A Cross-Cultural Examination of the Childhood Correlates of Shyness in New
Delhi, India

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A thesis presented to Carleton University in partial fulfillment of the thesis requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

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RUNNING HEAD: CROSS-CULTURAL SHYNESS

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submitted by

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Abstract

The purpose of this research was to conduct a cross-cultural investigation of the correlates of shyness/withdrawal in a sample of children in New Delhi, India. Nine hundred and twenty nine children from grades two, four six and eight completed self-report measures of loneliness, depressive symptoms and self-esteem. Teachers evaluated students on academic performance and social behaviours. Children also completed sociometric and behavioural nominations. Consistent with North American results, it was found that extremely shy/withdrawn had higher scores of loneliness, depressive symptoms, teacher ratings of anxiety and a greater likelihood of peer rejection, as compared to their average counterparts. Unlike some North American results, shyness/withdrawal was not found to be associated with academic difficulties. Consistent with North American and Eastern results from China, extremely aggressive children were found to be at a greater risk for peer rejection, suffered from greater academic difficulties and were rated by teachers as exhibiting greater acting out behaviours as compared to their average counterparts. The results are discussed within the context of the Indian culture.

Acknowledgements and Dedication

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i
Acceptance Page	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgement and Dedication	iv
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures	x
List of Tables	xi
Introduction	1
Shyness, Inhibition and Social Withdrawal in North America	2
Importance of peer relations	2
Defining social withdrawal, inhibition and shyness	3
The influence of biology in the development of shyness and social withdrawal	5
Additional physiological differences	7
From childhood temperament to childhood shyness	8
Types of shyness	9
Underlying motivations of shyness and social withdrawal	11
Assessing shyness and social withdrawal	12
Observations of nonsocial play	12
Peer and teacher ratings	13

Correlates and outcomes of shyness and social withdrawal	14
Early childhood	15
Middle childhood	15
Adolescence	18
Longitudinal Studies	18
Gender differences in shyness/withdrawal	21
Prevalence	22
Implications of shyness/withdrawal according to gender	23
Summary of shyness and social withdrawal in North America	27
Cross-Cultural Research on Shyness	27
Overview of cross-cultural research	27
Objectives of cross-cultural research	29
Culture as antecedent to behaviour	30
Issues in cross-cultural research	31
Research on shyness in non-North American cultures	33
Early childhood	34
Middle childhood and early adolescents	35
Shyness in China	36
Behavioural inhibition in Chinese toddlers	38
Shyness in early childhood	39
Shyness in later childhood	42
Research on shyness in India	45
The Indian Culture: An Overview	47

The basics	47
Religion: Hinduism	49
Gender issues in India	52
History of gender inequality in India	53
Modern India	55
Gender and dowry	57
Purpose of the Present Thesis	58
Method	60
Participants	60
Demographic variables	61
Procedure	62
Measures	63
Results	72
Overview	72
Preliminary analyses	73
Data screening	73
Inter-relations between dependent variables	73
Gender and grade differences in the RCP	75
Correlates of Shyness/Withdrawal, Aggression and Prosociality	77
Creation of extreme groups	79
Differences between shy/withdrawn, aggressive and children	80
Self-reports of depression and loneliness	80

Teacher ratings of anxiety	85
Teacher ratings of prosocial behaviours and assertiveness	85
Teacher ratings of learning problems and academic performance	89
Global self-esteem	91
Teacher ratings of acting out behaviours	91
Sociometric Status	92
Discussion	94
Peer nominations of child behaviours in India	95
Comparison with RCP in China	97
Shy children in New Delhi, India	99
Gender differences	99
Indices of adjustment	100
Aggressive children in New Delhi, India	106
Revisiting the goals of cross-cultural research	108
Cross-cultural biases	111
Caveats and suggestions for future research	113
References	118
Appendix A: Parent/Student Information Letter	136
Appendix B: Teacher Rating Scale	138
Appendix C: Child Depression Inventory	141
Appendix D: Perceived Competence Scale for Children	146
Appendix E: Loneliness Scale for Children	148
Appendix F: Revised Class Play	150

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Gender by Target Group Interaction for Prosociality	86
Figure 2	Gender by Target Group Interaction for Assertiveness	88

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Items and Factor Loadings for the RCP	71
Table 2	Correlation Matrix of all Dependent Variables	74
Table 3	Means (SD) for Aggression, Shyness and Sociability for Males and Females	76
Table 4	Correlation Matrix of Shyness/Withdrawal, Aggression and Prosociality with all Dependent Variables	78
Table 5	Means (SD) for Depression, Loneliness, Anxiety, Academic Performance and Acting Out Behaviours for Shy/Withdrawn, Aggressive and Average Children	82
Table 6	Means (SD) for Depression, Loneliness, Prosocial and Global Self-Esteem scores by Grade	84
Table 7	Means (SD) for Teacher Ratings of Learning Problems, Academic Problems and Acting Out Behaviours for Males and Females	90
Table 8	Crosstabulations of Target Group by Sociometric Nominations	93

**A Cross-Cultural Examination of the Childhood Correlates of Shyness in
New Delhi, India.**

The word 'shyness' can have different meanings for different people. For example, shy individuals may be described as being quiet, antisocial, highly intelligent, or introverted. People typically use the word 'shy' to describe individuals who are reticent to engage in social interactions, or who are socially withdrawn (Beidel & Turner, 1999). The construct of shyness has received a great deal of attention from researchers within various fields of psychology (see Rubin & Asendorpf, 1993). The research findings provide a greater understanding of what it means to be shy, an elucidation of possible factors that may contribute to the development of shyness (e.g., Park, Belsky, Putnam & Crnic, 1997), data pertaining to longitudinal outcomes for shy individuals (e.g., Rubin, 1993), and reports on interventions targeted at such individuals (e.g., Lindeman, Fox, & Redelheim, 1993). However, these advancements have predominantly been specific to the North American culture. Researchers have more recently begun to question whether or not similar findings would be obtained within different cultures (i.e., Chen, Rubin & Li, 1995). As a response to such questions, interest in cross-cultural research in psychology related to the study of shyness has grown considerably in less than a decade. The goal of cross-cultural researchers is to explore constructs within other cultures, such as shyness, inhibition, and social withdrawal, and to determine their significance, meaning, and outcomes within the context of the specific culture being

investigated. The purpose of this thesis was to conduct a cross-cultural investigation of shyness in New Delhi, India.

The first section of this thesis is devoted to a review of North American research pertaining to shyness and related constructs. Following this, a review of the importance of cross-cultural research is presented. An overview of previous cross-cultural research is provided, followed by a discussion of the East Indian culture that is of interest to the present research. Finally, the hypotheses and research methods are introduced followed by the presentation of the results and a discussion of the findings.

Shyness, Inhibition, and Social Withdrawal in North America

Importance of peer interactions

When children have the opportunity to engage in peer interactions, they are being exposed to social experiences that allow for the acquisition of a wide range of skills, attitudes, and experiences that are influential to their adaptation across their years of life (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 1998). For example, Piaget (1932) suggested that the onset of peer play in early childhood allowed for opportunities to establish egalitarian and reciprocal relationships which then allow the child to experience conflict and negotiation. This theory would suggest that children most probably develop socially and cognitively as a function of their experiences and peer relations.

For many years, the importance of the social development that occurs during peer interaction has been investigated (e.g., Harrist, Zaia, Bates, Dodge, & Petit, 1997; Rubin, Chen & Hymel, 1993; Rubin, Hymel & Mills, 1989). Researchers have questioned the potential consequences that may arise for children who do not engage in extensive interactions with their peers. Essentially, the focus of these studies has been to determine

whether or not children who exhibit socially withdrawn behaviours are at risk for later maladjustment. This research is discussed in length at a later point in this paper.

Of interest to this thesis is the middle childhood and later childhood years. During middle childhood, the proportion of social interactions among peers increases by approximately 20% from preschool and the size of the peer group becomes larger (Rubin, Bukowski & Parker, 1998). Additionally, it has been suggested that preschoolers who refrain from interacting with their peers are not salient to the peer group, but seem to become more salient during middle and late childhood (Younger, Gentile & Burgess, 1993). Thus, during the middle-and-later childhood years, children who exhibit socially withdrawn behaviours may be viewed as being socially deviant and consequently may be rejected by the peer group (Hymel & Rubin, 1985; Rubin, Hymel & Mills, 1989).

While many researchers have examined potential maladjustment associated with children who are socially withdrawn from their peer group, the risks of social withdrawal are still unclear. This lack of clarity may be due to a definitional problem. Specifically, social withdrawal used to be known as a unitary concept, but many researchers have posited that there are many types of social withdrawal (e.g., Asendorpf, 1990; Rubin & Mills, 1988).

Defining social withdrawal, inhibition and shyness

Until recently, researchers have used the terms social withdrawal, shyness, isolation and inhibition interchangeably (Rubin & Asendorpf, 1993; Rubin, Burgess & Coplan, 2002). While most of these terms are interrelated, unique properties are associated with each individual construct. The common component amongst these terms is the expression of behavioural solitude (Rubin & Asendorpf, 1993).

Social isolation refers to behavioural solitude that is the result of peer rejection (Rubin & Asendorpf, 1993; Rubin, Burgess & Coplan, 2002). Thus, socially-isolated children are actively rejected by their peers and consequently are excluded from social interactions. This construct needs to be differentiated from the remaining constructs, which are all related to the child isolating *themselves* from their peer group.

Social withdrawal is the ‘umbrella term’ for a consistent display of behavioural solitude when encountering novel and/or familiar peers (Rubin, & Asendorpf, 1993; Rubin, et al., 2002). Social withdrawal may be the result of an underlying social wariness and/or social disinterest motivation. Behavioural inhibition refers to a disposition to be wary and fearful when encountering novel persons, places or objects (Kagan, Reznick & Snidman, 1988). Shyness refers to a form of inhibition within social settings, or wariness to social novelty (Rubin & Asendorpf, 1993; Rubin, et al., 2002). Of interest to the present research are social withdrawal and shyness.

Research by Zimbardo, Pilkonis, and Norwood (1975) revealed that over 40 percent of college students considered themselves to be generally “shy”, while a striking 90 percent of these students reported to have been shy at some time in their lives. These percentages suggest that most people, at some point in their lives, will experience shy feelings and will exhibit shy behaviours. For some individuals, shyness may be fleeting and the result of a specific situational circumstance (Vernberg, Abwender, Ewell, & Beery, 1992). For others, however, shyness may be stable across time and social settings (Turner, Biedel & Townsley, 1990).

The high percentage of individuals who report feeling “shy” at some point in their lives have prompted numerous researchers to examine the constructs of shyness and

social withdrawal in an effort to determine what causes shyness and what, if any, consequences, may arise if a person is shy or socially withdrawn as a child, adolescent or adult (e.g., Caspi, Elder, & Bem, 1988; Kagan, Reznick & Snidman, 1987; Ladd & Burgess, 1999). The next section will discuss theories pertaining to the causes of shyness and social withdrawal.

The influence of biology in the development of shyness and social withdrawal

Some researchers have argued that social withdrawal and shyness are the result of a biological predisposition, more commonly referred to as *temperament* (e.g., Kagan, Reznick & Snidman, 1987). Temperament can be defined as behavioural style (Thomas & Chess, 1977). It is presumed that temperamental traits emerge early in life as inherited response dispositions (Daniels & Plomin, 1985; Goldsmith, 1983), exhibit stability over time, and are pervasive over a wide range of contexts (Schaffer, 1996). Temperament is thought to play a significant role in the development of early childhood behavioural inhibition (e.g., Kagan & Snidman, 1991).

Fox, Henderson, Rubin, Calkins and Schmidt (2001) conducted a longitudinal investigation on four-month old infants for patterns of high reactive and negative temperament. The results of this investigation provided support for the stability of temperament and the prediction of inhibited behaviours later in life. Specifically, these temperamental patterns observed at four months of age moderately predicted behavioural inhibition at age 2 and reticent behaviours at age 4.

Jerome Kagan and colleagues have conducted numerous investigations on behavioural inhibition in young children. The typical procedure for their research was to examine childrens' behaviours in unfamiliar laboratory settings and to observe latencies

in leaving the close proximity of their parent and in interacting with an unfamiliar object or person (e.g., Kagan, Reznick & Gibbons, 1986). Approximately 10% to 15% of the population of children have been identified as being behaviourally inhibited (Kagan, Reznick & Snidman, 1987).

Investigations on behavioural inhibition have also been conducted on infants. For example, Kagan, Snidman and Arcus (1998) and Kagan and Snidman (1991) identified infants who displayed a high degree of motor reactivity and emotional distress (i.e., crying) when presented with novel auditory and visual stimuli. Additionally, Calkins, Fox and Marshall (1996) identified infants who reacted to novelty with high amount of negative affect and distress. These infants were later found to display high levels of fearfulness and behavioural inhibition later on as toddlers.

Researchers have argued that the behavioural characteristics of inhibited children are an expression of an underlying physiological make-up that distinguishes inhibited children from uninhibited children (e.g., Kagan et al., 1987; 1988). This difference in physiology is presumed to be related to different thresholds of activation of the brain's amygdala and its projections to the sympathetic nervous system, central gray, corpus striatum and hypothalamus (Calkins et al., 1996; Schmidt, 1999).

It has been speculated that the two frontal hemispheres of the brain differ in the expression of approach or withdrawal (Fox, 1991; Fox et al., 2002; Schmidt & Fox, 1999). Hence, right activation (less power/greater cortical activity) was thought to be related to withdrawal behaviours while left activation was speculated as being associated with approach behaviours. Many researchers have investigated this hypothesis in infants and children by examining frontal brain electrical activity (EEG). The results of these

examinations supported the hypothesis of an association between right brain activation and withdrawal behaviours. More specifically, right activation was documented in inhibited infants (Calkins, Fox & Marshall, 1996); inhibited preschoolers (Fox, Rubin, Calkins, Coplan, Porges, Long & Stewart, 1995) and extremely shy seven-year olds (Schmidt, Fox & Schulkin, in press).

Additional physiological differences. Kagan and Snidman (1991) theorized that inhibited children perceive novel events as threatening, which may result in increased cortisol levels. Behaviourally inhibited infants have been found to have elevated cortisol levels when exposed to the Strange Situation Paradigm (Spangler & Schieche, 1998). Granger, Stansbury and Henker (1994) examined preschoolers rated as displaying behaviours of social withdrawal, anxiety and sadness and found an association with increased cortisol levels while in playgroups. Other research in this age-group revealed that four-year old children who displayed social wariness during free play observations and who were rated by their mothers as being shy had elevated cortisol levels (Schmidt et al., 1997). Finally, Kagan and colleagues did find inhibited children to have higher morning salivary cortisol levels than uninhibited children (Kagan, et al., 1988).

Heightened cortisol may be associated with a child's insecure attachment to his/her mother. Nachmias, Gunnar, Mangelsdorf, Parritz, and Buss (1996) provided support for this theory. Their research demonstrated that only highly inhibited 18-month-old children who were insecurely attached to their mother exhibited increased cortisol levels in novel contexts. Although these increases in cortisol levels were not of a great magnitude, they were atypical for children this young. Maternal attachment was considered to be a form of coping for these children since their mother's presence

provided them comfort and essentially 'buffered' the perceived stress of the novel context. For those children who had an insecure attachment to their mother, maternal presence in a novel context, perceived as being threatening, would not have provided any source of comfort or buffering. This research illustrates the role that parenting plays in possibly exacerbating inhibited behaviours in children.

From childhood temperament to childhood shyness

Children who are cognitively shy with anxious physiology (Bruch, Giordano & Pearl, 1986) share a marked resemblance to behaviourally inhibited children (Beidel & Turner, 1999). Researchers have reported that inhibited behaviours in toddlers, in social contexts, predicted shy, inhibited behaviour when playing with an unfamiliar peer at five years of age (Kochanska & Yodanis, 1992). Other researchers have demonstrated that behavioural indices of inhibition at infancy were significantly correlated with maternal ratings of shyness at age five-and-a-half years (Reznick, Kagan, Snidman, Gersten, Baak & Rosenberg, 1986). Maternal ratings of shyness from the same sample assessed at seven-and-a-half years of age were significantly correlated with the behavioural inhibition indices at 21 months, four years, and five-and-a-half years of age (Kagan, Reznick & Snidman, 1988). Thus, behavioural inhibition seems to be the temperamental precursor of childhood shyness.

The behavioural and physiological indices that are used to categorize children as being extremely shy include the time to approach a new object, changes in autonomic nervous system activity and increased levels of the body's stress hormones (Kagan, Reznick & Snidman, 1988), similar to the construct of inhibition. Thus, it appears as if behaviourally inhibited infants and toddlers are 'at risk' of becoming shy preschoolers

and children. However, the similarities shared between inhibition and shyness are specific to the type of shyness being considered.

Types of shyness

Shyness that is evoked by a fear of strangers has been referred to as *fearful shyness* (Buss, 1986; Schmidt & Schulkin, 1999). This type of shyness develops earlier in life (during the second half of the first year of life) and coincides with the infant's fear of strangers (Buss, 1986). Fearfully shy children resemble Kagan's description of temperamental inhibition due to their fear of novel persons, thus this type of shyness is thought to comprise a subtype of behavioural inhibition. Some researchers have described these children as being socially withdrawn and perhaps even depressed (Rubin, Stewart & Coplan, 1995).

Shyness can be reflected in behavioural inhibition, vigilance and distinctive facial expressions (Rothbart, 1999). Shy children often avoid peers, cry, and may even try to escape from the play area when in play situations with unfamiliar peers (Coplan, Rubin, Fox, Calkins & Stewart, 1994). However, this fear of *unfamiliar* persons does not always cause relations with *familiar* peers to suffer, nor does it necessarily result in a lack of social competence (Asendorpf, 1993).

Kagan (1994) argued that most adults who characterize themselves as being shy, do not belong to the category of fearful shyness. As previously mentioned, a temperamental quality is an inherited personality trait that is typically present in early childhood (Buss, & Plomin, 1984). Therefore, a distinction has been made between early-developing fearful shyness and later-developing shyness (Buss, 1980; 1986). More specifically, fearful shyness emerges during the first year of life and is influenced by

temperamental qualities of wariness and emotionality, suggesting a genetic component (Kagan & Reznick, 1986). Buss (1986) argued that a low self-esteem could not be a cause of early developing shyness due to the fact that the temperamental factors precede the child's development of a cognitive self-concept. However, the self-concept is thought to play a role in a later-developing type of shyness.

The second sub-type of shyness is *self-conscious shyness*. Self-conscious shyness may emerge at approximately age four or five years, following the child's development of a sense of self (Buss, 1986). The intensity of this type of shyness increases at around age eight years, concomitant with the enhanced saliency of social comparisons (Harter, 1986). Self-conscious shyness reaches a peak during adolescents (ages 14-17) when individuals are coping with identity issues (Adams, Abraham, & Markstrom, 1987; Cheek Carpentieri, Smith, Rierdan & Koff, 1986). It then seems to decline in intensity after its peak in adolescents, which further supports its distinction from the more stable temperamental shyness (Cheek & Krasnoperova, 1999).

While the subtypes of fearful and self-conscious shyness are different in terms of their age of development, it is important to refrain from exaggerating the differences between them. These two subtypes of shyness may not be as distinct in the 'real world'. That is, any situation is likely to attract a mixture of the two kinds of reactions. Thus, fearful situations may elicit a self-conscious reaction and self-conscious contexts may elicit fearful reactions (Crozier, 1999). Moreover, some resesarchers have argued that both are the result of earlier behavioural inhibition (e.g., Crozier, 1999). That is, early behavioural inhibition to the unfamiliar may manifest itself as a more fearful type of shyness during childhood, which may result in an individual being more sensitive to the

opinion of others. This oversensitivity may lead to social-evaluative concerns in novel and familiar situations. It is obvious that more research is needed into the two proposed subtypes of shyness.

Rubin, and colleagues (2002) emphasized a distinction between shyness and social withdrawal. Shyness was described as wariness in unfamiliar setting whereas social withdrawal refers to all forms of solitude in both familiar and unfamiliar settings. Children's shy behaviours within novel settings have been found to exhibit weak predictions of socially withdrawn behaviours of any form within familiar contexts (Asendorpf, 1990; Paquette & LaFreniere, 1994).

Underlying motivations of shyness and social withdrawal. Asendorpf (1990; 1991) describes different forms of shyness and social withdrawal in terms of underlying approach and avoidance motivations. For example, preschoolers who are more object-orientated than people orientated are thought to have low social approach motivation, but not necessarily a high social avoidance motivation. These children may be socially disinterested or unsociable.

Some children may be high in social avoidance motivation and low in social approach motivation (Asendorpf, 1990). This underlying motivation (high avoidance-low approach) has been used to refer to fearfully shy children (Asendorpf, 1990). Due to their greater motivation to avoid the peer group, these children have also been labeled as 'avoidant' (Schmidt & Fox, 1999). These children make no attempt to interact with the peer group.

