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Feeling shame and guilt when observing workplace incivility: Elicitors and behavioral responses

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Abstract

This research investigates the elicitors and behavioral responses associated with feeling guilt and shame in response to observed workplace incivility. We draw from the appraisal model of self-conscious emotions to hypothesize that perceiving personal responsibility for acts of incivility conducted by others in the organization is associated with feelings of guilt and shame, and that these relationships are differentially moderated by perceived controllability over the incident. We further propose that shame is associated with avoidance and withdrawal behaviors, whereas guilt is associated with retaliatory and supportive behaviors in response to the observed incivility. We tested these hypotheses with a sample of 309 full-time working adults who completed an online survey through Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform. Our results support the claim that perceived responsibility is associated with feeling shame and guilt for observed incivility. The relationship between perceived responsibility and guilt was stronger when respondents perceived greater control over the incident; however, controllability did not moderate between responsibility and shame. As expected, shame was associated with avoiding the target and instigator and withdrawing from work, while guilt was associated with both retaliation toward the instigator and supporting the target. Implications of our results for theory and human resource development practice are discussed.

Keywords: incivility, guilt, shame, observers, emotion

Feeling Shame and Guilt when Observing Workplace Incivility: Elicitors and Behavioral Responses

In recent decades, scholars and practitioners have identified workplace incivility as a growing concern within organizations that results in detrimental consequences for workers and companies (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Hershcovis Cameron, Gervais, & Bozeman, 2018; Porath & Pearson, 2013). Workplace incivility refers to low-intensity negative behaviors (e.g., ignoring or excluding someone from professional camaraderie, being condescending to others; Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001) that are ambiguous in intent and violate norms of workplace courtesy and respect (Andersson & Pearson, 1999). Survey research indicates that 98% of workers have experienced incivility, while up to 50% experience rude behavior on a weekly basis (Porath & Pearson, 2013). Moreover, incivility does not discriminate across industries, firms, or workers (Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Magley, & Nelson, 2017).

Incivility adversely impacts organizations by influencing task performance (Schilpzand, De Pater, & Erez, 2016) absenteeism (Porath & Pearson, 2012), organizational citizenship behavior (Liu, Zhou, & Che, 2018), and counterproductive work behavior (Welbourne & Sariol, 2017). Uncivil behavior can spread to entire departments, and if unaddressed, escalate into more serious forms of workplace aggression (Miner, Diaz, Wooderson, McDonald, Smittick, & Lomeli, 2018), which ultimately impact an organization's largest competitive advantage—its employees (Porath & Pearson, 2013). As such, incivility is extremely damaging to both organizational and individual performance (Estes & Wang, 2008), causing companies substantial loss in the form of money and people (Porath & Pearson, 2013). Surveys indicate that a single incivility incident can span weeks for human resources professionals before being resolved, while managers of Fortune 1000 firms spend about thirteen percent of their time, or

approximately seven weeks per year, attempting to repair damage done by incivility (Connelly, 1994; Porath & Pearson, 2013).

Noting the deleterious effects of incivility on organizations, Estes and Wang (2008) called for greater attention to this phenomenon within the field of human resource development (HRD). In response, HRD studies began to emerge on this topic, including a special issue on "The Toxic Continuum" published in *Advances in Developing Human Resources* (Ghosh, Jacobs, & Reio, 2011). This research has extended knowledge with regard to both targets (Ghosh, Reio, & Bang, 2013; Reio, 2011) and instigators of incivility (Ghosh, Dierkes, & Falleta, 2011). However, the role of those who observe incivility remains largely unexplored in the context of HRD, although it is an emerging, yet small, research stream in the broader incivility literature (e.g., Hershcovis & Bhatnagar, 2017; Reich & Herschovis, 2015).

In the current paper, we emphasize the need for HRD professionals to consider not only targets and instigators of incivility, but also employees who witness incivility in the workplace. Our argument is twofold. First, recent studies suggest that the damaging effects of incivility extend to employees who merely observe this behavior (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007; Miner & Eischeid, 2012), underscoring the need for HRD professionals to be aware of and address the broader impacts of incivility to the workforce. Because HRD professionals play an essential role in creating a civil and respectful workplace (Estes & Wang, 2008) and developing an organization's human capital (Holton & Yamkovenko, 2008), they are well-positioned to play an integral role in addressing the negative impacts of incivility. Second, observers can play an important role in curtailing workplace incivility. Due to the ambiguity and subtlety of incivility (Andersson & Pearson, 1999), human resources policies are not always well-suited to address it directly (Reio & Ghosh, 2009). Instead, many times, incivility goes by unnoticed by

organizations and unreported by targets (Pearson & Porath, 2005). Tapping into the potential of workers who observe incivility to take corrective action may provide an alternative route to managing this phenomenon, as noted by Estes and Wang (2008) who argue that coworkers may play a role in reducing workplace incivility via normative influence.

In the current work, we investigate both the negative experience of workers who witness this behavior, as well as the potential role of these observers in mitigating incivility. Specifically, we propose that observers who witness a member of their organization engaging in an uncivil act may experience aversive feelings of *shame* and *guilt*, which subsequently influence their behavioral responses to the incivility incident. Witnessing incivility has been linked to a variety of negative emotions, such as anger, demoralization, fear, and anxiety (Miner & Eischeid, 2012), indicating that observers of incivility experience adverse emotional impacts. Further, emotions have long been linked to distinct action tendencies or behavioral responses to events (e.g., helping, retaliating, withdrawing; Izard, 1977), suggesting their critical role in predicting observer responses to mistreatment (Hershcovis & Bhatnagar, 2017).

Shame and guilt are part of a group of emotions, previously unstudied in relation to observed incivility, known as *self-conscious emotions,* that can be elicited not only by one's own behaviors, but also vicariously through the transgressions of another person or group (Chi, Friedman, & Lo, 2015; Lickel, Steele, & Schmader, 2011). Self-conscious emotions of guilt and shame are dependent on one's appraisals of an event (Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2006) and motivate distinct action tendencies to repair the situation or withdraw from the situation, respectively (Lickel et al., 2011). We argue that workers who observe acts of incivility may appraise the witnessed incivility in ways that elicit vicarious feelings of guilt or shame, which will then impact their response to the incident.

To examine guilt and shame experiences among observers of incivility, we drew from the appraisal model of self-conscious emotions (Tracy & Robins, 2004; 2006) and vicarious perspectives on guilt and shame (Lickel et al., 2011) to investigate the antecedents and behavioral outcomes associated with these emotions. Specifically, we examined a) observer appraisals of perceived responsibility and controllability over an incident of incivility as predictors of observer shame and guilt and b) the distinct actions (withdrawing, retaliating against the instigator, supporting the target) that each of these emotions elicited in observers. We focused on these behaviors because they represent a broad scope of actions that may be taken in response to observed incivility, that correspond to existing literature on observer responses to mistreatment (e.g., Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Hershcovis & Bhatnagar, 2017). Further, these behavioral responses hold practical importance for organizations trying to manage incivility, given their implications for targets, instigators, and the observers themselves.

