

Methods to Elicit and Assess the Early Development of Social Emotions

Karen Caplovitz Barrett
Colorado State University

Is it Possible to Clearly & Objectively Measure Social Emotions?

- ✚ Is it possible to clearly and objectively measure any type of emotion?
- ✚ What about facial expressions? Are there universal expressions of “basic emotions”?
- ✚ Flaws with classic cross-cultural studies
 - Posed “Peak” patterns
 - Forced Choice
 - Preliterate cultures: scenarios
 - Results better if culture of expresser = Culture of viewer



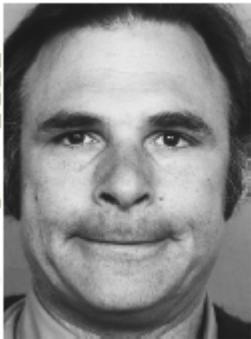
Are facial "expressions" universal?

Evidence with babies in U.S.:

Comparisons of Ratings of Emotion Terms for Affex-Specified Expression Type (Camras, Malatesta, & Izard, 1991).

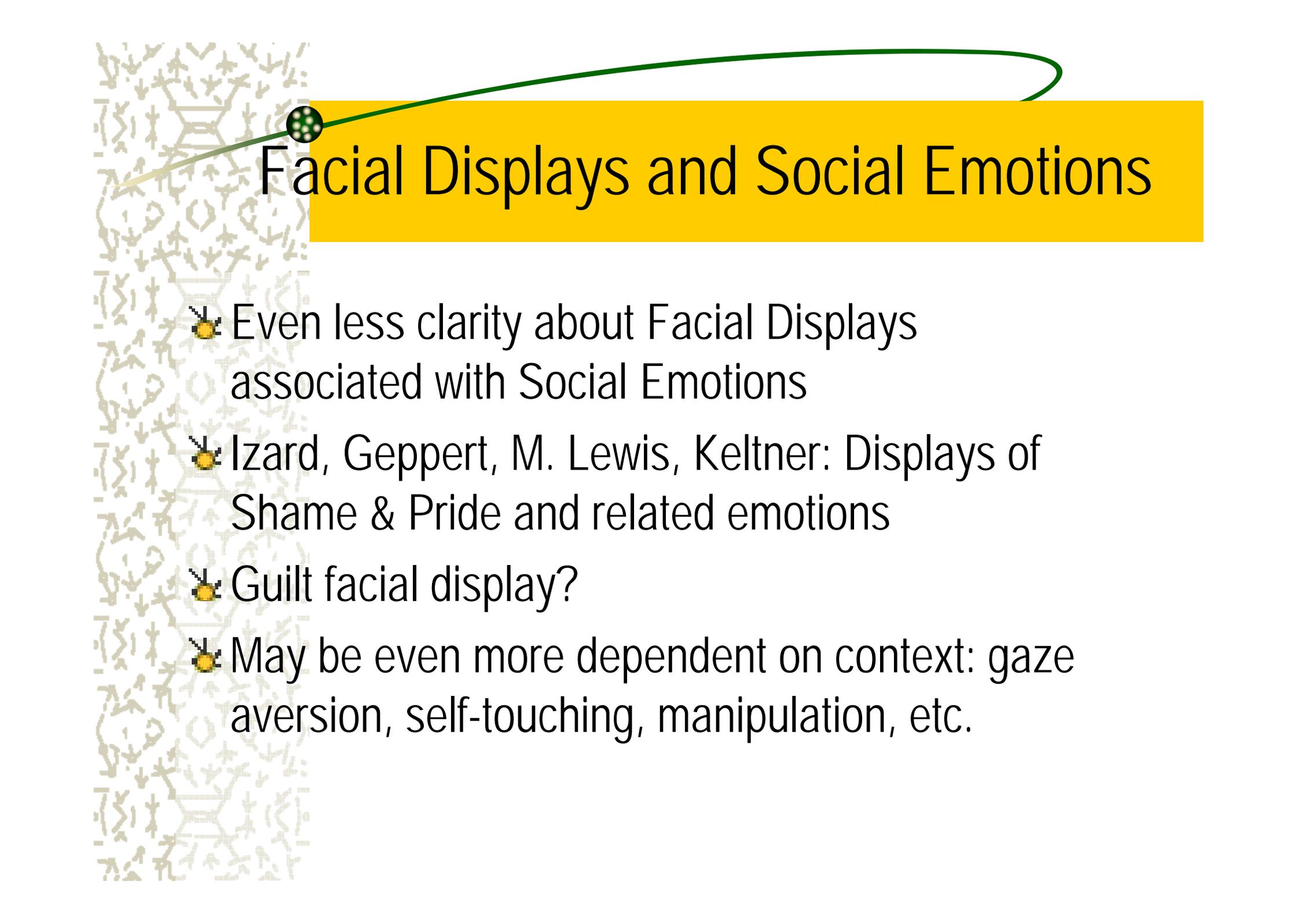


Emotion	Affex Expression Type					
	Discomfort/Pain		Anger		Sadness	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Distress	15.94	3.15	12.88	3.57	8.06	3.12
Anger	14.12	3.81	10.88	3.59	6.13	3.42
Pain	11.94	5.45	8.88	4.26	4.94	2.14
Sadness	12.25	4.55	11.06	4.68	6.69	3.55



Are facial "expressions" universal (p. 2)?

- Templates, movements selected based on culture, language:
 - Fear, Anger, Happiness, Surprise, Sadness
 - Even Wierzbicka: "Language is a light which illuminates certain aspects of reality, while leaving other aspects in darkness"
- What is a "Frown"?
- Does someone need to be aware of a difference between movements in order to be affected by it?
- Does a smile mean "I feel something good now"?



Facial Displays and Social Emotions

- ✚ Even less clarity about Facial Displays associated with Social Emotions
- ✚ Izard, Geppert, M. Lewis, Keltner: Displays of Shame & Pride and related emotions
- ✚ Guilt facial display?
- ✚ May be even more dependent on context: gaze aversion, self-touching, manipulation, etc.