Another type of underlying motivation involves a desire to interact with others coupled with a strong motivation to avoid them, especially within novel settings

(Asendorpf, 1990). This motivational opposition was referred to as the 'approach-avoidance conflict' and was speculated as leading to behaviours such as onlooking and hovering, which can also be referred to as social wariness. Children presumed to be experiencing this motivational conflict are behaviourally inhibited to the unfamiliar, self-consciously shy or reticent. These children are presumed to have a desire to play with others, but are overridden with anxiety when they attempt to do so which leads to avoiding social interactions. In order to relate the underlying motivation with the description of these children, Schmidt and Fox (1999) refer to self-consciously shy children as being *conflicted*.

While these underlying motivations have been well received by researchers, it is challenging to directly assess the motivations of children in relation to their social play behaviours. Consequently, researchers may refer to Asendorpf's (1990; 1991) theories, but they empirically rely on alternative means to assess shy and socially withdrawn children. The most common methods of assessment include peer assessments, teacher ratings and self-reports.

Assessing Social Withdrawal and Shyness

Observations of nonsocial play. Some researchers have argued that different types of social withdrawal can be identified through a closer examination of young children's solitary behaviours during free play. Asendorpf (1991) described a type of solitary play characterized by onlooking and unoccupied behaviours that may be displayed in both novel and/or familiar contexts. Coplan et al. (1994) observed this behaviour and referred to it as *reticent* behaviour and related it to behavioural inhibition (e.g., Kagan et al., 1984). Coplan et al.'s (1994) observations of these children revealed

that they displayed anxious behaviours, such as crying. Thus, fearfully shy children might be expected to display this form of non-social play.

Rubin (1982) distinguished between two types of solitary behaviours that children may engage in. The first is referred to as *solitary-passive* behaviour which involves exploration of object and/or constructive activities while playing alone. An example of this type of play would include building a house out of blocks. This type of behaviour was described as being 'adaptive' and even welcomed by teachers, parents and peers when the children are in their preschool years. However, by mid-childhood, the same behaviour is thought to hold a different meaning (Rubin & Asendorpf, 1993). The frequent display of solitary-passive behaviours is then viewed as socially deviant by the peer group (Younger & Daniels, 1992) and may lead to peer rejection (Rubin, 1982). This type of non-social play is not thought to represent shyness, but rather social disinterest.

The second type of solitary play identified by Rubin (1982) is *solitary-active play*. This type of play is characterized by repeated solitary-sensorimotor and-dramatic play behaviours, which or without objects. This type of solitary play has been found to be positively correlated with aggression and impulsiveness (Rubin, 1982) as well as peer rejection as early as preschool-age (Rubin, 1982; Rubin & Mills, 1988). This behaviour is thus viewed as disruptive, salient and deviant from a young age. This type of non-social play is also not considered to be a form of shyness, but rather expressions of impulsivity.

Peer and teacher ratings. In lieu of direct observations of children's interactions with peers, researchers have relied on children for information pertaining to other

childrens' behaviours amongst the peer group (e.g., Masten, Morison & Pellegrini, 1985). Hymel and Rubin (1985) suggested that the advantage of peer assessments is that the children are inside the setting of interest and can provide a perspective from within this group. Additionally, by having all the children within a classroom evaluate a peer evaluation, researchers are not solely relying on a single individual's evaluation (Rubin, Bukowski & Parker, 1988).

Another valued source of information used to assess shyness and social withdrawal is teacher ratings. These ratings provide an important source of information because the teacher has regular exposure to the children while the peer interactions occur, yet the teachers are outside of the peer group and are thus assumed to be more objective (Rubin, Bukowski & Parker, 1998). A final source of information tends to be the target childrens' self-reports of levels of self-competence, loneliness and/or depression.

Correlates and Outcomes of Shyness and Social Withdrawal.

As mentioned previously, researchers have postulated that peer interactions provide opportunities to learn important social skills (e.g., Rubin, Bukowski & Parker, 1998). Hence, numerous investigations have been conducted pertaining to possible maladjustment of shy and socially withdrawn children (e.g, Harrist, Zaia, Bates, Dodge & Petit, 1997; Hymel & Rubin, 1985; Masten, Morison & Pellegrini, 1985; Rubin, Hymel & Mills, 1989). The common hypothesis of these studies is that shy and socially withdrawn children may not develop necessary social skills and thus may become increasingly anxious and isolated from the peer group. Furthermore, they may experience increasing levels of loneliness and/or depression. The subsequent section will discuss some methodological issues of such studies as well as their results.

Early childhood. Studies utilizing sociometric assessments to determine levels of peer acceptance or rejection seem to suggest that shyness and social withdrawal in preschool is not associated with peer rejection (Ladd & Burgess, 1999; Rubin, 1982). The lack of peer rejection may be because withdrawn behaviours are not particularly salient at this age (Yonger, Gentile & Burgess, 1993).

Investigations on the trajectories of withdrawn children in a sample of kindergarten children examined until grade two ascertained that withdrawn behaviours exhibited a tendency of instability and to decline with age and that the group identified as being withdrawn were difficult to distinguish from the trajectory of the normal control group (Ladd & Burgess, 1999). It was concluded that withdrawn behaviours were not predictive of relational difficulties, with the exception of these children being initially more dependent in their relations with their teachers. These results are not surprising considering the continued argument that withdrawn behaviours do not become salient and viewed as socially deviant until middle childhood (Younger & Daniels, 1992). Perhaps teachers should have reassessed the children during middle childhood to determine if their classification of 'withdrawn' would remain the same as the initial assessment. It is quite possible that children identified as 'normal' during the first assessment could be considered withdrawn at an older age. Thus, it is hard to ascertain if the normal comparison group was distinct from the withdrawn group during latter assessments.

Middle childhood. By middle and late childhood, these shy and social withdrawn behaviours become more salient to the peer group and are thought to be viewed as being socially deviant (Yonger, Gentile & Burgess, 1993). The increased saliency at these ages are thought to lead to peer rejection and in fact, this is the finding that researchers have

obtained (e.g., Harrist, Zaia, Bates, Dodge & Pettit, 1997; Hymel, Bowker & Woody, 1993; Rubin, Chen & Hymel, 1993). Another reason for why these children might experience increased peer rejection is that children at this age are better able to perceive any anxiety that accompanies social withdrawal and shyness. Finally, deficient social skills of shy and withdrawn children may also contribute to lower peer ratings (Rubin et al., 2002). These findings are important because low peer acceptance has contributed to maladjustment, such as feelings of loneliness (e.g., Parker & Asher, 1993).

Hymel, Woody and Bowker (1993) examined perceived self-concept associated with social withdrawal in middle childhood. In this particular study, fourth and fifth grade children were divided into groups of aggressive unpopular, withdrawn unpopular and aggressive-withdrawn unpopular. Focusing specifically on the results of the withdrawn-unpopular children, one can see that these children reported the least positive self-perceptions of their social competence and interpersonal relationships. This suggests that withdrawn unpopular children felt worse about themselves as compared to all the other groups and that they may be at risk for later internalizing difficulties.

Research by Renshaw and Brown (1993) examined correlations of loneliness in elementary-aged children. Their data was collected at three time frames that spanned across 40 weeks. Their results revealed that concurrent loneliness was positively correlated with socially- withdrawn behaviour at all times of testing. Predictions of concurrent loneliness indicated that withdrawn behaviour contributed to the prediction of loneliness at each of the three assessments. Longitudinal predictions of loneliness indicated that withdrawn behaviour contributed to the prediction of loneliness from time

one to time two, and from time two to time three. Loneliness in withdrawn children appeared to be quite stable over the course of this investigation.

Another finding from this study was that when withdrawn children were questioned on why they think a friend might stop playing with them or why a classmate may stay away from them, they consistently provided internal-stable attributions of social rebuke. Essentially, these children blamed themselves for a lack of social success. These internal-stable attributions were also found to exhibit positive correlations with concurrent loneliness, and to contribute to the concurrent and longitudinal predictions of loneliness.

Rubin, Chen and Hymel (1993) compared highly withdrawn, highly aggressive and average fifth graders on measures of peer acceptance, peer-assessed sociability-leadership self-reports of loneliness and competence and teacher ratings of learning problems, frustration tolerance, competent assertiveness, acting out/hostility, and shyness/anxiety. The second purpose of this study was to obtain information about extremely withdrawn children, relative to an average control group, in the latter part of childhood and early adolescence.

Their findings revealed that the withdrawn and aggressive children were less well-liked by peers as compared to average children. These results were thought to be a risk factor for possible maladjustment since it is thought that when socially withdrawn children become aware of their failure and status within a peer group, they may develop negative self-perceptions of their social skills as well as internalized feelings of loneliness (Rubin, Hymel, Mills & Rose-Krasnor, 1991). The results of Rubin, Chen and Hymel (1993) do lend support for this hypothesis. Teacher ratings suggested that withdrawn

children were more shy/anxious than the average and aggressive groups and the withdrawn childrens' self-perceptions indicated lower physical competence than the average group.

Adolescence. Studies examining trait shyness have consistently reported moderately high correlations with low self-esteem (e.g., Cheek & Melchior, 1990; Crozier, 1981; Crozier, 1995; Lawrence & Bennett, 1992; Lazarus, 1982; Miller, 1995). For example, in a study examining young adolescents, shyness was found to be significantly negatively correlated with scholastic competence, social competence and global self-worth (Crozier, 1995). Additionally, Miller (1995) found shyness to be negatively correlated with social self-esteem.

Rubin (1993) found that socially withdrawn early adolescents (11 years of age) were disliked by peers, had low social competence, and greater feeling of loneliness and depression than their average counterparts. Teachers rated socially withdrawn adolescents as being less competently assertive and having more learning difficulties than their average counterparts.

The research does seem to suggest that with age, social withdrawal becomes increasingly negatively evaluated by peers and associated with concurrent internalizing difficulties. These results do lend support to clinicians that pose the argument that shyness may be associated with negative outcomes. However, it is important to note that these results are correlational and do not suggest cause and effect. All that can be concluded is that these negative relations have been demonstrated empirically.

Longitudinal studies. Researchers have postulated that social withdrawal may be associated with long-term maladjustment. For example, a seven-year longitudinal

investigation examined children from grade three through to grade six to determine the quality of adaptation of aggressive and withdrawn children during adolescence (Morison & Masten, 1991). Peer assessments of aggressive and withdrawn behaviour utilizing the Revised Class Play (Masten et al., 1985) during childhood were found to predict later adolescent adjustment. As was expected, aggressive children exhibited externalizing behaviours, trouble with the law and health problems during adolescence. With respect to the withdrawn, or sensitive-isolated group, these children had lower social competence during adolescence. Thus, children rated by peers as sensitive-isolated in middle childhood were less likely to feel accepted by peers and to have an active social life during childhood.

A well-known longitudinal investigation of social withdrawal is The Waterloo Longitudinal Project (WLP- Rubin, 1993). This was a ten-year examination of children that extended from kindergarten through to grade nine. Socially withdrawn kindergartners were selected based on a high rate of solitary activity, including both inhibited behaviour and solitary passive activity. The participants also had a low rate of social interaction. The results indicated that observed passive withdrawal in kindergarten and grade two predicted self-reported feelings of depression, lower general self-worth and higher teacher-ratings of anxiety at age eleven.

Fourty kindergartners in the WLP were assessed again in their ninth grade. The children who displayed high frequencies of passive withdrawal at age five were the most likely to self-report that they preferred academics and that social interactions and social relationships were not important to them (Rubin, 1993). Predictions of maladjustment were not significant.

Second graders in the WLP were re-assessed at age fourteen. Observed withdrawal and peer assessed passive withdrawal were positively associated with loneliness, negative self-perceptions of social and athletic competence and of personal appearance (Rubin, 1993). Social withdrawal was also positively related to feelings of a lack of integration and involvement with their family and peer group.

Passive withdrawal that was assessed by peers and teachers in grade five was utilized to make predictions in the ninth grade (age 14). The results of these analyses revealed that passive withdrawal predicted self-reports of loneliness, felt insecurity amongst the peer group, and negative self-perceptions of academic, social and athletic competence. Thus, the WLP succeeded in providing evidence that social withdrawal predicts maladjustment from middle childhood through to adolescence.

Caspi, Elder & Bem (1988) conducted a prospective, thirty-year longitudinal study to examine the outcomes of shy American children. Shyness was determined by maternal ratings of social withdrawal and emotional inhibition when the children were eight and ten years of age. The long-term results indicated that at the age of adulthood, shy males married later and became fathers at a later age when they were compared to their nonshy peers. Additionally, males that were identified as being a shy child entered stable careers significantly later (three years) than their nonshy peers. Amongst the girls, age of marriage and motherhood did not differ between shy and nonshy participants. However, 56 percent of the women who were rated as being shy girls had not work history or permanently ended their employment upon the onset of marriage or childbirth. Only 36 percent of nonshy women exhibited these patterns. This difference was statistically significant. Finally, the women previously rated as being shy children had

lower levels of academic achievement as compared to the nonshy group. This study revealed long-term impairments of shyness, but these appear to be dependent upon gender.

Another longitudinal study that was very similar to the one conducted by Caspi et al. (1988) took place in Sweden (Kerr, Lambert & Bem, 1996). This was a 25-year longitudinal project that also identified shy and nonshy children by maternal ratings. Similar to the American sample, Swedish men who were found to be shy boys married later and became fathers at a later age. Unlike the American sample, the Swedish men did not demonstrate differences in occupational outcomes. Swedish women did not differentiate based on age of marriage nor of motherhood. However, a significant difference was revealed when comparing college attendance rates between nonshy girls (44 %) and shy girls (0%). This study did lend some support for the long-term impairment identified in Caspi et al's (1988) research, but it also revealed some discrepancies. However, these latter two studies do indicate the need for taking into consideration gender differences in maladjustment associated with shyness and social withdrawal.

Gender differences in shyness/withdrawal

Researchers have questioned whether or not there are gender differences in the various types of shyness/withdrawal. Gender differences have been explored in two ways. The first question is whether the prevalence of social withdrawal and shyness is different for males and females. The second question is whether or not the associations or outcomes of shyness/withdrawal vary according to gender.

Prevalence. In terms of differences in prevalence, results from studies using different forms of assessments have revealed mixed results. For example, maternal assessments and observational data have revealed no gender differences in the prevalence of shyness and social withdrawal in young children aged 42 to 50 months (Simpson & Stevenson-Hinde, 1985). Also, peer nominations of children aged five and eight in mixed-age classrooms revealed no significant gender effects in shyness for children in the preschool level (Lemerise, 1997). However, girls were rated as being more shy than boys in elementary school. Gender differences have also been found via peer nominations in a same-aged sample of elementary-aged children (Ollendick, Weist, Borden & Greene, 1992) and children in later childhood (Rubin, Chen & Hymel, 1993).

Researchers have speculated that when children are asked to rate their classmates on social withdrawal, their ability to remember which peers best fit these descriptions are dependent on gender (Bukowski, 1990; Martin & Halverson, 1983). More specifically, Bukowski (1990) speculated that children would be more likely to recall information about a hypothetical peer when it is consistent with sex-role stereotypes. Indeed, the results illustrated that children in grades two and six demonstrated greater recall and recognition of information pertaining to aggression in a hypothetical peer when the peer was a boy and information about social withdrawal was greater when the peer was a girl.

Teacher ratings of elementary-aged children support the data obtained by maternal assessments, observations and peer nominations (e.g., Renshaw & Brown, 1993). Specifically, girls were rated by teachers as being significantly more socially withdrawn significantly more than boys. Contrary to previously cited research, this study did not reveal any gender differences in the prevalence of social withdrawal when peer

ratings were analyzed. Additional research findings obtained through paternal ratings of children's behaviours have shown that girls were rated as displaying significantly more internalizing behaviours while boys displayed more externalizing behaviours (Eisenberg et al., 2001).

Another means of determining gender differences in the prevalence of shyness and social withdrawal is through the use of self-reports. Lazarus (1982) asked fifth grade children whether or not they considered themselves shy and reported that more girls labeled themselves as being shy more than males did and that boys claimed to never be shy over twice as much as girls did. This study was limited by not providing the subjects with a definition of shyness to guide them in answering the interview questions posed. Hence, the participants were most likely not referring to a uniform meaning of shyness or of the context of its occurrence when generating their responses.

While the research literature seems to suggest that shyness is more prevalent in girls than boys, consideration has to be given to inconsistent factors in the literature, such as the construct under investigation and the operational definition used in a particular study, the age of the target children and the method of assessment (Rubin et al., 2002).

Implications of shyness/withdrawal according to gender. Researchers have also examined whether or not shy girls experience different implications or outcomes as compared to shy boys. One way that this has been looked at is by investigating the possibility of gender differences during parent-child interactions with shy and withdrawn children (e.g., Mills & Rubin, 1993; Simpson & Stevenson-Hinde, 1985; Stevenson-Hinde & Enger, 1993; Stevenson-Hinde & Glover, 1996). Interestingly, when shyness is

seen as a type of bashful behaviour, it tends to be accepted as more of a feminine behaviour (Stevenson-Hinde, 1988).

In one investigation of shyness and social withdrawal and its impact on parent-child relations, maternal assessments of temperament, home observations and interviews with family members were conducted to classify young children as shy and to determine the quality of child-family interactions (Simpson & Stevenson-Hinde, 1985). The results indicated that at 42 months of age, shy boys had more negative family interactions whereas shy girls had more positive family interactions. This may be due to differing parental expectations of appropriate behaviours for girls versus boys. This gender difference was more pronounced at 50 months of age which suggested that as the boys aged it was even less acceptable for them to exhibit these behaviours.

In a similar investigation, child shyness of four-year olds was assessed utilizing maternal and paternal ratings of temperament, laboratory observations with the child, mother and a stranger, and assessments made by a playgroup leader (Stevenson-Hinde & Glover, 1996). This information was utilized to subdivide the sample of children into groups of high, medium and low shyness. Home observations were used to assess the quality of maternal interactions with the children. The results indicated that mothers provided a significantly higher proportion of positive interactions to the medium shy girls as compared to the medium shy boys which suggests that medium levels of shy behaviours expressed by girls are more accepted than the same behaviours expressed by boys. Mothers were significantly more positive to medium shy girls as compared to high shy girls. Thus, extreme shyness in multiple contexts, even in when expressed by girls, were not well accepted by mothers. Interestingly, maternal interactions with high shy

boys were found to be more positive than they were for high shy girls. It was suggested that high shy boys become 'mothers darlings' in a way that high shy girls could not. This investigation also revealed that high shy boys had the highest problem behaviours in preschool, such as acting out, which suggests that shy boys suffer from more negative outcomes than shy girls do.

Engfer (1993) conducted a six-year longitudinal study pertaining to the development of shyness in early childhood and its meaning. The results demonstrated that shyness had quite different meanings depending on the gender of the child. Specifically, shyness in 33-month old girls was associated with a harmonious mother-child relationship. Shyness in same-aged boys was viewed more negatively as immature and dependent behaviour. At 6.3 years of age, shyness in *both* the boys and the girls was associated with negative qualities such as unfavorable mother-child relationships, sadness, over-sensitiveness, and a lack of social and verbal competence. These results demonstrate that shyness was stable in its developmental path for boys. The associations found for shy girls at 33 months of age, however, could not predict shyness and its associations at 6.3 years.

Overall, this research on shyness and gender differences seems to suggest that shyness is correlated with greater parental acceptance for girls as compared to boys at younger ages. At any age, shyness in boys seems to be correlated with negative outcomes. However, these gender differences seem to dissolve with age meaning that girls who are shy at age six exhibited correlations with negative outcomes as well.

Other researchers have also examined the *outcomes* of shyness for girls versus boys. Rubin, Chen & Hymel (1993) compared highly withdrawn, highly aggressive and

average fifth graders on negative outcomes such as perceived social incompetence and loneliness. When the results were examined by taking gender into consideration only the withdrawn boys had lower self-perceptions of social competence and greater loneliness scores as compared to the other two groups. The authors argued that their results supported the view that social withdrawal is particularly difficult for boys.

In a longitudinal investigation of elementary school children identified as sensitive-isolated in childhood using the Revised Class Play (RCP; Masten, Morison & Pellegrini, 1985), it was found that boys who obtained higher scores in this dimension reported less ability and involvement in sports as well as lower self-esteem in adolescence (Morison & Masten, 1991). On the other hand, girls who scored higher in sensitivity-isolation in childhood had higher self-worth and greater involvement in sports, when compared to higher scoring boys. Thus, it seems as if shyness is associated with more negative outcomes for boys as opposed to girls from childhood to adolescence. A prospective examination extending for thirty years have revealed that males who were categorized as being shy in childhood married, become fathers, and established careers at a later age than their non-shy counterparts (Caspi, Elder & Bem, 1988). Finally, another 25-year examination of shyness also documented similar result for shy males (Kerr, Lambert & Bem, 1996). However, unlike the study by Caspi, Elder and Bem (1988), the women in this latter investigation who were identified as shy during childhood had a significantly lower attendance rate in college as compared to non shy females. Researchers have suggested that these dissimilarities may be the reflection of cultural differences (Beidel & Turner, 1999).

