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Introduction

What is *hiya*?

What is *malu*?

Roughly translated as shame, the meaning of Filipino *hiya* and Indonesian *malu* comes in layers or degrees. These degrees and meanings depend largely on cultural contexts and social relations.

The Filipino value orientation of hiya in the workplace has several faces and meanings as told and retold in Filipino oral literature: a lady feels hiya if and when a gentleman-officemate calls; a young man feels hiya for getting caught in the act of stealing his officemate's idea; a little boy feels hiya toward a parent's workmate; an executive secretary feels hiya for failing to do the right job; a janitor feels hiya when a manager is not pleased with the cleaning done in his office; a new hire does not express any viewpoints during meetings due to hiya; the president of a corporation feels hiya once proven to have delivered a plagiarized speech to the graduates of his alma mater.

These incidents render *hiya* with varying translations or degrees in the English language: coy lady; sheepish criminal; reticent or bashful child; diffident employee; nervous janitor; cautious new hire; embarrassed president. The lady feels shy in front of a gentleman caller especially if her officemates have been teasing her about him. The young man dishonors his own office and therefore feels foolish for stealing ideas from a workmate. The little boy, known for

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his precocity, hardly opens his mouth in front of the parent's officemates he hardly knows. The janitor is afraid of causing the manager's ire for doing a lousy job. Novelty in the company or fear that s/he will be seen as an upstart results in the employee's diffidence. The president feels embarrassed or loses face for failing to come up with an original speech.

The Indonesian dictionary (KBBI, 2008) gives three definitions of *malu.*

Firstly, it means feeling very uncomfortable (disgrace, contemptible, etc.) for doing something not good (less correctly, in contrast to the custom, have deficiency, etc.). For example, he is ashamed in being caught for stealing money; I am ashamed to meet the visitors because I have not taken a shower.

Secondly, *malu* means one is reluctant to do something because it is a form of disrespect, or one is a bit scared. For example, a student who feels guilty is ashamed to see her teacher; he is ashamed to ask religious scholars about a certain issue.

Lastly, it connotes a feeling of unhappiness (dishonor, despicable, etc.). For example, he feels ashamed of being in the middle of important people.

Extant Asian literature (Church & Katigbak, 2000; Wong & Tsai, 2007) identifies *hiya* and *malu* as Filipino and Indonesian affect or emotion that is categorized either as pleasant or unpleasant. Literature associates *hiya* and *malu* with other emotions or values within social and cultural contexts. It appears that *hiya* and *malu*, a Filipino and Indonesian value, overlap with one or two other values. It also appears that *hiya* and *malu* bring to the fore other value orientations essential in appreciating, describing, and understanding organizational performance of Filipino and Indonesian workers (Jocano, 1999a,1999b).

Western literature, on the other hand, treats shame in connection with emotions such as guilt, embarrassment, and anger or with smeared, spoiled, and stigmatized identities as well as with psychopathology and depression. People, once shamed, salvage their sense of dignity and self-esteem through anger management and self-presentation tools (Fessler, 2004; Goffman, 1956, 1959, 1963; Tangney et al., 1992a; Tangney et al., 1992b; Tangney et al., 1995).

Objectives of the Study

This research 1) explores shame (*hiya* in Filipino and *malu* in Indonesian) in the workplace; 2) looks into the concept of shame from the perspectives of baby boomers (BBs; born in the late 1950s and early 1960s) and of generation Y (GenY; born in the 1980s) as experienced at work

and in relationship with workmates; and 3) analyzes the possible impact of shame (as a value orientation) on self-presentation, interpersonal relations, and organizational performance in the workplace. Specifically, the researchers intend to a) listen to the stories or experiences of BBs and GenY about *hiya* or *malu* at home, in school, and in their workplace; b) determine BBs and GenY's reasons for committing or doing acts that lead to shame; c) identify BBs and GenY's coping mechanisms during and after experiencing shame; and d) design a value-centered organizational model that combines and highlights what is positive in the Filipino and Indonesian cultural and social appraisal of *hiya* or *malu*.

The researchers argue that 1) shame is related to more cultural value orientations of the shamed person; 2) shame arises out of another value orientation in the shamed person's cultural system; 3) shame impacts not only the shamed person but also the shamed person's social capital consisting of family, friends, schoolmates, and workmates; and 4) shame leads to the shamed person's damaged or salvaged reputation ultimately disgracing or vindicating the shamed person's cultural and social capital.

Significance of the Study

The researchers are interested in the sociological underpinnings of shame among the baby boomer and millennial workforces in Indonesia and the Philippines.

The study is significant in three ways.

First, the researchers explore Filipinos and Indonesians' understanding of shame as it possibly impacts participants' organizational membership and performance.

Second and based on study findings, the researchers believe that designing a value-focused model of organizational performance and feedback mechanism is instructive for Filipinos and Indonesians' better understanding of themselves as members of the workforce, sharing and upholding similar or opposing values.