The current study contributes to research and practice in several ways. First, we integrate theories of self-conscious emotions (Lickel et al., 2011; Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2006) with the incivility literature to better understand the aversive experience of witnessing incivility and the broad range of actions observers may take in response to acts of incivility in their organization. Second, our research provides practical implications for HRD. By shedding light on the aversive affective experiences of incivility observers, we emphasize the importance of taking steps to address and mitigate incivility. We also highlight the observer's role in responding to incivility. Finally, by examining how perceived responsibility and controllability motivate observers' emotional and behavioral responses to incivility, we provide a potential pathway for HRD professionals to address incivility through the development of trainings that emphasize workers' perceptions of responsibility and control over observed incidents of incivility.

Theoretical Framework

Workplace Incivility and Observers

While the incivility literature has focused primarily on employees directly targeted by incivility, recent studies have considered how observers are impacted by uncivil behavior. Indeed, research suggests that not only targets, but also witnesses of this behavior, experience negative impacts to their wellbeing and affect (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007; Miner & Eischeid, 2012). For example, employees who observed incivility directed toward women in their organization experienced reduced wellbeing and job satisfaction, which influenced outcomes such as physical health, withdrawal, burnout, and affective commitment to the organization (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). Similarly, Miner and Eischeid (2012) found that employees who observed incivility in the workplace toward those of the same gender as themselves experienced greater anger, demoralization, fear, and anxiety.

Emotional and affective responses to observed incivility can also drive behavioral responses to the incident. For instance, customers who observed incivility felt anger toward the instigator (driven by perceptions of injustice), which led them to seek revenge or retaliate against the instigator, as well as the organization (Porath, MacInnis, & Folkes, 2011). Similarly, negative emotional reactions toward the instigator of incivility may lead observers to unfavorably evaluate and attempt to punish the instigator (Hershcovis & Bhatnagar, 2017; Reich & Hershcovis, 2015), while positive feelings of empathy toward the victim can lead to target-aiding behaviors (Hershcovis & Bhatnagar, 2017).

While these initial studies have begun to investigate how observers' emotions influence the actions that they take in response to witnessed incivility (Hershcovis & Bhatnagar, 2017; Porath et al., 2011; Reich & Hershcovis, 2015), the nascent work in this area has focused on

observer emotions directed at the instigator (e.g., anger) or target (e.g., empathy), rather than emotions that reference the self (e.g., self-conscious emotions). In the current study, we suggest that employees may also experience self-conscious emotions (shame and guilt) in response to witnessing an act of incivility by a member of their organization.

Self-Conscious Emotions

Self-conscious emotions (shame, guilt, embarrassment, and pride) are a group of cognitively complex emotions that require self-awareness and self-representations and serve primarily social goals (Tracy & Robins, 2004). They are unique from basic emotions (e.g., anger, happiness) because they require the ability to self-reflect and engage in self-evaluation (Tracy & Robins, 2004). For example, individuals who experience a failure or commit a transgression feel self-conscious emotions through self-reflecting on this event and considering whether they met or fell short of their expectations for themselves. Because self-conscious emotions are more cognitively complex than other emotions, they are not directly elicited by an event itself, but rather by the pattern of cognitive appraisals made about the event. Indeed, Izard et al. (1999) describe self-conscious emotions as cognition-dependent emotions.

In the current study, we focus on the self-conscious emotions of guilt and shame, which we argue are most relevant to the context of incivility. We exclude the self-conscious emotion of pride, because pride is elicited by events that reflect positively on one's self-representation (e.g., achievements, exemplary behaviors), and as such, would be unlikely to be elicited in the context of a deviant behavior, such as incivility. We also exclude embarrassment, an emotion that is more cognitively simple (Tracy & Robins, 2004) and lacks a strong theoretical foundation for hypothesizing unique behavioral responses. In the context of vicariously felt self-conscious emotions (i.e., emotions felt for others' behaviors), there is a lack of research to adequately

distinguish embarrassment from shame (Lickel, Schmader, & Spanovic, 2007). Because vicarious shame often contains elements of embarrassment (Lickel et al., 2007), the two often correlate highly and load on the same factor (Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier, & Ames, 2005; Schmader & Lickel, 2006), making it difficult to empirically distinguish them.

Appraisal Model of Self-Conscious Emotions. Tracy and Robin's appraisal model of self-conscious emotions (2004, 2006) provides a framework to identify the distinguishing characteristics of self-conscious emotions and their antecedents. Their model proposes a specific pattern of cognitive appraisals that distinguish self-conscious emotions from other emotions and (within the category of self-conscious emotions) distinguish shame from guilt. The appraisal model (Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2006) posits that self-conscious emotions are felt only when individuals make internal attributions for an event. Specifically, feeling responsible, accountable or blameworthy for a negative event (e.g., a moral transgression) will cause an individual to feel guilt or shame (whereas external attributions for an event elicit other non-self-conscious emotions, such as anger). The appraisal model proposes that stability and controllability appraisals further distinguish whether an individual will feel guilt and shame. Perceiving that an event (or its cause) was stable (i.e., will continue to be there in the future/unchangeable) and not individually controllable leads to feelings of shame. On the other hand, guilt is elicited, when an event is perceived as having been individually controllable and unstable (i.e., malleable, changeable). These predictions have been supported through multiple studies utilizing different methods (e.g., Tracy & Robins, 2006), although Tracy and Robins (2006) conclude that the role of controllability is more consistent than that of stability across studies.

Tracy and Robins (2006) suggest that one implication of their appraisal model, in which self-conscious emotions are distinguished by different eliciting cognitions, is that guilt and

shame serve different adaptive functions, which motivate unique behavioral responses. If one views oneself as personally responsible for a failure or transgression that one could have controlled or prevented (eliciting guilt), this will drive behavior focused on reparation or righting the wrong. On the other hand, appraising this event as uncontrollable, motivates a desire to escape or avoid the situation. This distinction is supported in both theoretical and empirical work indicating that shame and guilt motivate different kinds of behaviors (Lickel et al., 2011; Tangney, Stuewig, & Hafez, 2011; Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007). When feeling shame, individuals focus on themselves rather than the people affected (Leith & Baumeister, 1998). This internalizing factor of shame carries feelings of worthlessness that motivate a desire to hide or escape the situation (Lewis, 1971; Tangney, Miller, Flicker & Barlow, 1996), manifesting in avoidance or withdrawal behaviors. Conversely, guilt motivates a desire for restoring or repairing the damaged relationship, leading to approach-focused behaviors, such as apologizing, making amends, or trying to undo the harm that was done (Haidt, 2003; Tangney et al., 1996).