Summary of shyness and social withdrawal in North America

A review of the North American research on shyness and social withdrawal suggests that there are different types of shyness and that children play alone for many reasons. It is also been well documented that social withdrawal during middle and later childhood may be associated with negative outcomes such as peer rejection, low self-esteem, and loneliness. The reason being is that shy and socially withdrawn behaviours are socially deviant, meaning that they go against the North American norm of sociability. There is also some evidence to suggest that males tend to suffer from these maladjustments more so than females do. This is presumed to be a result of cultural/societal expectations within North America (Rubin, 1998). That is, females who are mildly to moderately shy are perceived as being bashful or perhaps even endearing, whereas males are expected by society to be assertive and bold, but not aggressive. While these results are intriguing, we must be cautious in our when interpreting and generalizing them. These results were obtained within North America and generalizing them universally would be both inappropriate and inaccurate.

*Cross-Cultural Research on Shyness**Overview of Cross-Cultural Research*

Researchers have argued that while there is relevant academic knowledge obtained in North American studies, this knowledge is still only 'partial' (Poortinga, 1997). A major weakness within the body of knowledge of psychology is that the issues investigated by Western researchers are only relevant in Western societies, until empirical research in other cultures suggests otherwise. Saarni (1998) has suggested that there is a "North American Bias" when it comes to conducting research in other societies

by those who “embrace an indigenous psychology approach” (p. 648). For example, of the 61 studies pertaining to the Chinese that have been published in the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, only 30% of the authors have lived in a Chinese society, and 56% of the first authors were residents of the United States. Saarni (1998) goes on to argue that researchers who generalize Western findings to other cultures and to the inhabitants within the complex set of societies within them are not providing an accurate portrayal of the true situation. While these arguments are well-founded, it can be argued that residing in another culture need not be a prerequisite for conducting research in that culture so long as the researcher obtains a knowledge of that culture and attends to the cultural ‘meaning’ of the behaviour in question.

Boas (1896, as cited in Jahoda & Krewer, 1997) has argued that researchers need to abandon global ways of theorizing and should instead concentrate on particular cultures. That is, researchers need to move away from making broad generalizations and towards identifying the social processes that link culture, ecology and personality. This process is a main objective of what has become known as *cross-cultural psychology*.

Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, (1992) have defined cross-cultural psychology as “the study of similarities and differences in individual psychological functioning in various cultural and ethnic groups, of the relationships between psychological variables and sociocultural ecological, and biological variables, and of current changes in these variables” (p. 2). Cross-cultural psychology and mainstream psychology are both interested in examining individual differences and the causes of such differences, as well as in examining the role of the environment in shaping behaviour. Both disciplines utilize methodologies that are guided by a current theory or hypothesis that was theory-

driven, and finally both are interested in a psychology that investigates a broad range of topics (Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). The limitation with mainstream psychology is that it is both culture-bound and culture blind (Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997).

Objectives of cross-cultural research

Lonner and Adamopoulos (1997) have suggested some major features of cross-cultural psychology. The first is that cross-cultural psychology assumes that one's culture is a major factor contributing to individual differences in human behaviour. The ultimate goal of this type of research is to develop a psychology that will be much more universal in its scope and application than what is presently the case. Finally, cross-cultural psychology may involve comparisons of behaviour between cultures based on equivalent methods of measurement.

Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, (1992) have also put forth what they consider to be major goals of cross-cultural psychology. The first is to test the limits of psychological theory by extending to other cultures a particular theory and/or hypothesis that may be generated from it to determine the generalizability of the theory. This is referred to as the 'transport and test' function. The second objective is to explore and discover variations in behaviour that did not allow for generalizability of a theory. The interest here is to identify variations of behaviour that may be 'folded back' into the theory that stimulated the research in the first place. The final goal involves combining the findings from the first two goals in order to develop a more universal psychology.

While stated in different ways, both sets of goals essentially aim to investigate and understand human behaviour within the context of another culture. The main emphasis is on interpreting the results with a non-Western ethnocentrism. By doing this,

the body of knowledge in psychology will become more universal. While the goals of cross-cultural psychology may seem to be agreed upon by researchers, it is also important to examine cross-cultural issues that are both theoretical and methodological to ensure that the research is sound in both theory and method.

Culture as antecedent to behaviour

Researchers argue that one's personality and one's culture are intertwined (Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). One does not exactly define the other, but in order to fully understand the behaviour of people, you need to understand the role that their culture may play in influencing their behaviour. Cross-cultural psychologists attempt to analyze, interpret and understand human behaviour within various cultures (Jahoda & Krewer, 1997). When doing this, they have to consider the diversity of human behaviour within the world as well as the connection between individual behaviour and the cultural context in which it occurs. As mentioned previously, mainstream psychology is culture-bound and each cultural population needs to develop its own psychology which emphasizes the need for plural psychologies, or *indigenous psychologies* (Poortinga, 1997). Kim and Berry (1993) define indigenous psychologies as "the scientific study of human behaviour that is native, that is not transported from other regions, and that is designed for its people" (p.2). Indigenous approaches in psychology are quite a recent development that was brought about by the ethnocentrism of Western psychological research (Poortinga, 1997), but are necessary for reducing erroneous and invalid application of psychological theories.

Indigenizing psychology has two objectives. The first is to embed psychology within specific cultural contexts, while the second is to establish the universality of its

empirical base and principles (Sinha, 1997). Indigenization is considered to be a vital process towards a universal psychology. With indigenizing psychology, behaviour and conduct has to be viewed within the proper cultural context (Sinha, 1997).

Some psychologists would argue that the culture (or environment) does not matter when studying psychological issues since behaviour is biological. This alludes to the old debate of nature versus nurture. While this debate may still be problematic within some domains of psychology, the acknowledgment that biological influences play a significant role in behaviour is no longer a disputed issue. Cross-cultural psychology may be the result of a new interest in the biological basis of behaviour and its cultural expression.

Issues in cross-cultural research

Some issues that need to be considered when conducting cross-cultural research include the rationale for the selection of cultures or ethnicities for the purpose of testing a theory, and the use of measures or procedures that allow for comparisons to be made on equivalent data collected within the same culture or within a different culture (Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). As with any type of research, there are possible biases that warrant consideration.

There are three types of bias that may be an issue within cross-cultural research (Vijver & Leung, 1997). The first is referred to as *construct bias*. This type of bias is found when the psychological construct is not identical across cultural groups. Its existence implies that the theoretical construct is not, or is inadequately represented in the psychological instrument. The second type of bias is *method bias*, which involves the construct of interest being well represented by the instrument, but the procedure of assessment results in unwanted intergroup differences. The third type of bias is known

as differential item functioning, or *item bias*. This type of bias refers to anomalies in the instrument found at the item level that is the result of poor translation or the use of inappropriate items in a particular context. If this type of bias exists, then group differences will be found as a result of the instrument and not as a result of the differing cultures. Thus, in order to address some of these biases, researchers need to ensure that if a psychological instrument is used, its psychometric properties should be established, particularly its reliability (Vijver & Leung, 1997).

When conducting cross-cultural research, investigators also need to also consider the type of study they wish to conduct. Two examples of cross-cultural studies are *level-orientated studies* and *structural-orientated studies*. Level-oriented studies investigate differences in the magnitude of variables across cultures. For example, comparing the level of individualism between two cultures. Structure-oriented studies examine relations among variables and attempt to identify differences and similarities in these relationships across cultures (Vijver & Leung, 1997). For example, research designed to determine whether the construct of shyness is associated with the same negative outcomes in different cultures is a structure-orientated study. The current study represents a structure-orientated study.

A theoretical issue that is very pertinent to this type of investigation involves the distinction between *emic* and *etic* behaviours. The emic-etic distinction was introduced by Pike (1967) and then elaborated upon by Berry (1969; 1989) and Triandis, Malpass and Davidson (1972). Behaviour is emic, or culture-specific, to the extent that it is best understood within the cultural context in which it occurs (Poortinga, 1997). Behaviour may also be considered etic, or universal, when it is found to be common to human

beings regardless of culture (Poortinga, 1997). Usually, researchers may start with ideas about what is etic and may find through empirical investigation that these are not valid. Then, they need to deal with 'imposed etics' (Poortinga, 1997). Cross-cultural researchers essentially use scientific research methods to empirically reveal behaviours that is etic and/or emic, as opposed to imposing etics onto other cultures.

A final theoretical issue that warrants consideration is that of *collectivism* and *individualism*. The cultural norms within North America value an outward disposition that reflects an independent and individualistic nature (Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). On the other hand, cultures that value collectivistic ideals may either value or reject these same outward behaviours, depending on whether or not they are perceived as upholding the group-dependent values and norms (Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). The Morals of the Indian and Chinese represent collectivistic ideals. Social responsibilities towards persons and social duties prevail over Western standards of individualism and autonomy (Sinha, 1997). This issue of individualism-collectivism emphasizes the need to prevent an ethnocentric outlook on behaviours within cultures.

Research on shyness in non-North American cultures

While North American research has made important discoveries pertaining to the understanding of shyness and social withdrawal, little is known about whether or not the meaning and consequences associated with this construct are universal. Consideration of cross-cultural arguments pertaining to emic versus etic behaviours, individualism versus collectivism and the interest in determining how culture impacts behaviours creates reason to believe that the North American research on shyness may not necessarily be applicable within other cultures. Only recently, researchers have started looking at

shyness within non-North American cultures. However, the majority of these investigations were conducted in China. While shyness has been explored in a small number of other cultures, these studies tend to be isolated inquiries within a particular culture.

Early childhood. A few cross-cultural studies have examined the effects of temperament on parenting styles. For example, research on the effects of toddler's temperament on parenting styles was examined in Palermo, Italy (Zappulla, LoCoco, 2000). The results of this investigation revealed that mothers tended to encourage achievement when their toddlers were categorized as being socially fearful. Gender differences were not examined in this research, but are needed in order to provide insight as to whether or not mothers in Italy overprotect socially fearful girls or tend to punish or reject socially fearful boys.

Researchers have also examined the effects of toddlers' temperament on parenting styles in southern Brazil (de Oliveira & Hastings, 2000). In Brazil, girls are expected to be more docile than boys, while boys are expected to be more aggressive and even disobedient to parental rules. This is very cultural and was assumed to shape the behaviour of parents toward their children, according to their gender. Specifically, mothers were more oversolicitous, or overprotecting, of shy girls, but not shy boys. This difference was assumed to be because inhibited boys are deviant from societal norms in Brazil. Fathers were more punitive with every dimension of temperament. Thus, positive relations were obtained for fathers' parenting style and shyness in both boys and girls. However, a negative relationship was obtained between paternal rejection and shyness in females. Thus, while fathers were equally punitive of all temperaments, shy

girls were not rejected since girls in Brazil are socialized to be more inhibited and obedient.

Middle childhood and early adolescence. Weisz, Suwanlert, Chaiyasit and Walter (1987) examined clinical samples of Thai and American children and adolescents to determine the behaviour problems that were reported by their parents. It was suggested that the types of problems that children and adolescents exhibit may be culturally mediated by parental expectations and behaviours toward the youngsters. The two age groups examined were six to eleven and twelve to seventeen years of age. In Thailand, adults were described as being intolerant of undercontrolled behaviours such as aggression, disobedience and disrespectful acts in children. The Thai culture emphasizes inhibited, subdued behaviours and frowns on aggressive behaviours.

Results for the total sample indicated that Thai children and adolescents were reported as having more overcontrolled problems (e.g, inhibition of talking, fearfulness and constipation) than the American sample. The American sample had more undercontrolled problems (e.g., fighting and bullying). When this was examined for differences in age and culture, the results indicated that overcontrolled problems were reported more often for adolescents than children, but were more prominent amongst the Thai adolescents. In fact, the difference between children and adolescents in the United States was not significant.

It was postulated that the values, beliefs, expectancies and child-rearing practices may suppress the development of certain types of behaviour problems or may foster the development of others. The main finding of this study was that overcontrolled problems were much more prevalent in the Thai sample, especially amongst the adolescents.

Aggressive behaviours were stated as being frowned upon in this culture while peaceful, polite behaviours and inhibition of strong emotions are emphasized. On the other hand, the American sample suffered from more undercontrolled problems, but as was discussed previously, inhibited behaviours are valued less in North American as compared to assertive outward behaviours.

A similar study was conducted on a non-clinical sample of Thai and American adolescents (Weisz et al., 1993). The results supported cultural differences in the types of problems reported for adolescents. Similar to the previous study, Thai adolescents were found to report more overcontrolled problems than American adolescents while the American sample reported higher levels of undercontrolled behaviours.

The cross-cultural research on shyness is sparse and the findings within a particular culture tend to be isolated. In order to obtain a better understanding of shyness and social withdrawal within different cultures, replication of isolated investigations are necessary. Also, longitudinal investigations would aid in understanding outcomes associated with shyness and social withdrawal. The research on shyness and social withdrawal conducted within China is probably the most complete cross-cultural work to date. Not only has repeated investigations been conducted, but longitudinal explorations have provided a great deal of insight into how shyness and social withdrawn is perceived within a collectivistic culture.

Shyness in China

Chen and colleagues have conducted the most extensive work in this area. In a series of studies, the meaning of shyness in China was explored. Shyness, or *hai xiu* in Mandarin, is an anxious reaction to stressful circumstances or to social evaluation and has

a virtually identical behavioural manifestation in Chinese cultures as seen in Western cultures (Rubin, 1998). However, the 'meaning' of shyness/inhibition may not be similar across these two cultures. In the individualistically oriented North American culture, assertiveness is encouraged. Thus, a shy/withdrawn child is clearly at a disadvantage relative to their more sociable and assertive peers (Rubin, 1998). However, in the Chinese culture, the emphasis is on group functioning, as opposed to the individual (Chen, Rubin & Sun, 1998). Collectivistic values encourage restraint of personal desires in order to benefit the maintenance of social order as well as interpersonal harmony of society as a whole (Hart et al, 2000). As such, inhibited, socially withdrawn behaviours may be more highly valued in the Chinese culture, even encouraged, as compared to assertiveness. Essentially, it is postulated that shyness/social withdrawal would not hold a negative meaning in the Chinese culture.

These assumptions are based on the notions that within Confucian philosophy, there is a great emphasis on subordination and mutual dependence as opposed to individual independence and antagonism (Tseng, 1973). This, however, is a two-way obligation and does not infer that a person has to subordinate himself absolutely to others. Overall, in Confucian philosophy it is believed that an orderly and peaceful society can be achieved by establishing right interpersonal relationships in all aspects of life. Within this Confucian influenced culture, shy, reticent and quiet children are called *Guai* in Mandarin, which can be translated to mean 'good' or 'well-behaved'. Children who are sensitive and reticent are referred to as *Dong-Shi*, which is a term commonly used to praise children who are understanding (Chen, Rubin & Sun, 1998). Since this behaviour is believed to be encouraged by parents due to its acceptance within the

culture, it was not anticipated that shy-sensitive behaviour would be seen as being deviant, incompetent, maladaptive, or related to isolation or rejection among Chinese peers (Chen et al, 1998).

Chen and Rubin (1992) examined correlates of peer acceptance in a Chinese sample of six-year-olds. The children in this sample as well as a Canadian sample were administered a social problem solving test and the results indicated that both samples revealed a positive correlation between peer acceptance and the total number of categories and prosocial problem solving strategies. Also, peer acceptance was found to negatively correlate with agonistic strategies in both cultures. These results provide etic support for North American research findings pertaining to a positive relations between social competence and the quality of children's peer relationships (e.g., Asher, Renshaw & Hymel, 1982).

Behavioural inhibition in Chinese toddlers. Chen et al. (1998) explored maternal child-rearing attitudes and beliefs amongst mothers of two-year-olds from a Canadian and Chinese sample. Laboratory observations of mother-child interactions and the childrens' behaviours to a novel object and person were coded to determine inhibition scores for the toddlers. Mothers' child-rearing attitudes, values, and beliefs were also assessed. The results indicated that Chinese toddlers were more inhibited than the Canadian toddlers. No gender differences were found for inhibition scores within either sample. Toddler inhibition in China was found to be associated with mothers' positive attitudes toward the child, including acceptance, encouragement of achievement and lack of punitiveness. On the contrary, Canadian mothers were found to be more punitive and overprotective of their inhibited children. These results indicate emic characteristics.

Specifically, results in the Canadian sample make intuitive sense when considering the cultural emphasis on independence in Western, individualistic cultures. Within the collectivistic culture of China, inhibited toddlers seem to be accepted by their mothers.

Shyness in early childhood. Chen, Rubin and Sun (1998) examined whether elementary school-age children in China perceived social and prosocial behaviour, shy-sensitive behaviour, and aggressive behaviour similarly to how it is perceived in Western society. Two-hundred and sixty-one second grade children and 219 fourth grade children were administered a Chinese version of the Revised Class Play (Masten et al, 1985) and also received sociometric nominations. Findings from this study revealed that prosocial behaviours positively correlated with peer acceptance in the Chinese sample, and that aggressive behaviour was positively correlated with peer rejection, which parallels findings in Western culture. Contrary to Western research findings, however, sensitivity was positively evaluated by the Chinese children and was thus separated from isolation in the factor analysis of the Chinese version of the Revised Class Play.

Along these same lines, Chen, Rubin and Li (1995a) compared highly aggressive, highly shy, and average children on Western based measures of peer acceptance, self-reported depression, teacher ratings of school-related social competence and Chinese measures of normative school behaviour, honorship, leadership and academic achievement. Six hundred and twelve second and fourth grade children participated in this analysis. Similar to the previous study, aggressive children were found to be more disliked by their peers than their counterparts. Also, these aggressive children were found to be the most likely to have school related difficulties. These findings were said to suggest that, similar to their Western counterparts, aggressive children in China are 'at

risk' for difficulties in school adjustment and relationships, but longitudinal data would be needed to confirm this.

In contrast, shy children in the Chinese sample were found to display a pattern of social adjustment that was distinct from the patterns identified in Western culture. That is, the shy children in China were found to be more accepted by their peers than those children identified as being average. Also, shy children received higher scores on honorship and leadership as compared to their average and aggressive counterparts. In comparison with their average classmates, shy children were regarded as more competent by their teachers. Finally, the shy children did not show any significant differences from the average or aggressive children in their self-reports of depression, and the children that were identified as being depressed were neither more aggressive nor more shy than their non-depressed counterparts. Indeed, in an earlier study it was found that depressed children were significantly less shy and sensitive, as assessed by peers, than nondepressed children (Chen & Rubin, 1995a). In fact, it was revealed that depressed mood was associated with social incompetence and externalizing behavioural problems in Chinese children. Social difficulties in school were found to be associated with, and predictive of, depressed mood.

These results, as well as the results from Chen, Rubin and Li (1998) indicate that unlike North American children in their early childhood years (e.g., Rubin, Chen & Hymel, 1993; Younger & Boyko, 1989), shy children in China appear to function well. Also, shyness and inhibition seem to be valued to the extent that such children are regarded as being well behaved by peers and also as being well adjusted in social and school environment by teachers. This interpretation is consistent with the teachings of

Confucian philosophy and demonstrates the cultural ‘meaning’ of shyness in another culture. Hence, these issues can not be completely and accurately understood without considering cultural facts and certainly, Western findings pertaining to shyness can not be accurately generalized to Chinese children.

Hart and colleagues (2000) examined constructs related to shyness in a preschool sample of children from China, Russia and the United States (US). This research focused on different forms of social withdrawal behaviours (solitary-passive, solitary-active and reticent) and whether they could be recognized within each of these three cultures. It was hypothesized that the three forms of social withdrawn behaviours would be identified in each culture (etic), but the meanings of each behaviour were anticipated to vary according to each specific culture (emic).

Teacher ratings were used to identify withdrawn subtypes of behaviour in each culture and peer sociometric ratings were obtained to determine indices of rejection and acceptance of the withdrawn subtypes. The results revealed that the three subtypes of withdrawn behaviour were identified in the Russian, Chinese and US sample. This provides support for etic qualities of withdrawn behaviours. However, the meanings of these behaviours were also investigated to determine if there were emic differences that need to be considered.

Of interest to this thesis are the results for reticent behaviours. This type of social withdrawal was rated by teachers as being aberrant across all three cultures. Interestingly, reticent behaviours were negatively related to peer ratings across all three cultures, which supports an etic quality of this behaviour. These findings contradict previous research that has identified a positive relationship between shyness-sensitivity

and peer acceptance within the Chinese culture (Chen et al., 1992). Hart et al. (2000) suggested that this discrepancy may be the result of identifying shyness in different ways. Previous research in China identified shy children by relying on peer nominations while this study relied on teacher ratings. It was argued that teacher ratings are more objective than peer nominations. However, the authors were not clear as to why a subjective measure yielded different results than an objective measure.

Although all three cultures seemed to view reticent as being socially deviant (etic) the reasons for lower ratings of this behaviour are culturally specific, or emic. Specifically, it was suggested that within Western cultures, reticence may reflect a failure to exert oneself individually while in Eastern cultures, it may reflect non-compliance with collectivistic group norms.

Shyness in later childhood. Using procedure identical to that of research conducted in earlier age groups (e.g., Chen, Rubin & Li, 1995a), Chen, Chen and Kaspar (2001) found that aggressive elementary and high school students in China suffered from adjustment problems and learning difficulties. It was also found that shyness was positively associated with peer acceptance and negatively associated with academic problems which suggests that shyness is positively valued in Chinese society within this age group.