Third, the researchers know that while Indonesia and the Philippines are neighboring countries in Southeast Asia that share a common history of colonization and rich heritage of commercial and social connections, nuances and gaps in values allow each country to maintain its unique identity and contribute to the richness of Filipino and Indonesian literature on shame as one of the bases of a cultural and social value orientation in the workplace.

Limitations of the Study

The study focuses on Filipino and Indonesian participants who belong to the baby boomer and millennial generations, explores participants' definition of shame, and analyzes participants' narratives about their experiences of shame vis-à-vis their social capital at home, in school, and at work. The researchers rely solely on participants' definition of shame and recollection of their experiences. Over the years, these experiences may have taken on different meanings for participants.

The study does not impose on participants any particular definition of shame based on existing literature but allows participants to draw their own understanding of shame from experiences. Descriptive and exploratory in nature, the study does not look into causal or explanatory variables of shame.

The data gathering for the study is done in 2014, the height of Indonesia and the Philippines' preparation for One ASEAN 2015. It is also the year when millennial employees dominate the industries, workforces establish relations mostly online, and baby boomers retire. These events and patterns serve as the backdrop of the study and are not to be taken as variables in the study.

Data Gathering Technique

For data gathering, the researchers will administer an interview schedule among target respondents: 15-25 Filipino BBs, 15-25 Indonesian BBs, 40-50 Filipino GenY, and 40-50 Indonesian GenY. The schedule looks into participants' demographics, immediate social capital, and social mobility. It explores participants' feelings and understanding of shame based on experiences at home, in school, and at work. Content and statistical analyses of respondents' schedules will hopefully help the researchers meet their research objectives.

Related Literature

The interplay of values and culture

According to McShane and Von Glinow (2012), values are "stable, evaluative beliefs that guide [people's] preferences for outcomes or courses of action in a variety of situations" (p. 17). In an organizational setting, shared values or values common to everyone essentially bring people

together (McShane & Von Glinow, 2012). Conversely, conflicting values deter people from building social bonds and are likely to create an atmosphere of hostility and diversity. This, in turn, will yield to negative organizational performance or from the goals of any organization. An atmosphere conducive to working and maximizing potentials is one where values are tolerated and respected regardless of perceived differences. Value orientations are substantial components of individual personalities and complex organizations (Zurcher, Meadow, & Zurcher, 1965).

For Rokeach (1973), values are fundamentally categorized into terminal values and instrumental values: the former are desirable end-states while the latter, desirable modes of conduct. Terminal values refers to desirability of certain ends while instrumental values focuses on desirability of means to certain ends. Terminal values is further subdivided into personal and social, both suggestive of where the focus of the end-state lies. Instrumental values, on the other hand, includes moral and competence values that signify the kind of feelings arising from a particular action. Competence values are intrapersonal and, once violated, lead to feelings of shame about personal inadequacy.

Culture plays a confounding, yet pivotal role, in values configuration. Oftentimes, however, we associate culture with values formation that we tend to oversimplify and neglect an important cultural aspect, i.e., that culture does not solely pertain to national culture. Culture programs the mind and distinguishes a group from another (Hofstede, 1991) while providing the individual with a reference point for behavior that will enhance how values, practices, and beliefs are shared (Jocano, 1999b). Although we strongly agree that national culture contributes immensely to the formation of values, we also believe that there are other facets of culture that are worth looking into. As Hofstede (1991) put it, layers of cultural programming control one's behavior. National, regional (i.e., ethnic, religious, and linguistic), gender, generation, social class, and organizational culture of people also determine their behavior. Consistent with Hofstede's theory, Karahanna, Evaristo, and Srite (2005) discovered that it is not only national culture which affects work behavior: behaviors with a social element are essentially shaped by national and regional cultures, whereas behaviors with a task component are determined by group, organizational, and professional cultures.

Given the cross-cultural and intergenerational nature of this research, subsequent references to culture shall refer to both national and generational culture.

Hiya and malu as culture-specific values

Shame is not caused by any specific situation but rather by the individual's interpretation of the situation (Lewis, Haviland-Jones, & Barrett, 2008). An individual's interpretation is always highly cultural because it is culture which gives meaning to situations. Culture binds us into mutual understandings and cognitively shapes our feelings which we eventually recognize as our emotions (Collins & Bahar, 2000). It instills certain standards, imposes what behaviors are socially acceptable, and prescribes how emotions are to be felt. Hence, what people deem as shameful is shaped by culture. Arriving at a universal valuation of shame is never possible due to contextual implications that culture brings.