Self- or Parent- report as measure of emotion?

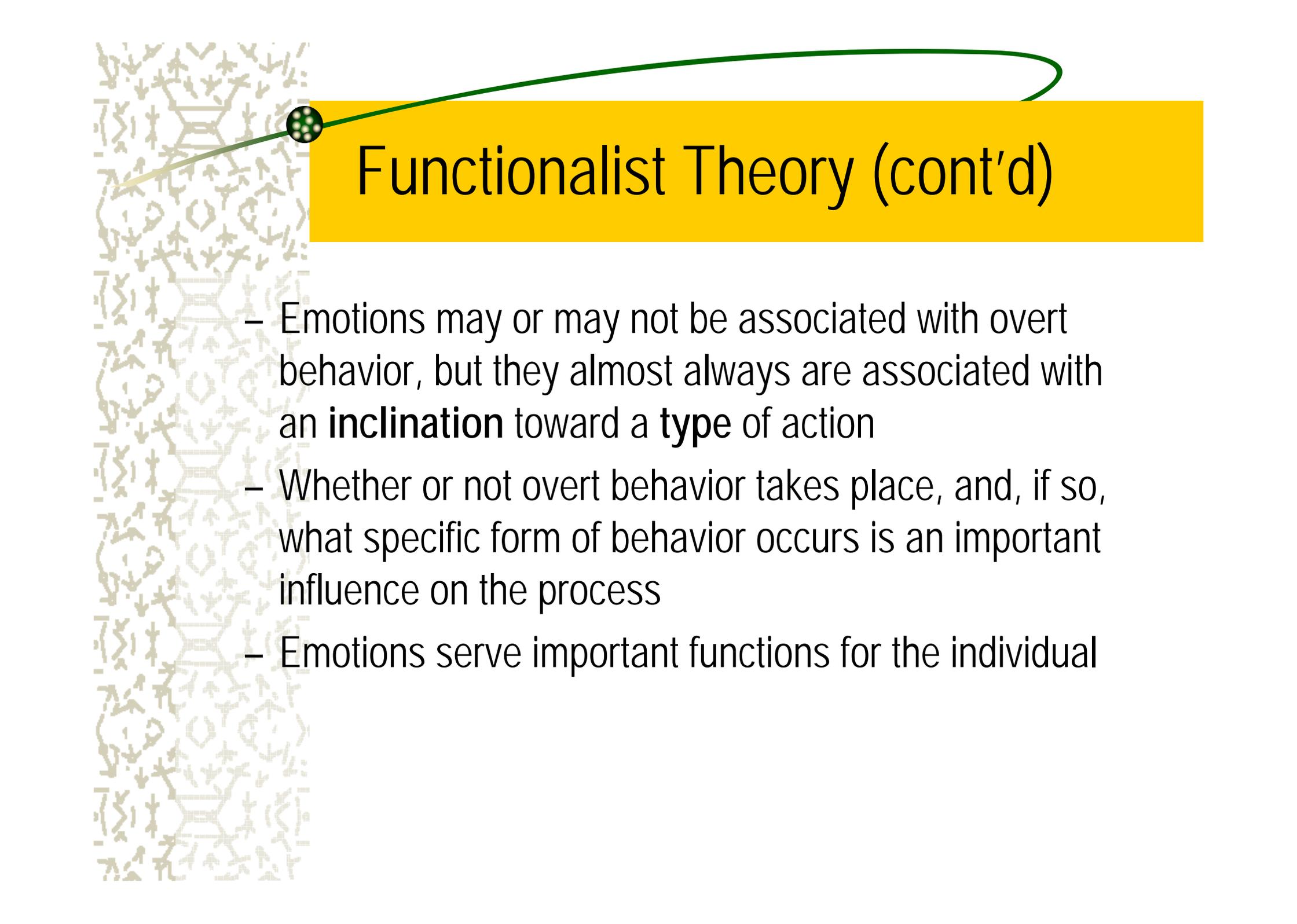
- ✚ Are feelings central to emotion?
- ✚ Is consciousness necessary to feeling?
- ✚ Can one have an emotion without a feeling?
- ✚ Does self-report reflect feeling?
 - Awareness
 - Social rules/ appropriateness
 - Developmental ability
- ✚ Parent report of child's feelings?



What are Emotions: A functionalist approach

✦ What are emotions?

- Emotions are **processes that evolve from the interdigitating impact of organism and environment**, when the relationship that evolves **has implications for that organism's well-being** in that environment
- Emotions may or may not be felt; when they are felt, the feeling is an important part of the process.



Functionalist Theory (cont'd)

- Emotions may or may not be associated with overt behavior, but they almost always are associated with an **inclination** toward a **type** of action
- Whether or not overt behavior takes place, and, if so, what specific form of behavior occurs is an important influence on the process
- Emotions serve important functions for the individual



