines between shame and guilt (de Hooge et al., 2008; Miceli & Castelfranchi, 2018). However, despite this work and the important influence of these emotions on both mental and physical health (Cândeia & Szentagotai-Tăta, 2018; Mereish & Poteat, 2015), little work has investigated the impact of cultural values on experienced guilt and shame. This study sought to highlight these possible unique effects by using a person-centered approach to identify patterns of familism cultural values (namely family respect and future family obligations), family-based shame, and rumination in a diverse sample of college students. Analyses revealed that although the experience of family-based shame was indeed experienced by a significant subset of young adults who endorsed collectivistically-minded familism values, its effects were not monolithically “maladaptive” or “adaptive”, but instead associated with both positive (i.e., academic performance) and negative (i.e., depressive symptoms) psychosocial outcomes. These findings provide context to dominant models which have widely characterized shame as primarily associated with negative outcomes (Kim et al., 2011; Patock-Peckham et al., 2018), and suggest that some types of shame (e.g., family-

based shame) may be more commonly experienced in familistic youth with differential impacts of various domains of life.

Shame and Depression

Of the profiles that emerged from the data, individuals in the *Familism Shame* and *Low Familism* profiles showed the highest risk for depression, with mean endorsement of depressive symptoms above the clinical cut-off (Radloff, 1977). Depression is one of the most common correlates of shame (Kim et al., 2011), and rumination has been posited as a primary explanatory mechanism for these well-established negative associations (Orth et al., 2006). Results from this study appear to support these findings, with the *Familism Shame* profile (i.e., high family-based shame, high rumination) showing the highest level of depression. Indeed, contrary to what was hypothesized, a profile with family-based shame and low rumination was not found, suggesting that these experiences may frequently be jointly experienced or share common essential characteristics.

It is notable that the *Familism Shame* profile displayed high levels of depressive symptoms despite endorsing of familism values at similar levels to *Normative Familism* profile. Given that familism has been shown to be associated with less internalizing symptoms in a wide-range of empirical studies (Valdivieso-Mora et al., 2016), it may be that these familism values do not confer protection against depression within the context of both high family-based shame and high rumination. Previous work has indeed shown that under certain conditions familism values can actually contribute to internalizing symptoms, and researchers have speculated that this may be due to additional experienced guilt when failing to meet family expectations (Kuhlberg et al., 2010). These

findings provide some initial empirical support for this claim, suggesting that depression symptoms may be exacerbated (or simply not buffered) by familism values when family-based shame and rumination are both present. Especially as shame and rumination tend to be mutually reinforcing (Joireman, 2004), the self-punitive cognitions associated with family-based shame may, at times, overpower the positive benefits of familism values, allowing some dimensions of the familism construct to be associated with specific negative psychological outcomes even if familism confers an overall benefit to the individual.

Given family-based shame emerged only in the presence of high familism, it does appear to capture a unique experience of familistic young adults that may be undetected (or characterized differently) by mainline shame measures. However, family-based shame only showed limited variable-level associations with familism values (i.e., only modest associations with future family support), suggesting person-centered analyses may have particular utility for identifying the conditions under which this emotion may emerge. Additionally, given that family-based shame has not consistently been related to depression (Y. J. Wong et al., 2014), this study provides insight into when this shame experience may be particularly harmful, namely in the context of ruminative tendencies.

Despite not endorsing high-levels of family-based shame, those in the *Low Familism* profile likewise reported elevated depressive symptoms. Given the relatively low levels of familism value endorsement, these symptoms may be in part due to the lack of protection offered by the emotions (Stein et al., 2018) and family support (Hernández & Bámaca-Colbert, 2016) that typically accompany these values. It may also be that

variation in depression amongst the profiles is primarily due to the large main effect rumination has shown to have on depression (Nolen-Hoeksema, 2000). Both profiles with above mean-levels of rumination (i.e., *Familism Shame*, *Low Familism*) displayed the highest depressive levels, providing support for this potential mechanism.

Shame and Academic Achievement

Although *Familism Shame* was associated with higher depressive symptoms, analyses revealed that profiles high in familism were associated with higher high school GPAs (i.e., *Normative Familism* and *Familism Shame* profiles). Specifically, those in the *Normative Familism* profile reported statistically higher GPAs when compared with the *Low Familism* profile and performed at the same level as their peers in the *Familism Shame* profile. Within the context of familism, research has shown that filial obligations are related to higher levels of academic motivation across a diverse range of youth, perhaps as it is seen as a way to enact their familism values (Fuligni et al., 1999). As familism values are typically endorsed amongst cultural groups with salient immigration histories (and were likewise correlated with parent nativity status in this sample), achieving on behalf of one's family, particularly through obtaining the grades necessary to succeed financially in the future, may provide an avenue to enact values associated with family respect (e.g., "do[ing] well for the sake of family") and future family obligations (e.g., "help[ing] out family financially in the future"). These processes may also be true for other ethnic/racial groups that endorse these values due to other cultural factors (e.g., religious values).