Vicarious Frameworks of Self-Conscious Emotions. While self-conscious emotions are typically elicited in response to one's own actions, recent conceptualizations of vicarious shame and guilt suggest that these emotions can also be experienced in response to the actions of others (Lickel et al., 2007, 2011; Tangney et al., 2007). In a workplace context, self-conscious emotions can be felt vicariously in response to the shortcomings of one's coworkers, workgroup, or organization (Chi et al., 2015). For example, self-conscious emotions, such as guilt or shame, may be experienced vicariously when one's organization commits wrongdoings (e.g., fraud; Chi et al., 2015) or when individual members of one's group engage in deviant behavior (e.g. smoking in a meeting room where it is prohibited; Chekroun & Nugier, 2011). The behavioral responses that are motivated by vicariously experienced self-conscious emotions follow the

previously discussed distinction, such that vicarious shame motivates avoidance or withdrawal, while guilt drives reparation (Lickel et al., 2011).

Hypothesis Development

Perceived Responsibility, Controllability, and Self-Conscious Emotions

Drawing from Tracy and Robin's (2006) appraisal model of self-conscious emotions, we argue that (1) observers experience shame and guilt when they feel they bear some responsibility for uncivil treatment received by a target and (2) feelings of controllability over the uncivil incident distinguish between observer experiences of guilt versus shame. Tracy and Robin (2004, 2006) argue that self-conscious emotions differ from other emotions in that they are cognitively dependent; specifically, they require the presence of cognitive appraisals that infer responsibility for an event that has occurred. Attributions about the stability, globality, and controllability of the event (or its causes) further distinguish whether feelings of shame or guilt are elicited. Importantly, the appraisal model (Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2006) argues that it is not the event itself which causes the emotion, but rather the interplay or cognitions or appraisals made by an individual about that event. Applied to incivility, this would suggest that an uncivil event in and of itself does not elicit guilt and shame, but rather the appraisals made for the act of incivility are what drive these emotions. Accordingly, in our study we focus on observers' cognitive appraisals of responsibility and controllability over the situation (as opposed to the uncivil incident itself) as predictors of their emotional responses of guilt and shame.

Tracy and Robin's (2004, 2006) appraisal model predicts that attributed responsibility for an event is the primary predictor of self-conscious emotions, such as shame and guilt. Through perceived responsibility, an individual or group becomes psychologically connected to the harm caused by a transgression (Schlenker, Britt, Pennington, & Doherty, 1994). When individuals

reflect upon their own behaviors, a sense of perceived responsibility for one's shortcomings is associated with feeling shame and guilt (Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2006). Guilt and shame experienced vicariously are similarly rooted in a sense of responsibility, however, responsibility is felt for the actions of others, rather than one's own actions, such that individuals feel responsible for the misbehaviors of others around them or for transgressions committed by their group as a whole (Iyer, Leach, & Pedersen, 2004; Lickel et al., 2011). Accordingly, we argue that when observers feel that they hold some responsibility for the uncivil actions of others within their organization, they will experience feelings of shame and guilt.

Hypothesis 1: *Perceived responsibility for an observed act of incivility is positively associated with observer feelings of (a) shame and (b) guilt.*

While shame and guilt both derive from a sense of perceived responsibility, Tracy and Robin's (2006) appraisal model argues that they differ in the extent to which individuals experience a sense of perceived control over the event or behavior that elicited these feelings. Guilt is rooted in an inherent sense of controllability over one's behavior (i.e., regret for "what I did"). However, this perception of control is absent in shame where a transgression is more likely to be viewed as a stable reflection of one's self (i.e. "who I am"; Lewis, 1971; Tangney et al., 2007). As such, individuals are more likely to feel guilt when they perceive themselves as having control over a failure or transgression, whereas shame is associated with attributions of low controllability (Tracy & Robins, 2006). Lickel et al. (2005) suggest that vicariously felt guilt is similarly rooted in perceptions of controllability, while shame is not. Specifically, they propose that vicarious guilt is experienced when individuals believe that they should have been able to control or influence another person's transgressions, leading them to question whether they could have prevented the behavior and whether going forward they can do anything to fix it.

In the context of incivility, we propose that in some situations, observers may feel as though they could do little to control or influence the act of incivility that they observed. In other instances, observers may believe that they could have done something to control or prevent the incident (e.g., intervened, influenced the instigator's actions). We argue that when observers perceive that they had more controllability over the incident, they will experience greater feelings of guilt (for not having prevented the incident). In contrast, when observers perceive themselves as having had less controllability over the incident, they will experience greater feelings of shame. Therefore, we predict that the relationship between perceived responsibility and self-conscious emotions (shame, guilt) will be differentially moderated by perceptions of control. Specifically, we expect that observers' perceived control over the incivility episode will strengthen the relationship between perceived responsibility and guilt but weaken the relationship between perceived responsibility and shame.

> ***Hypothesis 2a:*** *Perceived control over the incivility incident negatively moderates the relationship between perceived responsibility and shame, such that higher levels of controllability weaken the relationship between perceived responsibility and shame.*
>
> ***Hypothesis 2b:*** *Perceived control over the incivility incident positively moderates the relationship between perceived responsibility and guilt, such that higher levels of controllability strengthen the relationship between perceived responsibility and guilt.*

Shame and Avoidance-focused Responses to Observed Incivility

Because shame is internalized and experienced as intensely aversive (Tangney et al., 1996), individuals seek to escape and avoid situations that have triggered feelings of shame (Lickel, Kushley, Savalei, Matta, & Schmader, 2014) in an effort to suppress the painful experience associated with a shame-inducing event. As such, shame is typically associated with

avoidance-focused behaviors (Tangney, 1995). The association between shame and avoidance is even more evident when shame is experienced vicariously (Schmader & Lickel, 2006). Because the aversive emotion is caused by others rather than the self, individuals can more easily distance themselves from the source of shame (Lickel et al., 2011; Schmader & Lickel, 2006).

One way observers may dissociate from a (vicarious) shame-inducing event is by maintaining distance from the individual members that were involved (Lickel et al., 2011). Additionally, if observers perceive the group as the source of shame, they may attempt to distance themselves from the entire group or collective (in addition to the specific members involved in the transgression) (Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel 2007; Lickel et al., 2011). For example, Chi et al. (2015) found that workers who felt vicarious shame for their organization's transgressions (e.g., fraud) were more likely to psychologically withdraw from the organization. Similarly, we argue that workers who experience shame in response to observing an incident of incivility will be motivated to distance themselves from the actors involved in the incident, as well as the entire collective. In the case of workplace incivility, we propose that observers who vicariously experience shame in response to an episode of incivility will avoid both the target and instigator of incivility (i.e., the parties associated with the shame-inducing incident) and engage in withdrawal behaviors (e.g., decreased time at work, calling in sick when not ill) that enable them to distance themselves from the organization.