Results from longitudinal work have shed some new light on the meaning of shyness in China in later childhood and early adolescence. Chen, Rubin and Li (1995b) examined the longitudinal stability of sociability, aggression and shyness-sensitivity, as well as the concurrent relations between these factors and social and school adjustment. They studied a sample of over two hundred Chinese children at ages eight, ten and twelve

and collected data on similar or identical multi-measures as described in their previous cross-cultural studies. Similar to previous findings, they reported that children who were viewed by their peers as being sociable and exhibiting leadership were positively accepted and did well in school-related competence. Also, aggressive behaviour positively correlated with peer rejection and exhibited negative correlations with measures of school competence and academic achievement. These findings were found to be consistent for this sample from age eight to age twelve.

Shyness was found to be positively associated with peer acceptance and with teachers' perceptions of school competence, leadership and academic achievement from ages eight to ten. Once again, these results are indicative of the adaptive nature of shyness in early childhood within the Chinese culture. However, the correlations between shyness and teachers' assessments were non-significant at age twelve. Moreover, at this age, shyness was found to be significantly and negatively correlated with peer acceptance. These latter findings paralleled findings in Western cultures demonstrating that shyness is negatively evaluated in middle or later childhood (Rubin, Chen & Hymel, 1993) as it becomes more negatively salient to the peer group (Yonger & Daniels, 1992), although at a later age than what has been found in North America.

Chen, Rubin and Li (1995b) interpreted these results as suggesting the emergence of a negative 'meaning' of shyness during later childhood/early adolescence as a reflection of the declining influence of adult social standards and the increased expectation for the independence and autonomy in children's social judgments and evaluations. It appears, then, that as Chinese children age, they require more interactive

skills in order to establish and maintain relationships within the peer group and that shyness does not seem to be a positively valued characteristic during early adolescence.

Overall, this longitudinal study has further contributed to cross-cultural research in China by providing information pertaining to the ‘meaning’ of these behaviour when developmental age is considered. However, more research is needed before sound conclusions can be asserted. For instance, concurrent research has shown that shy children in China were less likely to be depressed (e.g., Chen & Rubin, 1995c), but additional longitudinal research is needed to determine whether these depressed feeling may emerge during early adolescence when the ‘meaning’ of shyness has transformed into an undesirable characteristic. Indeed, research in Japan has demonstrated that social anxiety and social phobia do exist, but that the cause of these disorders is due to fear of offending others with inappropriate behaviour or offensive appearance (Kleinknecht, Dinnel, Hiruma & Harada, 1997). One might speculate that these extreme forms of shyness may also emerge later on during childhood in China, but that the underlying ‘meaning’ would not be similar to that which exists in North America.

This cross-cultural research on China needs to be commended because the researchers took appropriate measures to avoid a North American bias. For example, the factor analysis of the Revised Class Play in China allowed for items to be loaded on new factors as a means to represent the Chinese culture. Additionally, the measures used in China were translated to Chinese and then translated back to English again to ensure that crucial meanings were not lost during this translation. Also, these studies incorporated a multi-method approach for assessing shyness, and how teachers and peers viewed shyness.

However, some questions remain to be answered. For instance, most of the research seemed to focus on children aged eight and ten years. Less is known about younger children (i.e., kindergartners) or adolescents. It would be intriguing to determine whether or not the findings at age twelve remain stable throughout the remainder of high school. That is, does increased communication remain to be important throughout the children's remaining years in school? If this is in fact the case and therefore shyness continues to be negatively evaluated by peers, are there long term consequences? Specifically, would researchers identify feelings of depressive symptoms as seen in North America? Another gap in the literature is that self-perceptions and loneliness of shy and withdrawn children received inconsiderable attention cross-culturally. These measures of maladjustment have been repeatedly investigated in North America and require consideration to determine their emic or etic qualities.

Research on shyness in India

Given the differences observed in other cultures related to shyness, researchers need to continue to investigate this construct cross-culturally. To date, there have been very few cross-cultural studies on shyness in India. One investigation examined contemporaneous and longitudinal relations between child temperament and parenting practices and beliefs in Chandigarh, India (Verma, Rubin, Nelson, & Hastings, 2000). One hundred and five toddlers (age 2) and their mothers participated. Maternal ratings of their child's temperament and of their child rearing practices were obtained. A follow-up assessment occurred when the children were four years of age. Social fearfulness was one aspect of child temperament examined at age two. This was characterized by inhibition, withdrawal or signs of shyness to novelty.

The results revealed significant gender differences. For boys, social fearfulness at age two was negatively associated with concurrent maternal warmth and positively associated with punitive parenting at both ages two and four. This suggests that mothers were not accepting of socially fearful boys. The results for girls indicated that social fearfulness at age two was negatively related to concurrent maternal encouragement. Finally, maternal protectiveness at age two was positively related to shyness at age four and negatively associated with sociability at age four. The results of this investigation support North American findings of negative relations between protective parenting and sociable behaviour (etic). Additionally, Indian mothers viewed socially fearful behaviours as being less acceptable for boys than for girls (etic).

Additional cross-cultural researchers explored loneliness, shyness, self-esteem and extraversion in 100 graduate students in Bombay, India (Kamath & Kanekar, 1993). The results of self-reports indicated that both males and females reported average levels of shyness, but no significant gender differences emerged. However, shy Indian women were more likely to have low self-esteem than shy Indian men. It was speculated that these gender differences were moderated by cultural influences, but the authors neglected to provide any detail to this affect.

These two studies seem to suggest opposing results. Specifically, the inquiry on temperament and parenting styles (Verma, Rubin, Nelson & Hastings, 2000) suggested that Indian mothers viewed socially fearful behaviours as being less acceptable for boys than girls, but the research on undergraduates suggested that shy women had lower self-esteem than shy men (Kamath & Kanekar, 2000). A possible reason for this discrepancy is the area of India investigated. The country is comprised of numerous religions which

are each associated with a unique culture and thus differing cultural expectations (Brockington, 1996). As such, the goal of the present thesis was to investigate cross-cultural issues of shyness and its impact on peer relations, academic performance, depression, loneliness and self-esteem in New Delhi, India. When conducting this type of research, an understanding of the culture of interest is mandatory in order to allow for a complete interpretation of the results (Saarni, 1998). This requires an understanding of both the religion of the population of interest as well as sociological issues. Thus, the next few sections contain a discussion of general facts about India, Hinduism, and sociological issues pertinent to India.

The Indian Culture: An overview

The basics

India is a subcontinent that is separated from mainland Asia by the Arabian Sea in the south-west, the Bay of Bengal in the south-east and the Indian Ocean in the south. It borders Pakistan and Afghanistan on the west, Burma in the east and Nepal, China and Tibet in the north (Flood, 1996). The population of India is over one billion which ranks it second only to China in terms of world population (Flood, 1996). India obtained independence from the British in 1947 (Sinha, 1997). The capital of India is New Delhi which is located on the southwest border. The population of New Delhi is 10.1 million and the size is approximately 1485 square kilometers (Flood, 1996).

In India, moral issues are based upon specific religious and philosophical conceptions of dharma (natural law), justice, acceptance of social responsibilities towards persons and social duties (Sinha, 1997). These are in opposition to factors of

individualism, and autonomy that is found in Western societies (Sinha, 1997). These differences highlight the need for indigenizing psychologies.

In the West, the individual is regarded as autonomous and segregated which makes North America individualistic. The expression 'man and society' or 'man in society' has been used within the Western culture. India is very much a collectivistic society in which the children are governed by the family and *jait* (caste) relationships (Verma, 2000). Within the Indian culture, the term is seen as 'man-society' which demonstrates a symbolic relationship between the two in which one cannot be separated from the other (Sinha, 1981). The individual is not known for their personal qualities and achievements. Rather, they are known within the context of his/her family, caste, place, institutions and within other interpersonal roles and relationships. These contexts provide a perspective for how social behaviour is analyzed and interpreted (Sinha, 1997).

The concept of 'dharma' means to support, to hold or to maintain (Khatri & Kupersmidt, 2003). This concept of dharma is what holds the individual and society together. This emphasis on unity plays an important role within social relations (Kakar, 1981; Mehta, 1974). Social interactions within India emphasize the de-emphasis of individual preferences and the emphasis of the extended family and the community in which one lives (Kakar, 1981).

Indian society is markedly characterized by social stratification (Desai, 1976). The social status of Indian society is illustrated within the caste system. The Caste provides a fixed social milieu for the individual as well as approved norms or expectations of behaviour for all members (Desai, 1976). Some of the predominant

goals of Indian people include being a good person, being considerate to the well-being of others, and fulfilling one's duties and helping others (Sinha, 1997).

Religion: Hinduism

Approximately 700 million residents in India are Hindus (Flood, 1996). The remainder are Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Parsees, Jews and followers of 'tribal' religions. Hinduism is a prominent religion within New Delhi and the official language in New Delhi was Hindi (Flood, 1996) and is currently English. Since Hinduism is widely practiced in New Delhi, it is important to understand its components to allow for ease in interpreting the results of the present study.

Hinduism is a religion characterized by an incredible variety of expressions. It is a religion that does not have a unitary concept nor a monolithic structure (Brockington, 1996). In the mythological history of Hinduism, the absolute Divinity has been manifested in several different ways. This is why there are many different gods and goddesses in Hinduism. Each manifestation had a different name and form. A few of the deities include Vishnu, Krishna, and Siva (Krishnamurthy, 1992).

While 'Hindu' means Indian, Hinduism can not be equated with India (Brockington, 1996). This is because of the fact that other religions have originated in India. Also, other religions such as Judaism and Christianity have entered India. Moreover, Hinduism may be found outside of India as a result of population movements and of gurus capitalizing on current uncertainties and malaise in Western society (Flood, 1996). There are also sizable communities of Hindus outside of India in South Africa, East Africa, South America, the West Indies, the USA, Canada, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Bali and Java (Flood, 1996).

There is a wide range of traditions and ideas incorporated by the term 'Hindu', which makes defining Hinduism a challenging task. Hinduism does not have a unified system of beliefs, however there are some general aspects of Hinduism that will be discussed here. For a discussion on the variability in Hinduism, refer to Flood (1996).

Hinduism is an 'action plan' for how to live and how to die (Krishnamurthy, 1992). With Hinduism, the mind is to be rid of all its load so that God will reflect himself in one's pure mind (Krishnamurthy, 1992). The way to obtain a pure, 'dirtless' mind is by diluting its contents by constantly pouring in noble, elevated thoughts and those thinking processes which are in accordance with an upward path to divine perfection (Krishnamurthy, 1992).

Many Hindus believe that there is a transcendent God, beyond the universe, who is yet within all living beings and is approachable in a variety of ways (Flood, 1996). For those Hindus who maintain this belief, they also assert that this supreme being can be worshipped in a variety of forms, such as a handsome young man, a majestic king, a beautiful young girl, an old women or even as a featureless stone. The transcendent is mediated through icons in temples, natural phenomenon or through living teachers and saints. It is revealed in sacred literature, called the Veda, as well as in codes of ritual, social and ethical behaviours (Dharma).

A criterion for some Hindus is the acceptance of the authority of the Veda (Brockington, 1996). The Veda is a large body of literature written in Sanskrit which is a sacred language of Hinduism. The word 'Veda' means knowledge (Flood, 1996). According to the Vedas, or the 'Rgveda', 33 gods are recognized as being connected to heaven, earth, and the waters of the air. Fire and soma (a juice used both as libation and

as a hallucinogenic drink for the worshipper) are ingredients of the sacrifice (Brockington, 1996). The main attribute of the Vedic gods is their power over the lives of men and moral values (Brockington, 1996). The gods also represent the chief powers of nature, such as fire, sun and thunderstorm and the respond to sacrifice (Brockington, 1996). While the Veda is central to many Hindus, it is not universally accepted by all. Dharma is expressed by the Veda. The ideas conveyed in Dharma are that of truth, duty, ethics, law and even natural law. It can be referred to the power that upholds or supports society as well as the cosmos (Flood, 1996).

In Hinduism, the form of God that you choose to worship is not important. What is important is the intensity of devotion to god (Krishnamurthy, 1992). Hindus, believe that they have the freedom and the will to love life any way they like, but when it comes to live or not to live, it is in God's hands (Krishnamurthy, 1992). Thus, *what* one does depends on him/her '*that*' they do, depends on God. Another way of understanding this concept is through the following example; a Hindu can breathe whatever they like, healthy air, drugs or smoke, but whether they breathe or not is in God's hands.

Another component of Hinduism is that when the body dies, the soul does not die. The soul is born again in another body (Krishnamurthy, 1992). The mind accompanies that soul, but it does not have any memories of its experiences in the pervious body. The mind and soul continue throughout life going from body to body. This is the principle of transmigration. The ultimate destination of all souls is to merge with the supreme presence of God.

An important aspect of Hinduism is that what a person practices is greater in importance than what beliefs they hold. Therefore, the acceptance of Dharma is

expressed through *behaviours*. More specifically, the boundaries of what a Hindu can or cannot do is determined by dharmic social stratifications. Thus, there is a social hierarchy that is organized by social group or caste, and of course, gender. Males are typically above females in the social hierarchy (Flood, 1996), so part of Hinduism involves gender inequality and the appropriate behaviours of men versus women. Women are typically expected to be obedient to their husbands, fathers and brothers and any behaviours in opposition to this would be interpreted as noncompliance of the Dharma (Flood, 1996; Krishnamurthy, 1992). This religious expectation is a strong part of the Hindu culture and may be evident in ratings that will be obtained by the peers and teachers in the present thesis.

Essentially, to be a Hindu involves worshipping the god(s) of one's choice through many ritualistic festivals. Hindus believe that pleasing the gods during their life will be rewarding by allowing their souls to eventually merge with God. Their day-to-day behaviours are also of the essence. How they choose to live within society is an essential part of being a Hindu. Respecting one's elders and taking care of elder family members is expected of a Hindu. Additionally, expressing appropriate social behaviours according to one's gender is also a vital part of being a Hindu. Thus, religious and societal expectations accentuate diverse roles or behaviours for male Hindus as compared to female Hindus. These roles are expected to be carried out accordingly.

Gender issues in India

In order to fully comprehend the Indian culture, gender issues need to be discussed. The caste system places males higher in the social hierarchy than females (Flood, 1996) which epitomizes the Hindu religion as being male dominated. This

patriarchal structure of the Indian family influences societal roles, responsibilities and control of resources (Desai, 1994). This inequality may have an impact on both the results and the interpretation of the present research. That is, when examining for possible concurrent maladjustment associated with shyness, the analyses must examine for possible gender differences since the societal structure itself is composed of differing expectations for males and females.

History of gender inequality in India. Women appeared to have experienced equality in ancient India during Vedic times (c. 1500 - 800 BC). During these times, women were viewed as indispensable for the continuation of society due to their ability to reproduce (Leslie, 1992). Women were imparted education, were given socio-political positions and were allowed to choose life partners (Kaldate, 1990). During the course of centuries following this, however, women were only regarded as homemakers and child-rearers while the men had the control over the means of production (Kaldate, 1990). Because women were deprived of education and individual freedom, they lived a life of drudgery, dependence and of low importance and heavy restrictions. Consequently, womens' responsible roles were limited and their use of intelligence was scarcely required which resulted in women being considered completely inferior to males (Suryakumari, 1990).

Prior to the nineteenth century, women were completely suppressed and oppressed. The attitude in India was that women should be trained to be good wives and competent mothers, rather than have a career. Women in India did not even have the right to their own reproductivity (Suryakumari, 1990). They had to have as many children, especially sons, as their husbands or their family desired. They had to choose the family

planning method that was approved by the husband, their mother-in-law and finally their doctor. If there were any side effects, they had to suffer in silence since their complaints went unheard (Suryakumari, 1990).

The birth of a male was considered an advantage to a family since the birth of a daughter meant that the family had the responsibility of having to provide a dowry for her marriage (Mathew, 1990). This meant that the birth of a daughter was an unwanted event in a lower class family. Prior to equality movements that took place in the nineteenth century, many female babies were denied the right to live (Kaldate, 1990) and were at risk of infanticide (Sharma, 2001). Even in later life, daughters have been denied nutritious food, parental care and education. Moreover, females also endured a long reproductive period from their fifteenth year until they reached menopause (Kaldate, 1990).

Essentially, the sexist ideology that prevailed in India was that women were inferior to men in intelligence, and are incapable or unwilling to participate fully within society. This under-valuation was all pervasive within the family, in the community, among the law makers, social analysts, planners and policy makers (Kaldate, 1990). The inequality manifested itself in the form of low wages, in a lack of access to and control over resources, inability to own, inherit and transfer property on equal basis with men (Kaldate, 1990). Moreover, it was seen in discrimination at the familial and societal levels, in great disparity in work burdens, in social evils such as dowry, and in unequal laws relating to marriage, divorce, inheritance, succession, custody, guardianship and maintenance (Kaldate, 1990).

During the nineteenth century, social reformers such as Raja Ram and Mohan Roy made efforts at obtaining equality for women (Midha, 1990). In 1856, widow remarriage was legally sanctioned and in 1870, female infanticide was legally banned (Midha, 1990). But, it was during the 20th century that the women's movement brought about major changes in the law to improve the status of women. Between 1936 and 1938, Hindu women's right to property bill, the right to divorce bill and the abolition of polygamy were introduced (Midha, 1990). After the Second World War, many countries became politically independent and had constitutions which ensured equality, individual freedom and social justice to their citizens (Kaldate, 1990). India obtained independence from the British monarchy in 1947 (Sinha, 1997). Independence of India was accompanied by the Constitution, with Equality and Social Justice as its basic, fundamental tenants (Midha, 1990). Article 14 and 15 prescribe for equality before law for women. The Directive Principles enjoin the state to secure justice for all citizens, regardless of caste, class, sex and religion, in all institutions of national life (Midha, 1990).

Even with all these societal changes, Indian girls are still typically socialized in early childhood to live the role of wife, mother and housekeeper (Saraswath, 1999). They are exposed to overprotection and restrictions that are characteristic of a hierarchical society. Initially, a girl's parents will define her boundaries and then it will be her husband who takes on this role (Verma, 2000). Young males are raised to become independent, responsible adults who will work, marry, and raise a family (Verma, 2000).

Modern India. The last two decades has seen marked changes in India (Parish, 1997). In today's Indian society, women are no longer only viewed as child-bearers.

Indian democracy has allowed for education for a greater number of women than in this past (Verma, 2000), which has altered the role of women in India. Modern women in India now have roles that are familial, occupational, political, and educational, to name a few (Kaldate, 1990), but the patriarchal nature of this hierarchical society (mentioned previously) still exists although the gender gap in terms of rights and opportunities for employment has decreased (Veema, 2000). However, this is mostly applicable to the middle and upper classes since the majority of schools in India are privately owned and only those who can afford enrollment can attend (Kaldate, 1990). Thus, researchers examining gender issues in India need to consider the social class of the sample being investigated when making conclusions about the status of inequality and the relation of this inequality to the issue being studied. The present thesis investigated upper and middle class students enrolled in a private school in New Delhi.

Women who are able to receive an education, formal or informal, are able to obtain degrees/certificates, find jobs and earn monetary terms (Kaldate, 1990). However, while these 'modern' Indian women may be earning money, some of them have to hand over all of their earnings to their husbands (Kaldate, 1990). Such women have no power or voice about its use, which demonstrates that a male dominance (patriarchal society) still exists in India. In fact, some authors have stated that female children in India remain vulnerable to feticide and infanticide (e.g., Sharma, 2001).

Male dominance is not interfered with because a parallel regime of personal laws interfere with the constitution and continue to enforce discrimination against women within marriage, divorce, custody, inheritance and succession (Midha, 1990). A demand for a uniform civil code for women and for the removal of inequalities in existing laws

continues to be rejected. Article 25 of the constitution guarantees the fundamental right to profess, practice and propagate one's religion (Midha, 1990). Thus, it is argued that personal laws must prevail even if they are detrimental to women.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) has been implemented in 193 nations, including India (Sharma, 2001). The CRC is developing special legislation to remove gender bias and to improve the status of female Indian children (Sharma, 2001). However, the traditional customs in India, including the caste system and social attitudes interfere with the efforts of the CRC in overcoming discrimination towards Indian females (Sharma, 2001).

Gender and dowry. Dowry is an age-old practice within Indian society that refers to property or valuable security given by one party to another as a consideration for marriage (Mathew, 1990). It is considered to be a form of compensation for the lower economic value of women not employed. Essentially, a dowry is looked upon as a form of compensation for the maintenance of a girl for the productive and reproductive contribution that her subsistence would cost the household that she marries into. A dowry may also be viewed as a means of establishing a relationship between the bride's family and the husband's family (Mathew, 1990). While women may be becoming more modern in today's India, the continued practice of a Dowry imposes a gap between the status of men and women (Mathew, 1990). As soon as a female child is born, the family is faced with the financial burden of having to supply a dowry. This familial responsibility is thought to make the birth of a daughter an unwanted event, especially for lower class families (Mather, 1990). Moreover, the dowry being a form of compensation for the groom prolongs male domination.