Interestingly, the *Familism Shame* group reported academic achievement outcomes on par with the *Normative Familism* profile despite endorsing less academic efficacy on average, suggesting that family-based shame may serve as a motivator of academic performance. However, as academic achievement was based on high school GPA, the lower levels of academic efficacy in the *Familism Shame* profile may also largely relate to the unique stressors faced by first-generation college students or those from immigrant families (Castillo et al., 2004, 2008). Particularly as Latinx young adults were most likely to be represented by one of the two high familism profiles, the *Familism Shame* profile may capture those students who are experiencing acculturative stressors, have concerns about their ability to maintain their academic performance in college, and feel shame about their ability to succeed on behalf of their family. Given both familism profiles described students with very strong academic performance in high school and academic efficacy is typically highly related to past academic success (Elias & MacDonald, 2007), colleges likely need to do more to address the unique barriers that may be robbing these students of their opportunity to succeed and perform at a level congruent with their ability and motivation. This is especially critical given research suggesting that academic self-efficacy mediates the relationship between depressive symptoms and academic performance in Latinx youth (Zychinski & Polo, 2012), raising the possibility that lower presently experienced academic efficacy may be an early warning of future academic difficulties.

Differences in Racial/Ethnic Composition of the Profiles

Each of the profiles were relatively ethnically diverse, although Latinx individuals were most likely to belong to either the *Normative Familism* or *Familism Shame* profile and White participants were most likely to belong to the *Low Familism* profile. The lack of differences seen amongst Asian individuals across profiles was surprising, particularly given research showcasing the high-levels of filial obligations typically endorsed in Asian samples (Dong & Xu, 2016) and prior research on family-based shame (Bedford, 2004). Given only 5.2% ($n = 34$) of the sample identified as Asian/Asian American, there may have been insufficient power to properly detect differences amongst the profiles. Similarly, despite research showing high-levels familism endorsement in African American adolescents (e.g., Soli et al., 2009), individuals who identified as African American/Black were approximately evenly split amongst the profiles. However, given two of the three profiles that emerged from the data were high in familism and comprised of the largest number of individuals (89.16% of the sample), the majority of both Asian and African American/Black participants belonged to a high familism profile. Furthermore, there was high mean levels of familism value endorsement across the sample, with even those in the *Low Familism* profile “somewhat” agreeing with family respect statements (if not future family support statements).

The Possibility of Adaptive Shame

Previous work has shown that shame may be adaptive when considering certain goal-related outcomes (de Hooge et al., 2008; Turner et al., 2002). In line with these findings, the *Familism Shame* profile was associated with higher high school GPA (a

salient goal connected with familism values), while simultaneously showing associations with depressive symptoms. This suggests that the behavioral benefit of family-based shame may come at a cost in terms of mental health. While this shame may serve to motivate academic achievement, these feelings in conjunction with rumination may lead to individuals feeling “stuck”, unable to ameliorate themselves despite taking prosocial actions. By contrast, it may be that shame accompanied by certain adaptive cognitions leads to more positive overall outcomes, particularly as the presence of self-reflection (as opposed to self-rumination) helps explain why guilt is typically more prosocial than shame (Joireman, 2004). While the tendency to ruminate may play a role in “activating” the maladaptive components of the shame experience, self-reflection may help individuals both identify concrete actions towards their goals and practice self-compassion. Ultimately, “adaptive shame” likely constitutes a hybrid construct with overlapping guilt and shame features, with measurement of the cognitive (e.g., rumination vs. self-reflection), behavioral (e.g., outcome-dependent approach vs. withdrawal), and contextual (e.g., self-evaluation vs. other-evaluation) factors needed to distinguish it from both mainline shame and guilt.

