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# Forgiveness, Shaming, Shame and Bullying

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This study predicts self-initiated bullying from three variables: shaming, forgiveness and shame. Data were collected from 1875 Bangladeshi school children (60% girls; mean grade = 8.28) using the Bengali version of the Life at School Survey. Results demonstrated that reintegrative shaming and forgiveness were related to less bullying. High shame acknowledgment (accepting responsibility, making amends) and low shame displacement into anger or blaming others were also associated with less bullying. Liking school protected children who experienced (a) less reintegrative shaming, and (b) more stigmatising shaming at home. Equally, more reintegrative shaming and less stigmatising shaming protected children against bullying when liking for school was absent. The forgiveness main effect on bullying (22.4% reduction) was much bigger than the main effect of reintegrative shaming (11.3% reduction). These results are consistent with the view that forgiveness is a more powerful restorative practice than reintegrative shaming.

Since the pioneering studies of Olweus in the 1970s there has been increasing recognition of the need for more in-depth research in the field of school bullying. Consequently, there is now compelling evidence that children's bullying behaviour is related to harsh and inconsistent discipline at home (e.g., Ahmed, 2001a; Bowers, Smith, & Binney, 1994; Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon, 2000; Shields & Cicchetti, 2001), bullying culture at school (e.g., Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004; Olweus, Limber, & Mihalic, 1999; O'Moore & Hillery, 1991), and impulsivity and low self-esteem (e.g., Boulton & Smith, 1994; Rigby, Cox, & Black, 1997). Children's psychological wellbeing (such as depression) has also been found to be associated with bullying behaviour (Rigby & Cox, 1996; Slee, 1995). Recently, attention has been shifted to how emotions bear on bullying acts. For instance, acknowledging shame and responsibility has been found to be related to less bullying whereas displacing shame into anger and blaming others was found to be linked to more bullying (Ahmed, 2001a).

A potential shortcoming of research in this area is that it has been restricted largely to western contexts (e.g., Ahmed, 2001a; Hoover, Oliver, & Hazler, 1992; Rigby, 1996; Smith, 1991). Researchers in Japan (e.g., Hara, 2002), China (e.g., Ma et al., 2001) and Bangladesh (e.g., Ahmed, 2001b; Ahmed & Braithwaite, in press) have begun to examine the factors affecting bullying behaviour. There has also been some theoretical discussion focusing on the prevalence of bullying

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problems (e.g., Smith et al., 1999), parental use of disciplinary practices such as shaming (e.g., Braithwaite, 1989), and the emotion of shame/guilt (e.g., Bedford & Hwang, 2003; Hofstede, 1980) across diverse cultural settings. However, the availability of data regarding factors responsible for bullying in nonwestern cultures remains quite limited. This study, therefore, empirically examines the extent to which perceived parental shaming and forgiveness can act in concert to reduce bullying in a sample of school students in Bangladesh. It also aims to examine the extent to which children's shame management skills affect bullying in this specific cultural context.

#### THE CURRENT STATE OF THE EVIDENCE ON REINTEGRATIVE SHAMING AND STIGMATISATION

From the reintegrative shaming theory perspective (Braithwaite, 1989), disapproval needs to be accompanied by actions that will reestablish the bond between the authority figure and the bully, that is, shaming needs to be reintegrative. Stigmatising shaming means bullies are treated as outcasts and the shaming is likely to provoke a defiant reaction from them. Braithwaite's (1989) theory of reintegrative shaming does not argue that shaming prevents crime, but that some kinds of shaming (stigmatisation) make it worse, while other kinds (reintegrative) have preventive potential. Stigmatisation is disrespectful shaming; it condemns the offender as a bad person; it neglects the termination of ceremonies that certify deviance by ceremonies to decertify deviance; deviance is allowed to become a master status trait (identities such as 'junkie' or 'bully' are seen as the master identity of the person). According to the theory, stigmatisation increases predatory crime. Reintegrative shaming, in contrast, is respectful disapproval of a bad act committed by a person who is interpreted as essentially good; attention is given to reintegration rituals where forgiveness can be expressed; deviance is not allowed to become a master status trait. The theory asserts that problems of predation such as bullying spin out of control when acts of bullying are not confronted and disapproved. Reintegrative shaming specifies the conditions for doing so effectively and decently.

#### Testing the Theory of Reintegrative Shaming: A Literature Review

Four forms of theory testing and elaboration were advocated by Braithwaite (1989, pp. 108–123) — ethnographic, historical, survey research and experimental. The most impressive experimental research has been Sherman et al.'s (2000) Re-Integrative Shaming Experiments (RISE) on 1285 Canberra criminal offenders. To date this program has produced mixed results, with a substantial reduction of reoffending in the violence experiment and failure of the property and drink-driving experiments to reduce crime (Sherman, 2003). Reintegrative shaming theory has been a motivating framework for only some restorative justice programs. However, the theory does specifically predict that this kind of intervention will reduce crime regardless of whether those implementing it have any discursive consciousness of the theory of reintegrative shaming (Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite, & Braithwaite, 2001, pp. 66–69). The theoretically relevant features of restorative justice are confrontation of the offender in a respectful way with the consequences of the crime (shaming without degradation), explicit efforts to avert stigmatisation (e.g., opportunities to

counter accusations that the offender is a bad person with testimonials from loved ones that she is a good person) and explicit commitment to ritual reintegration (e.g., maximising opportunities for repair, restoring relationships, apology and forgiveness that are viewed as sincere).

Hence, reintegrative shaming theorists (controversially) interpret the success of experiments such as McGarrell et al.'s (2000) Indianapolis Juvenile Restorative Justice Experiment in substantially reducing reoffending as support for the theory. And they so interpret Latimer et al.'s (2001) meta-analysis of 32 mostly nonexperimental studies with control groups that found a statistically significant effect of restorative justice on reoffending. Braithwaite's (2002) own review of the literature concludes that restorative justice practice is slowly improving in the theoretically important ways and that the most recent evaluations are becoming increasingly encouraging about the efficacy of the intervention.

But RISE analyses of the impact of reintegrative shaming on outcomes have included the most negative results yet reported. Moreover, these analyses have not been completed, so cynics are justified in reserving judgment on whether reintegrative shaming has anything to do with the accomplishments of restorative justice. Restorative antibullying programs in schools, often referred to as whole school antibullying programs, is another area where Braithwaite (2002, pp. 59–61) concludes that bullying reduction has been substantial. Ahmed's (2001a) has been the only work that has explored whether reintegrative shaming effects might be crucial here, a contribution further developed in this article.

The other kind of theoretically relevant body of largely experimental research that has continued to accumulate since 1989 has been in the tradition of Baumrind's (1967) distinction between authoritarian parenting (which Braithwaite [1989] conceptualised as parenting heavy in stigmatising shaming), permissive parenting (reintegration without disapproval of wrongdoing) and authoritative parenting (reintegration with firm disapproval of wrongdoing — reintegrative shaming). Evidence has continued to accumulate that authoritarian parenting reduces children's self-control as well as their social skills, peer acceptance, social competence, self-esteem and school achievement (Amato, 1989; Baumrind, 1991; Darling, 1999; Patterson et al., 1989; Lamborn et al., 1991). Not surprisingly, children of authoritarian parents often display undercontrol of emotions and externalising problems (Bugental, Blue, & Cruscusa, 1989; Janssens, 1994), narcissism (Ramsay, et al., 1996) and depression (Parker, 1983).