A ubiquitous emotion, shame is given various names in different cultures which, in turn, confer varying meanings and implications. Chinese cultures, for example, relate shame to one's performance of duty (Jordan in Wong & Tsai, 2007), the Japanese to positive states such as excitement, love, and happiness (Romney et. al, 1997 in Wong & Tsai, 2007), the Javanese to formality and politeness (Al Jallad, 2002), and Hindu Indians to happiness because of their belief that the emotion is socially constructive (Menon & Shweder, 1994 in Wong & Tsai, 2007). In contrast, the Dutch associate shame to loss of self-esteem while Spaniards link it to transgression of social rules (Al Jallad, 2002). For Americans, shame and anger are similar emotions (Rozin, 2003 in Wong & Tsai, 2007) and that feeling ashamed is an indication of weakness (Al Jallad, 2002). A study among European Americans, Asian Americans, and Hong Kong Chinese revealed that the Chinese value shame more than the European and Asian Americans (Tsai, 2006 in Wong & Tsai, 2007).

The equivalent word for shame in the Philippines is hiya. Similar to the definition of shame in most research on emotion, hiya is also a negative emotion that resembles a sense of fear, anxiety, and inadequacy that arises out of threatening situations (Bulatao, 1964). What distinguishes hiya from other shame assumptions is that it reflects the Filipinos' prime regard for social conformity and adherence to standards imposed by an authority figure or the society. Although defined as a negative emotion, shame is accepted and encouraged as a positive value in Philippine society. Ironic as it may seem, this value does not follow the universal code of conduct but is still considered as a norm. With hiya, it is the social ecology that defines what is right from wrong. Hiya drives us to act appropriately to ensure that others are respected and that

relationships are maintained (Santos, 2007). However, what is appropriate for the group may not necessarily be moral or right.

Bulatao (1964) explained hiya:

If hiya, then, is the anxiety that comes when one's ego is threatened with loss of group support, one can see how the group itself will demand that an individual should have hiya under certain social circumstances. Hiya is the inner form of respect due to the group, one's elders and one's betters. It is the inner acknowledgment that one belongs to a group and has membership duties to it. (p. 437)

To avoid the personal experience of shame and avoid being the cause of other people's shame, one must always yield to the group's opinion or decision. In the workplace, for example, an employee may feel reluctant to publicly point out the rampant wrongdoings of superiors out of hiya and, to a certain extent, out of utang na loob (debt of gratitude). The employee may also feel inhibited to directly express any sentiments or requests to a superior because of hiya.

In typical Filipino conversations, it is common to hear someone say walang hiya (brazen) to describe uncalled for behaviors or unruly people, and mahiya ka naman (have a sense of shame) as an expression of negative judgment. These expressions imply that Filipinos appreciate the presence of shame rather than its absence. However, there is a right formula for shame that is acceptable for Filipinos. Excessive hiya makes a person oversensitive or too timid while a person who does not have any hiya at all is seen as insensitive, boastful, and improper (Santos, 2007).

Tabbada (2005), who saw hiya and dangal (honor) as always interrelated, proposed that "the reason for feeling ashamed is primarily the diminishing of one's honor, either externally if caused by another person, or internally if caused by one's own doing" (p. 22). In his assumption, hiya was simply reduced to a manifestation of dangal. A violation of one's dangal results in shame.

In Indonesia and other Malay-speaking societies, shame linguistically translates to malu. Similar words are memalukan meaning "disgraceful, embarrassing, be ashamed of" and pemalu which means "shy and timid" (Burnett & Sigar, 1996). Evidently, malu categorically fits into conventional perceptions of shame, but its contextualization in Indonesia enhances it as a value. Like hiya, malu is identical to the Western outlook of shame only when it is viewed as an emotion. On the other hand, the cultural valuation of malu identifies quite more accurately with how collectivistic cultures in Asia perceive shame.

Malu is a deeply-embedded concept in personal and social domains (Collins & Bahar, 2000). In general, a sense of malu is regarded as a social good (Goddard, 1996). This view is entirely contradictory to Western models of shame which relegates the emotion into a mere negative construct. In Malay contexts, malu is a positive social force because it instills a standard way of behaving in relation to others. To respect people based on their age and social status, and to exude just the right amount of shyness within mundane interactions are common and simple behavioral means to observe malu (Collins & Bahar, 2000). Malu, as a negative emotional experience, may be felt due to what one has done, what someone else has done, and possession of certain unwanted qualities (Al Jallad, 2002). To be accused or to become self-aware of being arrogant or sombong further brings malu to a person (Collins & Bahar, 2000). There are also gendered differences in experiencing malu (Collins & Bahar, 2000). Women are more likely to withdraw from a shame-inducing situation while men tend to become aggressive and violent. These polarizing tendencies between men and women also imply each gender's dissimilar self-perception.

As in most collectivistic cultures, malu makes individuals highly sensitive to how others regard them. Their actions are guided more by what are socially acceptable than by genuine self-expressions. They also avoid competing for status, and only strive to maintain a modest demeanor at all times (Collins & Bahar, 2000).

The ways in which hiya and malu are internalized by individuals are evidently similar. Despite their negative attributions, hiya and malu are considered as invaluable to the maintenance of individual honor and social order in Philippine and Indonesian societies. The cultural norm in both contexts casts the shamed individual in a negative light to highlight hiya and malu's "informational and motivational significance in collectivistic contexts" (Wong & Tsai, 2007, p. 214). This is in contrast to Western or independent cultures that avoid shame at all costs given their view of shame as a destructive emotion. Hiya and malu are more of positive values than negative emotions.