Conclusions

Taken together, although family-based shame appeared to be endorsed in a subset of youth with high familism, this shame experience was not universally associated with negative outcomes. In fact, youth high in family-based shame performed as high as their other familistic peers when considering high school GPA, although lower levels of academic efficacy were endorsed in the *Familism Shame* profile. Those in the *Familism*

Shame profile reported the highest overall depression in the sample, suggesting the protective effects of familism may not translate to depression when coupled with both family-based shame and rumination. Within this context, the tendency to ruminate on one's failure to live up to one's familial values may transform family-based shame from a potential motivating device to a more pernicious downward spiral associated with increased internalizing difficulties. Clinicians should be attentive to this possibility (particularly for youth high in familism) and should seek to understand how family-based shame experiences may lead to divergent outcomes across different functional domains. Ultimately, this study highlights that shame cannot be simply understood through existing models, and more culturally sensitive approaches (measures, tools, research designs) are needed in both clinical and research settings to fully understand and describe these experiences.

Limitations and Future Directions

The primary goal of this study was to highlight instances of potentially adaptive shame, yet the difficulty of measuring the various dimensions of shame experiences presented significant challenges. By design, the family-based shame measure used (Y. J. Wong et al., 2014) is highly indexed towards avoidance and withdrawal behaviors, whereas the mechanism of adaptive state-based shame was hypothesized to be motivation towards a relevant goal (de Hooij et al., 2008). This, in part, may explain why family-based shame displayed low mean-levels of endorsement across the sample, despite the relatively high mean-levels of familism values. Yet, despite selectively probing this maladaptive component of family-based shame, I found that the experience of family-

based shame was not universally negative in the sample, with the *Familism Shame* profile showing high academic achievement. Rather than simply two dimensions (shame and guilt), these self-conscious emotions are likely described a wider series of indicators in collectivistic samples. Future work should aim to disentangle these affective experiences, in part by probing the context in which the experience emerges, the cognitive and behavioral responses involved, and the cultural framework through which the emotions are understood.

The self-report and cross-sectional nature of this study also encumbers any causal inferences related to the impact of presently experienced emotions on outcomes. It is important to note that although the term “distal outcomes” was used to maintain consistency with how these procedures are described in the literature, no such causal claims are made regarding associations between the patterns of responses and the outcome variables. Additionally, academic achievement was based on retrospective participant report of high school GPA, further complicating associations between academic performance and presently endorsed familism values, shame experiences, and ruminative tendencies. Despite this, the sample consisted primarily of students in their first or second semester of college, and in most cases high school GPA constituted their most recent experience of aggregate feedback on their academic performance. However, beyond the evidence for (or against) adaptive shame, this study showcases the resiliency of young adults who feel driven to achieve on behalf of and to support their families, and suggests that more work is needed to both understand these experiences and promote equitable environments that foster success for all.

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APPENDIX A

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1. Descriptive Demographics and Variables ($N = 654$).

| Variable | Min | Max | Mean | SD | Skewness | Kurtosis |
|------------------------|-------|-------|--------|--------|----------|----------|
| Parent Nativity Status | 0.00 | 1.00 | 0.710 | 0.454 | -0.925 | -1.148 |
| Family Respect | 1.00 | 5.00 | 4.077 | 0.616 | -0.856 | 1.502 |
| Future Family Support | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.421 | 0.766 | -0.099 | 0.041 |
| Family-Based Shame | 1.00 | 6.00 | 1.933 | 1.267 | 1.358 | 0.946 |
| Depression | 0.00 | 58.00 | 20.827 | 12.587 | 0.572 | -0.350 |
| Rumination | 22.00 | 88.00 | 49.298 | 16.762 | 0.315 | -0.696 |
| Academic Efficacy | 1.00 | 5.00 | 3.325 | 0.84 | -0.082 | -0.534 |
| HS GPA | 2.00 | 4.00 | 3.490 | 0.376 | -0.889 | 0.855 |

Table 2. Correlation Matrix Among Key Study Variables ($N = 654$).

| Variable | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. |
|---------------------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|--------|----|
| 1. Gender | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Parent Nativity Status | .050 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 3. Family Respect | -.024 | -.096* | 1 | | | | | | |
| 4. Future Family Support | -.073 | -.190** | .605** | 1 | | | | | |
| 5. Family-Based Shame | .058 | -.035 | .021 | .079* | 1 | | | | |
| 6. Depression | .151** | .038 | -.123** | -.097* | .615** | 1 | | | |
| 7. Rumination | .123** | .024 | -.092* | -.054 | .521** | .755** | 1 | | |
| 8. Academic Efficacy | -.011 | .023 | .198** | .179** | -.196** | -.283** | -.209** | 1 | |
| 9. HS GPA | .119** | -.006 | .065 | .031 | -.027 | -.063 | -.055 | .141** | 1 |

Note: ** $p < 0.01$ * $p < 0.05$. Gender: 0 = male, 1 = female, 2 = other. Parent nativity status: 0 = parents foreign born (participant 1st or 2nd generation), 2 = parents U.S. born (participant 3rd generation).