Permissive parenting (sometimes described as overindulgence, or reintegration without shaming) has continued to be associated with school dropout (Rumberger et al., 1990), tobacco and alcohol use (Cohen & Rice, 1997), narcissism (Watson, et al., 1992) and also peer victimisation (Finnegan, 1995).

Authoritative parenting (sometimes conceived as inductive parenting — meaning the induction of remorse over wrongdoing by confronting bad consequences of the act through moral reasoning in which the child participates (i.e., not stigmatising, not authoritarian lecturing) has continued to be associated with positive outcomes, including lower delinquency (Pettit et al., 1997; Wright & Cullen, 2001) substance use (Cohen & Rice, 1997; Sigrún & Leifur, 2001) and internalising and externalising behaviour (Amato & Gilbreth, 1999). Authoritative parenting assists internalisation of behavioural standards followed by action in

accordance with them (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). It is related to peer acceptance, social competence and school adjustment (Chen et al., 1997), empathy, altruism, and school achievement (Hetherington & Clingempeel, 1992), self-confidence and self-esteem (Noller & Callan, 1991; Shucksmith et al., 1995), concern for right and wrong, taking responsibility for one's own actions, reduced truancy and alcohol abuse (Gunnoe et al., 1999).

A multitude of qualitative observational studies of restorative justice conferences have also been important to theory elaboration (Braithwaite, 2002) as well as qualitative and historical research on business regulatory enforcement in industries such as nursing homes and most notably Joseph Rees's (1994) conclusions on the use of reintegrative shaming in his analysis of the successes of the 'communitarian regulation' of nuclear power plant safety in cutting poor safety outcomes to one seventh of their former level. There have been a number of researchers who, like Rees, have posited reintegrative shaming, *post hoc*, as a variable that makes sense of their results (Chamlin & Cochrane, 1997; Hagan & McCarthy, 1997; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Sherman, 1992, 1993; Zhang et al., 1996). Another popular genre of research with mixed results for the theory has involved explorations of Braithwaite's (1989) interpretation of low crime rates in Japan in terms of an alleged high ratio of reintegrative to stigmatising shaming in that culture (Johnson, 2002; Leonardsen, 2002; Masters, 1997).

The present study is in the survey research tradition of testing the theory of reintegrative shaming. Here there has been much less empirical research than one might have expected in the 15 years since *Crime, Shame and Reintegration* was published. The first published study by Makkai and Braithwaite (1994) found that Australian nursing home inspectors with a reintegrative shaming philosophy were successful in substantially improving compliance with regulatory laws in the 2 years after inspections while compliance substantially worsened when inspectors had a stigmatising philosophy. Lu's (1998, 1999) survey results were consistent with the theory in a limited ecological comparison of different Shanghai neighbourhoods. A more recent study (Tittle, Bratton, & Gertz, 2003) demonstrated only very partial support of Braithwaite's theory in relation to different kinds of misbehaviour, such as assault, property violation and use of illegal drugs. Using a telephone survey method, results were suggestive of further refinement of Braithwaite's theory concerning the specific conditions affecting the relationship between shaming and criminal engagement.

Survey-based theory testing, therefore, has produced a more complex picture with some components of reintegrative shaming reducing rule-breaking and others failing to do so. The need to break down the different elements of reintegrative shaming to see which are theoretically crucial and which are not should be an exciting challenge to criminologists in the survey research tradition. Mostly, however, criminologists have been frightened off by the complexity of this challenge. The most fundamental challenges are that reintegration and shaming might be better viewed as independent main effects on crime rather than as a reintegrative shaming interaction effect and that reintegration and stigmatisation might not be opposite poles of a single dimension, but orthogonal (see Ahmed et al., 2001).

If, as in Harris's (2001) data, shaming, reintegration and stigmatisation are independent dimensions, the theory would predict that a Shaming  $\times$  Reintegration interaction would be positively associated with shame or remorse or crime. By contrast, a Shaming  $\times$  Stigmatisation interaction would be negatively associated with feeling shame. In no analysis did Harris find these interaction effects. Shaming, reintegration and stigmatisation had main effects, mostly consistent with the theory, but never significant interactions. Hay's results (2001) fit this pattern. In predicting the projected delinquency of adolescents Hay found a shaming main effect and a reintegration main effect (that washed out after controlling for interdependency, another key concept in the theory), but no Shaming  $\times$  Reintegration interaction. Similar results were obtained by Zhang and Zhang (2000) from a test of the theory in a US National Youth Survey reanalysis. While they found main effects for parental forgiveness (reintegration) and peer disapproval (shaming) in reducing delinquency, there was no significant Shaming  $\times$  Reintegration interaction. Also consistent were results by Deng and Jou (2000), which found a significant effect of interdependence, past and projected shame in reducing delinquency and a significant stigmatisation main effect in increasing delinquency, with no interaction effect being tested.<sup>1</sup> These results contrast with Makkai and Braithwaite's (1994) analysis of nursing home regulation, where shaming and reintegration did not have significant main effects on compliance with the law, but there was a significant Shaming  $\times$  Reintegration effect in the predicted direction. In this context, Braithwaite and Makkai's (1994) qualitative fieldwork suggested that a highly reintegrative regulatory encounter where there was no disapproval of failure to meet the standards was interpreted as a 'tolerant and understanding' inspection that could be interpreted as regulatory capture by the industry ('permissiveness'). Compliance with the law in fact significantly worsened following such encounters. Similar low-shame contexts are suggested by normal child-rearing encounters, as in Baumrind's (1971, 1978) research, where both permissive and authoritarian parenting were found to be so ineffective compared to authoritative parenting that firmly, fairly and reintegratively confronts.

The most likely interpretation of these divergent results is that in cases where criminal liability has already been admitted and a formal state ritual convened to deal with the admission, causing the interaction to be inherently shameful, both the reintegration and stigmatisation scales are already measuring interactions with shaming. In nursing home regulation or normal child-rearing contexts, in contrast, there had been no criminal charges and regulatory encounters were normally very low on shame. It may be premature to revise the theory of reintegrative shaming in light of such divergent results. However, it is certainly a way to reconcile them to suggest that the theory might be revised to predict shaming, reintegration and stigmatisation main effects, but no interaction effects in contexts heavily laden with shame and no main effects but interaction effects for these variables in contexts where limited shame is normally experienced. We interpret the present research on school bullying to be less akin to the high-shame context of a criminal trial and more like normal child rearing and nursing home regulation. Hence we set out to test the effects of reintegration and stigmatisation interactions with shame by measuring reintegrative shaming, rather than reintegration and shaming separately.

## SHAME MANAGEMENT THEORY AND BULLYING

From a restorative justice perspective, individuals who are unable to feel shame or remorse for harming others will be at greater risk of doing so in the future. This idea has been developed through empirical works (e.g., Ahmed, 2001a; Braithwaite, Ahmed, Morrison, & Reinhart, 2003) that have delineated different styles of shame management: shame acknowledgment and shame displacement. Shame acknowledgment is an admission that what has happened is wrong and shameful, and involves expressing remorse, while shame displacement takes the form of blaming others for the wrong and expressing anger toward them. According to the shame management approach (see Ahmed et al., 2001), individuals who acknowledge shame and accept personal responsibility will refrain from further wrongdoing because they have considered the harmful consequences and made amends to avoid them in the future. In contrast, dismissing shame feelings through blaming others will amplify wrongdoing because personal action and consequences are dissociated. This argument has received empirical support from a number of western studies that have shown that shame acknowledgment is associated with lower levels of bullying, and shame displacement (anger, blaming and other externalising reactions) is associated with higher levels of bullying (Ahmed, 2001a; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004; Bessant & Watts, 1995; Braithwaite et al., 2003).