The fine line between shame and guilt

Another emotion that is closely linked with shame is guilt. A clear demarcation line between these two emotions must be set in order to understand each emotion on its own. Both are self-conscious evaluative emotions (Lewis, 2003) and moral emotions (Tangney & Stuewig, 2004 in

Wong & Tsai, 2007) that are especially relevant to ethical decision-making and compensatory behavior (Tangney et al., 2007 in Ghorbani, Liao, Çayköylü, & Chand, 2013) although they do have different effects on decisions (Ghorbani et al., 2013) and different origins of transgression (Wong & Tsai, 2007). Shame occurs when individuals attribute their transgressions to their global and stable self while guilt is when they attribute their transgressions to transient actions or states (Wong & Tsai, 2007). Moreover, shame involves the negative assessment of others while guilt involves negative self-assessment (Wong & Tsai, 2007).

Although shame and guilt vary in cultural significance, they are believed to have pro-social benefits (Chilton, 2012). Studies made with Chinese, European American, Raramuri, and Javanese respondents all revealed that shame and guilt are closely related to cultures (Wong & Tsai, 2007). Similarly, Bedford and Hwang (2003 in Wong & Tsai, 2007) argued that guilt is more apparent in individualistic cultures because it upholds a general code of ethics imposed by the self while shame is more relevant in collectivistic cultures because the foundation of what is right and wrong rests on one's relationship with others. Tangey and Dearing (2002) interviewed adults regarding their experiences of shame and guilt. Their shame experiences revealed their concern about the evaluation of others while guilt experiences revealed their concern with their effect on others. In shame, the self recognizes its own transgression and makes it responsible. Guilt, meanwhile, attributes the transgression to a bad behavior.

Guilt, like shame, also involves an audience. Ghorbani, Liao, Çayköylü and Chand (2013) undertook an investigation on the impact of psychological proximity perceptions on the level of guilt and shame in an individual, including the tendency to compensate. The participants of the study reported the highest levels of guilt, shame, and compensation when the victim was an in-group member. Guilt increased as proximity decreased but compensation was still manifested regardless of the perceived proximity. On the other hand, shame only predicted compensation to strangers. Thus, guilt is more likely to lead to reparative actions than shame. In the workplace setting, for example, guilt works to the advantage of organizations for it ensures an employee's willingness to take responsibility by employing corrective measures (Hareli, Shomrat, & Biger, 2005; Bohns & Flynn, 2013).

The foregoing discussions show that emotions are highly cultural. A series of studies by Fontaine, Poortinga, Setiadi, and Markam (2002) proposed that language, an important facet of culture, can explain the cognitive structure of emotions and their corresponding location as social

emotions particularly in the context of Indonesia and The Netherlands. Malu was located at the fear cluster while bersalah (Indonesian for guilt) was situated at the sadness cluster. On the other hand, schuld (Dutch for guilt) was only part of a schaamt (Dutch for shame) subcluster within the fear cluster. The outcome of the study illustrates that shame and guilt are translation-equivalent, but not necessarily cognitively equivalent.

In examining generational patterns of shame and guilt across the G.I., silent, baby boom, X, and millennial generations in the United States, Ng (2013) found out that the moral motivation of the five generational cohorts was due primarily to the socialization forces of family, faith, education, and experiential learning. Family and faith served to establish the moral foundations of the respondents while relationships with others assisted them in moral decision-making.

Shame in organizations

Much needed attention has been given to shame in the fields of psychology and psychotherapy in recent years. Quite surprisingly though, shame in the context of organizations is an underexplored area of research. Organizations provide the individual with an interpersonal arena where emotions affect performance and service delivery (Walsh, 1999). Shame triggers in the workplace exist (Poulson, 2000), and can affect employee motivation and performance as well as organizational cohesiveness (Clough, 2010).

Given their indispensable role in organizations, managers are expected to initiate and maintain an atmosphere that is conducive for productive work. However, some managers unconsciously or deliberately shame employees, and these practices cause more harm than good. The relationship between a manager and an employee suggests a perceived power distance that creates an opportunity for shaming interaction (Lansky, 1987 in Poulson, 2000). Walsh (1999), for example, mentioned that shame occurs when managers verbalize unfavorable feedback about an employee's output without acknowledging the hard work and the effort that went with it.

Performance expectations and appraisals, meanwhile, are forms of managerial feedback that can also trigger shame (Poulson, 2000). Individuals may have unrealistic expectations and egocentric perceptions that may be inconsistent with the way others perceive them. The evaluator can set unrealistically high standards and expectations that an employee could only feel

inadequate. Evaluators who are not well-trained tend to shame when their feedback focuses on the person rather than on the person's performance (Poulson, 2000).