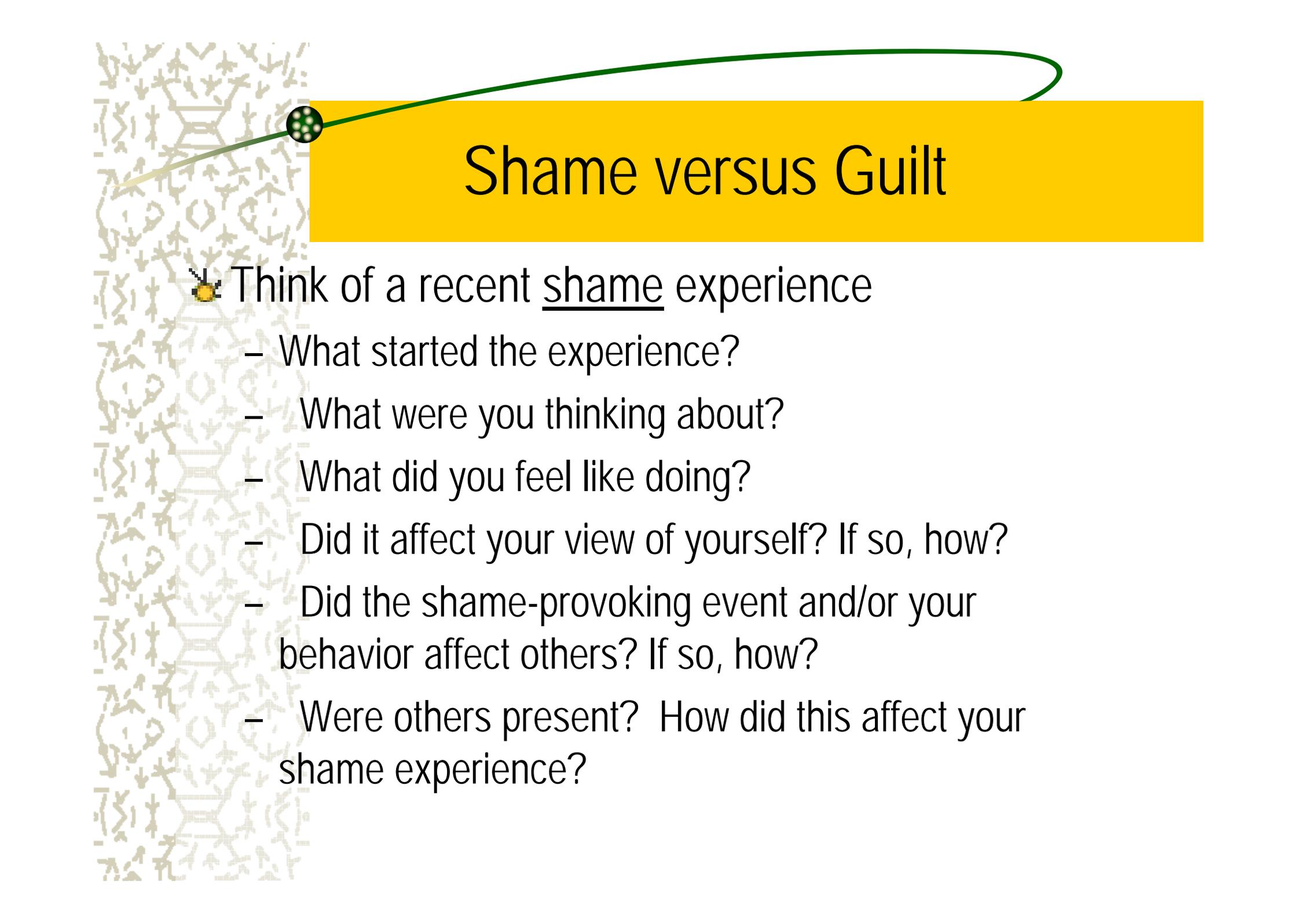
● Functionalism Theory: Guilt and Shame

- ✚ Guilt and Shame, like all emotions, are defined by the functions they serve for the individual
- ✚ Guilt and Shame serve different functions for the individual
- ✚ Differences between guilt and shame draw on work of Helen Block Lewis
- ✚ Before I discuss functionalist approach, I'd like you to think about your experiences



Shame versus Guilt

- ✦ Think of a recent guilt experience
 - What started the experience?
 - What were you thinking about?
 - What did you feel like doing?
 - Did it affect your view of yourself? If so, how?
 - Did the guilt-provoking event and/or your behavior affect others? If so, how?
 - Were others present? How did this affect your guilt experience?



Shame versus Guilt

✦ Think of a recent shame experience

- What started the experience?
- What were you thinking about?
- What did you feel like doing?
- Did it affect your view of yourself? If so, how?
- Did the shame-provoking event and/or your behavior affect others? If so, how?
- Were others present? How did this affect your shame experience?