In the study of 1401 Australian school children, Ahmed (2001a) found that failure to acknowledge shame and discharge it in different ways is a characteristic of both bullies and victims of bullying. Shame acknowledgment means discharging shame through accepting responsibility and seeking to put things right. In contrast to this, bullies tended to displace shame through externalising blame and anger. Victims tended to internalise shame — others' rejection of them was not discharged but internalised. The children who were both bullies and victims unfortunately combined the foregoing shame management pathologies of both victims and bullies — they failed to acknowledge shame; they both internalised it and externalised it through blame and anger directed at others. Ahmed's (2001a, p. 293) research also found stigmatising shaming by parents to be associated with higher levels of self-initiated school bullying and nonstigmatising shaming to be associated with less bullying. The present study seeks to extend earlier findings on shaming — bullying relationships in the context of Bangladesh.

## THE PRESENT STUDY AND HYPOTHESES

This study investigates the contribution of three key facets of restorative justice in reducing school bullying in the cultural context of Bangladesh. The facets are perceived shaming, perceived forgiveness and shame management by children. The importance of these facets has often been addressed in the restorative justice literature, but has been infrequently translated into an empirically testable model. The facets included in the current study and the rationale for their inclusion have been described in the foregoing sections. It is noteworthy that this study relies on adolescents' self-reports of their feelings, behaviour and their perceptions of parents' behaviour toward them. Adolescents' perceptions have become the common and reliable approach in children and adolescents' family environment research (Gray & Steinberg, 1999; Muller, 1998) primarily because adolescents'

outcomes are directly related to perceived parental behaviour but not to parental self-report behaviour (Paulson, 1994; for details, see Smetana, 1994).

On the basis of the discussion so far, four main hypotheses are set out below for empirical examination.

1. Children who perceived reintegrative shaming from their parents will report less bullying at school.
2. Children who perceived stigmatising shaming from their parents will report more bullying at school.

This study does not seek to disentangle the differential effects on bullying of all of the separate facets of reintegrative shaming. Given the recent resurgence of 'forgiveness research' (Enright and Human Development Study Group, 1991; Galaway & Hudson, 1996; Harris, 2001; North, 1987; Tutu, 1999, 2001), forgiveness was chosen in this study for separate examination:

3. Children of parents who are forgiving will report bullying less.
4. Children with the restorative shame management style of shame acknowledgment (accepting responsibility, making amends) will bully less (4a), whereas children with the extrapunitive shame management style of shame displacement (externalising into anger, blaming others) will bully more (4b).

With a problem such as school bullying, we must be careful with work on parental socialisation practices that we do not erroneously leave a legacy of schools believing that 'it all depends on how they are brought up' or 'there is little we can do in the school when children are not taught a proper sense of right and wrong at home'. Bullying is a school problem and we have seen above that there is evidence of substantial effects in reducing bullying in restorative whole school programs that confront it. Just because parental practices have significant effects on bullying, it does not follow that school practices will not. Indeed it seems plausible that when the needed parental socialisation is wanting, school support may compensate for its absence. We can test this in a preliminary way by examining the interaction between children's reports of how much they like school and our key parental socialisation variables. Thus, we arrive at hypotheses 5–7.

5. When parents fail to confront wrongdoing with reintegrative shaming, liking school protects against the negative effects of this on bullying.
6. When parents use stigmatising shaming to confront wrongdoing, liking school protects against the negative effects of this on bullying.
7. When parents are not forgiving of wrongdoing, liking school protects against the negative effects of this on bullying.

## Data and Research Methodology

### SAMPLE

Eighteen hundred and seventy-five students (60% girls) from grades 7 to 10 (mean grade = 8.28) participated in this study. Participants had been recruited from nine co-educational schools, both public and private, located in Dhaka — capital of Bangladesh. A convenience sampling strategy was chosen because it is well suited

for the cultural settings where time is limited for recruitment, and data collection procedures are challenging.

Demographic information was collected from students' parents using the parent questionnaires that were sent home through the students. Data revealed that the sample came from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Of the entire sample of parents ( $n = 1362$ ), 26% had high-status positions (e.g., employees who hold supervisory and professional positions), 60% had medium-status positions (e.g., school teachers, public servants who do not hold supervisory roles, support staff), and 14% had lower status positions (e.g., garment employees, clerical employees). The people of Bangladesh are ethnically and culturally homogeneous (98% of the population is Bengali and 83% is Muslims), and hence, information was not sought on either ethnic or religious affiliation. The average monthly salary of parents was 40,000 taka (AU\$940.07) ranging from 1000 taka (AU\$23.50) to 380,000 taka (AU\$8930.62). Such a wide range in income reflects the social and economic inequality in Bangladesh; however, the sample was biased toward families where the parents had a high income. This bias may be in part due to the requirement that parents complete the questionnaire. This means that parents were well educated and were able to afford high school education for their children with or without government assistance.

## PROCEDURE

The Bengali version of the original 'Life at School Survey' (Ahmed, 1996) was administered at the nine schools in a shorter form. All students from grades 7 to 10 were invited to participate in the study. The participation rate was 92%. It is noteworthy that schools in Bangladesh usually take responsibility for making decisions for children during school hours. Permission to survey the children was obtained from both principals and class teachers, and then information about the project was sent to all parents at home.

Students were told that the purpose of the study was to gain a better understanding of factors that facilitate and impede bullying behaviour. The voluntary and confidential nature of the study was also emphasised. The survey took 30–40 minutes to complete during class hours.

In Bangladesh, there is no synonym for 'bullying', and hence, people use the term to describe intimidating behaviour among school children that comes in various forms such as physical, verbal and psychological. Prior to commencing the survey, students were provided with the following standard definition (Rigby & Slee, 1993) of bullying:

We call it bullying when someone repeatedly hurts or frightens someone weaker than themselves on purpose. Remember it is not bullying when two of you about the same strength have the odd fight or quarrel. Bullying can be done in different ways: by hurtful teasing, threatening actions, namecalling or hitting or kicking.

## MEASURES

### Shaming

One aim of this study was to examine whether parental shaming used at home has any effect on their child's bullying behaviour at school. To measure parental use of

shaming, five bullying scenarios<sup>2</sup> were used with four possible parental reactions. In each scenario, the bully hurts another child (physically or socially). Children are asked to imagine themselves being the bully in those scenarios. One scenario, for example, says, 'Imagine that you are walking along the corridor at school and you see another student. You put your foot out and trip the student'. After reading each scenario, the children were asked to check one of the four alternative responses that were derived from the 'Two-dimensional model of shaming and reintegration' (Ahmed, 2001a, p. 255) representing four different types of shaming pretested as making sense in a Bangladeshi cultural context:

- 'How could you do it being a child of this family? You bring such shame to this family!' (stigmatising shaming)
- 'My parent would not scold me, but would stop talking to me for a long time showing that they couldn't forgive me' (shaming without reintegration)
- 'My parent would not say anything to me, and continue to look after me as before' (reintegration without shaming)
- 'I know you are a good boy/girl, and I love you; but understand that you are responsible for such behaviour. Never do it again' (reintegrative shaming).