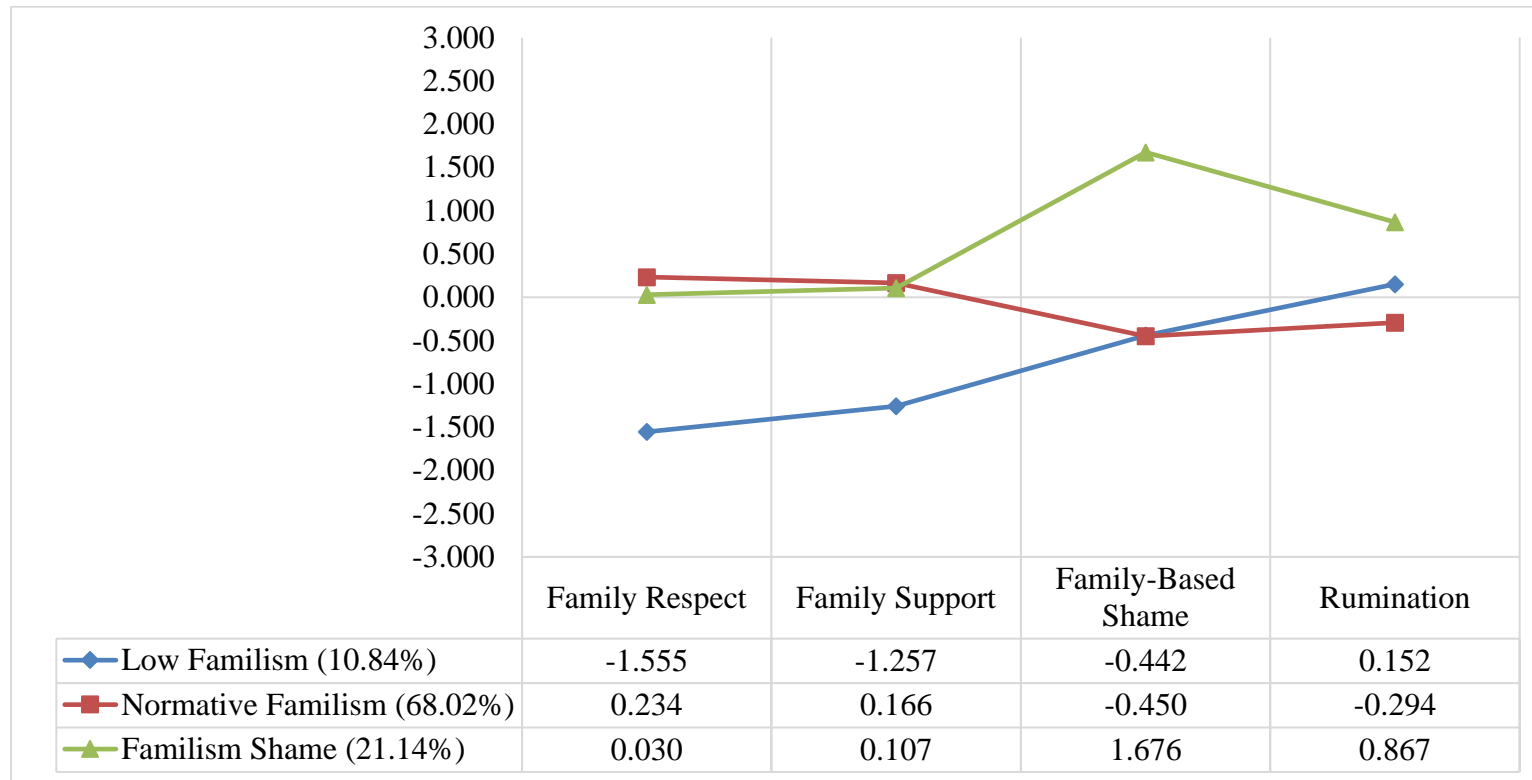
Table 3. Indicators for LPA.

| LPA Indicators | Measure | Mean (SD) |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------|
| Family Respect | Filial Obligations & Attitudes Scale | 4.077 (0.616) |
| Future Family Support | Filial Obligations & Attitudes Scale | 3.421 (0.766) |
| Family-Based Shame | Interpersonal Shame Inventory for Asian Americans | 1.933 (1.267) |
| Rumination | Ruminative Responses Scale | 49.298 (16.762) |

Table 4. Model Fit Indices for LPA.

| | AIC | BIC | Adjusted BIC | Entropy | LRT p-value | Adjusted LRT |
|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 2 profile model | 9953.809 | 10012.090 | 9970.815 | .935 | .0000 | .0000 |
| 3 profile model | 9846.213 | 9926.909 | 9869.759 | .844 | .1118 | .1178 |
| 4 profile model | 9771.113 | 9874.224 | 9801.199 | .774 | .1279 | .1329 |
| 5 profile model | 9649.060 | 9774.587 | 9685.687 | .864 | .1945 | .2023 |
| 6 profile model | 9491.622 | 9639.564 | 9534.789 | .887 | .9714 | .9704 |

Figure 1. Three-Profile Solution Standardized Scores for LPA Indicators.