The dowry has become an easy way of achieving wealth and of achieving a high socio-economic status. It has become difficult for the present generation to meet the demands of a dowry if they are from the middle class (Mathew, 1990). The dowry demands have increased and the custom of the dowry has become quite rigidly adhered to. Although the younger generations may be more modern, young educated men still insist on fabulous sums of money as bridegroom price (Mathew, 1990). Moreover, the amount of the dowry is regulated by the educational qualifications of the bridegroom as well as by his economic status and prestige. It therefore seems as if education has only increased the demand of the dowry. Receiving a dowry provides comfort, safety and stability for the bridegroom, thus any action to initiate change in this tradition will have to be made by young women.

India has been well known for its salient poverty, but in the last decade it has become one of the world's best in technological development. Although the country may have improved in terms of poverty status, Indians living in India remain very strong to Hinduism and the morals and beliefs associated with it. Gender inequality remains to be an issue for some women, even with the Constitution and greater economic opportunities. This demonstrates the slow changing sociology of the culture. Such issues make India a fascinating culture to examine to answer the question of whether or not shyness is emic or etic.

Purpose of the Present Thesis

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the concurrent correlates of shyness in a cross-cultural sample of elementary-aged children in New Delhi. The participants were subdivided into aggressive, shy, and average groups. Based on the research findings in

North America and in various cross-culturally studies, a number of hypotheses have been generated that attend to the gender inequality that is prominent in India.

The first hypothesis pertained to general outcomes of shyness/withdrawal, not specific to gender. Specifically, it was hypothesized that high levels of shyness/withdrawal would be associated with negative outcomes such as peer rejections, lower academic achievement, lower self-esteem, greater loneliness and greater depression. This hypothesis was based on the premise that while India is a collectivistic society, it is also a society characterized by social class or the caste system. It is presumed that in order to excel within one's class and in order to contribute to the collectivistic needs of one's class, low levels of social withdrawal/shyness would be more advantageous.

Additional hypotheses were made specific to gender. It was hypothesized that girls will be rated as being shyer than boys. This is based on the societal expectations of Indian women being more obedient and subdued than males (Flood, 1996). However, it is further hypothesized that shy girls would not suffer from concurrent maladjustment, but that shy boys would receive negative peer and teacher evaluations as a result of societal expectations for male dominance. In accordance with this, shy boys were hypothesized to exhibit concurrent maladjustment in terms of peer rejection, academic achievement, self-esteem, loneliness, and depression. These hypotheses for males were based on findings in North America where shyness in males is less favored and associated with more maladjustment (e.g., Morison & Masten, 1991).

Although aggression was not a major focus of this study, some general questions were explored. The hypotheses for aggressive children parallel the research findings in

both North America and China. That is, boys were anticipated to be more aggressive than girls and aggressiveness in both sexes were expected to be associated with negative peer and teacher ratings as well as lower concurrent maladjustment (e.g., Chen, Rubin & Li, 1995; Rubin, Hymel & Mills, 1989). . If these results are obtained, they will provide further support for the etic disapproval of aggressive behaviours in a variety of cultures. Aggressive children have been repeatedly documented as having elevated self-esteem (e.g., Rubin, Chen & Hymel, 1993), as such, it was hypothesized that aggressive children in this sample would not suffer from low self-esteem.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 929 children from Grades two, four, six and eight attending the Cambridge Foundation Secondary School in Rajouri Gardens, New Delhi, India. As mentioned previously, New Delhi is located on the southwest border of India and is approximately 1485 square kilometers (Flood, 1996). The population of New Delhi is 10.1 million (Flood, 1996).

Cambridge Foundation School is a private school within New Delhi. Many schools in New Delhi are privately owned. Due to the costs associated with attending private school, the parents of the present sample ranged from middle-class to higher-class in income.

There were 580 males (62.4%) and 349 females (37.6%) in the total sample. There were five classes participating in Grade 2, with a total of 150 children (101 males, 49 females, $\underline{M}_{age} = 7.32$, $\underline{SD}_{age} = 0.69$). Grade 4 was comprised of 5 sections with a total of 220 children (151 males, 69 females, $\underline{M}_{age} = 9.44$, $\underline{SD}_{age} = .60$). There were six classes

of participants in grade 6, with a total of 248 students (154 males, 94 females, $M_{age} = 11.36$, $SD_{age} = 0.63$). Finally, in grade 8 there were also 6 classes with a total of 311 students (174 males, 137 females, $M_{age} = 13.19$, $SD_{age} = 0.59$).

Participants were recruited through information letters that were sent to the school prior to the onset of data collection (see Appendix A). Anyone not wishing to participate was asked to inform his or her teacher as soon as possible. Additionally, this letter notified the children that should they decide to participate, but which to cease doing so during data collection, they would be permitted to stop without fear of penalty.

Demographic variables. As mentioned earlier, the participants in this sample came from middle to upper class families, which are typically seen within private schools. Any additional demographic information (e.g., parental employment) was not obtained. The reason being that the procedures for conducting research within this school were quite different from what is typically seen within North American Research. Specifically, informed consent from the parents of the students was not required in order to conduct research. The principal of Cambridge Foundation Secondary School provided informed consent for the study to be carried out and any additional consent was not needed, nor recommended. The principal did not want forms to be sent home for the parents to read or complete since she deemed it unnecessary and also since it was thought that some of the parents would not be able to read the forms either because they were in English, or because the parents were illiterate. This suggests the previous generations of Indians in New Delhi are not as well educated as the present sample. After discussing these requests with the Ethics Committee of Carleton University, it was determined that the information letters that were being sent home (See Appendix A) were a suitable

means to satisfy ethical requirements within Carleton University, without also imposing our ethical standards on the participants.

Procedure

A few weeks prior to data collection, the questionnaires were sent to the school for the teachers of these grade levels to view. During the week of data collection, the principle researcher from Canada traveled to India and met with the teachers to ensure that they felt comfortable with the measures and also to clarify any aspects of the questionnaires that were not clear. Each measure was discussed individually. Teachers practiced completing each measure to ensure familiarity with all of the items. The researcher and the teachers also discussed the procedures for data collection.

The children in grades four, six and eight were asked to complete the measures within their classroom. In this particular school, the children in each grade had a homeroom teacher, identical to schools within North America. All students started each day in their homeroom with this particular teacher. Thus, it was their homeroom teachers who administered the measures to the students.

The students were administered one measure at a time and were provided with identical instructions on how to complete it. The teachers administered the questionnaires and proceeded item-by-item to ensure greater understanding of the task. This procedure was replicated for each of the four measures. The principle researcher made herself available to any teachers who were asked questions by the student that they did not feel comfortable asking. An intercom system was utilized to page the researcher on demand. The students were allotted one hour to complete the four questionnaires.

Students in grade two were only administered the *Revised Class Play* (Masten et al., 1985) as they were too young to complete the remaining measures. The teachers in their homeroom classrooms administered the questionnaires and proceeded item-by-item to ensure greater understanding of the task. These students were provided one hour to complete this task.

The children were administered a sociometric nomination measure (Masten Masten, Morison & Pelligrini, 1985), a self-report measure of depression (Kovacs, 1980; 1981), a self-report measure of self-esteem (Harter, 1982), and a self-report measure of loneliness (Asher, Hymel, & Renshaw, 1984). Similar to previous research conducted in China (Chen, Chen & Kaspar, 2001) the child version of loneliness, depression and perceived competence was used for all participants in grades 4, 6 and 8 to keep the instruments comparable across age groups. Teachers were also requested to complete a behavioural rating scale for each participant (Hightower, Work, Cohen, Lotyczewski, Spinell, Guare, & Rohrbeck, 1986), as well as providing ratings of academic performance in language, math, science and social science courses.

Measures

Teacher – Classroom Rating Scale (T-CRS, Hightower et al., 1986). Following procedures outlined by Hightower et al. (1986), each homeroom teacher was asked to rate each child in their class on the 40-item questionnaire of school related competency (see Appendix B). Teachers were asked to rate how well each of the 40 items described each child (e.g., “shows care and concern for others”). The T-CRS is comprised of two parts; an assessment of the childrens’ problem behaviours and an assessment of their school competencies. The first part consists of 19 items forming 3 subscales that

describe problem behaviours. The subscales include *externalizing behaviours* (6 items; e.g., “Disruptive in class”), *internalizing behaviours* (7 items; e.g., “shy/timid”) and *learning problems* (6 items; e.g., “Poor work habits”). The second part of the T-CRS consists of 21 items and 4 subscales; *assertive social skills* (5 items; e.g., “Takes the lead in initiating activities”), *frustration tolerance* (5 items; e.g., “Accepts things not going his/her way”), *sociability* (5 items; “Has many friends”) and *prosocial behaviours* (6 items; e.g., “Kind to peers”). The scores for each item range from 1-to-5, with 5 indicating that the item described the child very well. The T-CRS has been shown to have acceptable psychometric properties (Hightower et al., 1986).

Results from an exploratory factor analysis with principle components extraction and varimax rotation revealed a 7-factor solution (accounting for 58.83% of the variance); similar to what has been found in North America (Hightower et al., 1986). By examining the item content, factors relating to *prosocial behaviours*, *externalizing behaviours*, *internalizing behaviours*, *frustration tolerance*, *sociability*, *assertiveness* and *internalizing problems* were identified.

The items for sociability and prosocial behaviours were combined to create one factor referred to as *positive child ratings*. Cronbach’s Alpha were calculated for each of the 6 subscales which demonstrated values of .82 for *positive child ratings*, .57 for *frustration tolerance*, .79 for *assertiveness*, .84 for *externalizing behaviours*, .72 for *internalizing behaviours*, and .83 for *problem solving behaviours*. Given the low reliability of the *frustration tolerance scale*, and the low loadings of the items on this factor, this variable was dropped from subsequent analyses.

Child Depression Inventory, (CDI, Kovacs, 1980; 1981). The CDI is a 27 item self-evaluation inventory used to evaluate levels of depression. It is designed for school-aged children and adolescents (7 to 17 years) and has been widely employed. The child or adolescent is instructed to select one sentence for each item that best describes him or her during the past two weeks. The items centered on a given thought, feeling, or behaviour associated with depression. The CDI contains items related to 5 sub-components of depression: a) negative mood (e.g., “I feel like crying everyday); b) interpersonal problems (e.g., “I do not like being with people many times”); c) ineffectiveness (e.g., “I do man things wrong”); d) negative self-esteem (e.g., “I do not like myself”); and e) anhedonia (e.g., an inability to derive pleasure from events or stimuli previously found pleasurable) (e.g., “ I never have fun at school) (see Appendix C). However, a single global depression score is typically calculated for this scale (see Chen, Rubin & Li, 1995). Items are scored from 0 to 3, with a higher score indicating greater depression. For the present study, the item pertaining to ‘suicidal thoughts’ was not included for ethical reasons. Thus only 26 of the 27 items were included. The CDI has been shown to possess acceptable psychometric properties (Kovacs, 1980; 1981). In the current sample, Cronbach’s α was .79 (with all 26 items included).

Academic Achievement. Teachers rated each participant in all four grades on their level of academic performance in Language (reading and writing), Mathematics, Social Science and Science. The students were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from Far below grade (1) to Far above grade (5), where higher scores indicated higher performance ratings. These ratings were combined to produce a global measure of *academic*

performance. Reliability analyses for this global measure indicated a Cronbach's α value of 0.94.

Self-Perception Profile for Children (Harter, 1985). The self-perception profile for children is a 24-item questionnaire used to assess domain-specific judgments of competence or adequacy for grades three to nine. The four subscales (6 items each) are *cognitive competence* (e.g., "Good at school work"), *social competence* (e.g., "Have a lot of friends"), *physical competence* (e.g., "Do well at all sports") and *general self-worth* (e.g., "Happy the way I am"). In order to reduce the time demands on the students, the present study only utilized subscales for cognitive competence, social competence and general self-worth. Since the subscales pertaining to perceived competence for physical appearance and physical competence were not of primary interest conceptually (see Appendix D). This measure has been shown to have reliability coefficients ranging from .73 to .84 (Harter, 1982).

Initial calculation of reliability alphas indicated unacceptably low reliability for the 4 subscale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .48$ for global self-esteem; Cronbach's $\alpha = .52$ for scholastic competence; Cronbach's $\alpha = .22$ for social competence; Cronbach's $\alpha = .51$ for behavioural competence). Results from exploratory factor analyses did not indicate the expected four-factor solution. By viewing the scree plot, it was apparent that a single factor would be more suitable for this measure. A second factor analyses was run, forcing one factor. Four items were dropped because of low factor loadings (i.e., $< .30$), including "some kids would have as many friends as they want"; "some kids are always doing things with a lot of kids"; "some people feel that most people do like them"; and "some kids think that the way they do things is fine". Cronbach's alpha was .77 for the

single factor. As such, a global 20-item measure of *self-esteem* was created. However, due to the unexpected psychometric properties of this measure in the current sample, results for this variable should be interpreted with caution.

Loneliness Questionnaire for Children (LQC, Asher, Hymel & Renshaw, 1984).

The LQC is an 18-item questionnaire to assess children's feelings of loneliness and social dissatisfaction. Sixteen of the items focus on children's feelings of loneliness (e.g., "I'm lonely"), feelings of social adequacy versus inadequacy (e.g., "I'm good at working with other children"), or subjective estimations of peer status (e.g., "I have lots of friends"). Two of the items served as 'fillers' (e.g., "I like school") (see Appendix E). Children respond to each of the 18 items by indicating on a five-point scale how much each statement is a true description of themselves. Hymel and Renshaw (1984) reported that this scale was internally consistent (Cronbach's $\alpha = .90$) and internally reliable (split-half correlation between forms = .83; Spearman-Brown reliability coefficient = .91; Guttman split-half reliability coefficient = .91). Similar to methods utilized by Chen, Rubin and Li (1995), the items on the LQC were summarized to produce a global score of self-reported loneliness. In the current sample, a reliability analyses of this global measure revealed a Cronbach's α of .75.

Sociometric assessments of peer acceptance and rejection. Children were asked to nominate up to three classmates whom they would most like to be friends with and three classmates whom they would least like to be friends with (*positive* and *negative peer nominations*). The *positive nominations* provide indices of peer acceptance, while the *negative nominations* indicate peer rejection. The summary scores for both the

positive and negative peer nominations were computed and then standardized to allow for comparisons across grades.

Following procedures outlined by previous researchers (e.g., Coie & Dodge, 1983; Coie, et al., 1982; Eronen & Nurmi, 2001), these standardized scores were used to create the variables of *social preference* ($Z_{\text{positive nominations}} - Z_{\text{negative nominations}}$) and *social impact* ($Z_{\text{positive nomination}} + Z_{\text{negative nomination}}$). The scores for social impact, social preference, number of positive nominations and number of negative nominations were used to determine sociometric status for each participant. Specifically, *popular* children were those whom received a social preference score greater than 1.0, a positive nomination score greater than 0, and a negative nomination score of less than 0. *Average* participants received social preference scores of less than 0.5 and greater than -0.5. *Controversial* participants received a social impact score greater than 1.0, a negative nomination score greater than 0 and a positive nomination score greater than 0. *Neglected* participants received a social impact score less than -1.0, a positive nomination scores less than 0, and a negative nomination score less than 0. *Rejected* participants received a social preference score less than -1.0, a negative nominations score greater than 0, and a positive nomination score less than 0.

Revised Class Play (RCP, Masten, Morison & Pelligrini, 1985). The RCP was used for peer assessments of social behaviour. Children were asked to pretend that they are the director of a class play and must select students from their class that could play the 30 listed roles/items on the questionnaire. Each child was provided with a list of all the students in their class and then will be asked to nominate up to three of their classmates who could best each role. Results from factor analysis in North American

research has shown three orthogonal factors in this measure (Masten et al., 1985). The positive factor is *sociability-leadership* (15 items; e.g., “Everyone likes to be with”) (see Appendix F). The negative items divided into two factors that were labeled *aggressive-disruptive* (8 items; e.g., “Picks on other kids”) and *sensitive-isolated* (7 items; e.g., “Very shy”). This measure has been found to have internal consistency scores of .95 and .93 for the positive scale, .93 and .90 for the Aggressive-Disruptive scale and .85 and .81 for the Sensitive-Isolated Scale (Masten et al., 1985).

The responses from the students were tabulated within each class in each grade. These tabulations provided scores of the number of nominations that each student within each class received for each of the 30 items on the RCP. These scores were standardized within class to adjust for unequal classroom size distributions allowing for comparisons across sections within a grade and across all four grades.

Results from an exploratory factor analysis with principle components extraction and varimax rotation initially revealed a 4-factor solution. However, the fourth factor fourth factor was primarily accounted for by a single item (i.e., “Someone who has many friends”), which is an item that loads onto the prosocial subscale in North America (Masten et al, 1985). The remaining items in this fourth factor had very small loadings and also cross-loaded on the prosocial factor. Thus, this item was dropped from the measure and the factor analyses was ran again. Results revealed a 3 factor solution. Two remaining items (“Someone who has trouble making friends”; and “Someone who is left out” cross-loaded (i.e., $> .30$) onto the aggressive and prosocial subscales. Interestingly, these items typically load onto the shyness/sensitivity factor in North America. As a result of their cross-loadings, these two items were dropped.

Results from a final factor analyses indicated a three factor solution accounting for 57.88 % of the variance. Factors with item content relating to shyness/withdrawal, aggression and prosociability were revealed. Two items (“Someone who makes new friends easily; “A person who can get things going”) which are both prosocial items in North America, cross-loaded onto the aggression and prosociability subscales, but they loaded higher onto the sociability subscale. The final items and factor loadings for the three subscales used in the RCP for the present sample are displayed in Table 1. Reliability analyses revealed Cronbach’s alpha values of .75, .93, and .88 for the shy, sociable and aggressive subscales, respectively.

Table 1

Items and Factor Loadings for the RCP

<i>RCP Items)</i>	<i>Factors</i>		
	Sociability	Aggression	Shy/Sensitive
Person who is a good leader	.82		
Someone who will wait his/her turn	.73		
Someone whose feelings get hurt easily			.39
Person who everyone listens to	.84		
Someone who plays fair	.73		
Person who can't get others to listen		.70	
Someone who is very shy			.57
Person who gets into a lot of fights		.80	
Someone who is polite	.77		
Makes new friends easily	.68		
Somebody who is too bossy		.73	
Someone who helps other people	.81		
Someone who is usually sad			.81
A person everybody likes to be with	.86		
A person who can get things going	.73		
Rather play alone than with others			.76
Teases other children too much		.85	
Someone who is usually happy	.62		
Somebody who picks on other kids		.78	
Likes to play with others rather than alone	.61		
A person with good ideas for things to do	.85		
A person who loses their temper easily		.71	
Someone you can trust	.77		
Interrupts when other children are speaking		.77	

Note: only factor loadings of .30 or greater are shown in table

The majority of the items within each subscale were markedly similar to how the items loaded onto each subscale in North American samples (Masten et al, 1985). One exception was the item “A person who can’t get others to listen”, which is typically an item on the shyness/sensitivity subscale in North America, loaded onto the Aggression factor in the Indian sample.

Results

Overview

Preliminary analyses were first conducted to ensure that there were no violations of assumptions for both univariate and multivariate analyses. Correlational analyses were then conducted to examine the relations between all the variables of interest. Subsequent Multivariate Analyses of Variance (MANOVA’s) were then conducted to explore grade or gender differences in the summary scores of aggressiveness, prosocial behaviours and shyness/withdrawal. Correlations were also conducted to look for possible relations between the factors of the RCP and the dependent variables of interest. Next, extreme groups for shyness/withdrawal and aggression were created. Additional MANOVA’s were then conducted to examine group differences of depression, loneliness, self-esteem, and teacher ratings of adjustment. Finally, sociometric status groups were calculated and crosstabulations were conducted to examine extreme group differences in sociometric nominations.

Preliminary Analyses

Data screening. All data was screened for univariate and multivariate outliers, and for any possible skewness. Results of these analyses revealed no outliers or violations of assumptions. As such, no transformations of the data were undertaken.

Inter-relations between dependent variables. Inter-correlation between all dependent variables of interest are presented in Table 2. The results of this analysis provided some evidence of validity of the measures that were used within this Indian sample. For example, scores on the measure of loneliness were positively correlated with teacher ratings of learning problems, anxiety and acting out behaviours, as well as self-reports of depressive symptoms, but were negatively correlated with teacher ratings of academic performance. Teacher ratings of academic performance were negatively correlated with teacher ratings of learning problems. Finally, teacher ratings of assertiveness were negatively correlated with ratings of prosocial behaviours and positively correlated with ratings of acting out behaviours.