Note that the reintegrative shaming response does not have forgiveness as an explicit element of it. It is a 'good person who has done a bad act' measure; it does not include a measure of the process of forgiving or the experience of forgiveness. This was because in this research it was decided to examine the effect of the forgiveness dimension of reintegrative shaming separately (see Hypothesis 3) so the effect of a pure forgiveness measure could be compared with the effects of reintegrative shaming (see Hypothesis 1). As the theory of reintegrative shaming proposes, reintegrative shaming is the stuff of normal healthy parenting, and, accordingly, 68% to 89% (across contexts) of the parents were perceived by their children as having a preference for the reintegrative shaming response. But as the theory also proposes, a large minority of parents, 12% to 34%, were also perceived by their children as having a preference for the stigmatising shaming response. Even with this large sample, responses to shaming without reintegration (2% to 5%; skewness = 4.54) and to reintegration without shaming (2% to 3%; skewness = 5.82) were rare and produced highly skewed independent variables. Therefore, the latter two variables were dropped from the regression analyses, even though they were retained for descriptive purposes.

To construct the reintegrative shaming variable, responses were collapsed into dichotomous categories reflecting the presence or absence of reintegrative shaming. This allows comparison of parents using reintegrative shaming on at least two or more occasions (scored as 1, 86% of parents) against others (scored as 0, 14% of parents). The latter category accommodates those parents who use stigmatising shaming, shaming without reintegration and reintegration without shaming styles. A high score on this collapsed dichotomous measure of reintegrative shaming indicates that the parents were more likely to accept their child while rejecting the wrongdoing ( $M = .86$ ;  $SD = .35$ ;  $\alpha = .74$ ).

Following the same procedure, the stigmatising shaming variable was constructed by collapsing responses into dichotomous categories reflecting the presence or absence of stigmatising shaming. Again, parents using stigmatising

shaming on at least two or more occasions were scored as 1 (30% of parents) whereas others were scored as 0 (70% of parents). A high score on this stigmatising shaming measure indicates that the parents were more likely to reject their child and the wrongdoing ( $M = .30$ ;  $SD = .46$   $\alpha = .71$ ).

It is noteworthy that most parents in our sample consistently use either reintegrative shaming or stigmatising shaming as a response to their child's wrongdoing. The correlation between them is  $-.43$  ( $p < .001$ ). While this correlation is strong, the categories are far from being mutually exclusive, with parents often using both reintegrative and stigmatising shaming.

### Shame Management

Shame management was measured through the Management Of Shame State — Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Displacement (Ahmed, 2001a). For present purposes, the MOSS-SASD items were translated and back-translated to ensure confidence in the equivalence of the questionnaires and confidence in the information obtained for the Bengali questionnaire (see Appendix for the procedure used).

Briefly, MOSS-SASD is a scenario-based self-report measure. It aims to capture the shame reactions that children make when they encounter a situation where they are caught performing an act of social and/or moral wrongdoing. It will be recalled that from an original eight scenarios, five were selected based on their appropriateness in Bangladeshi culture. Following each scenario describing a bullying incident at school, the students were given 10 shame-related questions, asking them to indicate how they would feel if they were the one doing the bullying.

Following the two-step procedure in Structural Equation Modeling (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988), two factors were retained: shame acknowledgment and shame displacement (for details about goodness-of-fit indices, see Appendix).

For shame acknowledgment, there were three scales related to admitting shame and responsibility for the wrongdoing, and rectifying the mistakes: (a) feeling shame, (b) taking responsibility, and (c) making amends. These scales were positively intercorrelated and therefore were averaged to construct the shame acknowledgment variable ( $M = 3.30$ ;  $SD = .66$ ;  $\alpha = .89$ ), a high score indicating greater shame acknowledgment.

For shame displacement, there were four scales specifically related to projecting shame and blame on others: (a) externalising blame, (b) felt anger, (c) retaliatory anger and (d) displaced anger. These scales were positively intercorrelated, and therefore were averaged to construct the shame displacement variable ( $M = 1.25$ ;  $SD = .39$ ;  $\alpha = .90$ ), a high score indicating greater shame displacement.

### Forgiveness

The forgiveness scale of two items was formulated to measure the extent to which adolescents perceived that their parent (the primary caregiver) had forgiven them for hypothetical wrongdoing depicted through five bullying scenarios (see Appendix). In each scenario, the bully hurts another student (physically or socially). The participants were asked to imagine themselves being the wrongdoer in these scenarios and being caught in the act by their parent. After reading each scenario, they were required to use a 5-point rating scale ranging from 1 = *almost*

never to 5 = most of the time to respond to the following items: (a) My parent has forgiven me and given me another chance, and (b) My parent is unforgiving and this does not heal my pain (reverse coded). These two items were intercorrelated ( $r = .87, p < .001$ ), and therefore were averaged to construct the forgiveness scale ( $M = 2.93; SD = 1.04; \alpha = .93$ ).

Forgiveness is of special interest to restorative justice theorists, many of whom would reject any interpretation of it as a reintegrative shaming variable. Forgiveness is important to restorative justice theorists as a manifestation of healing and because of the restorative justice ideal that because crime (or bullying) hurts, justice should heal. For many Christian restorativists, forgiveness is part of *shalom*. Yet these data are from a Muslim country where forgiveness very often has the meaning of healing the hurts of shame and repentance. Forgiveness is an important facet of reintegrative shaming in that it is the heart of many rituals that terminate the certification of deviance with a ceremony to decertify deviance.

### Bullying

The dependent variable measured in this study was self-initiated bullying. Previous work has drawn a distinction between children who bully others in a one-to-one situation and children who join in to bully in groups (Ahmed, 2001a; Rigby, 1996). From the perspective of understanding triggers for bullying, there is merit in focusing on the children who take the initiative and bully of their own accord, rather than those who follow others for reasons that may be totally unrelated to the bullying action itself. Furthermore, self-initiated bullying is likely to involve hard-core bullies who are possibly at a higher risk for future delinquency, crime and psychopathology.

Self-initiated bullying was measured by a single item (Rigby & Slee, 1993): 'How often have you, on your own, bullied someone during the last year?' ( $M = 1.47; SD = .82$ ). There were five response categories: 1 (*I haven't, on my own, bullied anyone during the last year*), 2 (*it has happened once or twice*), 3 (*sometimes*), 4 (*about once a week*) and 5 (*several times a week*). The majority of the students (70%) reported not being involved in bullying in a one-to-one situation.

### Control Variables

In earlier Australian research on bullying, the factors sex, school grade, liking for school, hassles with friends and academic achievement at school, and family disharmony were all found to be important in different ways to the explanation of school bullying (Ahmed, 2001a; Rigby, 1996). They are therefore included as control variables for the models to predict bullying in Bangladesh.

**Sex and grade.** Respondents' sex was scored 0 for males and 1 for females. Their school grade was measured in years by asking 'Which grade are you in at your school?'. There were four response categories: grade 7, grade 8, grade 9 and grade 10.