Interaction with customers or clients can also trigger shame. A study by Bagozzi, Verbeke, and Gavino (2003) demonstrated how Filipino salespersons from an interdependent-based culture and Dutch salespersons from an independent-based culture differ in the way they regulate shame as a consequence of customer feedback. Results revealed that shame had a negative effect on the work performance of the Dutch salespersons whereas the Filipinos derived more benefits from the experience. Instead of avoiding the customers, the Filipino salespersons showed more inclination to make amends. The Dutch salespersons reduced their "adaptive resource utilization" (Bagozzi, Verbeke, & Gavino, 2003, p. 229) which negatively affected their performance and relationship with their customers. Consistent with their interdependent culture, Filipinos strive to rebuild the relationship following a shameful experience. Meanwhile, a typical Dutch in the aftermath of a shameful experience will withdraw from the situation and exert no effort to compensate for the failure.

A study by Ahmed and Braithwaite (2011) of 824 participants from the government, semi-government, and private sectors of Dhaka, Bangladesh revealed a significant correlation between shame management and workplace bullying. Bullying, a direct attack on the self which undermines social relationships, is a rampant practice in organizational settings and continues to affect employees. The shame management of the employees was measured through the Management of Shame State-Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Displacement (MOSS-SASD) instrument, a scenario-based self-report measure. The regression analysis was based on two dimensions of shame management namely shame acknowledgment and shame displacement. Acknowledgment of shame fosters solidarity in relationships while displacement of shame leads to social alienation. Lewis (2004) has also detected emotions and feelings that can be deduced as shame manifestations of workplace bullying among university and college lecturers. Although the lecturers did not directly acknowledge experiencing shame, their demonstration of powerlessness, humiliation, inferiority, and withdrawal were considered as shame antecedents. In another study, it was shown that denying an individual of employment or membership due to his or her race, religion, and gender is shaming (Nathanson in Poulson, 2000).

Different shame triggers result in different shame impacts on the individual and the group. While positive self-images can fuel the motivation of individuals, negative ones can result

in burnout, workaholism, and inefficiency (Casserley and Megginson, 2009 in Cavicchia, 2010). According to Kim and Nam (1999), losing face in the workplace entails a number of consequences or effects on the part of the employee. A major loss of face can result in antisocial behaviors, absenteeism, and in more severe cases, high employee turnover. Those who have lost face are likely to attribute their failures to external causes. As a result, they may not learn from failure, turn to criticisms, and find scapegoats.

Similar to Clough (2010) who believes that shame causes bullying and scapegoating in organizations, Bentley (2012) proposed that shame gives rise to abuses and reduces the quality of individual and team performances, limits emotional expression in the workplace, and causes people to avoid the possibility of failure. Additionally, he suggested that positive feedback, rather than shame, is more effective in engendering positive emotions and leads to improved performance. As a form of negative feedback, shame leads to withdrawn and protective behavior that compromises performance. The creativity of an employee is hampered because individuals become constantly self-conscious and preoccupied in trying to be acceptable (Cavicchia, 2009 in Cavicchi, 2010). Some employees may also ignore the importance of group collaboration and instead pursue independence and competition with others (Walsh, 1999). Duff (2013) ascertained that shame in the workplace negatively affects employees' innovative behavior or the behaviors that are relevant to risk-taking and creativity. Employees withdrew from potential shame situations out of self-preservation. The confidence and competence of the employees in their role performance were undermined.

Values and intergenerational interaction in the workplace

Work values are people's evaluative standards in the workplace which help in their discernment between right and wrong (Dose, 1997 in Smola & Sutton, 2002). Work values change along with individuals' evolving standards (Smola & Sutton, 2002).

There is an abundance of studies which confirm generational differences in work values (Smola & Sutton, 2002), work ethics (Meriac, Woehr, & Banister, 2010), and other work-related attitudes and feelings such as contentment with the job, dedication and loyalty toward the organization, feelings of job assurance, and the desire to quit the job (Constanza, Badger, Severt, & Gade, 2012; Kowske, Rasch, & Wiley, 2010) across generations in non-Western contexts. For Giancola (2006) who reviewed generational literature extensively in the United States,

generation gap is more of a myth than a reality. More than causing harm, generation gaps in work organizations reap the benefits of diversity.

The concept of generation allows for evaluating age groupings and identifying with others within historical time (Pilcher, 1994). For Mannheim (1952 in Pilcher, 1994), individuals who are born within the same historical period and socio-cultural context experience the same events and context during their crucial formative years. Hence, individuals who fall within the same generation are more likely to share common values, behaviors, and characteristics while those who do not may likely experience differences that could eventually lead to conflicts.

Although different authors suggest slightly varying generational timelines and generational groupings, the discrepancy comes with clear delineations for each generation: a Baby Boomer is someone born post World War II. A Generation Y, meanwhile, belongs to the current generation and is called different names such as Net Gen, Generation Me, and Millennial (Schullery, 2013).