Note: *Low Familism* = low familism (family respect and future family support), low family-based shame, mean levels of rumination; *Normative Familism* = mean familism, low family-based shame, low rumination; *Familism Shame* = mean familism, high family-based shame, high rumination.

Figure 2. Two-Profile Solution Standardized Scores for LPA Indicators.

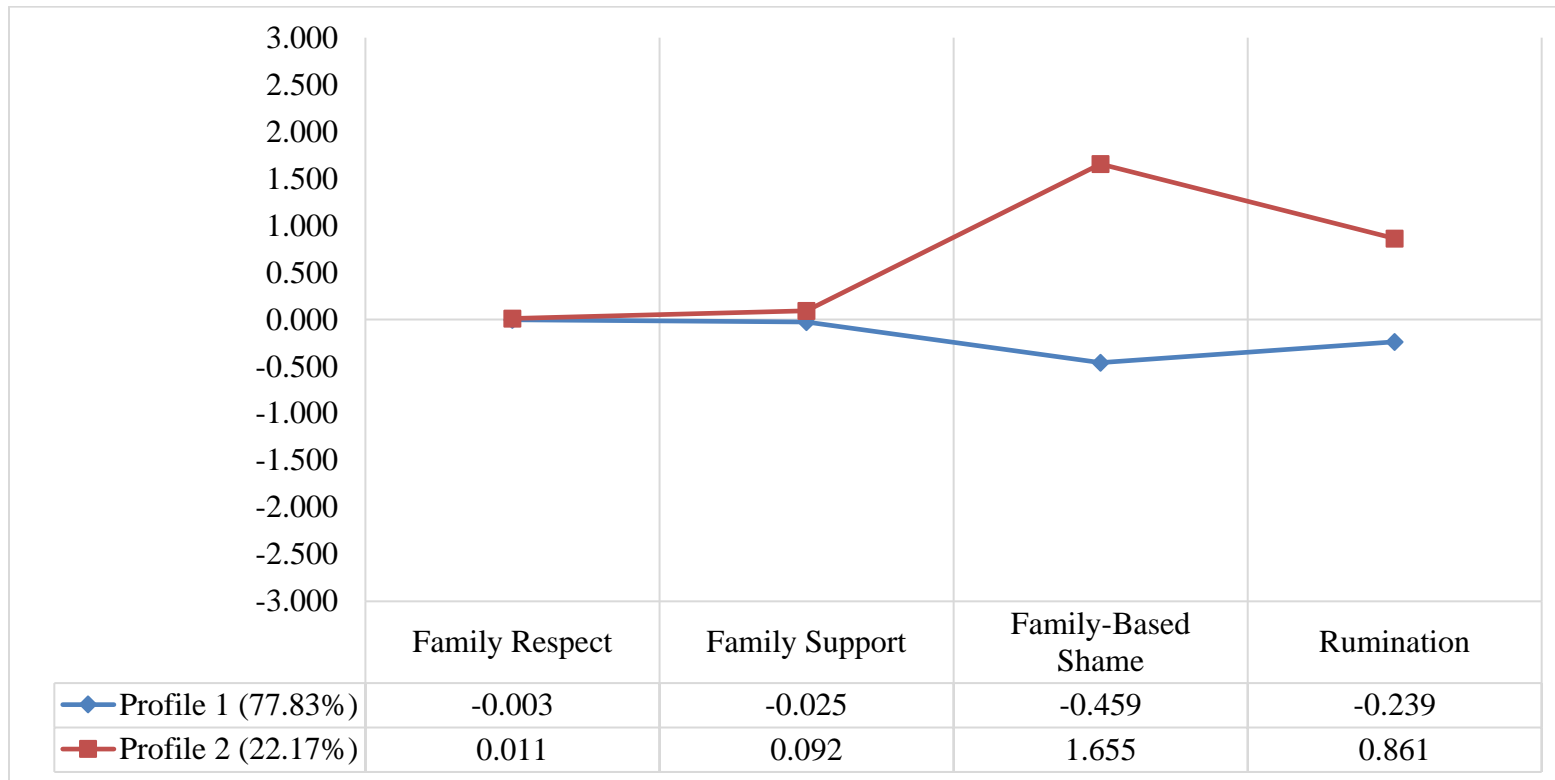


Figure 3. Five-Profile Solution Standardized Scores for LPA Indicators.