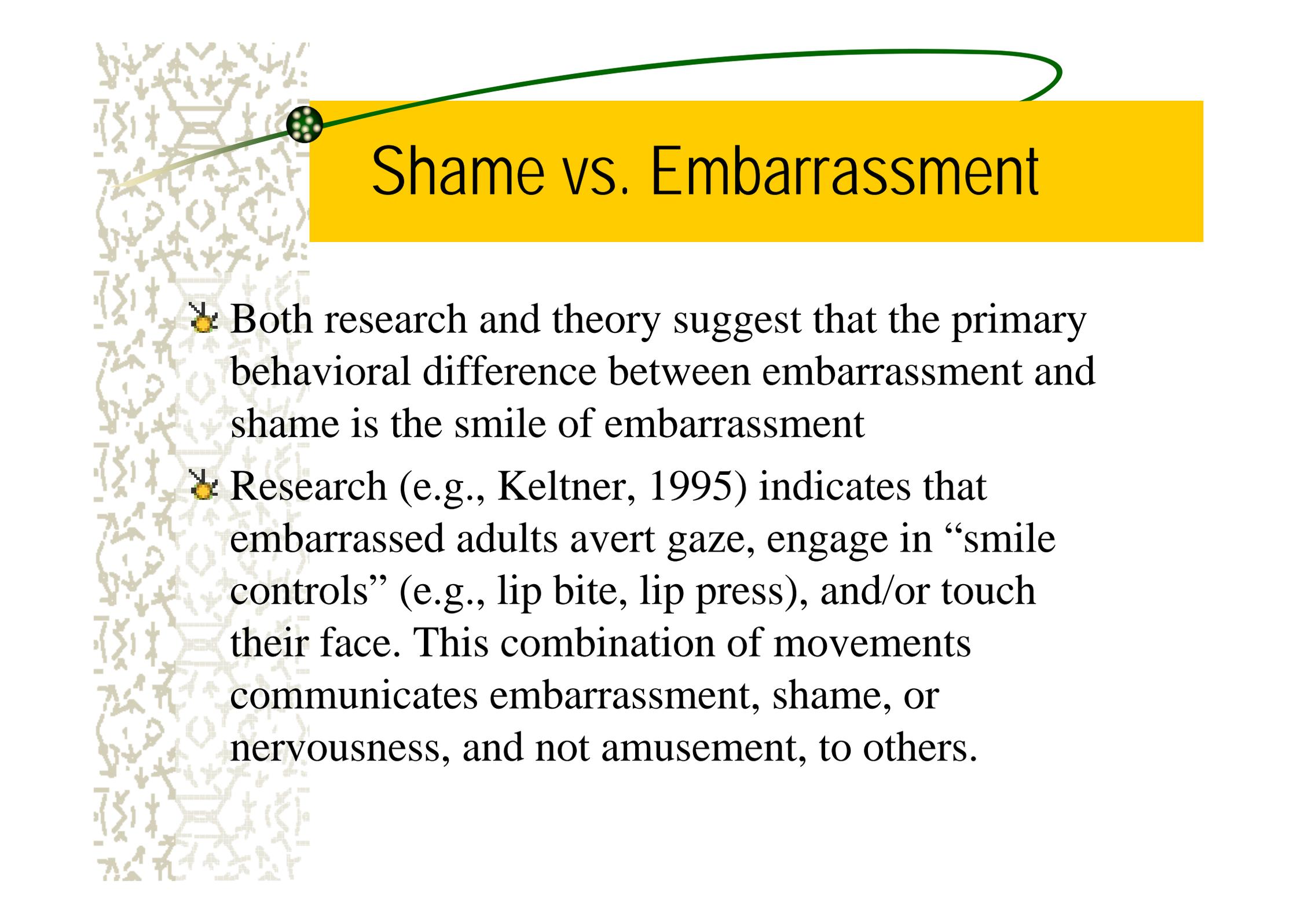
Functions of Some Social Emotions

FAMILY	Behavior Regulatory Fxn	Social Regulatory Fxn.	Internal Regulatory Function	Action Tendency
SHAME	Distance oneself from evaluating agent; Reduce "exposure"	Communicate deference/ submission; Communicate self as "small" or inadequate	Highlight standards and importance of standards; Aid in acquisition of knowledge of self as object;	Withdrawal; Avoidance of others; Hiding of self.
GUILT	Repair damage	Communicate awareness of proper behavior; Communicate contrition/ good intentions	Highlight standards and importance of standards; Aid in acquisition of knowledge of self as agent	Outward movement; inclination to make reparation, tell others, and to punish oneself
ENVY	Protect/ obtain possession/ access to loved one	Inform others re: who/what one cares about; Prevent others from taking one's possessions	Highlight what one cares about/ values	Withdrawal and outward movement; inclination to avoid and/or hurt the one who possesses the desired object/
PRIDE	Decrease distance from evaluating agents	Show others one achieved standard; Show dominance/ superiority	Highlight standards and importance of standards; Aid in acquisition of self as object and	Outward movement; inclination to show/tell others



What does this tell us about how to measure social emotions?

- ✚ Emotions should be observed in context
- ✚ Same behaviors may serve different functions in different contexts
- ✚ Same behaviors may relate to different emotions in different contexts
- ✚ One should use converging measures
- ✚ Patterning is important



Shame vs. Embarrassment

- ✦ Both research and theory suggest that the primary behavioral difference between embarrassment and shame is the smile of embarrassment
- ✦ Research (e.g., Keltner, 1995) indicates that embarrassed adults avert gaze, engage in “smile controls” (e.g., lip bite, lip press), and/or touch their face. This combination of movements communicates embarrassment, shame, or nervousness, and not amusement, to others.



● Contexts for Measuring Guilt & Shame in young children

- ✚ A semi-naturalistic “event” in which a rag doll’s leg falls off while the child is playing with the doll:
Shame & Guilt
- ✚ Achievement contexts for Shame & Pride
- ✚ Naturally occurring instances of adhering to and violating social/moral standards
- ✚ Naturally occurring instances of successful and unsuccessful mastery attempts



Rag Doll Situation

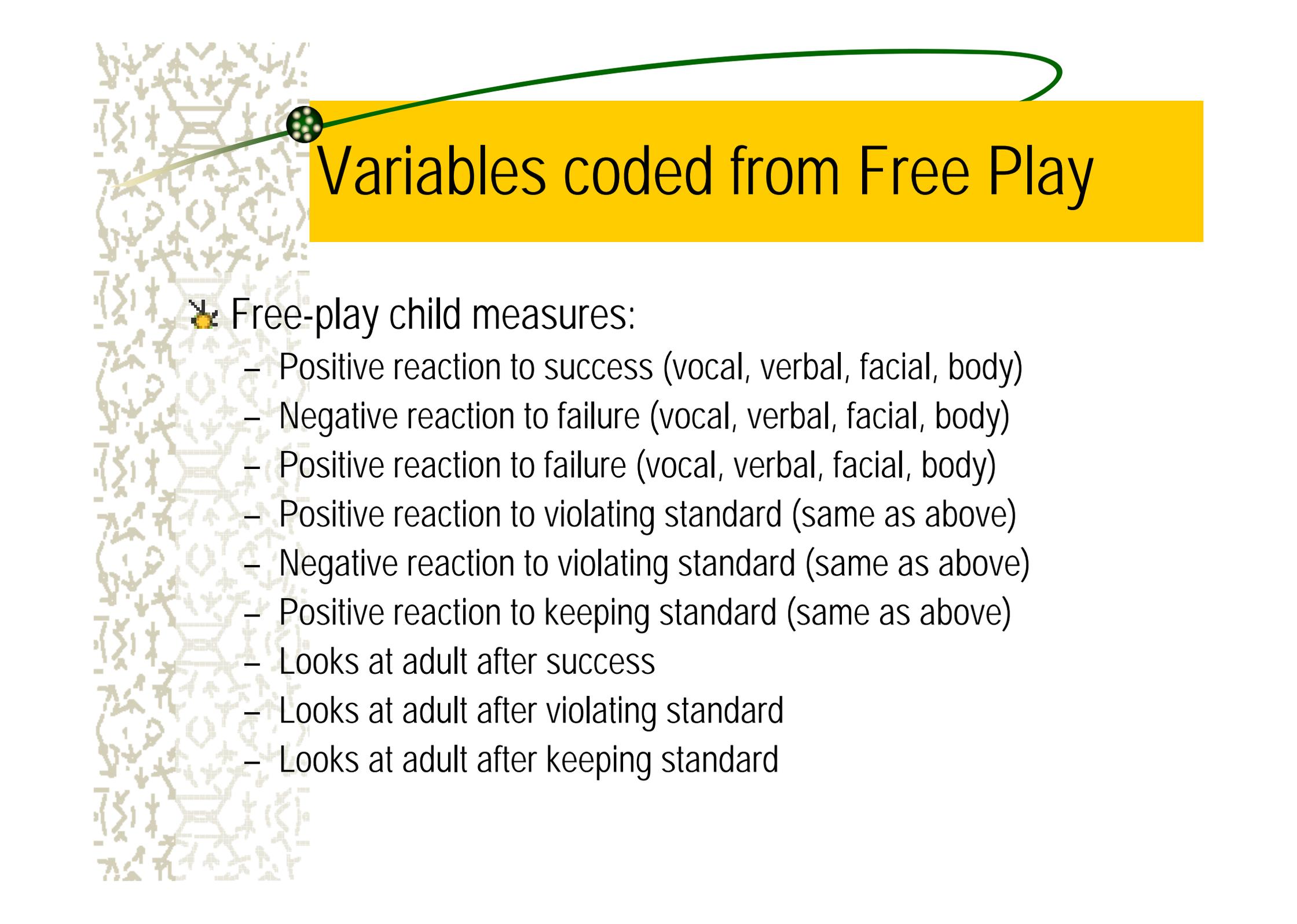
- ✚ Children aged 17 months through 42 months studied, in U.S., Taiwan, Korea, and China
- ✚ Child is given clown “activity” rag doll– can tie, snap, zip, count, etc.
- ✚ Child is told that this is E’s favorite toy
- ✚ Child is told to have fun with toy and to “take good care of it”
- ✚ E leaves room; parent is present but occupied
- ✚ While child plays w/ toy, its arm or leg falls off
- ✚ After child notices and has 2 minutes to react, E returns, looks at leg/arm, comments.