Hypothesis 3: *Shame is positively associated with avoiding the (a) instigator and (b) target of incivility.*

Hypothesis 4: *Shame is positively associated with withdrawal behaviors.*

Guilt and Reparation-Focused Responses to Incivility

Upon experiencing guilt, individuals not only feel responsible for the transgression (Tracy & Robins, 2006) but they also hold a belief that they could have done something to influence or prevent it (i.e., control; Lickel et al., 2005). As a result, guilt typically motivates behaviors that seek redemption for failing to prevent a transgression. Accordingly, behaviors stemming from guilt are often focused on reparation (Tangney, 1995), such as confessing, apologizing to a victim, or engaging in behaviors that will undo the negative consequences of their actions (Tangney et al., 2011). Engaging in these prosocial behaviors may also serve to reduce one's guilt-induced distress (Lickel et al., 2011; Miron, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2006).

These action tendencies to repair harmed relationships are also observed in vicarious guilt (Iyer et al., 2004). However, when individuals feel vicarious guilt, their desire to repair relationships and restore equity can be managed in two ways (Lickel et al., 2011): by supporting the (harmed) target or by retaliating against the (harming) instigator. Because guilt motivates behaviors that correct a situation (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton 1994; Leith & Baumeister, 1998), this correction can be made (i.e., equity restored) by adjusting either side of the relationship (Walster, Berscheid, & Walster, 1973). For example, equity can be restored by bringing the transgressor's emotional state closer to that of the target (i.e., the target feels better if the instigator's enjoyment is diminished; Baumeister et al., 1994).

In the case of workplace incivility, we argue that guilt's reparative behaviors can manifest in support of the target or in retaliation against the instigator. For example, an observer feeling guilt might be motivated to "repair" the situation by providing assistance to the target or offering advice on ways to handle the situation. Alternatively, the observer's guilt could motivate retaliatory behavior, in which they attempt to hurt or get even with the instigator to rectify the situation. Indeed, past literature suggests that observers may retaliate against instigators of

incivility or provide support to the victims of this behavior (Hershcovis & Bhatnagar, 2017). Accordingly, we propose that feeling guilt in response to observed incivility is associated with both target-focused support behaviors and instigator-focused retaliatory behaviors.

Hypothesis 5. *Guilt is positively associated with providing support to incivility targets.*

Hypothesis 6. *Guilt is positively associated with retaliating against incivility instigators.*

Method

Participants and Procedure

Data were collected through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), an online panel platform that allows researchers (i.e. requesters) to access survey respondents (i.e. workers) who are willing to complete tasks such as surveys (Porter, Outlaw, Gale, & Cho, 2019). MTurk has become increasingly utilized in top management journals and provides panel data for use in a wide range of different methodologies (Porter et al., 2019). The appropriateness of using MTurk, or any other online panel data platform, is primarily driven by the research topic and nature of the research question (Porter et al., 2019). Given that a vast majority of workers (e.g., up to 99%; Porath, 2016) witness incivility at work, it is reasonable to expect that MTurk respondents will have experience with this phenomenon. Further, because employees may fear repercussions of describing incivility in their workplace within the context of an organizationally administered survey, we argue that the anonymity provided by MTurk, along with its ability to reach a wide breadth of workers, made it an ideal platform for the current research.

Participation was restricted to United States workers who worked at least 35 hours per week and had minimum approval rates of 95% on previous MTurk tasks. Data were collected from 230 respondents on MTurk over an initial three-day period. To obtain additional useable cases for our statistical analysis, we conducted a second three-day data collection three months

after the first (n = 150), resulting in a total sample of 380 respondents. Respondents who completed the survey received compensation of $1.30. However, 38 respondents who failed one or both of the attention checks embedded within the survey (e.g., "By selecting 'every day,' I indicate that I am reading each item in this survey") or had excessive missing data were eliminated and did not receive compensation. The participants from the two data collection periods did not differ significantly on our central variables of perceived responsibility (t = 0.00, p = 1.00), control (t = .72, p = .47), guilt (t = -.31, p = .76), shame (t = .61, p = .54), target support (t = -1.10, p = .27), retaliation (t = .15, p = .88), instigator avoidance (t = .59, p = .55), target avoidance (t = -.22, p = .83), and withdrawal (t = .49, p = .62).

Our research employed the critical incident technique (CIT; Flanagan, 1954), which was integrated into our survey design. As opposed to surveying respondents more generally about a phenomenon, CIT focuses participants on a specific, vivid incident that is representative of the phenomenon being studied. This method is particularly useful in studying workplace mistreatment (see Hershcovis, et al., 2018; Hershcovis, Ogunfowora, Reich, & Christie, 2017; Mitchell, Vogel, & Folger, 2015), because it focuses respondents on a specific incident of mistreatment instigated by a perpetrator and enables them to vividly recall their own reactions to the incident. To apply CIT to our study, we asked respondents to think back on their personal work experiences and recall an episode (within the past 6 months) in which they observed an employee behaving disrespectfully or rudely toward another employee at work. Respondents provided a detailed written account of this episode to help re-experience the incident and how they felt about it. After doing so, respondents then completed survey measures of their perceptions, emotions, and behavioral responses to the incident.

Two of the authors screened the respondents' written accounts to ensure that the described critical incidents were observed incidents of incivility (i.e., low intensity negative behaviors with an ambiguous intent to harm, as defined by Andersson & Pearson, 1999). A total of 33 incidents that did not fit this definition of incivility (e.g. incidents that described physical threats, overt aggression, or non-deviant behavior), did not involve employees at the respondent's workplace, or were directly experienced rather than observed were removed from further analysis. In seven cases where there was a discrepancy between the two screeners in determining whether a critical incident met these parameters, it was resolved through discussion involving all three authors until a consensus, based on Andersson and Pearson's (1999) definition of workplace incivility, was reached. Most discrepancies focused on screener disagreement over the level of intensity and ambiguity in intent to harm reported in the cases. Of the 309 incidents that were retained, 52% focused on female targets, whereas 58% of instigators in the described instances were male[1]. The following are two examples of observed incivility incidents provided by respondents:

"My colleague started divorce with her husband and was very sad and frustrated from about a month, she wasn't concentrated on his daily work and my boss made a big scandal in front of all the team, shouting at her and telling that he is going to change her duties, to rethink her bonus and working hours as a punishment that she is not working well, he told her that she is a minority but that is not a reason to think she is safe and her ethnic group should take care of her if she is not good at work. I was ashamed to hear all this, I wanted to do something but didn't know what is appropriate to do."