Table 2

Correlation Matrix of all Dependent Variables

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Perceived Depression	-	-.10**	.00	.12**	.15**	-.12**	-.05	.39**	.32**
2. Teacher Ratings of Assertiveness		-	.12**	.01	-.13**	.78**	.49**	-.16**	-.11**
3. Teacher Ratings of Acting Out			-	.37**	.55**	-.04	-.22**	-.07	.11**
4. Teacher Ratings of Anxiety				-	.52**	.03	-.03	-.01	.14**
5. Teacher Ratings of Learning Problems					-	-.16**	-.16**	.03	.14**
6. Teacher Ratings of Prosocial Behaviours						-	.53**	-.13**	-.05
7. Teacher Ratings of Academic Performance							-	-.08	-.20**
8. Perceived Global Self-Esteem								-	.26**
9. Perceived Loneliness									-

** $p < .01$

Gender and grade differences in the RCP. An overall 2 (Gender) X 4 (Grade) MANOVA was conducted to examine grade and gender differences in RCP summary scores of aggressiveness, prosociability and shyness/withdrawal. The overall MANOVA results indicated a significant main effect for Gender only (Wilks = $F(3, 910) = 28.53, p < .05$). No significant differences were obtained for Grade (Wilks = $F(9, 2214) = .153, ns$), or the Grade X Gender interaction (Wilks = $F(9, 2214) = .62, ns$).

Results of Between Subject effects revealed significant gender differences for *shyness/withdrawal* ($F(1, 912) = 10.64, p < .001$), *aggression* ($F(1, 912) = 38.30, p < .001$) and prosocial behaviours ($F(1, 912) = 21.85, p > .05$). Specifically, females were significantly more shy/withdrawn and more prosocial than males. Furthermore, males were significantly more aggressive than females. Means and standard deviations are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3

Means (*SD*) for Aggression, Shyness and Sociability for Males and Females

<i>Dependent Variable</i>	<i>Gender</i>	
	Male	Female
Aggression	.16 (1.11)	-.26 (0.70)
Shyness	-.09 (0.93)	.15 (1.10)
Sociability	-.14 (0.85)	.23 (1.17)

Note: Means are significantly at $p < .01$.

Correlates of Shyness/Withdrawal, Aggression and Prosociality. A

correlational analysis was conducted to examine the associations between the children identified as being *Shy/Withdrawn*, *Aggressive* and *Prosocial* by peer nominations using the RCP. These results are displayed in Table 4. By examining this table it can be seen that shyness was positively correlated with loneliness, learning problems, anxiety and depressive symptoms. Shyness was also significantly negatively correlated with teacher ratings of assertiveness and prosocial behaviours. These correlations suggest that shyness is correlated with adjustment difficulties, specifically internalizing difficulties.

Table 4
Correlations of Shy/Withdrawn, Aggressive and Prosocial Children with all Dependent Variables of Interest

	Shyness/Withdrawal	Aggression	Prosociality
Depression	.08*	.08*	-.09**
Loneliness	.19**	.04	-.22**
Assertiveness	-.08*	.03	.37**
Acting Out	.02	.32**	-.13**
Learning Problems	.08*	.12**	-.23**
Anxiety	.12**	-.07*	-.15**
Academic Performance	-.01	-.15**	.42**
Prosocial Behaviours	-.13**	-.05	.31**

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

When examining the results for the aggressive children, the results indicate positive correlations with depressive symptoms and teacher ratings of acting out behaviours and learning problems. Aggression was negatively correlated with teacher ratings of anxiety and academic performance. These results suggest that it is detrimental to children in this sample to be aggressive. Finally, the correlations for the prosocial children suggest that these behaviours are positively valued within this culture. Specifically, prosociability was positively correlated with teacher ratings of assertiveness, academic performance and prosocial behaviours. Prosociability was negatively correlated with depressive symptoms, acting out behaviours, learning problems, anxiety and loneliness. While these results are important to the note, the main interest of this thesis was possible adjustment difficulties for *extremely* shy children.

Creation of extreme groups. The present study sought to examine social and school adjustment of *extremely* aggressive and *extremely* shy/withdrawn Indian children. Drawing upon past research, the procedure for creating the extreme groups in this Indian sample replicated that of Chen, Rubin and Li (1995), in a sample of Chinese and Canadian children.

The nominations from the RCP from all classmates were used to compute corresponding aggression and shyness/withdrawal scores for each child. These scores were standardized within each class to adjust for differences in the number of nominations. Extreme scores were tabulated separately for males and females since gender differences were found in aggression scores (boys more aggressive than females) and shyness/withdrawal scores (females more shy/withdrawn than males). *Aggressive* children were those that scored in the top 15% on aggression and in the bottom 75% for

shyness, specific to their own gender. Sixty-five extremely aggressive boys and 27 extremely aggressive females were identified using this procedure.

The *Shy/withdrawn* children were those who scored in the top 15% on shyness and in the bottom 75% on aggression, specific to their own gender. There were 67 extremely shy/withdrawn males and 33 extremely shy/withdrawn females. An *Average* (comparison) group of males and females were created by taking children who had aggression and shyness scores in the bottom 75%. There were 323 comparison males and 209 comparison females. A total of 724 children were classified as either *extremely shy/withdrawn*, *aggressive* or as *average*. All remaining children in the sample were unclassified ($N = 205$).

Differences between Shy/Withdrawn, Aggressive and Average Children

Self-reports of depression and loneliness. A 2 (Gender) X 3 (Grade) X 3 (Target group) MANOVA was conducted with self-reports of depression and loneliness scores in grades 4, 6 and 8 serving as the dependent variables. It is important to note here that children in grade 2 were too young to complete these self-report measures.

Overall MANOVA results revealed significant main effects for Target Group (Wilks $F(4, 1190) = 5.13, p < .001$) and Grade (Wilks $F(4, 1190) = 18.68, p < .05$). Significant effects were not found for Gender (Wilks $F(2, 595) = 1.03, ns$), the two-way interactions of Target Group X Gender (Wilks $F(4, 1192) = 1.28, ns$), Target Group X Grade (Wilks $F(8, 1192) = 0.51, ns$), Gender X Grade (Wilks $F(4, 1192) = 1.43, ns$).¹

Univariate Between Subject Effects for Target Group showed significant effects for depression ($F(2, 596) = 3.99, p < .05$) and loneliness ($F(2, 596) = 8.89, p < .05$).

¹ No 3-way interactions were significant. Given the small cell size for these interactions, and to ease presentation, no results are presented for the 3-way interactions.

Post Hoc analyses for Target Group (LSD, $p < .05$) indicated that shy/withdrawn children reported more depressive symptoms than average children. There were no significant differences between shy children and aggression children nor between aggressive and average children (See Table 5). Additionally, shy children were more lonely than both aggressive and average children. Significance was not found between aggressive and average children in loneliness. These results provide evidence that shy children in India suffer from internalizing difficulties related to depression and loneliness

Table 5
Mean (SD) Depression, Loneliness, Anxiety, Academic Performance and Acting Out Behaviour scores for Shy/Withdrawn, Aggressive and Average Children

	<i>Shy/Withdrawn</i>	<i>Aggressive</i>	<i>Average</i>
Depression	1.43 _a (23)	1.39 _{ab} (0.24)	1.36 _{bc} (0.24)
Loneliness	2.49 _a (0.62)	2.20 _b (0.56)	2.21 _b (0.54)
Anxiety	13.61 _a (3.91)	11.82 _b (3.55)	12.20 _b (3.48)
Academic Performance	3.28 _{ab} (0.89)	3.11 _b (1.10)	3.46 _a (0.88)
Acting Out	9.86 _b (3.58)	11.94 _a (4.81)	9.93 _b (4.00)

Note: Means not sharing the same superscript within a row are significantly different using Tukey's LSD test $p < .05$.

Univariate Between Subjects Effects for grade demonstrated significance for depression ($F(2, 596) = 18.28, p < .001$) and loneliness ($F(2, 596) = 5.93, p < .05$). Subsequent post hoc analyses (LSD, $p < .05$) for grade showed that children in grade 4 reported the lowest depression scores while children in grade 8 reported the highest. Thus, depression scores seem to increase with grade. Post Hoc analyses for loneliness across grades revealed that children in grade 4 had significantly higher scores than children in grade 8, thus demonstrating that loneliness seems to decrease with age (see Table 6).

Table 6

Mean (SD) for Depression, Loneliness, Prosocial and Global Self-Esteem scores by Grade

	Grade 2	Grade 4	Grade 6	Grade 8
Depression	-	1.26 _a (0.18)	1.40 _{bc} (0.24)	1.48 _b (0.24)
Loneliness	-	2.40 _a (0.59)	2.24 _{ab} (0.59)	2.15 _b (0.50)
Prosociality	53.70 _{ab} (10.42)	54.63 _a (9.68)	50.91 _b (11.24)	51.24 _b (9.09)
Global Self-Esteem	-	1.93 _b (0.43)	1.92 _b (0.43)	2.23 _a (0.41)

Note: Means not sharing the same superscript within a row are significantly different using Tukey's LSD test $p < .05$.

- Depression and loneliness scores were not collected in Grade 2

Teacher ratings of anxiety. A 2 (Gender) X 3 (Target Group) X 4 (Grade)

Analyses of Variance (ANOVA) was run with teacher ratings of anxiety as the dependent variable. Children in grade 2 were included in this analyses since teachers rated all four grades. Results of this ANOVA demonstrated a significant effect for Target Group only ($F(2, 698) = 5.75, p < .05$). Significant results were not found for Grade ($F(3, 698) = .45, ns$), Gender ($F(1, 698) = 2.82, ns$), Grade X Gender ($F(3, 698) = 1.64, ns$), Grade X Target Group ($F(6, 698) = .90, ns$), or Gender X Target Group ($F(2, 698) = .71, ns$).

Post Hoc analyses (LSD, $p < .05$) for the extreme target groups showed that shy children were more anxious than both aggressive and average children. There were no significant differences between aggressive and average children. Means are displayed back in Table 5.

Teacher ratings of prosociable behaviours and assertiveness. A 2 (Gender) X 4 (Grade) X 3 (Target Group) MANOVA was conducted with teacher ratings of prosociable behaviours and assertiveness as the dependent variables. Once again, all four grades were included in these analyses. Overall MANOVA results showed a significant interaction for Gender X Target Group (Wilks $F(4, 1396) = 4.70, p < .05$) and the Grade X Target Group interactions (Wilks $F(12, 1396) = 2.00, p < .05$).

Univariate Between Subject Effects for the Gender X Target Group interaction showed significant effects for prosociability ($F(2, 699) = 7.56, p < .05$). Subsequent Post Hoc analyses for prosociability (LSD, $p < .05$) indicated that shy/withdrawn females were the least prosocial while aggressive females were significantly more prosocial than average females. Shy/withdrawn, average and aggressive males did not differ on ratings of prosociability (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Gender X Target Group Interaction for Prosociality

Between Subject Effects for the Gender X Target Group interaction also showed significant effects for teacher ratings of assertiveness ($F(2, 699) = 3.32, p < .05$). Post Hoc Analyses (LSD, $p < .05$) indicated that shy/withdrawn boys were significantly less assertive than average boys, and shy/withdrawn girls were less assertive than both aggressive and average girls. Furthermore, aggressive girls were more assertive than average girls (see Figure 2).

Figure 2

Gender X Target Group Interaction for Assertivness

Teacher ratings of learning problems and academic performance. A 3 (Target Group) X 2 (Gender) X 4 (Grade) MANOVA was run using learning problems and academic performance as the dependent variables. The overall MANOVA results revealed a significant main effect for Target Group (Wilks $F(4, 1206) = 2.86, p < .05$) and Gender (Wilks $F(2, 603) = 6.42, p < .05$). No significant differences were found for Grade (Wilks $F(6, 1206) = 2.03, ns$), the Grade X Gender interaction (Wilks $F(4, 1206) = .95, ns$), Target Group X Grade interaction (Wilks $F(12, 1208) = .79, ns$) or the Target Group X Gender interaction (Wilks $F(12, 1206) = .79, ns$).

Tests of between subject effects for Target Group exhibited significant results for academic performance only ($F(2, 604) = 3.95, p < .05$). Post Hoc analyses (LSD, $p < .05$) showed that aggressive children received significantly lower ratings of academic performance than average children. Academic scores for the shy/withdrawn group did not differ significantly from either the aggressive or average group (refer back to Table 5).

Tests of between subject effects for Gender demonstrated significant results for learning problems ($F(1, 604) = 5.60, p < .05$) and academic performance ($F(1, 604) = 8.50, p < .05$). Post Hoc analyses (LSD, $p < .05$) showed that overall teacher reported males have having significantly greater learning problems than females. Moreover, females were rated by teachers as doing better academically than males (see Table 7).

Table 7

Means (*SD*) for Teacher Ratings of Learning Problems, Academic Problems and Acting Out Behaviours for Males and Females

<i>Dependent Variable</i>	<i>Gender</i>	
	Male	Female
Learning Problems	11.84 (4.25)	10.42 (4.18)
Academic Problems	3.27 (.93)	3.56 (.93)
Acting Out Behaviours	11.67 (4.41)	9.48 (3.62)

Note: Means are significantly at $p < .01$.

Global self-esteem. A 2 (Gender) X 3 (Grade) X 3 (Target Group) ANOVA was conducted to examine self-reports of global self-esteem. Recall that children in grade 2 did not complete this measure, thus the results are for grades 4, 6 and 8 only. All interactions were non-significant. Significant main effects were obtained for Grade only ($F(2, 487) = 15.58, p < .00$) and not for Gender ($F(1, 487) = .50, ns$) or Target Group ($F(2, 487) = 2.97, ns$). Subsequent Post Hoc analyses (LSD, $p < .05$) indicated that global self-esteem was the lowest in grade 4. There were no significant differences found between grades 4 and 6, but then in grade 8 levels of self-esteem became significantly higher than both grades 4 and 6. Thus, global self-esteem was greatest amongst Indian children in grade 8 and the lowest in grade 4. Means for these results are displayed in Table 6.

Teacher ratings of acting out behaviours. A 2 (Gender) X 4 (Target Group) X 4 (Grade) ANOVA was run with teacher ratings of acting out behaviours as the dependent variable. All interactions were non-significant. Significant main effects were obtained for Target Group ($F(2, 699) = 6.45, p < .05$) and Gender ($F(1, 699) = 20.40, p < .05$), but not for Grade ($F(3, 699) = 1.50, ns$) Post Hoc analyses (LSD, $p < .05$) for Target Group revealed that aggressive children acted out significantly more than both the shy/withdrawn and average children. However, the shy/withdrawn and average groups did not differ in their ratings for this behaviour (See Table 5). With respect to Gender, males were rated by teachers as exhibiting significantly more acting out behaviours than females (See Table 7).

Sociometric Status

It was found that 586 children were categorized based on sociometric nominations, the remaining 343 children were unclassified. This procedure identified 122 children as *popular*, 100 as *rejected*, 52 as *neglected*, 29 as *controversial* and 283 as *average*. A cross-tabulation of behavioural-by-sociometric classification was computed for assessing the relation between being *extremely* aggressive, *extremely* shy/withdrawn, *average*, and being rejected, popular, neglected, controversial, or average. The results are presented in Table 8.

Table 8
Crosstabulations of Target Group X Sociometric Nominations

Target Group		Status				
Shy	Count	Popular 18	Rejected 24	Neglected 5	Controversial 0	Average 35
	Expected Count	17.1	14.0	7.3	4.1	39.6
	Adjusted Residual	.3	3.2	-1.0	-2.2	-1.1
Aggressive	Count	15	32	3	15	19
	Expected Count	17.5	14.3	7.5	4.2	40.6
	Adjusted Residual	-.7	5.5	-1.8	5.9	-5.1
Average	Count	89	44	44	14	229
	Expected Count	87.4	71.7	37.3	20.8	202.8
	Adjusted Residual	.4	-6.7	2.2	-2.9	4.8

The overall Chi Square value was significant (95.09, $p < .05$). The results indicated that both shy/withdrawn ($Z = 2.5$, $p < .05$) and aggressive children ($Z = 4.5$, $p < .05$) were overrepresented in the rejected group. Aggressive children were also less likely to be nominated as being average ($Z = -3.2$, $p < .05$) or neglected ($Z = -1.9$, $p < .05$), and more likely to be controversial ($Z = 5.4$, $p < .05$).

Discussion

The purpose of the present thesis was to examine the correlates of shyness in a cross-cultural sample of elementary-aged children in New Delhi, India. Results indicated that an Indian version of the RCP was an adequate measure of assessing peer nominated behavioural status amongst children in India and that the factor structure of this measure was comparable to the original, North American version of the RCP (Masten et al., 1985). As well, consistent with some of the hypotheses put forth, it was found that Indian females were more shy than Indian males and that shy children in general displayed greater concurrent adjustment difficulties as compared to their average counterparts. In addition, aggression was more prevalent amongst males, and aggressive children in general were more likely to receive negative peer and teacher ratings and concurrent adjustment. Results from the current study did not support the notion that shy females would suffer from less concurrent adjustment difficulties as compared to shy males.

The results of this research will be discussed individually beginning with a discussion on shyness/withdrawal and then a discussion on the findings related to aggression. A discussion will then be offered on issues of cross-cultural psychology.

Before doing this, a discussion of the similarities and differences between the Indian, North American and Chinese versions of the RCP will be offered.

Peer Nominations of Child Behaviours in India

Results employing the RCP in an Indian sample were markedly similar to previous findings in North American samples (Masten et al., 1985), but a few differences emerged as well. As was discussed in the results section, some items were dropped from the Indian sample due to cross-loadings, items with loading too low in value, or due to a single item loading onto a fourth factor. Similar to the North American version (Masten et al., 1985), the RCP employed within the Indian sample generated the three factors of Sociability, Aggression and Shyness/Sensitivity. The items which loaded onto each of these three factors within the Indian sample were identical to that of Masten et al. (1985) with the exception of one item. In the North American version of the RCP, the item “A person who can’t get others to listen” loaded on the Sensitive/Isolated factor, but for the Indian sample, this item loaded onto the aggression factor.

It is interesting to note that the items which conceptually relate to ‘active isolation’ on the North American RCP (e.g., ‘someone who has trouble making friends’, ‘someone who is often left out’) were dropped from the Indian version. This suggests that while the Indian sample were able to nominate peers as being ‘too bossy’ (aggressive factor) or ‘a good leader’ (sociability factor), they had difficulty in identifying children who would typically be isolated from the peer group within North America. These isolation items which were dropped from the Indian RCP cross loaded onto the aggression and the sociability factors, suggesting that these behavioural characteristics

might be interpreted as being either positive in nature (sociable) or negative (aggressive), but they were not associated with behaviours indicative of shyness/sensitivity.

While shy/sensitive behaviours were identifiable on the Indian RCP, the *meanings* of these behaviours were not associated with active isolation from the peer group. Indian children who were nominated by their peers as being shy were also nominated as being 'usually sad', 'someone whose feelings get hurt easily' or 'someone who would rather play alone than with others'. These behavioural characteristics are highly indicative of more a withdrawn, sensitive child who isolates *themselves* from the peer group as opposed to being isolated (See Asendorpf, 1993). This suggests that shy/sensitive children in India tend to play by themselves out of personal choice and are not prevented from playing with others, yet their behaviours seem to be associated with peer rejection. This finding is quite different from North American research (Masten et al., 1985) and may be indicative of the collectivistic nature of Indian culture. Someone who is shy and sensitive is not disrupting the group harmony and thus would not be isolated from others. As will be seen, this is different from results of the Chinese version of the RCP (Chen, Rubin & Li, 1995c) which may be indicative of varying degrees of collectivism.

When considering the remaining items on the Indian RCP, the similarities they share with the North American RCP (Masten et al., 1985) add confidence to the utilization of this North American measures within a cross-cultural sample. This measure was not translated into Hindi since English has become the national language of New Delhi. This was a source of concern or an identified limitation of this study since the items could hold a different meaning within India as compared to North America. However, the strong similarity between the factors identified in India and North America

would suggest that, for the most part, the items were interpreted to hold similar meaning across both cultures.

Comparison with the RCP in China. The Indian version of the RCP was also quite similar to the 30 item version tested on a Chinese sample by Chen, Rubin and Sun (1992). The Chinese version also loaded onto three factors identified as Prosocial-Competent Behaviours (14 items), Aggressive-Isolated Behaviours (12 items) and Sensitive Behaviours (3 items). Whereas these factors were identified using different labels than was used in the North American or Indian samples, the majority of the items comprising each factor were identical to the pattern identified by Masten et al (1985) and the present thesis.

The difference between the Chinese version and the Indian version can be seen in the number of items comprising the scale. The Chinese sample yielded 30 items while the Indian version yielded 24 items. Items in the Indian sample had to be dropped as a result of cross-loadings, alpha values below .30, or as the result of being an isolated item within a factor.

When comparing the items within each factor for the Chinese and Indian versions of the RCP, the items in the Sociability factor for the Indian sample were all found within the Prosocial-Competent factor in China. However, on the Aggression factor within the Indian sample, the item of “A person who can’t get others to listen” was also an item on the Aggressive-Isolated factor in the Chinese version. Recall that this item was originally on the Sensitivity-Isolated factor in Masten et al’s (1985) scale. The only difference between the Chinese and Indian version of the RCP was seen for the item “A person who would rather play alone than with others”. This item was on the Shyness/Sensitivity

factor in India but loaded on the Aggression/Isolated factor in China presumably because choosing to play alone contradicts the collectivistic nature of Chinese society which emphasizes group functioning (Hart et al., 2000).