**Liking for school.** The extent to which children like their school was measured with two sets of drawings. The first was a pictorial representation of the Smiley Face Scale (Mooney, Creaser, & Blatchford, 1991) ranging from 1 (*Ugh, I hate it*) to 5 = (*Great, I love it*). The second set, the School Engagement-Withdrawal Scale

(Braithwaite, 1996), depicted a series of five drawings of a boy and a girl bearing the postures of children ranging from 1 (*absence of belongingness*) to 5 (*presence of belongingness*) at school. Students were asked to shade the child who is most like them when they are at school. The Smiley Face Scale and School Engagement–Withdrawal Scale were intercorrelated ( $r = .56, p < .001$ ). Scores were averaged to construct the Liking for School Index ( $M = 4.31; SD = .86; \alpha = .70$ ), a high score indicating greater liking and belongingness.

**Peer hassles.** Two items from Groube's (1987) Daily Hassles Scale were used to examine children's experiences in hassles with their friends at school. These are: (a) having things go wrong in my relationships with friends, and (b) disagreements or misunderstanding with friends. There were three response categories ranging from 1 (*never*) to 3 (*a lot of the time*). Scores on these two items were positively and significantly correlated ( $r = .25, p < .001$ ), and hence, a peer hassles score was computed for each child by averaging across children's responses to the items ( $M = 1.72; SD = .44; \alpha = .40$ ). The higher the score, the more peer hassles at school. Despite the low alpha reliability, the scale was retained in the analyses in view of the importance of the construct in earlier studies (e.g., Ahmed, 2001a; Creasy, Mitts, & Catanzaro, 1995).

**Academic hassles.** Four items from Groube's (1987) Daily Hassles Scale were used to examine children's experiences in hassles with their academic achievement. These are: (a) failing a test or exam, (b) feeling unsure about what is expected of me at school (e.g., schoolwork), (c) doing worse in schoolwork than I expected and (d) failing to do my homework. Again, there were three response categories ranging from 1 (*never*) to 3 (*a lot of the time*). Scores on these four items were positively and significantly correlated (ranged from .17 to .36,  $p < .001$ ), and hence, were aggregated to produce the scale score ( $M = 1.55; SD = .35; \alpha = .55$ ). The higher the score, the more hassles at school in the academic domain.

**Family disharmony.** Two items from Groube's (1987) Daily Hassles Scale were used to examine children's perceptions of hassles in their family. Because the measure used in this study assesses whether a family is plagued by conflict and arguments, the term family disharmony is used. Students were asked: How often do you experience (a) difficulties among family members, and (b) arguments or disagreements in the family. There were three response categories ranging from 1 (*never*) to 3 (*a lot of the time*). Responses on these two items were positively and significantly correlated ( $r = .43, p < .001$ ), and hence, were averaged to produce a scale score ( $M = 1.50; SD = .48; \alpha = .60$ ).

#### COMPUTATION OF INTERACTION TERMS

Three 2-way interaction terms were created by multiplying centred<sup>3</sup> scores (the actual score minus the mean score) of predictors, such as liking for school, stigmatising shaming, reintegrative shaming and forgiveness. Computed interaction terms reported below were: (a) Liking for School  $\times$  Stigmatising Shaming, (b) Liking for School  $\times$  Reintegrative Shaming and (c) Liking for School  $\times$  Forgiveness. A separate second-order analysis was performed for each significant interaction term to diagnose the direction of the interaction effect. In order to graph the significant interaction, the variables comprising the interaction term were dichotomised so

that on each predictor, individuals were placed either in a low group or a high group. When the two dichotomous variables (e.g., liking for school and reintegrative shaming) were tabulated, respondents became a member of one of these four groups: high/high (high liking for school with high reintegrative shaming), high/low (high liking for school with low reintegrative shaming), low/high (low liking for school with high reintegrative shaming) and low/low (low liking for school with low reintegrative shaming).

## Results

### DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG VARIABLES

The means, standard deviations and alpha reliability coefficients of relevant variables are presented in Table 1. Intercorrelations among the variables can also be seen in Table 1.

The patterns of means for key variables indicated that most Bangladeshi children liked their school while experiencing hassles on each domain. Among the shaming styles, experiencing reintegrative shaming was very common followed by experiencing stigmatising shaming, shaming without reintegration and reintegration without shaming. Experiencing forgiveness from parents was common. Regarding shame management styles, most Bangladeshi children acknowledged shame and did not displace it.

Examinations of the bivariate correlations (Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients) between self-initiated bullying and other variables in this study revealed that bullying was higher for boys ( $r = -.12, p < .001$ ) and those who did not like their school ( $r = -.16, p < .001$ ). Bullying was also common among those who experienced hassles regarding peer relationships ( $r = .17, p < .001$ ), academic achievement ( $r = .11, p < .001$ ) and family relationships ( $r = .15, p < .001$ ).

When bullying was correlated with the four shaming variables, all appeared significant. While bullying was less common among those students who experienced reintegrative shaming by their parents ( $r = -.11, p < .001$ ), it was more common among those who experienced either stigmatising shaming ( $r = .07, p < .01$ ) or shaming without reintegration ( $r = .14, p < .001$ ) or reintegration without shaming ( $r = .11, p < .001$ ). Perceived forgiveness also appeared as a significant correlate of reduced bullying ( $r = -.40, p < .001$ ).

Finally, bullying was less likely to take place among those who were inclined to acknowledge shame and responsibility ( $r = -.18, p < .001$ ) but were disinclined to displace shame by blaming others ( $r = .27, p < .001$ ).

### REGRESSION ANALYSIS

An ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analysis<sup>4</sup> was used to test the research hypotheses.

Not all of the control variables had significant effects on reported self-initiated bullying, but as a block the variables in the control model accounted for 7% of the variance in bullying (see Table 2). The significant variables are sex ( $\beta = -.07, p < .05$ ), liking for school ( $\beta = -.13, p < .001$ ), peer hassles ( $\beta = .14, p < .001$ ) and family disharmony ( $\beta = .09, p < .001$ ).

**TABLE 1**  
Intercorrelations Among All Independent Variables and the Dependent Variable (Bullying)

Variables	1	2	3 (.70)	4 (.55)	5 (.40)	6 (.60)	7 (.71)	8 (.74)	9 (.75)	10 (.69)	11 (.93)	12 (.89)	13 (.90)	14
1. Sex (0 male; 1 female)	.60 (.49)													
2. Grade	-.02	8.28 (1.11)												
3. Liking for school	.12***	-.18***	4.31 (.86)											
4. Academic hassles	.03	.14***	-.13***	1.55 (.35)										
5. Peer hassles	-.07**	.13***	-.10***	.23***	1.72 (.44)									
6. Family disharmony	.06*	.24***	-.15***	.35***	.28***	1.50 (.48)								
7. Stigmatising shaming	-.17***	-.06**	.02	.03	.03	.03	.30 (.45)							
8. Reintegrative shaming	.15***	.08**	.11***	-.02	-.03	-.04	-.43***	.86 (.35)						
9. Reintegration without shaming	-.09***	-.08**	-.02	-.02	.02	.00	-.08**	-.18***	.03 (.16)					
10. Shaming with- out reintegration	-.06**	.00	-.07**	.02	.09***	.06**	-.06**	-.32***	.05*	.04 (.20)				
11. Forgiveness	-.03	.01	.16***	-.03	.00	-.08**	-.10***	.01	.01	.00	2.93 (1.04)			
12. Shame acknowledgment	.07**	-.02	.14***	-.02	-.04	-.05*	.00	.10***	-.20***	-.07**	.05	3.30 (.66)		
13. Shame displacement	-.08***	.09***	-.13***	.15***	.15***	.21***	.10***	-.19***	.13***	.24***	-.12***	-.33***	1.25 (.39)	
14. Self-initiated bullying	-.12***	.03	-.16***	.11***	.17***	.15***	.07**	-.11***	.14***	.11***	-.39***	-.18***	.27***	1.47 (.82)