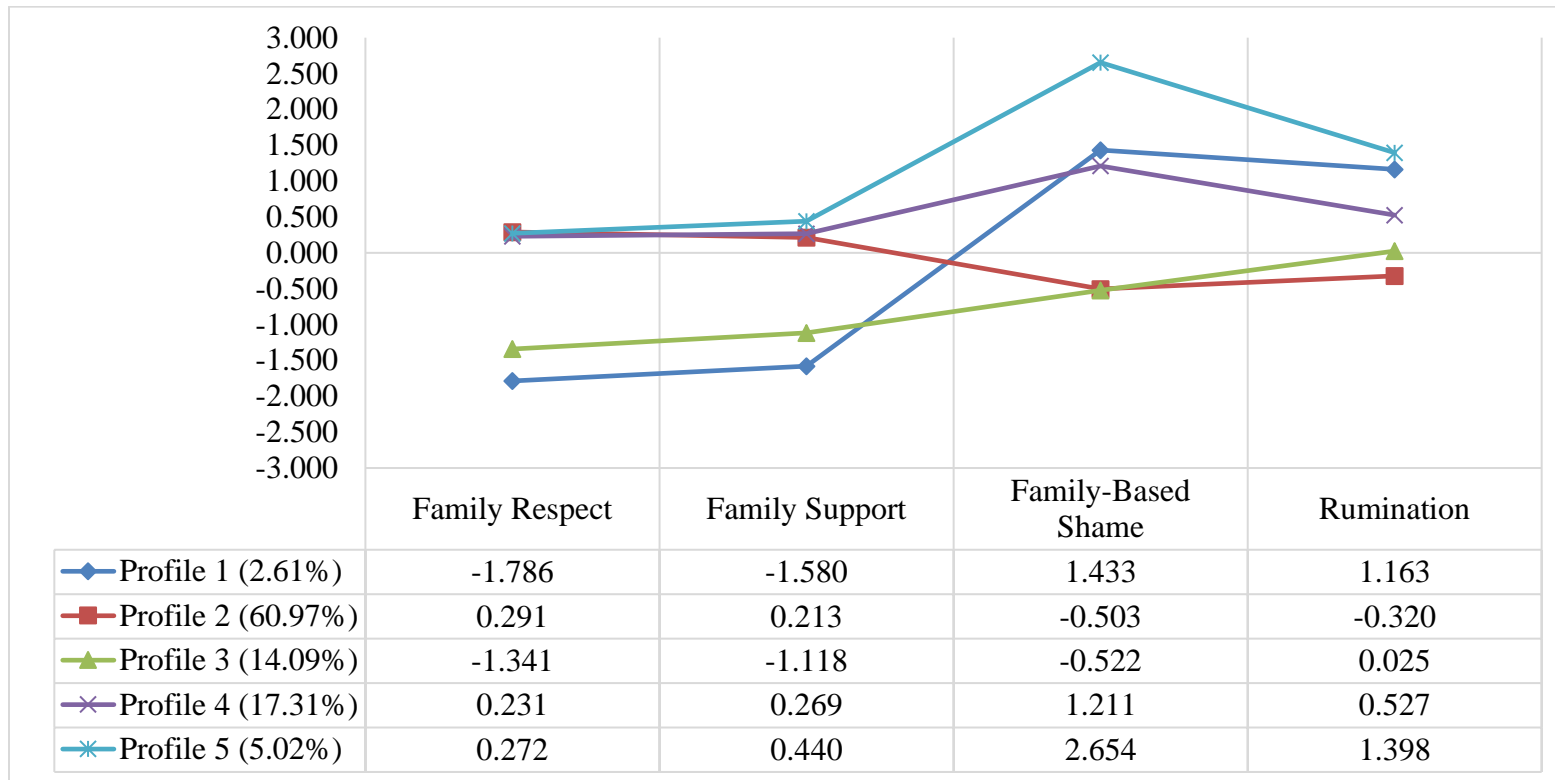


Table 5. Unstandardized Means and Standard Errors.