Variables coded in Rag Doll situation

Variable	Operational Definition
Repairing the leg/arm	Tries to fix leg/arm, or asks E or mother to fix leg/arm.
“Telling” E about the leg/arm	Pointedly shows disembodied leg/arm to E and/or verbalizes to E that it is broken.
Gaze aversion from E	Looks to E’s face, then immediately looks away from her face toward no meaningful object nor person. Looks at floor, ceiling, or furniture were not considered meaningful unless the child was engaging in some instrumental action toward those objects (e.g., sitting in or picking up the chair), or there was some object on them toward which the child was looking (e.g., a toy on the floor).
Bodily avoidance of E	Backs up while looking at E; or moves away from E, toward no meaningful object nor person, after focusing on E.
“Nervous” behaviors	Self-touching, body manipulations, lip-biting, tonguing, other oral behaviors
Smile (AU 6)	Oblique upward movement of lip corners (zygomatic major)

Variables Derived from Rag Doll Situation

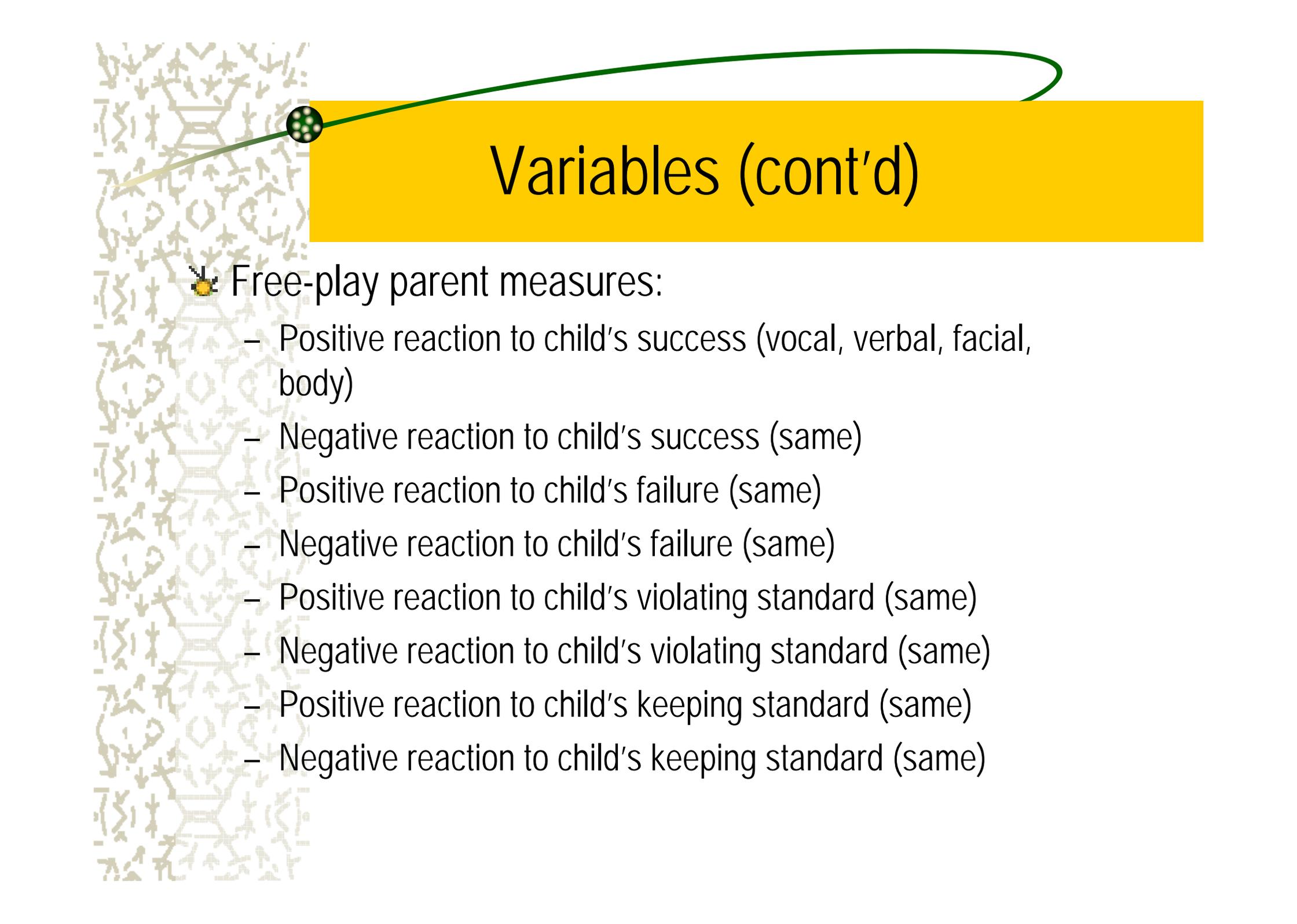
Variable	Definition
Guilt-relevant Variables	
Latency to repair	Seconds from child noticing leg/arm off until child repairs leg/arm.
Latency to tell E	Seconds from time E returns after the leg/arm falls off until the child tells or shows E about it.
Shame-relevant Variables	
Rate of gaze aversions of E after mishap	Number of gaze aversions from E after E returned following the mishap.
Rate of behavioral avoiding E after mishap	Number of behavioral avoidances of E after E returned following the mishap.
Rate of “embarrassed smile”	Number of smiles accompanied by gaze aversion &/or “nervous behaviors” after E returned following the mishap
Shame-relevant variables also are assessed before E leaves prior to the mishap to assess whether there is an increase in these behaviors following the mishap	