Note: Descriptive statistics are given diagonally (standard deviations are in parentheses, alpha reliability estimates can be seen in the parenthesis in first row.  
\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

The shaming model<sup>5</sup> of Table 2 shows that both reintegrative shaming ( $\beta = -.11, p < .001$ ) and forgiveness ( $\beta = -.37, p < .001$ ) are significantly associated with less bullying. These results provided strong support for Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 3, respectively. Stigmatising shaming did not have a statistically significant effect on bullying due to its significant correlation with reintegrative shaming ( $r = -.43, p < .001$ ); however, it was related to bullying in the bivariate analysis as expected in Hypothesis 2. It is of note that liking for school was no longer significant in the model due to its significant relationship with forgiveness ( $r = .16, p < .001$ ). Together reintegrative shaming and forgiveness add 14% to the variance explained over and above the control model.

The shame management model in the next column of Table 2 adds a further 4% to the bullying variance explained. As predicted (Hypothesis 4a), when children adopt the restorative shame management approach of shame acknowledgment, they engage in less bullying ( $\beta = -.09, p < .01$ ). When shame displacement is their shame management approach, they engage in more bullying ( $\beta = .16, p < .001$ ; Hypothesis 4b). There are two other notable findings in this model. First, family disharmony no longer has a significant effect on bullying due to its link with shame displacement ( $r = .22, p < .001$ ); and second, reintegrative shaming still maintains its effect on bullying though the magnitude of the coefficient was reduced.

The biggest effect size<sup>6</sup> in these analyses is for forgiveness. Moving from the lowest to the highest score on forgiveness in the regression model (controlling for all other variables) reduces bullying by 22.4%. Measured in the same way, reintegrative shaming reduces bullying by only 11.3% and shame acknowledgment by 12.8%. Moving from the highest to the lowest score on shame displacement in the regression model reduces bullying by 13.3%.

This is cross-sectional survey data so there is no way of knowing whether the direction of causality at work in producing these results is in the direction of reintegrative shaming, forgiveness and shame acknowledgment reducing bullying, and shame displacement increasing bullying, as predicted by the theory. To test the theory more adequately, bullying behaviour would be measured subsequently to the measurement of the shaming and shame management variables.

## HEALTHY SCHOOLS AS A PROTECTIVE FACTOR

The final column of Table 1 shows three significant interaction effects on bullying explaining 1% of the variance in bullying. The most significant interaction term is Liking for School  $\times$  Reintegrative Shaming ( $\beta = .10, p < .001$ ) followed by Liking for School  $\times$  Stigmatising Shaming ( $\beta = -.06, p < .05$ ) and Liking for School  $\times$  Forgiveness ( $\beta = .05, p < .10$ ). These results are now explained through plotting separate graphs.

Figure 1 shows that liking for school is a protective factor for hard-core bullies by virtue of the failure of their parents to embrace reintegrative shaming (Hypothesis 5). This means that bullying decreases with an increase in school liking for those children who do not experience reintegrative shaming at home. Figure 1 reveals a different perspective as well that has not been predicted: reintegrative shaming buffers the deleterious impact of disliking school on bullying.

Figure 2 shows the graph for the interaction of Liking for School  $\times$  Stigmatising Shaming. The protective effect of school liking is in the same direction as in the

**TABLE 2**  
Ordinary Least Square Regression Models Predicting Self-Initiated Bullying

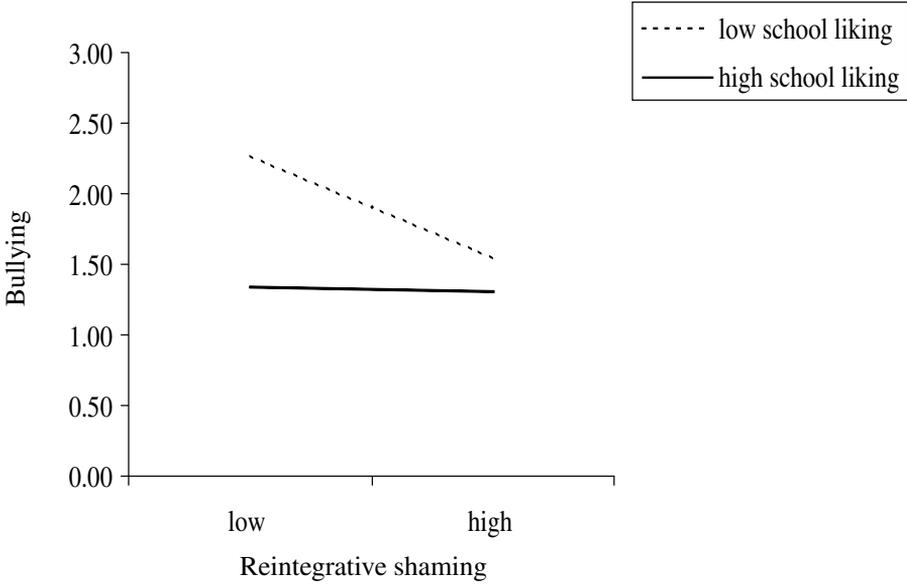
Variables	Control model	Shaming model	Shame management model	School compensation model
Sex (0 male; 1 female)	-.07*	-.06*	-.06*	-.06*
Grade	-.02	.01	.01	.01
Liking for school	-.13***	-.05	-.04	-.02
Peer hassles	.14***	.14***	.13***	.13***
Academic hassles	.04	.05	.03	.03
Family disharmony	.09***	.05	.03	.02
Stigmatising shaming (SS)	—	.02	.01	.01
Reintegrative shaming (RS)	—	-.11***	-.08**	-.06
Forgiveness	—	-.37***	-.35***	-.35***
Shame acknowledgment	—	—	-.09**	-.08**
Shame displacement	—	—	.16***	.17***
Liking for School × SS	—	—	—	-.06*
Liking for School × RS	—	—	—	.10***
Liking for School × Forgiveness	—	—	—	.05+
Adj. R2	.07	.21	.25	.26

Note: +  $p < .10$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .  
We have used listwise deletion ( $n = 1029$ ).