Thus, overall, the Indian version of the RCP was remarkably similar to both the North American and Chinese versions. This cross-cultural evidence suggests that children within these three cultures are able to differentiate between peers whom they perceive as being more sociable, aggressive or shy/withdrawn. These results do allow for general comparisons to be made between these three cultures. The main difference between these three cultures is with respect to items on the RCP for isolation. Within North America, these items were paired with descriptions of sensitivity or social withdrawal. In India, the majority of the isolation items did not load onto the three identifiable factors, suggesting that the meaning of these behaviours within Indian culture is distinct from that of North America and China. Being actively isolated, for the most part, does not co-exist with sociable or aggressive behaviours in India. On the contrary, in China, behaviours which were categorized as aggressive were associated with isolated behaviours, suggesting that children exhibiting individualistic behaviours tend to be isolated by their peer group. What is interesting is that India is also a collectivistic society, yet the patterns for isolated behaviours were not the same as was seen for China. This seems to suggest that there are various levels of collectivism which need to be considered. Recent research on subtypes of social withdrawal acknowledged this issue when comparing a sample of Russian children to Chinese children (Hart et al., 2000). The researchers anticipated that the results of the Russian sample would be more similar to the North American sample since the Russian culture seems to hold a combination of

individualistic and collectivistic ideologies. This might also hold true for the Indian children and will be discussed in more detail later.

Shy Children in New Delhi, India

Gender differences. As hypothesized, Indian females in this sample were found to be more shy/withdrawn than Indian males. Whereas results of previous studies regarding gender differences have been mixed within North American samples, there is at least some evidence to suggest that North American adolescent girls tend to be more shy/withdrawn than adolescent boys (e.g., Lazarus, 1982; Rubin, Chen, & Hymel, 1993). Studies for younger age groups have been inconclusive (e.g., Lemerise, 1997). Results of studies conducted in China by Chen and colleagues (e.g., Chen, Rubin & Sun, 1992) have not reported such gender differences. Thus, the findings from the Indian sample seem to parallel North American patterns, but the underlying reasons for the greater prevalence of shyness/withdrawal amongst Indian females is likely connected to the Indian culture.

Hindus within India are highly influenced by social caste and gender (Flood, 1996). As such, males are higher in the social hierarchy than females and the expected behaviours of females are quite explicit (Krisnathurthy, 1992). Females are expected to be more subdued and obedient as compared to males. This would indicate that shy/withdrawn behaviours expressed by females would be more socially acceptable and possibly even reinforced. These speculations were supported by research conducted in Chandigarh, India on a sample of toddlers who were assessed on measures of temperament and parental practices (Verma et al., 2000). Indeed, boys characterized as being socially-fearful had mothers who were more punitive as compared to mothers of socially-fearful girls. These findings suggest that socially fearful behaviours exhibited by

Indian boys are less accepted by their mothers, possibly because of the numerous responsibilities the Indian male is expected to take on when older (Kaldate, 1990). A dominant personality better suits the role of the Indian male within society. On the other hand, socially-fearful behaviours are reinforced amongst female toddlers since it better suits their expected role within the social hierarchy.

Significant gender by target group (aggressive, shy/withdrawn and average) interactions were found in this thesis with respect to teacher ratings of behavioural characteristics, but not in relation to concurrent internalizing difficulties or peer rejection. It was found that shy/withdrawn females were less likely to exhibit prosocial behaviours as compared to aggressive or average females. However, aggressive, shy/withdrawn or average males did not differ on teacher ratings of prosociability. While shy/withdrawn girls tended to be more 'reserved' in the amount of prosocial behaviours exhibited, the fact that girls did not score higher on internalizing difficulties or ratings of peer rejection suggests that this is not a cause of concern. It seems to reflect the cultural expectations of females within Indian society.

An interaction was also found for teacher ratings of assertiveness. Both males and females who were shy were the least likely to be rated by teachers as being assertive as compared to their aggressive and average counterparts. It was also found that aggressive girls were more assertive than average girls. These findings provide etic support for the behavioural expression of shyness as being behaviourally inhibited (Kagan, Reznick & Snidman, 1988) or reticent (Coplan et al., 1994).

Indices of adjustment. Extremely shy/withdrawn children in the present sample displayed a pattern of social adjustment that was markedly similar to results reported

from North American research (e.g., Rubin, 1993; Rubin, Chen & Hymel, 1993). As mentioned previously, it has been consistently found within North American cultures that shy children experiences numerous difficulties in terms of their social adjustment (e.g., Rubin & Mills, 1988) and are typically rejected or isolated from their peers (Rubin et al., 1995). Additionally, shy children in Western cultures have been shown to experience academic difficulties (e.g., Green, Forehand, Beck and Vosk, 1980) and seem to be at risk for developing various internalizing difficulties such as loneliness and depressive symptoms (e.g., Hymel, Rubin, Rowden, & LeMare, 1990). However, in China extremely shy/withdrawn children appear to be more accepted by their peers and perform better academically than their average peers, when they are younger (e.g., Chen, Rubin & Li, 1995a). Additionally, Chinese children who are extremely shy/withdrawn do not differ from their average peer group in self-reports of loneliness and depression which suggests that at younger ages, shy/withdrawn children in China are socially well-adjusted, whereas they suffer from concurrent maladjustment in North America at all ages.

Similar to North American findings, the present results demonstrated that this sample of shy/withdrawn children demonstrated a pattern of social adjustment that was identified by significant correlations with higher scores of loneliness, depression, and anxiety. When the analyses focused solely on the extremely shy children, it was found that this group was characterized by higher scores of loneliness, depression and anxiety than their average counterparts. Additionally, they were also more likely to be rejected by their peers and be perceived by their teachers as being less assertive.

Shyness/withdrawal was not associated with poor academic performance, learning

problems or lower self-esteem. These non significant results are inconsistent with North American research findings (e.g., Rubin, 1993).

When attempting to conceptualize *why* shy/withdrawn children in India are at risk of such internalizing difficulties, it is important to take a close look at the Indian culture. While India is a collectivistic culture, it needs to be distinguished from other collectivistic cultures, such as China. China seems to function as a whole, or for society as a whole as opposed to the individual. This is especially reinforced for young children. In India, the collectivistic nature of society seems to be more socially stratified within the castes, or more specifically, within the families. As such, there seems to be a combination of collectivistic and individualistic ideals in New Delhi. This will be elaborated upon further in the following discussion.

The family, or more specifically, the extended family, is the main focus of Indians. The extended family is common within New Delhi. A typical extended family involves a man and his wife and their children living under the same roof with the man's parents. This means that the man has the responsibility to provide for his wife, his children and his elderly parents until they pass away. Sometimes the extended family includes relatives who do not live in the household, but who require financial assistance. This may include cousins, nieces, nephews or older relatives who are lacking in financial resources. One might also provide financial assistance to a relative who has moved outside of India to attend school or pursue a career. In either case, the financial burden of a male in India is beyond that of his immediate family.

Should a man be shy/withdrawn within India, they would presumably be less likely to fulfill the numerous responsibilities which they inherit by simply being born a

male. Similar to North American culture, assertiveness would better allow the Indian male to pursue the better paying jobs (Caspi, Elder & Bem, 1988) or to succeed at any type of job, for example pursuing indecisive customers within a market setting. In accordance with this, it can be presumed that the Indian culture would reinforce more assertive social skills within the males. As such, an Indian male who is *extremely* shy would not be as well accepted and would be at risk for depression and loneliness and a greater level of anxiety. From a young age they are aware of the numerous responsibilities of which they must successfully take on once they are married. They would then also be aware of the social skills which will be beneficial to them or detrimental to them from their younger years throughout adulthood.

While these results for Indian males make conceptual sense when considering the cultural role of a male within Indian society, the role of the Indian female needs to be revisited. An original hypothesis of this thesis was that *extremely* shy/withdrawn females would be at a lower risk of concurrent adjustment difficulties, as compared to males, because there has traditionally been less expected of them with respect to their roles and responsibilities (Veema, 2000). However, this hypothesis was not supported in the present thesis. It was *equally* detrimental to by an extremely shy/withdrawn male or female. This finding might be indicative of the changing nature of Indian culture with respect to gender inequality. As was previously mentioned, the gender gap has been closing over the years (Kaldate, 1990), but the literature suggests that Indian society is still male dominated. While this may be the case, the modern Indian female is playing a greater role within the context of the extended family and society as a whole.

A greater number of Indian females are attending school and University then before (Kaldate, 1990). As a result of this, modern Indian females are making a greater contribution when it comes to providing for the extended family as compared to past generations, regardless of the fact that some males might still control their paycheck (Kaldate, 1990). This would suggest that Indian females also have to possess more assertive social skills in order to succeed within school and their careers. Being extremely shy/withdrawn would not allow for a female to succeed in their career of choice. As such, an Indian girl in school who is quite shy/withdrawn may not be as well accepted by others (peers, teachers) and may be at risk for greater depression, anxiety and loneliness, similar to Indian males.

An anecdotal example clearly illustrates the role of Indian males and females in New Delhi. The Cambridge Foundation School was run by a man and his wife for many years and the teachers of this school was comprised of their grown children. Once these children were married, their spouses then became teachers within the institution as well. The husband and wife who originally founded this school have since retired and are living with their eldest son. The remaining offspring all continue to run the school and they all support their elderly parents. Interesting to note is that the new principal is one of the female siblings and not the male sibling. This is because she has obtained the necessary Masters degree while her male sibling has not.

The Indian society has become highly influenced by Western society, so in order for both males and females to succeed in providing for their extended families, they would need to be assertive within their caste system. Being too withdrawn seems to be highly deviant from this more modern India. Indian society used to be burdened by

immense poverty, but modern India is now overwhelmed by an extremely high population (Flood, 1996). This creates high competition for the basic concept of supply and demand. In order to succeed financially in India, one needs to market their service or product in an aggressive manner in order to lure a customer towards themselves and away from the competition. An assertive, sometimes, forceful personality seems to be the norm at local markets in New Delhi. A merchant, who is highly shy or anxious, would not attract the same clientele as someone who is assertive and confident. It therefore seems as if living in New Delhi requires both collectivistic and individualistic ideals. It can be speculated that in order to contribute and support one's extended family (the collectivistic group), an Indian male or female must act in an individualistic manner within society. It is not uncommon to be browsing in an outdoor market in India and have a merchant from a neighboring business come over to you and tell you that you should be in their place of business where you will find what you want. This is clearly an individualistic manner of doing business.

More recent cross-cultural research suggests that the concepts of individualism and collectivism needs to be redefined. Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk and Gelfand (1995) and Triandis (1995) proposed subdividing these constructs further into *vertical* and *horizontal* dimensions. These dimensions embodies how and individual living within either a collectivistic or individualistic culture lives in a society in which individual members are seen as being different/unequal or the same/equal to one another. Individuals who are high on the *vertical* dimension would live within a society that emphasizes social hierarchies and thus inequality amongst members of society. On the contrary, individuals within either a collectivistic or individualistic culture may live in a

society high on the *horizontal* dimension which emphasizes equal rights and social status. Western societies have been found to be individualistic and high on the vertical dimension while societies in Singapore were found to be more vertically collectivistic (Soh & Leong, 2002) and Denmark was found to be more horizontally individualistic (Nelson & Shavitt, 2002).

It can be speculated that the current results for the Indian sample might be reflective of a horizontal collectivistic society in which members within a family function as a whole (collectivism) within a society marked by pronounced social class distinction (vertical). These speculations require empirical verification.

Aggressive Children in New Delhi, India

The topic of aggression was not a major focus of this research. As such, the discussion of the current findings will be brief. Results from the current study indicated that as compared to average children aggressive children were found to have more academic problems, exhibit more acting out behaviours and were more disliked as compared to their average counterparts, but they were not at a greater risk for higher scores of loneliness, depression or anxiety. These findings are similar to what has been documented in the Western literature (e.g., Coie & Kupersmidt, 1983; Dodge, 1983; Rubin et al., 1993) and in the research from China (Chen, Chen, & Kaspar, 2001). In the present sample, it was also found that aggressive children were more likely to be male, had significantly lower scores in indices of loneliness and anxiety than shy/withdrawn children.

Overall, the results for extremely aggressive children in India do support Western (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2001) and Eastern findings. As such, aggressive children in India

appear to also be 'at risk' for both school adjustment and issues related to peers. These findings provide additional cross-cultural evidence that aggressiveness is not a desired quality within the Indian culture, similar to what has been documented within other cultures. These findings therefore provide etic evidence of the undesirable nature of extremely aggressive behaviours amongst children.

It is important to remember that India is a collectivistic society and as such, individuals are expected to behave in a manner which will benefit the collective whole, whether this is the extended family or society, as opposed to themselves. Aggressive behaviours oppose such collectivistic ideals.

In a recent investigation, Khatri and Kpersmidt (2003) examined aggression, peer victimization and social relationships amongst Indian youths in Mandvi India. This rural town was located in Northwest India. Peer nominations were used to identify aggressors and victims. Their results revealed that approximately 15% of their sample was nominated as being aggressive. They also found that aggressive children were more likely to be male, were more likely to be rejected by their peers, but victims of the aggressors were not found to be characterized by social status (caste) and age was not a factor for the prevalence of aggressors or victims. Thus, similar to the current results there are quite a few commonalities in the social experiences of aggressive children in various cultures.

The similarity between the current results for aggressive children and previous research conducted in Western, Chinese and Indian samples is suggestive of the fact that there are similar (etic) social processes associated with peer group behaviours and

concurrent correlations of adjustment which occur in various different countries despite the different cultural values and standards found within each of them.

Additional correlates of aggression within the current study was prosocial behaviours and assertiveness. Aggressive females were found to be more prosocial than average females while aggressive and shy/withdrawn males did not differ on teacher ratings of prosocial behaviours. Additionally, aggressive girls were also found to be more assertive than shy/withdrawn or average girls, whereas aggressive males did not differ from shy/withdrawn or average males on teacher ratings of assertiveness. These interactions for aggressiveness and gender seem to indicate that aggressive females seem to exhibit behaviours that are overt and therefore noticeable to teachers. Whether or not these gender specific behaviours are associated with any negative outcomes could not be answered in the present study since the cell sizes were quite small. As such, future investigations are necessary to examine these outcomes.

Revisiting the Goals of Cross-Cultural Research

Cross-cultural researchers (e.g., Saarni, 1998) have suggested that many researchers in psychology have a North American Bias when they generalize findings from a Western culture to other cultures. The main objective of cross-cultural psychology is to avoid this North American bias by focusing on the social processes which link culture, ecology and personality. This is the indigenous approach to psychology (Poortinga, 1997). This section focuses on the various objectives and issues associated with cross-cultural research and will discuss how the current thesis satisfied each of these.

An objective of cross-cultural research put forth by Berry et al. (1992) was to test a psychological theory within another culture in order to determine how generalizable this theory is. This was referred to as the 'transport and test' function. The main objective of this thesis was to test whether or not shyness in India was associated the concurrent maladjustment, similar to what has been seen within North America. The results of this research have shown that shyness in India is associated with various adjustment difficulties which allows the theory of shyness to be generalized to India. However, these results need to be interpreted within the context of the Indian culture and it needs to be made certain that North American interpretations are not generalized to the Indian culture. Whereas it is acceptable to generalize the theory that extreme shyness may pose difficulties for children outside of North America, it is not acceptable to generalize the reasons behind these results to another culture other than the one in which the research was conducted.

Berry et al. (1992) also suggested that researchers use the 'fold back' approach which involves the exploration and discovery of variations in behaviour which does not allow for full generalizability of a theory. Whereas the outcomes of shyness in India were similar to those found in North America, the main difference between these two cultures was that the outcomes in India were not dependent on gender. North American findings have shown boys to suffer more negative outcomes when they are shy (e.g., Rubin, Chen & Mills, 1988), presumably due to societal standards of the male role. In India, no evidence of gender differences in the outcomes of shyness were found in terms of enhanced loneliness, depression, anxiety and rejection from peers. It was originally hypothesized that the pronounced gender differences within Indian society would also be

evident in the outcomes associated with shyness. As was mentioned, the Indian culture is becoming highly influenced by Western culture which might explain why extreme shyness would appear to be more deviant to others and might also be associated with self-reports of internalizing difficulties, but because of the increased expectations of Indian women to contribute to the extended family, it is speculated that females are at risk for these difficulties as well. Another possible reason for the lack of significant gender differences might be as a result of the specific measures used in the present research. The males in India have numerous more responsibilities as compared to Indian females (Verma et al., 2000). Thus, it is plausible that gender differences might have been observed if a measure of stress was administered. A male who is extremely shy may also have high levels of stress as a result of not possessing more uninhibited personality characteristics which are highly valued within Indian society.

Another objective previously mentioned by Lonner and Adamopoulos (1997) was that the specific culture being examined should be regarded as the major factor contributing to individual differences in human behaviour. This objective has also been satisfied in the present research. While the majority of the results were markedly similar to findings obtained within North America (e.g., Rubin, 1993), the *meaning* of these results was interpreted from within the Indian culture, and not from a North American perspective. One cannot simply state, for example, that shyness is a disadvantage in India similar to how it is within Western cultures. One needs to examine the meaning of shyness within the East Indian culture in order to determine why shy Indian children suffer from greater internalizing issues as compared to their average or aggressive counterparts. This interpretation has already been provided.

Another objective put forth by Lonner and Adamopoulos (1997) is that cross-cultural psychology needs to involve comparisons of behaviour between cultures based on equivalent methods of measurement. The research in India utilized identical measures as were used in North America by Rubin, Chen and Mills (1988) and as research in China (e.g., Chen, Rubin & Li, 1995). While the factor analyses of the RCP (Morison et al., 1986) produced different factor loadings, it has already been seen that all three versions of the RCP shared many commonalities. This allowed *general* comparisons to be made across all three cultures.

Cross-cultural biases. Cross-cultural researchers need to consider three types of biases (Vijvey & Leung, 1997). The first bias is *construct bias* which refers to a psychological construct not being identical across cultural groups, yet being generalized as if this were true. The construct of shyness within India does seem to be quite similar to how it is interpreted within North America, but holds a different meaning from the Chinese culture (e.g., Chen, Rubin & Sun, 1992). Shyness in North American has been described as being deviant from the peer group (Younger & Daniels, 1992). Within India, shyness was associated peer rejection across all ages. This strongly suggests that shyness in India is interpreted as being deviant, or against the norm. In China, however, shyness translates to being well-behaved (Chen, Rubin & Sun, 1992) and is accepted, and even reinforced by peers. The second bias, referred to as *method bias*, involves weaknesses in the administration of the instrument, even if the construct itself is free from bias. The methodology used for this thesis is identical to previous methodologies used within this school. Both the teachers and students at the Cambridge Foundation School have participated in research studies and have had no issues with this

methodology. Since the current procedure used was familiar, comfortable, and essentially ‘user-friendly’ for the participants, the method bias is deemed to have been avoided.

The third bias is known as *item bias* which is the result of a poor translation process for the measures used, or the use of inappropriate items within a particular context. In the current study, the measures used were originally translated to Hindi by a qualified translator. This was done since Hindi was once the national language of New Delhi, and is still documented in books as such (e.g., Flood, 1996). However, once the principal researcher was in India, it was brought to her attention that the students would be unable to read these translated measures since English has become the national language. The students conduct all of their school work (reading, writing and speaking) in English. Consequently, the original English measures were administered to the students. This was a cause of concern since the main goal of this research was to avoid imposing a North American bias. However, upon meeting with the teachers to discuss the administration of the measures, it was apparent that all of the items were well understood by the teachers, who would then be able to clarify any confusion on the students’ part. Also, while the teachers administered the questionnaires the principal researcher was in the building and was to be paged should students have questions concerning the items or the procedures. The researcher’s assistance was not requested. While item bias may have a source of concern at the onset of the data collection process, it is no longer a concern.

Finally, cross-cultural researchers either conduct level-orientated studies or structural-orientated studies (Vijver & Leung, 1997). This study examined the

relationship between levels of shyness and aggressiveness with various concurrent outcomes and compared the results to similar work conducted within other cultures. This makes the current study a structural-orientated study.

To conclude, the objectives of cross-cultural research are many, but necessary in order to achieve the goal of preventing a North American bias and achieving an indigenous approach to studying psychology. The current investigation carefully attended to each objective and issue relevant to cross-cultural research in an attempt to provide preliminary evident on the issue of shyness within the Indian culture.

Caveats and Suggestions for Future Research

Whereas the results of the present research did contribute to the body of knowledge of cross-cultural research, some potential limitations warrant further discussion. The first limitation pertains to the generalizability of the findings: the characteristics of the sample might not be generalizable to all parts of India. The students who participated in this study attended a private school. This in of itself is a limitation since not all families in India has the economic means to send their children for private schooling. As such, the findings from this study might not be able to be generalized to children who are from lower socioeconomic classes.

The location itself is another limitation. The capital of India has more economic and scholastic opportunities as opposed to more isolated areas of the country. New Delhi has been greatly influenced by Western culture, which has resulted in both male and female children being offered more opportunities to engage in social interactions within the school setting, which would make issues such as shyness/social withdrawal a relevant issue. However, this may not be the case outside of New Delhi within rural areas of India

which are more traditional and not as highly influenced by Western culture. One can speculate that the gender differences would most likely be more pronounced in these rural areas with males being the breadwinner and the majority of females being raised to be housewives as opposed to receiving an education. As such, extreme shyness may be more of a detriment to males who would perhaps require greater levels of assertiveness in order to earn money for his family. Future research is required to investigate these speculations further.