| Variable | Low Familism (<i>n</i> ~ 71) | Normative Familism (<i>n</i> ~ 445) | Familism Shame (<i>n</i> ~ 138) | Grand Mean (<i>N</i> = 654) |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Family Respect | 3.120 (0.380) | 4.221 (0.071) | 4.095 (0.063) | 4.077 (0.616) |
| Family Support | 2.459 (0.286) | 3.548 (0.091) | 3.503 (0.076) | 3.421 (0.766) |
| Family-Based Shame | 1.373 (0.110) | 1.363 (0.033) | 4.054 (0.107) | 1.933 (1.267) |
| Rumination | 51.843 (3.432) | 44.380 (0.943) | 63.820 (1.414) | 49.298 (16.762) |
| Proportion of Students | .108 | .681 | .211 | 1.00 |

Table 6. Mean-Level Profile Differences in Continuous Outcomes for LPA Profiles.

| | Mean (SE) | | | Significant differences | Overall test statistic |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--|
| | LF | NF | FS | | |
| Depression | 26.566 (0.607) | 11.080 (0.344) | 34.847 (0.909) | FS > LF > NF | $\chi^2 = 929.93$, df = 2, $p < .001$ |
| Academic Achievement (HS GPA) | 3.388 (0.048) | 3.508 (0.017) | 3.491 (0.032) | NF > LF | $\chi^2 = 5.50$, df = 2, $p = .064$ |
| Academic Efficacy | 2.995 (0.087) | 3.495 (0.039) | 3.016 (0.069) | NF > FS, LF | $\chi^2 = 52.66$, df = 2, $p < .001$ |

Note. Significant differences were determined using chi-square difference test. LF = *Low Familism*, NF = *Normative Familism*, FS = *Familism Shame*.

Table 7. Mean-Level (Probability) Profile Differences in Categorical Outcomes for LPA Profiles.

| | Prob. (SE) | | | Significant differences | Overall test statistic |
|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | LF | NF | FS | | |
| African American/Black | .237 (0.124) | .341 (0.024) | .289 (0.040) | None | $\chi^2 = 1.48, df = 2, p = .476$ |
| White | .664 (0.118) | .322 (0.027) | .375 (0.043) | LF > NF, FS | $\chi^2 = 10.64, df = 2, p = .005$ |
| Latinx/Latina/Latino | .028 (0.023) | .148 (0.029) | .149 (0.032) | LF < NF, FS | $\chi^2 = 12.55, df = 2, p = .002$ |
| Asian/Asian American | .020 (0.025) | .061 (0.013) | .041 (0.019) | None | $\chi^2 = 2.25, df = 2, p = .324$ |

Note. Significant differences were determined using chi-square difference test. LF = *Low Familism*, NF = *Normative Familism*, FS = *Familism Shame*. Probabilities within a profile do not add up to 1 due to additional racial categories (i.e., multiracial, other) in the sample.

APPENDIX B
MEASURES

The Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) (Radloff, 1977)

The following phrases indicate different ways of feeling. Please indicate the frequency with which you have felt these ways in the last week.

Options: 0 = Rarely or Never (Less than once per day), 1 = Sometimes (1-2 days), 2 = Occasionally/ Several times (3-4 days), 3 = Almost everyday (5-7 days)

1. I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.
2. I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.
3. I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with the help of my family and friends.
4. I felt that I was just as good as other people. (R)
5. I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.
6. I felt depressed.
7. I felt that everything I did was an effort.
8. I felt hopeful about the future. (R)
9. I thought my life had been a failure.
10. I felt fearful.
11. My sleep was restless.
12. I was happy. (R)
13. I talked less than usual.
14. I felt lonely.

15. People were unfriendly.
16. I enjoyed life. (R)
17. I had crying spells.
18. I felt sad.
19. I felt that people disliked me.
20. I could not get going.

Note: (R) denotes reverse-coded items

Adolescent Filial Obligations English Measures (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999)

Family Respect

In general, how important is it to YOU that you do the following. Choose between 1-5 or 7-9

Options: 1 = Not At All, 2, 3 =Somewhat, 4, 5 = Very Important, 7 = Don't Know, 8 = Refuse to Answer, 9 = Not Applicable

1. Treat your parents with respect.
2. Follow your parents' advice about choosing friends.
3. Do well for the sake of your family.
4. Follow your parent's advice about choosing a job or major in college
5. Treat your grandparents with great respect.
6. Respect your older brothers and sisters.
7. Make sacrifices for your family.