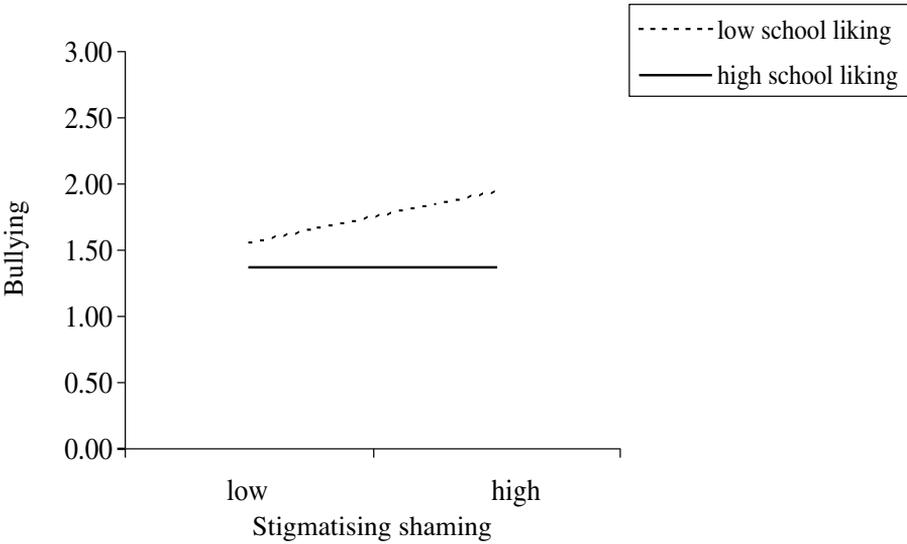
case of reintegrative shaming. As can be seen, bullying decreases with an increase in school liking for those children experiencing high stigmatising shaming from parents (Hypothesis 6). While there is no main effect of stigmatising shaming in increasing bullying, there is an effect for children who do not like school. It is notable that an absence of stigmatising shaming buffers the damaging effect of disliking school on bullying acts.

Figure 3 shows a somewhat similar pattern of the interaction effect. However, the effect was not as significant as were the other two interaction effects. Hence, Hypothesis 7 does not receive support from data. As the graph illustrates, liking for school is less effective in compensating for most of the bullying acts driven by an absence of parental forgiveness. However, when parental reactions to wrongdoing are forgiving, dislike for school has no effect in increasing bullying. So forgiveness is something of a buffer against the damaging effect of school disliking on bullying.

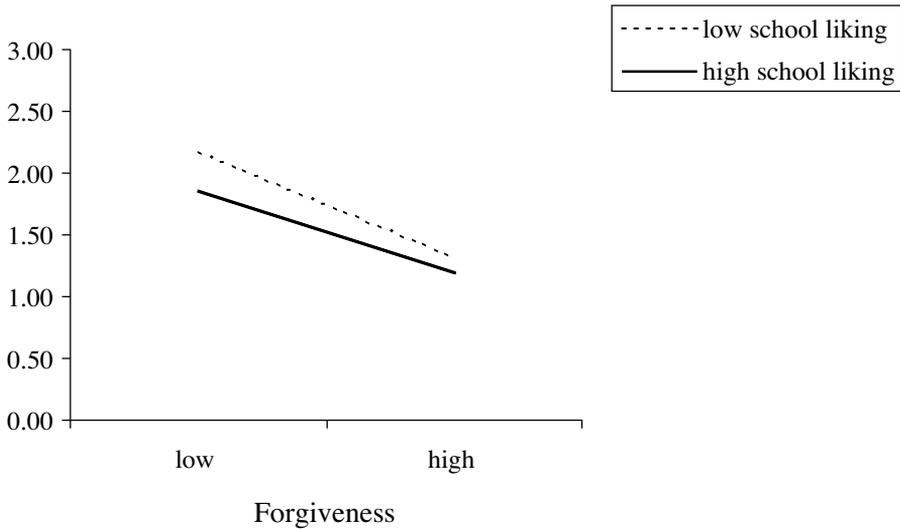
In summary, liking school and reintegrative shaming are each protective factors that compensate for the absence of the other. In a similar vein, liking school is a protective factor that compensates for parental use of stigmatising shaming, and an absence of stigmatising shaming also compensates for disliking school. Finally, unforgiving parenting appears harder for the school to compensate for. Yet forgiving parenting does somewhat protect against the damaging effects of disliking school.



**FIGURE 1**  
The role of liking for school in moderating the relationship between reintegrative shaming and bullying.



**FIGURE 2**  
The role of liking for school in moderating the relationship between stigmatising shaming and bullying.

**FIGURE 3**

The role of liking for school in moderating the relationship between forgiveness and bullying.

## Conclusion

The theory of reintegrative shaming and its elaboration in Ahmed's theory of shame management both receive substantial support from an analysis of school bullying in Bangladesh. Reintegrative shaming as a parental mode of response to wrongdoing and shame acknowledgment as a way of restoratively discharging shame on the part of the child are both associated with less school bullying. Shame displacement, where children displace blame and anger onto others, is associated with higher levels of school bullying. All this is consistent with the theory of reintegrative shame management and with Ahmed's (2001a) earlier results on bullying in Australian schools. However, there was not a replication of the Australian results on stigmatisation; this had no significant main effect on bullying in the Bangladesh data. Stigmatising shaming only made bullying worse for children who did not like school.

The most interesting result is that the strongest effect on bullying is that parental forgiveness of wrongdoing is strongly associated with reduced bullying. Many restorative justice theorists do not see reintegrative shaming as the best way of theorising what makes for the effectiveness of restorative justice as an intervention against problems like bullying. Forgiveness is one of the competing candidates as a crucial ingredient that makes restorative processes work when it is present (Braithwaite, 2002; Tavuchis, 1991; Tutu, 1999). These results are encouraging to that point of view. Forgiveness has a bigger effect than reintegrative shaming and stigmatisation. A nurturing school environment can make up for the adverse effect on bullying of an absence of parental reintegrative shaming, but no amount of liking for school can compensate for the adverse effect on bullying of parents who are unforgiving in the way they respond to wrongdoing. Braithwaite (1989) argued

that forgiveness is part of reintegrative shaming; it is foundational to the reintegrative shaming facet of 'ceremonies to confront wrongdoing being terminated by rituals to decertify deviance'.

It is still not empirically established that all Braithwaite's facets of reintegrative shaming hang together. Indeed, in these data, the correlation between forgiveness and reintegrative shaming is .01! The work still to be done in evaluating the usefulness of the theory of shame management through reintegration remains the task of examining facets of the concepts in the theory separately. We still need answers to questions such as 'Is forgiveness more important to the preventive claims in the theory than, for example, focusing disapproval on the act as bad rather than on the person as bad?' Among schoolchildren in Bangladesh, it seems clear that parental forgiveness is more important than averting stigma. This is a hopeful result for restorative justice practice. It suggests that however disastrous our overreactions to the misdemeanours of children (and perhaps adults), we can repair the damage by learning how to forgive and how to use reintegrative shaming.

In conclusion, this study has attempted to provide a more comprehensive picture of bullying prevention at school. Just as family factors (e.g., reintegrative shaming, forgiveness) have been found to play an important role in bullying, school factors (liking for school) and individual factors (e.g., shame management) also have much potential in understanding the phenomenon. Schools might use strategies such as reintegrative shaming and forgiveness, and introduce restorative justice conferencing in schools. Such conferencing might maintain and reinforce ties between students and school personnel, and provide students with the 'safe space' (Braithwaite & Braithwaite, 2001) and the 'scaffolding' (Bruner, 1966; McGeer, 2004) required for social learning and self-regulation.