Variables coded from Free Play

✦ Free-play child measures:

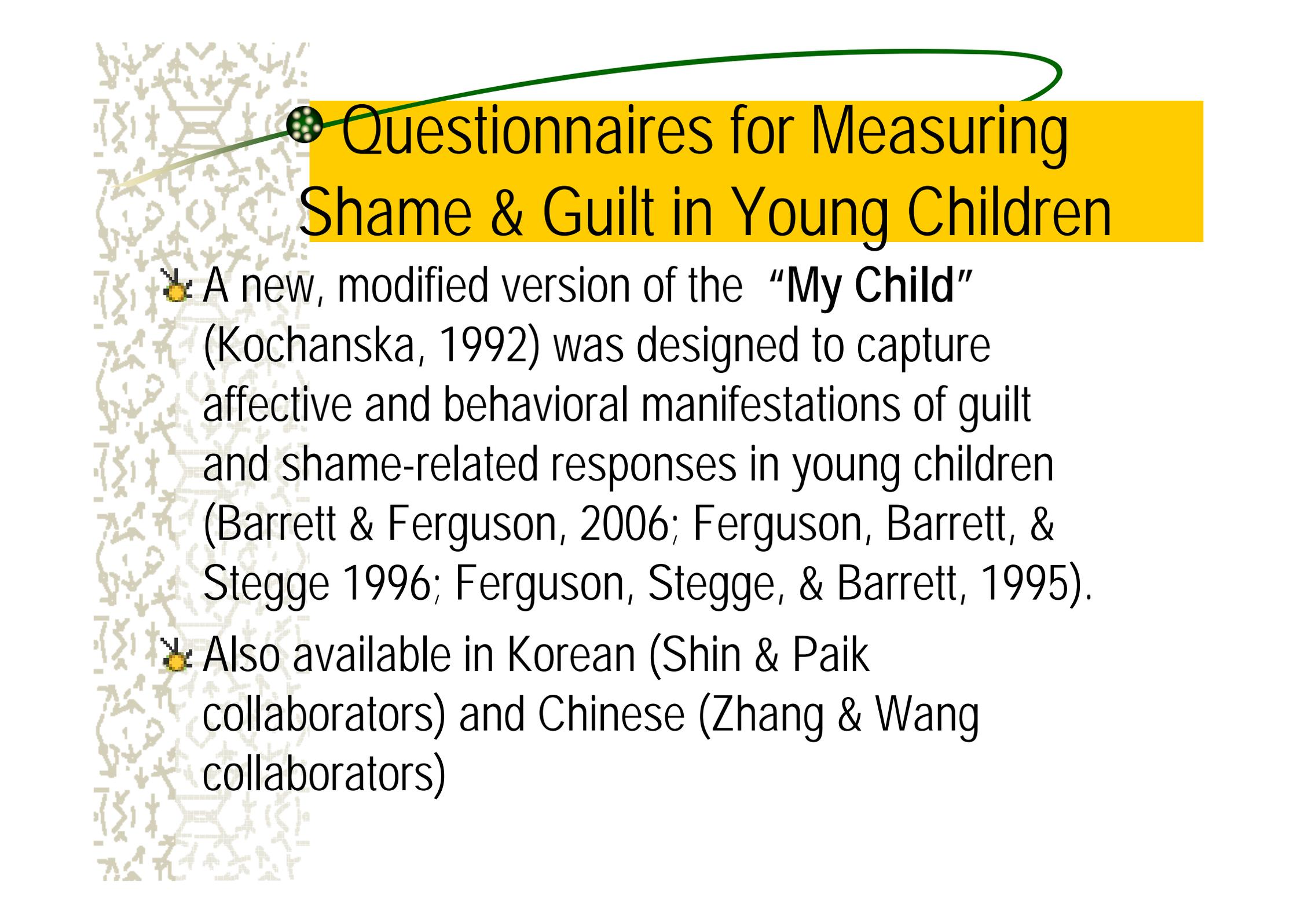
- Positive reaction to success (vocal, verbal, facial, body)
- Negative reaction to failure (vocal, verbal, facial, body)
- Positive reaction to failure (vocal, verbal, facial, body)
- Positive reaction to violating standard (same as above)
- Negative reaction to violating standard (same as above)
- Positive reaction to keeping standard (same as above)
- Looks at adult after success
- Looks at adult after violating standard
- Looks at adult after keeping standard



Variables (cont'd)