Future Family Support:

The next group of questions asks how important is it to YOU that that in the future you SHOULD do the following things. Choose between 1-5 or 7-9

Options: 1 = Not At All, 2, 3 =Somewhat, 4, 5 = Very Important, 7 = Don't Know, 8 = Refuse to Answer, 9 = Not Applicable

1. FUTURE: Help your parents financially in the future.
2. FUTURE Live at home with parents until married
3. FUTURE: Help take care of your brothers and sisters in the future.

4. FUTURE: Spend time with your parents even though you no longer live with them.
5. FUTURE: Live or go to college near your parents
6. FUTURE: Have your parents live with you when you get older.

Ruminative Responses Scale (Treynor, Gonzalez, & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2003)

People think and do many different things when they feel depressed. Please read each of the items below and indicate whether you almost never, sometimes, often, or almost always think or do each one when you feel down, sad, or depressed. Please indicate what you generally do, not what you think you should do.

Options: 1 = almost never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often, 4 = almost always

1. think about how alone you feel
2. think “I won’t be able to do my job if I don’t snap out of this”
3. think about your feelings of fatigue and achiness
4. think about how hard it is to concentrate
5. think “What am I doing to deserve this?”
6. think about how passive and unmotivated you feel.
7. analyze recent events to try to understand why you are depressed
8. think about how you don’t seem to feel anything anymore
9. think “Why can’t I get going?”
10. think “Why do I always react this way?”
11. go away by yourself and think about why you feel this way
12. write down what you are thinking about and analyze it
13. think about a recent situation, wishing it had gone better
14. think “I won’t be able to concentrate if I keep feeling this way.”
15. think “Why do I have problems other people don’t have?”
16. think “Why can’t I handle things better?”

17. think about how sad you feel.
18. think about all your shortcomings, failings, faults, mistakes
19. think about how you don't feel up to doing anything
20. analyze your personality to try to understand why you are depressed
21. go someplace alone to think about your feelings
22. think about how angry you are with yourself

Interpersonal Shame Inventory (Y. J. Wong et al., 2014)

The following statements are about experiences of shame. Please indicate the extent to which you agree with these statements as they relate to your life recently. Each statement has two parts separated by the word “because.” In deciding on your rating, consider the extent to which both parts of the statement apply to you. You should focus on your recent experiences, not how you think or feel in general.

Options: 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Moderately Disagree, 3 = Slightly Disagree, 4 = Slightly Agree, 5 = Moderately Agree, 6 = Strongly Agree

1. These days, I feel like hiding because people might view me as flawed
2. These days, I wish I could disappear because my deficits might cause my family to lose face
3. These days, I feel like escaping because others might think something is wrong with me
4. These days, I feel like crawling into a hole because others might regard me as defective
5. These days, I feel like escaping because my defects might disgrace my family
6. These days, I feel like crawling into a hole because my deficiencies might dishonor my family
7. These days, I wish I could run away because my inadequacies might cause my family to look bad
8. These days, I feel like avoiding others because people might view me as weak

9. These days, I wish I could shrink away because others might perceive me as incompetent
10. These days, I wish I could become invisible because my shortcomings might bring disrepute to my family

Note: Items 2, 5, 6, 7, and 10 comprised the family-based shame subscale

Self-Regulated Learning Scale (Zimmerman et al., 1992)

How confident are you in your ability to...

Options: 1 = Not confident at all, 2 = Somewhat confident, 3 = Moderately confident, 4

= Confident, 5 = Very confident

1. Finish homework assignments by deadlines.
2. Get yourself to study when there are other interesting things to do.
3. Always concentrate on school subjects during class.
4. Take good notes during class instruction.
5. Use the library to get information for class assignments.
6. Plan your schoolwork for the day.
7. Organize your schoolwork.
8. Remember information presented in class and textbooks.
9. Arrange a place to study without distractions.
10. Get yourself to do schoolwork.

Academic Performance

1. What was your unweighted GPA in high school?
2. What is your current unweighted GPA at (college name)?

ARS-33 Infrequency Subscale (Maniaci & Rogge, 2014)

Options: 1 = Not at all TRUE, 2 = A little TRUE, 3 = Somewhat TRUE, 4 = Mostly TRUE, 5 = Very TRUE

1. I don't like getting speeding tickets. (R)
2. It feels good to be appreciated. (R)
3. I'd rather be hated than loved.
4. I enjoy the music of Marlene Sandersfield.
5. My favorite subject is agronomy.
6. I don't like being ridiculed or humiliated. (R)
7. I enjoy receiving telemarketers' calls.
8. My main interests are coin collecting and interpretive dancing.
9. I'd be happy if I won the lottery.
10. I love going to the DMV (Department of Motor Vehicles).
11. I look forward to my time off. (R)

Note: (R) denotes reverse-coded items