## Endnotes

1. A comparison US sample replicated the significant interdependence and projected shame effects, but in the multiple regression the effects of stigmatisation and the frequency of past feelings of shame were not significant.
2. In the English version of the Life at School Survey (1996), there were eight bullying scenarios derived through a rigorous procedure to suit the Australian context (for details, see Ahmed, 2001a). In the Bengali version of the survey, five scenarios were selected based on their explicit representativeness in the cultural context following careful translations and pilot testing. The five scenarios are given in the Appendix.
3. Using centred scores in the regression equation reduces the problem of multicollinearity that often accompanies highly intercorrelated predictor variables (Aiken & West, 1991; Cohen & Cohen, 1983). As centring has no effect on the substantive evaluation of the effect of the first predictor variable on the criterion variable at any given point of the second predictor variable, using centred scores provide the same overall relation between the variables as using actual scores (Cohen & Cohen, 1983).
4. Some might suggest that because of the nature of the bullying variable, using logarithmic/square-root transformations/logistic regression would be appropriate. However, in circumstances where the bullying measure is not skewed, OLS captures more information on variation than logistic regression, and therefore provides the superior method of analysis. Because the bullying variable in this study was not skewed (1.83), we preferred to use the OLS regression analytical method.
5. Because of our theoretical interest in the 'Two-dimensional model of shaming and reintegration', we included two additional shaming variables, shaming without reintegration and reinte-

gration without shaming, in the correlational analysis. In the result, both these variables appeared to be positive predictors of self-initiated bullying ( $r = .14$ , and  $r = .11$ ,  $p < .001$ , respectively). In a regression analysis, results on these two variables were substantively the same as they were in the correlational analyses. Because scores on these two shaming variables were highly skewed causing a severe violation of the normality assumption in regression analysis, they were not included in the final regression.

6. To estimate effect size, we have used the metaregression analytical technique. Through using this technique, a mean difference effect size was calculated using 'the regression equation with respondents on the lowest score of the variable of interest' and 'the regression equation with respondents on the highest score of the variable of interest'.

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## Appendix

Bullying scenarios (texts in parenthesis were used for the MOSS-SASD):

1. Imagine that you are walking along the corridor at school and you see another student. You put your foot out and trip the student. (Then you realise that your teacher has just come into the corridor and seen what you did.)
2. Imagine that you are on the way home from school and see a younger student carrying something important that he/she has made at school. You knock the thing out of the student's hands. (Then you realise that your teacher saw what you did.)
3. Imagine that a younger student is going to the canteen to buy something. You grab his/her money. You warn the student not to tell or else. (Then you realise that your teacher has just walked in and seen/heard what you said/did.)
4. Imagine that you started an argument in class with another student. Then you excluded the student from doing a class project with you. (Then you realise that your teacher has just been told about what you did.)
5. Imagine that you made a nasty comment about another student without any good reason. (Then you realise that your teacher has just heard what you said.)

The MOSS-SASD items were translated and back-translated by a bilingual scholar who was native to the region of Bangladesh where the study was conducted. The translations were then reviewed for accuracy and cultural appropriateness by another bilingual scholar who is also native to the region. Both these scholars had excellent English knowledge and experiences with psychological terminology. These steps yielded a comparable Bengali translation of the MOSS-SASD with the exception of Item 2 'Hiding self'. This item presented some difficulty in the translation process. The translated item, 'palie jete chaibe' was interpreted by the scholars as 'a positive and also a negative shame response'. After discussion, it was retained.

The Bengali version of the MOSS-SASD provides adolescents with the five scenarios each describing a bullying incident. It will be recalled that the participants were asked to imagine themselves being the wrongdoer in these scenarios, and caught in the act by their parents. After reading each scenario, they were

asked to tick the boxes that best represented their answers to 10 shame-related questions. A total of 50 items (five scenarios  $\times$  10 questions) made up the Bengali version of the MOSS-SASD, using 4-point response format ranging from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*always*).

Examination of the correlation matrix for each of the 10 MOSS-SASD items (see Appendix) across 5 scenarios (correlation ranging from .46 to .68,  $p < .001$ ) indicates high consistency in responses from one scenario to the next. The obtained positive intercorrelations are strong and considered sufficient to warrant aggregating responses over the scenarios. In this way, 10 MOSS-SASD subscales were constructed. These are: feeling shame ( $M = 3.45$ ;  $SD = .72$ ;  $\alpha = .82$ ), hiding self ( $M = 1.43$ ;  $SD = .72$ ;  $\alpha = .78$ ), taking responsibility ( $M = 3.05$ ;  $SD = .83$ ;  $\alpha = .79$ ), viewing others' rejection ( $M = 2.05$ ;  $SD = .86$ ;  $\alpha = .85$ ), making amends ( $M = 3.36$ ;  $SD = .72$ ;  $\alpha = .86$ ), externalising blame ( $M = 1.22$ ;  $SD = .44$ ;  $\alpha = .72$ ), unresolved shame ( $M = 2.12$ ;  $SD = .93$ ;  $\alpha = .86$ ), feeling anger ( $M = 1.35$ ;  $SD = .55$ ;  $\alpha = .78$ ), retaliatory anger ( $M = 1.13$ ;  $SD = .40$ ;  $\alpha = .82$ ) and displaced anger ( $M = 1.28$ ;  $SD = .58$ ;  $\alpha = .87$ ).

Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was used to test the hypothesised fit of the Australian two-factor model to the Bengali version of the MOSS-SASD. The two-step procedure recommended by Anderson and Gerbing (1988) was used: (a) estimate one-factor congeneric model (one for shame acknowledgment, the other for shame displacement) to develop a measurement model with an acceptable fit to the data, and (b) enter the measurement model(s) into a structural equation model. All these analyses were conducted using the AMOS (Analysis of Moment Structures) 4.0 program (Arbuckle & Wothke, 1999) with a maximum likelihood estimation procedure.

As found from these two 1-factor congeneric models, three subscales loaded significantly on the shame acknowledgment factor and four subscales loaded significantly on the shame displacement factor. Because of lower squared multiple correlations, that is, the amount of explained variance (less than .30), two subscales ('hiding self' and 'viewing others' rejection') were excluded from the shame acknowledgment factor, and one subscale ('unresolved shame') from the shame displacement factor. The final standardised regression weight estimates demonstrate excellent convergent validity for the two factors.

In the next, a CFA was conducted to evaluate the factor structure of the MOSS-SASD. Because the chi-square value is oversensitive to sample size, alternative indices to assess overall model fit were suggested (Byrne, 1989). To evaluate the factor structure, therefore, five additional indices of model fit were used. These are: Goodness-of-Fit Index (GFI), Adjusted Goodness-of-Fit Index (AGFI), Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), and Root Mean-Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). Values greater than .95 for GFI, AGFI, CFI, and TLI are considered to indicate good model fit (Byrne, 1994; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Loehlin, 1998). An RMSEA of .05 or less is suggested as an indicator of acceptable fit (Arbuckle & Wothke, 1995; Bollen, 1989). As found in the current analysis ( $\chi^2 = 35.69$ ,  $df = 10$ ,  $p < .001$ ), the GFI was .994, the AGFI was .984, the CFI was .994, and the TLI was .988, indicating an excellent fit of the data to the MOSS-SASD. The RMSEA was .038, which is also within the acceptable range.

MOSS-SASD shame items:

- a) Would you *feel ashamed* of yourself? (*feeling shame*)
  - b) Would you wish you could *just hide*? (*hiding self*)
  - c) Would you feel like *blaming yourself* for what happened? (*taking responsibility*)
  - d) Do you think others would *reject* you? (*feeling others' rejection*)
  - e) Would you feel like *making the situation better*? (*making amends*)
  - f) Would you feel like *blaming others* for what happened? (*externalising blame*)
  - g) Would you be *unable to decide* if you were to blame? (*unresolved shame*)
  - h) Would you *feel angry* in this situation? (*feeling anger*)
  - i) Would you feel like *getting back* at that student? (*retaliatory anger*)
  - j) Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? (*displaced anger*)
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