Western researchers described working Baby Boomers as optimistic, team-oriented, hard-working, materialistic, status-seeking (Gesell, 2010; Lyons, 2004), and Generation Ys as great multitaskers, tech-savvy, goal-oriented, confident, sociable, and seekers of constant change and opportunities for development (Gesell, 2010; Lyons, 2004). Baby Boomers value work ethics while Generation Ys value work and life balance to a greater extent (Gesell, 2010). Generational stereotypes have put Generation Ys in a bad light more than any other generation. Existing literature had introduced Generation Ys through their negative characteristics without acknowledging the strengths that they possess as a generation. Some managers even label Generation Ys as “high-maintenance” and “needy” (Hershatter & Epstein, 2010). Blain (2008), however, enumerated five salient qualities of Generation Ys: aside from being obviously adept with technology because they basically grew up alongside its development, Generation Ys hold so much potential in the workplace because they are empowered, inherently team-oriented, comfortable with failure, and highly tolerant of diversity.

The relationship between Baby Boomers and Generation Ys is often seen as complex and problematic. Baby Boomers place a high regard for work ethics and only have little appreciation for a work-life balance unlike their Generation Y counterparts (McGuire et al., 2007 in Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010; Gesell, 2010; Smola & Sutton, 2002; Cogin, 2012). They clocked in more hours than required, exuded total dedication and waited patiently for years to climb up the career

ladder hence they expect the same of younger co-workers (Chatman & Flynn, 2001 in Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010). Baby Boomers have high expectations of Generation Ys which the latter may never be able to meet due to their values differentiation. For Baby Boomers, hard work is what they value most as employees while Generation Ys seek leisure in their midst (Cogin, 2012). Generation Ys desire for an equitable system where "paying dues" is not necessary and where hard work and achievements are instantly rewarded with feedback, encouragement, and acceptance perhaps because they were trained as children to seek for approval (Hershatter & Epstein, 2010; Blain, 2008). Moreover, Generation Ys perform best and commit fully with a group (Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010). This generation's preference for working in a team may increase their likelihood of being exposed to shameful triggers than other generations.

Cogin's study demonstrated a "clear pattern of decline with younger generations, which is in line with the popular conception of a declining work ethic among young people" (2012, p. 2287). Similarly, a study used the Forsyth's taxonomy of ethical ideologies to investigate how a Generation Y functions in the workplace and results confirmed that "cohort driven values in Gen Y affect their ethical ideologies and consequent approaches to workplace leadership, teamwork, and ethical judgments" (VanMeter et al., 2013, p. 106). Generation Y Relativists, or those who are more likely to "eschew universal moral rules, norms, or laws when making moral judgments," are less in favor of individual and collaborative ethical violations (Forsyth, 1980 in VanMeter et al., 2013, p. 95). On the other hand, Generation Y Idealists, or those who "inherently seek to avoid harming others," are more accepting of individual and collaborative ethical violations (Forsyth, 1980 in VanMeter et al., 2013, p. 95). Additional results showed that regardless of being an idealist or a relativist, a person is more tolerant of collaborative ethical violations than individual violations because of the distinct social orientation of Generation Y.

The foregoing discussions looked into the differences in values between Baby Boomers and Millennial. However, no explanations have been made on how these values translate to behaviors. The value-attitude-behavior hierarchy demonstrates how values are eventually translated to observable behaviors (Homer & Kahle, 1988 in Cogin, 2012).

Shame management

No matter how shame is interpreted, either as an emotion or as a value, there is a need to respond to it so that its negative attributions are discarded. Strong negative emotions are likely to bring

about behaviors "with minimal guidance from concomitant cognitive processing because responses occur too fast for much processing to occur" (Lord & Kanfer, 2002, p. 10). Shame is an intense emotional state that individuals find it difficult to dissipate (Lewis, Haviland-Jones, & Barrett, 2008). Having the self as the enemy and the target of a global attack makes it difficult for individuals to respond appropriately. What individuals do is to withdraw from the situation instead of making amends (guilt).

For some people who attempt to undo a shame state, they go through the lengths of "reinterpretation, self-splitting (multiple personalities), or forgetting (repression)" (Lewis, Haviland-Jones, & Barrett, 2008, p.748). Managing and repairing shame entails a refashioning of the self in relation to others (Leeming & Boyle, 2013). It is not just a matter of redeeming one's self-image or achieving self-acceptance for the time being but rather being able to come out again in a fresh, untainted social position as if nothing shameful happened. Constant management of emotions in the workplace may have negative psychological consequences such as feelings of inauthenticity, burnout, and psychological distress (Sloan, 2007). In some cases, individuals may even become confused on determining real emotions from created ones that they may later feel alienated from themselves (Sloan, 2007). It is best to acknowledge shame to restore social solidarity because displacing shame will only result to social alienation (Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2011). Successfully managing shame is an indication of one's emotional intelligence. The authors suggested that encouraging humility and respect for the self and others will eventually lead to better shame management. This approach focuses on values orientation to avoid the cultivation of shame in the future. Moreover, accepting forgiveness and minimizing the importance of the relationship in which the shameful situation aroused help alleviate shame (Leeming & Boyle, 2013). On the part of the transgressor, expressing feelings of shame conveys one's sincere apology and commitment to behave more appropriately in the future because verbal expressions of shame positively influence how others perceive us (Planalp, 1999 in Stearns & Parrott, 2012; Stearns & Parrott, 2012).