"I was standing in the lobby of the administrators office. The secretary was sitting in her desk and I was standing beside it. Another staff member walked in. The staff member did not say hello or greet the secretary in any way, instead she proceeded to walk right past the secretaries desk. Upon realizing what the staff member was doing, the secretary stopped her and informed her that the administrator was currently in a meeting and unavailable, but that she (the secretary) would be happy to take whatever paperwork that needed to be signed. The other staff member, without even looking at the secretary, scoffed and replied 'I am going in anyway.' And walked straight passed the both of us. I thought it was extremely rude. I visited the administrator later to inform them of what had taken place."

After removing respondents who provided invalid critical incidents (n = 33) or failed attention checks (n = 38), our final sample consisted of 309 respondents (51.8% male; 47.9%

female; .3% did not report) with an average age of 36.3 years (*SD* = 9.2), and with a mean of 6.7 years (*SD* = 5.5) of tenure at their current job. Respondents worked in a variety of job sectors including medical/health (9.1%), technical (19.7%), administrative (23%), education (10%), service (26.2%), or other (12%). The majority of respondents indicated their ethnicity as White (82.8%), with the remaining indicating that they were Hispanic/Latino (6.1%), Black/African American (5.5%), Asian/Pacific Islander (5.2%) or other (.3%).

Measures

Guilt. We assessed guilt using Tangney et al.'s (1996) measure based on the Differential Emotion Scale (Izard, 1977). Participants reported the extent to which they experienced feeling "guilty", "repentant" and "blameworthy" while the incivility episode was occurring using a 5-point scale (1: "very slightly or not at all" to 5: "extremely").

Shame. We assessed shame using Tangney et al.'s (1996) measure that was based on the Differential Emotion Scale (Izard, 1977). Participants indicated the extent to which they experienced feeling "disgraced", "humiliated" and "ashamed" while the incivility episode was occurring using a 5-point scale (1: "very slightly or not at all" to 5: "extremely").

Perceived responsibility. We measured participants' perceived responsibility for the incivility incident with three items developed by Nelissen and Zeelenberg (2009). Participants rated the extent to which they felt "responsible," "accountable" and "liable" for the incivility incident using a 5-point scale (1: "not at all" to 5: "completely").

Perceived controllability. We used a single item from Cheng (2001) to assess the extent to which participants perceived having control over the incivility incident. Participants indicated how much control they had over the incident on a 6-point scale (1: "no control; you could not change any aspects of the event" to 6: "total control; you could change the entire event").

Withdrawal behavior. We measured withdrawal behavior with three items used by Porath and Pearson (2012) to assess absenteeism and exit ("I decreased the amount of time I spent at work"; "I considered changing jobs as a result of the incident"; 'I called in sick when I was not ill"). Porath and Pearson (2012) adopted the latter item from Skarlicki and Folger (1997). Participants indicated how often they engaged in each behavior following the occurrence of the incivility incident using a 5-point scale (1: "never" to 5: "every day").

Avoiding the instigator and target. Avoiding the instigator and avoiding the target were each measured with three items adapted from Porath, Overbeck and Pearson (2008). To fit the current study, we replaced the word "challenger" with the term "instigator" (e.g., "I intentionally avoided the instigator") and "target" (e.g., "I intentionally avoided the target"). Participants indicated on a 5-point scale (1: "never" to 5: "every day") how frequently they engaged in each behavior following the occurrence of the incivility incident.

Retaliation. We assessed retaliation against the instigator with five items adapted from Aquino, Tripp, and Bies' (2006) measure of revenge. Participants rated how accurately each item described their behavior using a 5-point scale (1: "not at all accurate" to 5: "very accurate"). Items included: "I got even with the instigator" and "I tried to hurt the instigator".

Supporting the target. We measured support with a modified version of Carver's (2013) measure of instrumental support seeking behaviors. While Carver's (2013) original measure focused on *seeking* support, in the current study, we modified items to reflect how often a participant *provided* support to the incivility target following the incident. Participants indicated how frequently they engaged in each of four behaviors (e.g., "I did something concrete to help the target") using a 5-point scale (1: "never" to 5: "every day").

Demographic and control variables. Participants reported their age, gender, ethnicity, hours worked per week, job tenure, and job sector. Because there is empirical (Porath et al., 2011) and theoretical support (Haidt, 2003) for the influence of anger on revenge and retaliation, we included anger as a control variable when testing the relationship between guilt and retaliation. Participants responded to Grappi, Romani, and Bagozzi's (2013) three-item measure of anger to indicate the extent (1: "very slightly or not at all" to 5: "extremely") to which they felt "mad", "anger" and "very annoyed" while the incivility episode was occurring.

Results

Measurement Model Testing

Descriptive statistics and correlations are reported in Table 1. A measurement model of our predicted eight-factor[2] model was compared with alternate models (see Table 2) prior to hypothesis testing. Data were analyzed using latent variables and structural equation modeling in *Mplus* version 8.2, using the MLR estimator (i.e., a maximum likelihood estimator with robust standard errors; Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017). Missing data were directly estimated using full information maximum likelihood (FIML). Acceptable model fit was determined based on Hu and Bentler's (1999) fit criteria: 1) comparative fit index (CFI) ≥ 0.95, 2) root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) ≤ 0.06, and 3) standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) ≤ 0.08. Results from our measurement models (See Table 2) suggest that our proposed eight-factor model (perceived responsibility, guilt, shame, target support, retaliation, instigator avoidance, target avoidance, withdrawal) best fit the data, relative to alternate measurement models. While the fit of the 7-factor model (in which guilt and shame loaded on a single factor) was worse than that of the 8-factor model, it was still acceptable based on the obtained fit indices. However, because there is strong theoretical justification for separating guilt and shame (Schmader & Lickel, 2006), we retained the 8-factor model (which demonstrated the best fit) for our analysis.

Model Difference Testing

To test our hypotheses, we used the latent moderated structural equations (LMS) approach (Klein & Moosbrugger, 2000), which provides benefits for moderation testing, as it reduces the likelihood of biased estimates and produces interaction estimates that are unattenuated by measurement error (Little, Bovaird, & Widaman, 2006). Unlike other approaches to moderation analysis, LMS uses the data from indicator variables directly for estimation without needing to create product terms (Klein & Moosbrugger, 2000). However, because commonly used model fit indices (e.g., CFI, RMSEA, SRMR) are not appropriate for LMS models (Sardeshmukh & Vandenberg, 2017), fit is assessed by model difference tests based on the likelihood ratio test statistic, in which the interaction model is tested against the linear structural equation model (Klein & Moosbrugger, 2000).