While the present sample is limited in generalizability, it is also reflective of changes within the Indian culture. India has changed dramatically over the last ten years, and as was previously mentioned, the resources available on the country and the culture are not up to date. The changes in New Delhi have been especially rapid. A strong example would be the issue encountered with having the measures translated to Hindi. Numerous sources (e.g., Flood, 1996) cite Hindi as the national language, yet New Delhi has become so influenced by Western culture that English is now the national language. The present sample is reflective of a very modern India. As such, the present data provides important, up to date information to the body of cross-cultural knowledge pertaining to consequences associated with shyness in a modern city within India.

Another limitation pertains to the unequal distribution of males to females within the present sample. As was mentioned previously, there were almost twice as many males within each classroom as compared to females. This was thought to reflect the patriarchal nature of Indian society in which a family who does not have enough financial means to send all their offspring to private school would select to send the males. This unequal distribution could have had an impact on empirical findings.

A measure of self-esteem was included in the present study in order to obtain a more comprehensive view of the correlates of shyness/withdrawal within this culture. However, results from this measure should be interpreted with caution as a result of its demonstrated weak psychometric properties in the current sample. This measure has been used in previous research in China (Chen, Chen & Kaspar, 2001) without psychometric difficulties, but within this specific culture, it did not seem valid. Anecdotally, there was some evidence to suggest that the instructions for this measure were particularly confusing for students in the current sample. Future research is clearly required to better elucidate the psychometric properties of this assessment procedure in India.

Another limitation involves the various resources available that discuss the Indian culture. It is the researcher's personal opinion that the sources pertaining to the Indian culture within New Delhi are outdated. This was exemplified with the experience of translating the measures for this thesis into Hindi. Numerous 'timely' sources cited Hindi as being the national language of India, and specifically of New Delhi. However, once the principle researcher was in New Delhi, it was made apparent that English has become the national language and that the students would have great difficulty reading inventories in any other language. The objective of a cross-cultural researcher is to immerse oneself into the culture in which you are conducting research, but this objective is quite difficult when the information pertaining to the specific culture is not up to date.

Future researchers also need to consider implementing a stress inventory to this age group to determine if males and females perceived different stressors from one another. It was suggested earlier that the lack of gender differences in this study might

have been the result of the particular measures used. This culture is highly characterized by gender inequalities/differences, thus it was surprising that such differences did not emerge in the present results. This might have been a reflection of the type of variables investigated. Since males seem to experience more stress than females as a result of the different roles they are expected to play in Indian society, it seems logical that a measure of perceived stress might reflect this.

Future researchers also need to investigate shyness/withdrawal further since the present study provides preliminary evidence of the negative correlates associated with this behavioural characteristic. Such researchers might consider examining the various types of shyness/withdrawal. This type of research was conducted in a recent cross-cultural investigation of Chinese, American and Russian Children (Hart et al., 2000). Researchers interested in the Indian culture should consider implementing a similar investigation within India.

Whereas additional research related to the correlates of shyness/withdrawal is necessary in order to provide empirical replication of the present results, cross-cultural researchers also need to extend their investigations beyond describing social phenomenon in various cultures and begin to examine what transpires when immigration occurs. Various cross-cultural researchers, including the present researcher, have documented various positive and negative correlations associated with specific social behaviours exhibited by infants, children and adults. While this information is valuable in allowing us to have a greater understanding of psychological concepts within various cultures, the next step is to examine potential consequences of an individual living within one culture who immigrates to another culture. For example, research needs to investigate potential

difficulties that might arise for someone who was raised within the People's Republic of China but moves or immigrates to a North American culture. Through cross-cultural research, it is well documented that shyness/withdrawal within China is preferred, but is associated with negative correlates within North America. What is lacking is information pertaining to how someone copes with this cultural change when they have moved to a new culture in which assertive behaviours are positively reinforced. In depth-qualitative analyses would be an ideal methodology to research the experiences of such individuals.

To conclude, this research provides insight into the prevalence and meaning of shyness/withdrawal in New Delhi, India. The construct of shyness/withdrawal is an important concept within this culture which warrants future investigation. While this research did answer numerous questions posed there is still much more to be learned about what it is like to live in India as a shy/withdrawn individual.

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Appendix A

Parent and Student Information Letter

(to appear on Carleton letterhead)

Dear Parents and Students of the Cambridge Foundation Senior Secondary School,

My name is Kavita Prakash and I am a Ph.D. student studying developmental psychology in Ottawa, Canada. I am writing to you to ask your help with a research project that I will be conducting at your school this November. The topic of this study has to do with how children act and feel around their friends and other children in their class – and how that might impact upon their experiences at school. For example, some children might be more friendly and cooperative with classmates, others might be more mean, while still others might be more shy. How children behave towards their classmates might make them feel better or worse about themselves, and make others feel better or worse about them. In order to get more information about these issues, I will be asking students and teachers from classes II, IV, VI, and VIII to complete some short questionnaires about how children behave with their classmates, and how this makes them feel. As well, we will be asking the school to provide us with some records of children's school performance (for example, grades and awards).

Students who participate will be asked to complete 4 short questionnaires about their friendships with other students in their classroom. They will also answer questions about how they feel about themselves. It should take approximately one hour to complete the questionnaires. Students in the younger class (class II) will be given two half-hour time blocks in the same day to finish their task. This will allow them to have a break from the task.

I have received consent from the principal of your school to conduct our research. However, participation by the students in the school is completely voluntary. Students may refuse to take part in this study without penalty, or parents may refuse to allow their children to participate. If as a parent, you do not want to take part, please be sure to notify your teacher of this decision as soon as possible. If the student does decide to take part in the study, they are free to stop at any time without penalty or they may chose to not answer any questions they do not want to.

The information that the students put on the questionnaires will be private and strictly confidential. Once the questionnaires have been completed, each student will be assigned a number code to identify them. Any other researchers involved in this study will only see this numbered code during the data entry and data analysis process.

The Department of Psychology Ethics Committee at Carleton University, in Ottawa Canada, as well as the Cambridge Foundation Secondary School has approved this research. If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to discuss them with Anita Puri (545 – 0784), or with me directly (I will be in New Delhi from November

19 until November 26 and can be contacted at 543 – 1891). Should you wish to discuss any issues with representatives from Carleton University in Canada, you can contact my project supervisor, Dr. Robert Coplan (country-code-613-520-2600, ext. 8691, rcoplan@ccs.carleton.ca), or the chair of the Department of Psychology Ethics Committee (Dr. M. Sénéchal (country code- 613-520-2600, ext. 1155) or Dr. K. Matheson (Chair, Dept. of Psychology, country code, 613-520-2600, ext. 2648).

Thank you in advance for your participation.

Sincerely,
Kavita Prakash (M.A.)

Appendix B

Teacher-Child Rating Scale (T-CRS)

Child's Name _____ Student's School ID# _____

I. Current school performance – check appropriate column:

	1. Far below grade	2. Somewhat below grade	3. At grade level	4. Somewhat above grade	5. Far above grade
1. Language (reading and writing)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Mathematics	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Other courses:					
3. _____: (please specify)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____: (please specify)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

II. Please circle the number which indicates how well each statement describes the child.

	Not at <u>All</u>	<u>A</u> <u>Little</u>	<u>Moderately</u> <u>Well</u>	<u>Well</u>	<u>Very</u> <u>Well</u>
1. Accepts things going his/her way	1	2	3	4	5
2. Defends own views under group pressure	1	2	3	4	5
3. Disruptive in class	1	2	3	4	5
4. Underachieving (not working to ability)	1	2	3	4	5
5. Take the lead in initiating activities	1	2	3	4	5
6. Withdrawn	1	2	3	4	5
7. Fidgety, difficulty sitting still	1	2	3	4	5
8. Has many friends	1	2	3	4	5
9. Ignores teasing	1	2	3	4	5
10. Kind to peers	1	2	3	4	5
11. Shy, timid	1	2	3	4	5
12. Poor work habits	1	2	3	4	5
13. Disturbs others while they are working	1	2	3	4	5
14. Comfortable as a leader	1	2	3	4	5
15. Shows care and concern for others	1	2	3	4	5
16. Anxious, worried	1	2	3	4	5
17. Poor concentration, limited attention span	1	2	3	4	5
18. Is friendly towards peers	1	2	3	4	5
19. Accepts imposed limits	1	2	3	4	5
20. Comforts and supports others who are suffering	1	2	3	4	5
21. Constantly seeks attentions	1	2	3	4	5
22. Nervous, frightened, tense	1	2	3	4	5
23. Participates in class discussions	1	2	3	4	5
24. Difficulty in following directions	1	2	3	4	5
25. Obeys the rules in school	1	2	3	4	5

26. Overly aggressive to peers (fights)	1	2	3	4	5
27. Does not express feelings	1	2	3	4	5
28. Makes friends easily	1	2	3	4	5
29. Copes well with failure	1	2	3	4	5
30. Helps others when they need it	1	2	3	4	5
31. Poorly motivated to achieve	1	2	3	4	5
32. Defiant, obstinate, stubborn	1	2	3	4	5
33. Expresses ideas willingly	1	2	3	4	5
34. Unhappy, sad	1	2	3	4	5
35. Likes to play with others rather than alone	1	2	3	4	5
36. Has difficulty learning academic subjects	1	2	3	4	5
37. Tolerates frustration	1	2	3	4	5
38. Feelings get hurt easily	1	2	3	4	5
39. Well liked by classmates	1	2	3	4	5
40. Well behaved in school	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix C

CDI

Name: _____ Age : _____ Birthdate: _____
 Grade in School: _____ Sex: _____ Today's Date _____

Kids sometimes have different feelings and ideas.

This form lists the feelings and ideas in groups. From each group of three sentences, pick one sentence that describes you **best** for the past two weeks. After you pick a sentence from the first group, go onto the next group.

There is no right or wrong answer. Just pick the sentence that best describes the way you have been recently. Put a mark like this ☐ next to your answer. Put the mark in the box next to the sentence that you pick.

Here is an example of how this form works. Try it. Put a mark next to the sentence that describes you best.

Example:

- ☐ *I read books all the time.*
- ☐ *I read books once in a while.*
- ☐ *I never read books.*

When you are told to do so, turn to the next page. Then, pick the sentences that describe you best on the first page. After you finish the first page, continue to work through to the last page.

Remember, pick out the sentences that describe you best in the PAST TWO WEEKS.

Remember, describe how you have been in the past two weeks.

Item 1

- ☐ *I am sad once in a while.*
- ☐ *I am sad many times.*
- ☐ *I am sad all the time.*

Item 2

- ☐ *Nothing will ever work out for me.*
- ☐ *I am not sure if things will work out for me.*
- ☐ *Things will work out for me O.K.*

Item 3

- ☐ *I do most things O.K.*
- ☐ *I do many things wrong.*
- ☐ *I do everything wrong.*

Item 4

- ☐ *I have fun in many things.*
- ☐ *I have fun in some things.*
- ☐ *Nothing is fun at all.*

Item 5

- ☐ *I am bad all the time.*
- ☐ *I am bad many times.*
- ☐ *I am bad once in a while.*

Item 6

- ☐ *I think about bad things happening to me once in a while.*
- ☐ *I worry that bad things will happen to me.*
- ☐ *I am sure that terrible things will happen to me.*

Item 7

- ☐ *I hate myself.*
- ☐ *I do not like myself.*
- ☐ *I like myself.*

Remember, describe how you have been in the past two weeks.

Item 8

- ☐ *All bad things are my fault.*
- ☐ *Many bad things are my fault.*
- ☐ *Bad things are not usually my fault.*

Item 9

- ☐ *I feel like crying every day.*
- ☐ *I feel like crying many days.*
- ☐ *I feel like crying once in a while.*

Item 10

- ☐ *Things bother me all the time.*
- ☐ *Things bother me many times.*
- ☐ *Things bother me once in a while.*

Item 11

- ☐ *I like being with people.*
- ☐ *I do not like being with people many times.*
- ☐ *I do not want to be with people at all.*

Item 12

- ☐ *I cannot make up my mind about things.*
- ☐ *It is hard to make up my mind about things.*
- ☐ *I make up my mind about things easily.*

Item 13

- ☐ *I look O.K.*
- ☐ *There are some bad things about my looks.*
- ☐ *I look ugly.*

Item 14

- ☐ *I have to push myself all the time to do my schoolwork.*
- ☐ *I have to push myself many times to do my schoolwork.*
- ☐ *Doing schoolwork is not a big problem.*

Remember, describe how you have been in the past two weeks.

Item 15

- ☐ *I have trouble sleeping every night.*
- ☐ *I have trouble sleeping many nights.*
- ☐ *I sleep pretty well.*

Item 16

- ☐ *I am tired once in a while.*
- ☐ *I am tired many days.*
- ☐ *I am tired all the time.*

Item 17

- ☐ *Most days I do not feel like eating.*
- ☐ *Many days I do not feel like eating.*
- ☐ *I eat pretty well.*

Item 18

- ☐ *I do not worry about aches and pains.*
- ☐ *I worry about aches and pains many times.*
- ☐ *I worry about aches and pains all the time.*

Item 19

- ☐ *I do not feel alone.*
- ☐ *I feel alone many times.*
- ☐ *I feel alone all the time.*

Item 20

- ☐ *I never have fun at school*
- ☐ *I have fun at school only once in a while.*
- ☐ *I have fun at school many times.*

Item 21

- ☐ *I have plenty of friends.*
- ☐ *I have some friends but I wish I had more.*
- ☐ *I do not have any friends.*

Remember, describe how you have been in the past two weeks.

Item 22

- ☐ *My schoolwork is alright.*
- ☐ *My schoolwork is not as good as before.*
- ☐ *I do very badly in subjects I used to be good in.*

Item 23

- ☐ *I can never be as good as other kids.*
- ☐ *I can be as good as other kids if I want to.*
- ☐ *I am just as good as other kids.*

Item 24

- ☐ *Nobody really loves me.*
- ☐ *I am not sure if anybody loves me.*
- ☐ *I am sure that somebody loves me.*

Item 25

- ☐ *I usually do what I am told.*
- ☐ *I do not do what I am told most times.*
- ☐ *I never do what I am told.*

Item 26

- ☐ *I get along with people.*
- ☐ *I get into fights many times.*
- ☐ *I get into fights all the time.*

What I Am Like

Cross-Cultural Shyness146

Name _____ Age _____ Birthday ^{Appendix D} _____ (month) _____ (day)

Boy or Girl (circle one) **Perceived Competence Scale for Children**

SAMPLE SENTENCE

	Really True <u>for me</u>	Sort of -True <u>for me</u>				Sort of True <u>for me</u>	Really True <u>for me</u>
(a)	_____	_____	Some kids would rather play outdoors in their spare time	BUT	Other kids would rather watch T.V.	_____	_____
<hr/>							
1.	_____	_____	Some kids feel that they are very <i>good</i> at their school work	BUT	Other kids <i>worry</i> about whether they can do the school work assigned to them	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	Some kids find it <i>hard</i> to make friends	BUT	Other kids find it's pretty <i>easy</i> to make friends	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	Some kids often do <i>not</i> like the way they behave	BUT	Other kids usually <i>like</i> the way they behave	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	Some kids are often <i>unhappy</i> with themselves	BUT	Other kids are pretty <i>pleased</i> with themselves	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	Some kids feel like they are <i>just as smart</i> as other kids their age	BUT	Other kids aren't so sure and <i>wonder</i> if they are as smart	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____	Some kids have <i>alot</i> of friends	BUT	Other kids <i>don't</i> have very many friends	_____	_____
7.	_____	_____	Some kids usually do the <i>right</i> thing	BUT	Other kids often <i>don't</i> do the right thing	_____	_____
8.	_____	_____	Some kids <i>don't</i> like the way they are leading their life	BUT	Other kids <i>do</i> like the way they are leading their life	_____	_____
9.	_____	_____	Some kids are pretty slow in finishing their school work	BUT	Other kids can do their school work quickly	_____	_____
10.	_____	_____	Some kids would like to have alot more friends	BUT	Other kids have as many friends as they want	_____	_____

Really True <u>for me</u>	Sort of True <u>for me</u>			Sort of True <u>for me</u>	Really True <u>for me</u>
11. _____	_____	Some kids usually <i>act</i> the way they know they are <i>supposed</i> to	BUT	Other kids often <i>don't</i> act the way they are supposed to	_____
12. _____	_____	Some kids are <i>happy</i> with themselves as a person	BUT	Other kids are often <i>not</i> happy with themselves	_____
13. _____	_____	Some kids often <i>forget</i> what they learn	BUT	Other kids can remember things <i>easily</i>	_____
14. _____	_____	Some kids are always doing things with <i>alot</i> of kids	BUT	Other kids usually do things <i>by themselves</i>	_____
15. _____	_____	Some kids usually get in <i>trouble</i> because of things they do	BUT	Other kids usually <i>don't</i> do things that get them in trouble	_____
16. _____	_____	Some kids <i>like</i> the kind of <i>person</i> they are	BUT	Other kids often wish they were someone else	_____
17. _____	_____	Some kids do <i>very well</i> at their classwork	BUT	Other kids <i>don't</i> do very well at their classwork	_____
18. _____	_____	Some kids wish that more people their age liked them	BUT	Other kids feel that most people their age <i>do</i> like them	_____
19. _____	_____	Some kids do things they know they <i>shouldn't</i> do	BUT	Other kids <i>hardly</i> ever do things they know they shouldn't do	_____
20. _____	_____	Some kids are very <i>happy</i> being the way they are	BUT	Other kids wish they were <i>different</i>	_____
21. _____	_____	Some kids have <i>trouble</i> figuring out the answers in school	BUT	Other kids almost <i>always</i> can figure out the answers	_____
22. _____	_____	Some kids are <i>popular</i> with others their age	BUT	Other kids are <i>not</i> very popular	_____
23. _____	_____	Some kids behave themselves very well	BUT	Other kids often find it hard to behave themselves	_____
24. _____	_____	Some kids are <i>not</i> very happy with the way they do alot of things	BUT	Other kids think the way they do things is <i>fine</i>	_____

Appendix E

How I Feel

On the next few pages, there are several statements which may be true about you or not true about you. Read each sentence and decide whether or not the sentence is always true about you, not at all true about you, or somewhat in between. Then, put an 'X' in one space under each sentence that tells me your answer. There are no right or wrong answers, just what you think. Please be honest. Here is an example to try:

EXAMPLE:

A. I like watching TV

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

1. It's easy for me to make new friends easily at school.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

2. I have nobody to talk to.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

3. I'm good at working with other kids.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

4. It's hard for me to make new friends.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

5. I like school.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

6. I have lots of friends.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

7. I feel lonely.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

8. I can find a friend when I need one.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

9. It's hard to get other kids to like me.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

10. I don't have anyone to play with.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

11. I get along with other kids.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

12. I feel left out of things.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

13. There's nobody I can go to when I need help.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

14. I don't get along with other kids.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

15. I'm lonely.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

16. I am well liked by the kids in my classes.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

17. I don't have any friends.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

18. I am satisfied with my life in general.

☐ Always True ☐ True Most of the Time ☐ Sometimes True ☐ Hardly True ☐ Not at all True

Appendix F

Class Play

Name _____ Boy ____ Girl ____ Grade _____
 Age _____

Instruction: We are going to pretend to have a class play. There are a number of roles in the play. As the director, you need to find the person who can best play each of the roles. When you find this person, write down his/her number in the space after the role. If you think several people can play the same role, write the numbers of these people (up to three). If you feel a person can play more than one role, that is fine. If you cannot find anybody to play a role, just leave the spaces blank. OK? Do not discuss your answers with others, even after the study is over. Keep your answers to yourself.

Example: Someone who is very tall.

1. A person who is a good leader.

2. A person who gets into a lot of fights.

3. Someone who would rather play alone than with others.

4. A person with good ideas for things to do.

5. A person who loses temper easily.

6. Someone who is considerate of others.

7. Someone you can trust.

8. A person who interrupts when other children are speaking.

9. Someone who has many friends.

10. Someone who will wait his/her turn.

11. Someone whose feelings get hurt easily.

12. A person who everyone listens to.

13. Someone who plays fair.

14. A person you really like to be with at school.
15. Someone who has trouble making friends.
16. Someone who comforts and supports others who are suffering.
17. Someone who obeys rules.
18. A person who can't get others to listen.
19. Somebody who is very shy.
20. Someone who is polite.
21. A person you would rather not be with at school.
22. Somebody who makes new friends easily.
23. Somebody who is too bossy.
24. Someone who is often left out.
25. Somebody who is your best friend.
26. Someone who helps other people when they need it.
27. Someone who is usually sad.
28. A person everyone likes to be with.
29. A person who can get things going.
30. Somebody who teases other children too much.
31. Someone who usually happy.
32. Somebody who picks on other kids.
33. Someone who is kind to peers.
34. Someone who likes to play with others rather than alone.
35. Someone who shows care and concern for others.