Cavicchia (2010) explained the role of coaches in alleviating shame in the workplace, particularly the kind of shame that a coachee brings from early life experiences. Successful shame interventions in the workplace require a positive and quality coach-coachee relationship where coachees feel supported through the sensitivity and resilience of the coach. In

organizations where the presence of coaches is not encouraged, the responsibility to cope with shame lies on the shamed individual and the managers.

To manage shame, Bentley (2012) believed that managers must stop their excessive tendency to control, let employees gain their freedom, and allow more flexibility in the workplace. For Poulson (2000), giving and receiving feedback is a skill that managers should master. In giving feedback, managers must focus on the specific behavior and not on the individual. Bentley (2012) added that performance appraisals should measure and reward success instead of focusing on failure. Negatively-evaluated employees should eventually be given ample opportunities to make amends and improve imminent performance evaluations and appraisals (Poulson, 2000).

For the Philippines and Indonesia, hiya and malu are culture-specific values that help shape relationships and reinforce interdependence among their people. They are also negative emotions that play a central role in the structuring of individual personalities and organizations. Shame is developed early in life and continuously remains in one's consciousness throughout life. As an emotion and a value, shame must be regulated through various shame management techniques. Coaches, managers, peers, and the shamed individuals themselves are all critical actors in shame experiences within the workplace setting.

Nuances and gaps in existing literature

In the present study, the researchers categorized Baby Boomers as individuals born between 1950 and 1964 while Generation Ys are those born between 1980 and 1991. A Baby Boomer born in 1950 is 64 years old in 2014, the year of the research; the youngest is 50 years of age. In contrast, a 23-year-old Generation Y is the youngest in the cohort while those who were born earlier but still belong to the said generation are already in their early 30s. These ages show that the generation gap between these two cohorts is quite remarkable. Many Baby Boomers today are parents to Generation Ys.

The current workforce is composed of Baby Boomers, Generation Xers, and Generation Ys. However, the present study focuses on Baby Boomers and Generation Ys only. Despite the fact that retirement age differs for any given work in countries worldwide, it may be assumed that a significant portion of Baby Boomers have retired or are about to retire. As opposed to Baby Boomers, a number of Generation Ys have recently joined the workforce and are just at the

onset of what could be a promising career. As Baby Boomers slowly fade from the background, attention is drawn inevitably toward newcomers who are bound to dominate the workforce. Such transition may or may not run smoothly because the values of the newcomers and old-timers affect the "interactional communication processes among members during socialization" (Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010, p. 227). For example, membership negotiation is affected when senior workers expect newcomers to mirror their early selves in the workplace (Marston, 2007 in Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010). When work values and role expectations do not bode well together, conflicts will arise (Hill, 2002 in Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010).

What existing literature lacks is the valuation of hiya and malu as deep-seated value orientations among Filipinos and Indonesians, respectively. Hiya and malu arise out of other equally significant values such as kinship, pakikipagkapwa or kekeluargaan, and utang na loob or utang budi that render hiya and malu either as essential ingredients in the social formation and maintenance of the uniqueness of Filipino and Indonesian cultures or as values available to suspects and their accomplices guilty of corrupt and criminal practices in Filipino and Indonesian worksites or organizations. The latter valuation reduces hiya and malu and related values of pakikipagkapwa or kekeluargaan and utang na loob or utang budi into commodities that prize political favors and deepen or overlay social relations.

A cross-cultural comparison of Filipino and Indonesian cultures will be particularly interesting and informative. The question of whether it is valid to label all collectivistic cultures as shame cultures can be addressed as well. Furthermore, different cultures do not necessarily share the same lexicon and a consolidation of culture-specific shame terms will contribute further to the understanding of shame as a value-orientation.

Bentley (2012) and Poulson (2000) appear to be the only writers who have acknowledged the dearth of literature on shame in the workplace setting. Yet until now, their recommendations still remain unheeded hence the great need for research contributions across borders and generations. Although undeniably helpful, the availability of copious materials that center on shame as an emotion in the fields of psychology and psychotherapy remains insufficient. Most of these studies were carried out in the West and are therefore not applicable to Asian contexts. Hence, future researchers may devote their efforts in examining the dynamics of shame in different Asian cultures.

Moreover, despite numerous researches in the United States dedicated to examining generational cohorts as a significant variable for understanding organizational behavior, Asian researchers are seemingly oblivious to this particular area of research. Studies which examine the values and emotions that Baby Boomers, Generation Xers, and Generation Ys bring in to the workplace arena will be of immense help to supervisors, managers, and stakeholders. How the current generational cohorts function and interact in the workplace is especially relevant for managers who are seeking innovative ways to lead and manage their people. There may be a good number of existing literature which comprehensively discusses generational values and differences in the workplace but none has ever focused on how these values are actually translated into workplace behaviors. The effects of shame on workplace communication and organizational performance are also worthy of exploration.