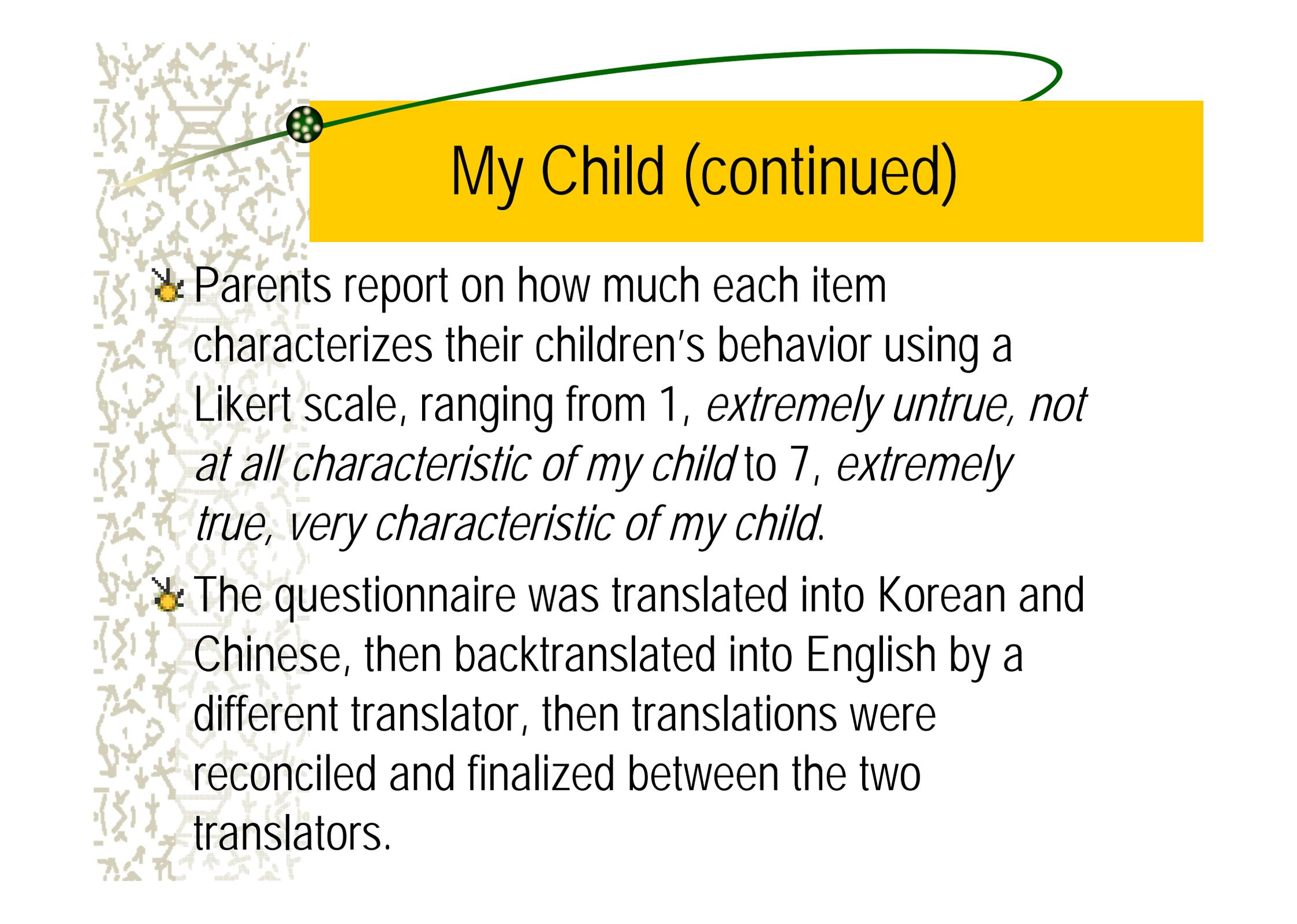
Free-play parent measures:

- Positive reaction to child's success (vocal, verbal, facial, body)
- Negative reaction to child's success (same)
- Positive reaction to child's failure (same)
- Negative reaction to child's failure (same)
- Positive reaction to child's violating standard (same)
- Negative reaction to child's violating standard (same)
- Positive reaction to child's keeping standard (same)
- Negative reaction to child's keeping standard (same)



● Questionnaires for Measuring Shame & Guilt in Young Children

- ✦ A new, modified version of the “My Child” (Kochanska, 1992) was designed to capture affective and behavioral manifestations of guilt and shame-related responses in young children (Barrett & Ferguson, 2006; Ferguson, Barrett, & Stegge 1996; Ferguson, Stegge, & Barrett, 1995).
- ✦ Also available in Korean (Shin & Paik collaborators) and Chinese (Zhang & Wang collaborators)