Following a two-step estimation procedure, first a baseline model without the latent variable interaction is assessed using conventional fit indices and criteria (e.g., CFI, RMSEA, SRMR). Second, after determining acceptable fit of the baseline model, a model including the latent variable interaction is estimated and compared to the baseline model. A significant loglikelihood ratio test statistic indicates that the model with the latent variable interaction is also well-fitted and thus can be retained. A non-significant result suggests the baseline model does not present a significant loss of fit relative to the model including the interaction, and therefore the more parsimonious baseline model should be retained (Maslowsky, Jager, & Hemken, 2015).

Following this procedure, we first assessed the fit of our hypothesized structural model without any moderations (i.e., "base model," Model 0). After determining that Model 0 showed an acceptable fit to the data (χ^2 (330) = 579.22, $p < .001$, CFI = 0.94, RMSEA = 0.05, SRMR = 0.08), we then conducted a model difference test (based on the likelihood ratio test statistic)

between Model 0 and Model 1, which included the effect of a latent variable interaction between degree of control perceived and perceived responsibility on guilt. The model difference test between Models 0 and 1 indicated good fit for Model 1 ($\chi^2_{diff,df=1}$ = 7.94, p = .005). We then proceeded to test the model difference between Model 1 and Model 2, which included one additional parameter, the effect of the latent variable interaction of perceived responsibility and controllability on shame. With this model difference test, we assess if excluding the effect of the latent variable interaction on shame presents a significant loss of fit. Results ($\chi^2_{diff,df=1}$ = 0.48, p = .49) indicate that Model 1 (excluding the effect of the latent variable interaction on shame) does not present a significant loss of fit relative to Model 2. Finally, to be thorough, we conducted a model difference test between Model 0 (baseline) and Model 3, which included only the latent variable interaction of controllability and responsibility on shame. Results ($\chi^2_{diff,df=1}$ = 1.44, p = .23) also indicated no significant loss of fit. Therefore, we can conclude that a model including the effect of the latent variable interaction on guilt (Model 1) is well-fitted, whereas excluding the effect of the latent variable interaction on shame does not present a significant loss of fit. Thus, we retained the more parsimonious model, Model 1, concluding that there is no support for controllability moderating between perceived responsibility and shame (Hypothesis 2a).

Hypothesis Testing

To test our remaining hypotheses, we examined the parameter estimates for Model 1. All parameter estimates from the structural model are presented in Table 3. Estimated latent variable indicators were significant (p =.00) with parameter estimates greater than 0.64. Figure 1 presents Model 1 with the standardized coefficients of our hypothesized relationships. Support was found for Hypothesis 1, which predicted that perceived responsibility is positively associated with both shame (β = .56, p = .00) and guilt (β = .51, p = .00). Perceptions of controllability positively

moderated between perceived responsibility and guilt (β = .08, *p* = .02), supporting Hypothesis 2b (see Figure 2). Consistent with Hypothesis 3, feeling shame was positively associated with avoiding the instigator (β = .20, *p* = .00) and avoiding the target (β = .37, *p* = .00). The predicted positive relationship between shame and withdrawal behavior (Hypothesis 4) was also supported (β = .50, *p* = .00). Finally, guilt was positively associated with providing support to the target (β = .23, *p* = .00) and retaliating against the instigator[3] (β = .51, *p* = .00), supporting Hypotheses 5 and 6, respectively.

Discussion

Our results indicate that when personal responsibility is perceived, merely observing an act of incivility can induce guilt, a distress-inducing emotion (Miron et al., 2006) and shame, an experience that is even more intense and aversive than guilt (Tangney et al., 1996). These findings underscore that the impact of incivility is far reaching (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Miner et al., 2018), extending beyond the instigator and target to influence observer emotions. The relationship between perceived responsibility and guilt was stronger for respondents who perceived greater control over the event (i.e., perceived they could have changed the incident). However, controllability did not moderate the relationship between perceived responsibility and shame, suggesting this construct is not central to experiencing vicarious shame.

Our findings support the claim that employees who felt shame in response to observed incivility avoided both the target and the instigator of incivility and withdrew from the organization in various ways. It is important to note that withdrawal and avoidance are counterproductive work behaviors (Spector et al., 2006), which are costly for organizations (Vardi & Weitz, 2004). Moreover, avoiding instigators and targets of incivility may perpetuate the negative effects of incivility. For example, social exclusion felt by the instigator or target

upon noticing the observer's intentional avoidance of them may lay a foundation for future aggressive behavior (Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001). Together, these findings suggest that not only are observers themselves negatively impacted by witnessing incivility (e.g., Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007), but their subsequent behavior may bring broader negative consequences for the organization and its employees (Miner et al., 2018).

In contrast to shame, observer guilt was associated with retaliating against the instigator and providing support for the target. These findings are consistent with guilt's conceptualization as a self-conscious emotion that motivates individuals to take reparative action (Tangney et al, 2007) that can manifest as either helping the victim or harming the instigator in order to restore equity (Lickel et al., 2011). While retaliation may reduce the distress felt by guilty observers and perhaps even provide some indirect benefit to targets (i.e., feeling validated by someone standing up for them), we emphasize that, ultimately, this response causes harm to the instigator and broader organization by further perpetuating the cycle of deviant behavior. In contrast, providing support for the target brings positive effects for both the target and observer (i.e., relieving guilt-induced distress; Lickel et al., 2011; Miron et al., 2006) without harming the instigator.

Theoretical Implications

Results from this study provide several theoretical implications for both the incivility and emotions literature. While self-conscious emotions are typically conceptualized as being elicited by one's own actions (Tangney et al., 2007), drawing from the literature on vicarious self-conscious emotions (Lickel et al., 2011) we found that shame and guilt can be elicited by merely observing (not perpetrating or directly experiencing) incivility. As such, this study is the first (to our knowledge) to identify self-conscious emotions as part of the affective experience of incivility observers. In doing so, we contribute to a broader understanding of the ways in which

witnessing incivility can negatively impact employees and extend prior work that demonstrated observers of incivility experience other negative emotions, such as anxiety, fear, and demoralization (Miner & Eischeid, 2012).

Further, we integrated the appraisal model of self-conscious emotions (Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2006) with recent workplace incivility literature on observers to identify the appraisals (perceived responsibility for and control over the incident) that distinguish between guilt and shame in the context of observed incivility. When employees felt responsible for incivility that they witnessed, perceived controllability of the incident augmented feelings of guilt, while having no influence on feelings of shame. While considerable research has focused on perceived responsibility and controllability over one's *own* actions as antecedents of guilt and shame (Tangney, et al., 1996; Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2006), there has been less empirical attention to whether perceived personal responsibility and controllability over *others'* behaviors contribute to guilt and shame felt vicariously. Therefore, the current study provides evidence to support the roles of these appraisals in eliciting vicariously felt emotions.

Finally, this study sheds light on a variety of responses (retaliation, support, withdrawal, avoidance) that employees engage in when they witness incivility in the workplace and the specific emotions that elicit these actions. Interestingly, our results extend past research linking retaliation to anger (Hershcovis & Bhatnagar, 2017; Porath et al., 2011) and helping to empathy (Herschovis & Bhatnagar, 2017), to suggest another emotional pathway (guilt) that leads to these responses. Further, we illuminate how (through vicarious shame) observing incivility may also lead to worker withdrawal and avoidance.

Implications for HRD

Workplace incivility remains a challenge for organizations. Our results suggest some practical implications that may aide HRD professionals in their attempts to address this maladaptive workplace behavior. First, because merely observing incivility can result in the highly aversive emotions of shame and guilt, we argue that it is important for HRD professionals to acknowledge these far-ranging impacts of incivility and provide support for workers who witness these behaviors. In particular, because shame is associated with avoidance and withdrawal, which can be costly for both observers and organizations, HRD professionals should consider ways to ensure that these workers remain engaged and involved in the organization.

Second, because observers were more likely to intervene by assisting the target when they perceived both responsibility for and controllability over the incident (eliciting feelings of guilt), we recommend that HRD professionals attempt to develop workers' sense of responsibility and controllability in relation to observing incivility. To develop workers' perceived responsibility over the uncivil behavior of their workers, we suggest that HRD professionals establish and maintain norms of civility in the workplace (Walsh, Lee, Jensen, McGonagle, & Samnani, 2018). HRD professionals can communicate to workers that they have an active role to play in maintaining norms of civility. When employees have a clear understanding of their role in maintaining a civil workplace, we argue that they will feel a greater sense of responsibility when observing others acting uncivilly. Further, by providing training on how to intervene and/or report incivility, HRD professionals can provide employees with a greater sense of control over situations in which they encounter incivility.

While feeling guilt was associated with observers providing support to targets of incivility, it is important to note that guilt does not always lead to prosocial responses. It was also

associated with retaliating against instigators, which can be damaging for organizations and perpetrate further incivility. We propose that having clearly established norms of civility will also be useful in this regard as research suggests that norms of civility are negatively associated with instigating incivility (Walsh et al., 2018). Thus, workers in organizations where HRD professionals have invested in establishing norms for civility should be more likely to respond to feelings of guilt with actions that are consistent with these norms (e.g., supporting the target), rather than engaging in retaliation, which would violate norms of civility.

Limitations and Future Directions

Our use of the critical incident technique poses some methodological limitations to our study. First, the use of a cross-sectional design is subject to common method bias and prevents us from drawing causal conclusions (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Additionally, use of this method may raise concerns about socially desirable responding. We attempted to address this concern by assuring respondents of their anonymity, which may help to reduce both social desirability and common method bias (Podsakoff et al., 2003). Moreover, having respondents write a detailed account of the incident they observed can help them recall the event and how they responded (Mitchell et al., 2015). Finally, although our data collection utilized single-source self-reports, we believe that these measures were appropriate to measure our central variables, which focus on respondents' inner emotional and perceptual experiences.

In spite of its limitations, we argue that the critical incident technique was well-suited for an initial exploration of guilt and shame responses to observed incivility. Respondents' detailed written accounts allowed us to better ensure that the recalled incidents fit the conceptualization of workplace incivility (Andersson & Pearson, 1999), improving face validity. Further, although our data collection was not time-lagged, using the critical incident technique jointly with

retrospective measures provided an implied sense of time. For example, respondents were asked to report how they felt *during* the event and how they behaved *after* the event. Such retrospective approaches can shed light on temporal order and at times, even be preferable to longitudinal designs that use arbitrary time periods, especially in cases where it is difficult to achieve accurate time lags (Spector, 2019). We argue that our research may fall within this category, given that some emotional and behavioral responses to observed incivility may be fairly immediate (e.g., comforting the target), while other responses (e.g., withdrawing from work) may unfold over time, making it potentially difficult to identify appropriate time lags for measurement.

Given our initial evidence for the experience of shame and guilt when observing incivility, we suggest some directions for future research. First, while our sample represents both male and female workers employed across a wide range of jobs, most respondents (83%) identified as White, limiting our generalizability across employees with different ethnicities. We suggest that future research explore more diverse samples and consider how employees of different cultural backgrounds perceive and react to observed incivility. Given that Hispanic workers were found to be more resilient to negative effects associated with being a target of incivility (Welbourne, Gangadharan, & Sariol, 2015), future research may examine whether cultural differences in resilience also apply to the aversive effects of observing incivility.

Second, because guilt was associated with more positive outcomes than shame, we suggest that future research explore organizational variables, such as autonomy (Young, Neighbors, Dibello, Traylor & Tomkins, 2016) and empowerment (Kanter, 1993), that may contribute to the perceived responsibility and control that underlie feelings of guilt. For example, Young and colleagues (2016) find that autonomy is positively associated with a greater proneness to guilt when negative outcomes are attributed to one's actions. Similarly, feelings of

empowerment can provide an avenue for individuals to obtain support and resources that may help them to cultivate feelings of control over uncivil events.

Finally, we note that while guilt and shame were significant predictors of various behavioral responses, overall levels of these emotions were rather low in our sample with means of 1.35 and 1.53, respectively. This suggests that not all participants experience aversive negative emotions rooted in self-responsibility. For example, some participants may experience pleasure at the cost of the incivility target[4] (i.e., schadenfreude; Li, McAllister, & Gloor, 2019). We encourage future research to examine such positive emotional responses to observing incivility and the behaviors that they motivate.

Conclusion

Due to its detrimental impacts on organizations and victims, managing workplace incivility poses a significant challenge to HRD professionals. Our findings highlight the aversive emotional impact of incivility on observers, along with the potential role that observers may play in curtailing incivility. Additionally, our findings call attention to the roles of perceived controllability and responsibility in shaping how observers respond to incidents of incivility at their workplace. Accordingly, HRD professionals can lead the way in developing workers' sense of controllability over observed incidents of incivility to promote supportive observer responses aimed to address workplace incivility.

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Endnotes

[1]We thank an anonymous reviewer for suggesting we consider the potential role of gender similarity between observers and targets, based on Miner and Eischeid's (2012) finding that observers felt stronger emotions when they observed incivility toward a target of the same gender as themselves. We conducted an additional analysis to examine the potential influence of gender similarity on guilt and shame in our model. Our results indicated that gender similarity was not associated with feeling these emotions. The full results from these analyses are available from the first author.

[2] Perceived control is not a latent variable and therefore, was not included in measurement models.