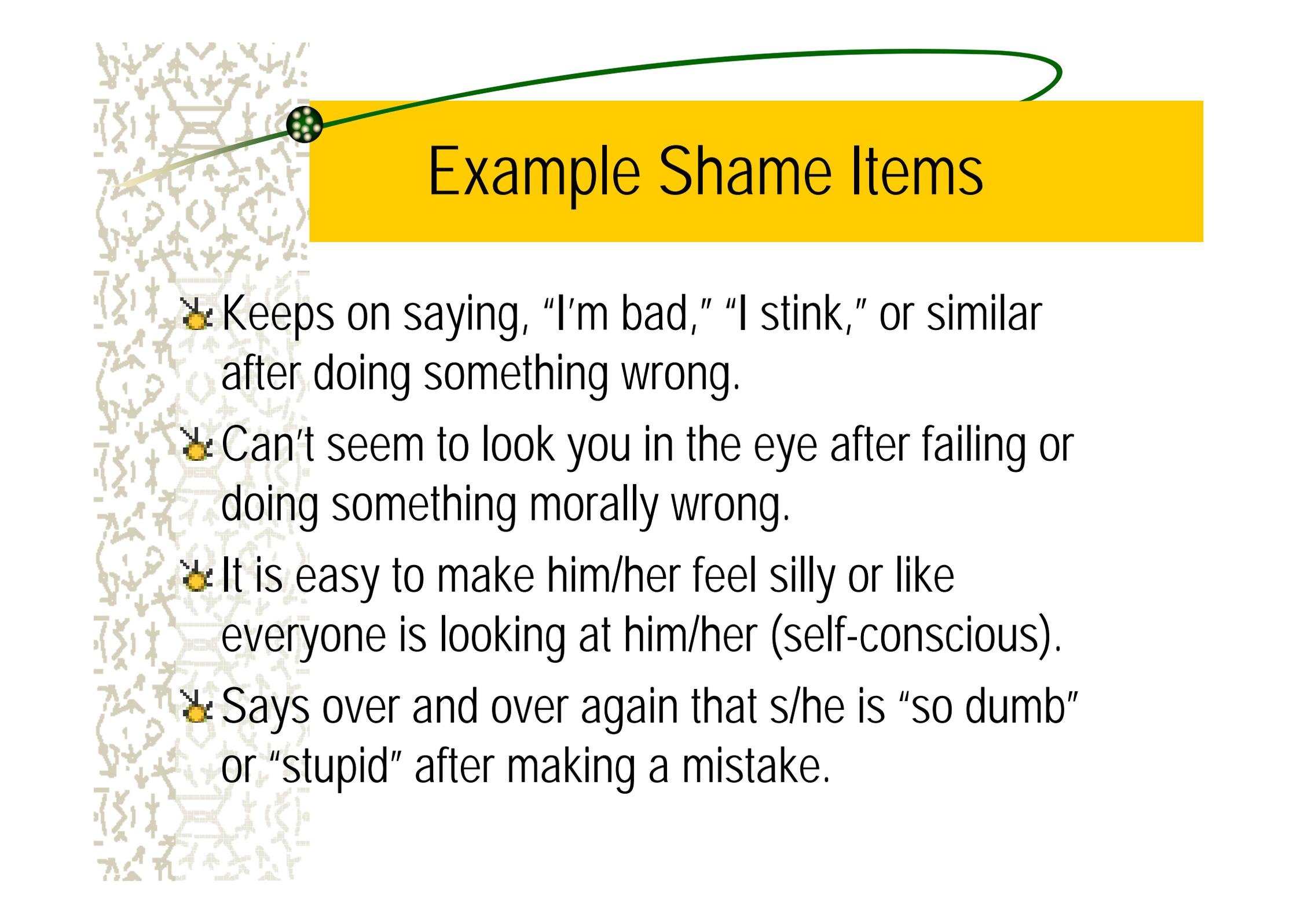
My Child (continued)

- ✦ Parents report on how much each item characterizes their children's behavior using a Likert scale, ranging from 1, *extremely untrue, not at all characteristic of my child* to 7, *extremely true, very characteristic of my child*.
- ✦ The questionnaire was translated into Korean and Chinese, then backtranslated into English by a different translator, then translations were reconciled and finalized between the two translators.



Example Guilt Items

- ✘ After having done something wrong, asks to be forgiven.
- ✘ Draws parent's attention to mishap or damage s/he caused (for example, "I broke something").
- ✘ Will say "sorry" to a playmate or sibling when appropriate, even if no one tells him/her to do so.
- ✘ Is unconcerned about fixing spills or damages that s/he caused (for example, may suggest that the spill will dry by itself). **(Reversed)**



Example Shame Items

- ✘ Keeps on saying, "I'm bad," "I stink," or similar after doing something wrong.
- ✘ Can't seem to look you in the eye after failing or doing something morally wrong.
- ✘ It is easy to make him/her feel silly or like everyone is looking at him/her (self-conscious).
- ✘ Says over and over again that s/he is "so dumb" or "stupid" after making a mistake.

Internal Consistency of Shame Scales

Name of Shame scale (# items)	Sample Item	American Alpha	Korean Alpha
Negative Reactions to Failure (9)	“Droops” head down after having failed	.822	.753
Concern over Good feelings w/ Parents (5)	After having fallen short, asks repeatedly if parent still loves him/her	.758	.755
Ruminative Shame (7)	Says over and over again that s/he is “so dumb” or “stupid” after making a mistake	.849	.717
Rationalizing (5)	Tends to gloss over own failure or bad behavior by making excuses	.820	.794
Shame behaviors (9)	Hides face or eyes after doing something wrong or falling short	.795	.800
Perfectionism (8)	Seems to feel like s/he must always succeed on tasks s/he attempts	.814	.762
Sensitivity to Negative Evaluation (9)	Worries about what other people think of him/her	.779	.602

Internal Consistency of Guilt Scales

Name of Guilt scale (# items)	Sample Item	American Alpha	Korean Alpha
Adaptive Guilt (12)	Will say "sorry" after having done something wrong, without anyone telling him/her to do so	.905	.877
Confession (6)	Confesses to doing something naughty even if unlikely to be caught	.852	.826
Empathy/prosocial (8)	Can tell how others are feeling	.758	.726
Anxious guilt (7)	Feels responsible when anything goes wrong	.864	.60
Does bad but feels bad (6)	Looks remorseful or guilty when caught in the middle of a forbidden activity	.815	.665

Predictive Validity: American-Korean Comparisons

- ✚ 2 X 2 MANOVA, with Sex of Child and Nationality as factors and the My Child Shame aggregate and the 5 Guilt subscales as dependent variables: Significant multivariate main effects of both Nationality, $F(6,47) = 11.71, p < .001$ and Sex, $F(6,47) = 11.71, p = .024$.
- ✚ Korean children showed significantly more Shame than did Americans, $F(1,52) = 5.23, p = .026$
- ✚ Americans showed more of 2 guilt scales, Empathy/Prosocial, $F(1,52) = 19.79, p < .001$, and Does Bad/Feels Bad, $F(1,52) = 11.88, p = .001$ than did Koreans.
- ✚ Koreans reportedly showed more Anxious Guilt than did Americans $F(1,52) = 6.3, p = .015$.