[3] Previous studies (Porath et al., 2011; Reich & Hershcovis, 2015) suggest that observers of incivility may retaliate due to anger. Thus, we examined our base model controlling for anger in the relationship between guilt and retaliation. The effect of anger was nonsignificant ($\beta = .01$, $p = .88$), while guilt's effect remained significant ($\beta = .53$, $p = .01$). Thus, anger was excluded from the analyses.

[4]We thank an anonymous reviewer for noting this possibility.

Table 1.

Descriptive statistics and correlations.

		M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Perceived responsibility	1.43	0.81	(.94)									
2	Perceived controllability	1.59	0.94	.54**	-								
3	Guilt	1.35	0.72	.71**	.44**	(.84)							
4	Shame	1.53	0.90	.56**	.31**	.84**	(.88)						
5	Target support	2.12	1.05	.17*	.10*	.24**	.20**	(.90)					
6	Retaliation	1.26	0.69	.38**	.24**	.53**	.45**	.36**	(.95)				
7	Instigator avoidance	2.61	1.27	.11**	.06*	.17**	.20**	.30**	.15*	(.87)			
8	Target avoidance	1.37	0.82	.21*	.12*	.31**	.37**	.17*	.40**	-.01	(.90)		
9	Withdrawal	1.36	0.75	.29**	.16**	.43**	.51**	.24**	.51**	.27**	.39**	(.88)	
10	Anger	3.14	1.13	.13*	.09	.09*	.07*	.02	.06	.02	.03	.04	(.87)

Notes: $n = 309$. Coefficient alpha is displayed in parentheses on the diagonal. *$p<.05$ **$p<.01$

Table 2.

Comparison of alternative measurement models.

Model	χ^2	df	RMSEA	CFI	SRMR
Single-factor	2524.50	324	.15	.42	.14
Three-factor: responsibility, emotions, behaviors	1916.65	321	.13	.58	.13
Five-factor: responsibility, emotions, target support, retaliation, withdrawal	1236.39	314	.10	.76	.10
Seven-factor: responsibility, emotions, target support, retaliation, instigator avoidance, target avoidance, withdrawal	549.12	303	.05	.94	.06
Eight-factor: responsibility, guilt, shame, target support, retaliation, instigator avoidance, target avoidance, withdrawal	470.73	296	.04	.95	.05

Notes: n = 309. Because controllability is not a latent variable, it was excluded from the measurement model

Table 3.
Model 1 parameter estimates.

Structural Model Path	Estimate (Standardized)	Estimate (Unstandardized)	Standard Error (Unstandardized)
Responsibility to guilt	.51**	.50**	.11
Responsibility to shame	.56**	.71**	.10
Controllability to guilt	.03	.02	.05
Controllability to shame	.01	.01	.07
Responsibility x controllability to guilt	.08*	.09*	.03
Guilt to target support	.23**	.31**	.11
Guilt to retaliation	.51**	.47**	.12
Shame to instigator avoidance	.20**	.31**	.08
Shame to target avoidance	.37**	.32**	.09
Shame to withdrawal	.50**	.40**	.09
Responsibility with control	.54**	.36**	.08
Guilt with shame	.76**	.30**	.08
Target support with retaliation	.28**	.14**	.14
Target support with withdrawal	.16**	.09*	.09
Target support with instigator avoidance	.27**	.33**	.33
Target support with target avoidance	.10	.07	.07
Instigator avoidance with retaliation	.08	.06	.05
Instigator avoidance with withdrawal	.19**	.17**	.05
Instigator avoidance with target avoidance	-.10	-.10	.07
Target avoidance with retaliation	.29**	.12**	.04
Target avoidance with withdrawal	.25**	.12**	.04
Withdrawal with retaliation	.39**	.13**	.04

Notes: $n = 309$. *$p<.05$ **$p<.01$

Figure 1.

Standardized estimates of hypothesized structural relationships.

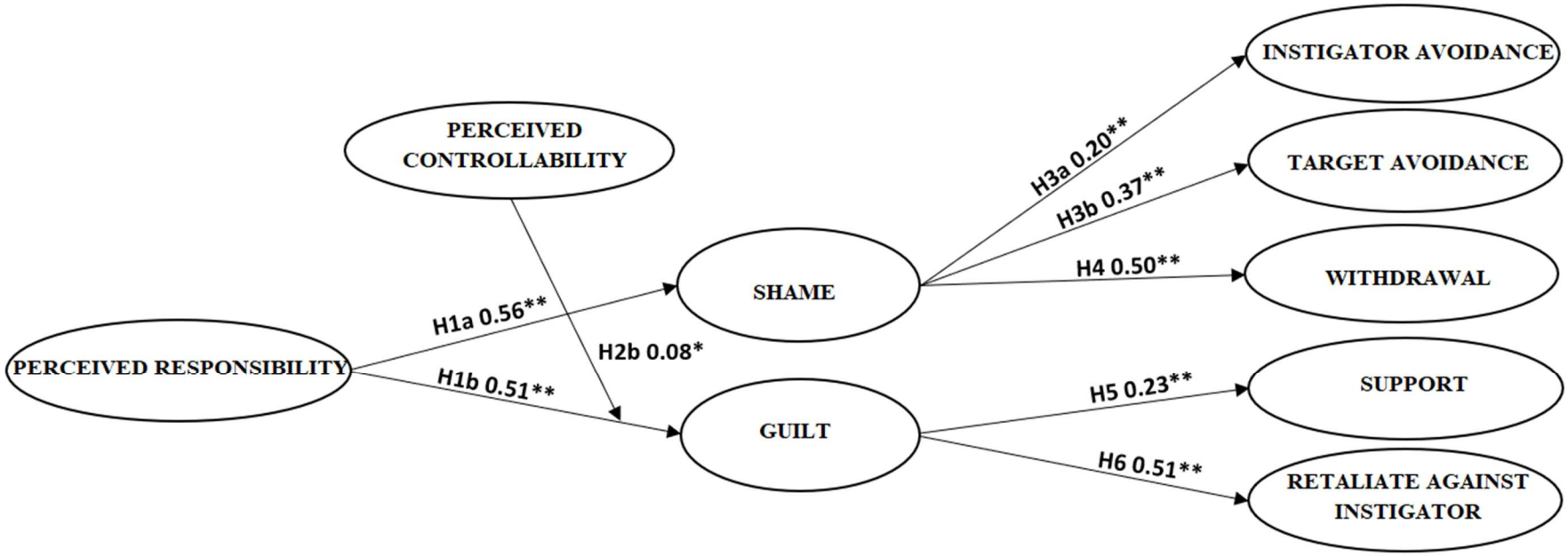

Figure 2.

Interaction effect of responsbility and controllability on guilt