One of the limitations of the present research is that it did not focus on any specific shaming trigger or shaming event within the organizational setting. It relies on the narratives or self-reports of the respondents. Future researches may empirically determine the situations, events, or tasks that elicit shame. Knowing what triggers shame can help managers adjust their leadership and management styles to create a working environment where healthy relationships thrive. Furthermore, studies that measure the physiological and behavioral components of workplace shame are also instructive.

A comparison of the levels of shame between the government and private sector is also a possible research direction. The differences in the nature of work and services offered by these sectors may have implications on employees' proneness to shame. Within this context, effects of shame in productivity and ethical behavior may be explored as well.

Future research may likewise explore the impact of other self-conscious evaluative emotions such as embarrassment and pride in organizational performance. Possible educative interventions for coping with shame, promoting emotional intelligence and positive emotions in an organizational setting should be implemented. Interventions that also promote intergenerational interaction would be valuable for the current workforce. Moreover, diversity programs in the workplace must also incorporate generational differences.

Conceptual Framework

Most studies cite "shame" and "guilt" as inseparable, i.e., the feeling of shame arises out of feeling guilty or vice versa. The embedment of Western cultural ideas and practices in most models of shame and guilt in previous studies shows individualistic, American-centered, or "independent" concepts of the self (Wong & Tsai, 2007). "Collectivistic" countries such as most Asian countries promote "interdependent" concepts of the self, i.e., the self in relation to others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995 in Wong & Tsai, 2007), putting equal weight to both external (i.e., other people's thoughts and feelings) and internal (i.e., one's own thoughts and feelings) influences.

Two perspectives of shame and guilt exist in Western practices: one looks at shame and guilt as similar emotions while the other argues they are two different emotions. These perspectives also occur in Eastern practices. In China, guilt is viewed as a component of shame rather than as a separate construct (Li et al., 2004) while in Taiwan, shame and guilt may be more similar than different (Bedford, 2004 in Wong & Tsai, 2007).

Other empirical studies show the distinction between shame and guilt. In Chinese culture, people experience guilt when they feel an absolute standard is violated whereas people experience shame when a situation-specific standard is violated (Cho, 2000; Bedford & Hwang, 2003 in Wong & Tsai, 2007). In Indonesia, a study of Javanese respondents shows the distinction between shame and guilt (Breugelmans & Poortinga, 2006). In Bengkulu (a city in Sumatra, Indonesia), Fessler (2004) found shame to be related to embarrassment, not guilt. Guilt was found to be insignificant in regulating social behavior.

In terms of behavioral consequences of shame, Western models view shame as the "bad" and guilt as the "good" moral emotion (Wong & Tsai, 2007).

Shame in Indonesia and the Philippines

Hiya and malu highlight the importance families and kin put in relationships that are likely to extend to neighbors, workmates, and the public. What initially are personal and social ultimately become cultural. Each character in the stories decides how, when, and to whom (Goffman, 1956, 1959, 1963) to address the issue of shame.

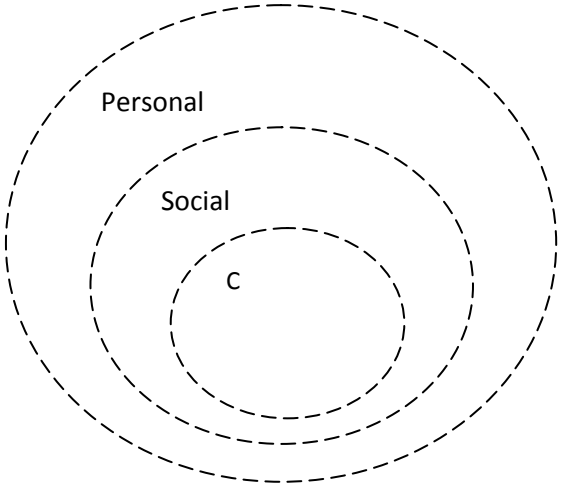

Figure 1. Shame as a cultural, personal, and social value

Figure 1 shows shame as a personal value that emanates from and simultaneously strengthens one's cultural values formation and social capital. At the core of the personal value is one's culture (C) that impacts on the social and personal valuations of shame. Conversely, the personal valuation of shame impacts one's cultural and social values formation.

Eastern culture, such as that of Filipino and Indonesian, considers shame as having better and more adaptive consequences such as shame among Filipinos that leads to stronger relationship-building and higher degree of courtesy to customers (Bagozzi, Verbeke, & Gavino, 2003 in Wong & Tsai, 2007).

Within the workplace, one adaptive consequence of shame is the shamed person's choice or decision to better work relations as depicted in Figure 2.

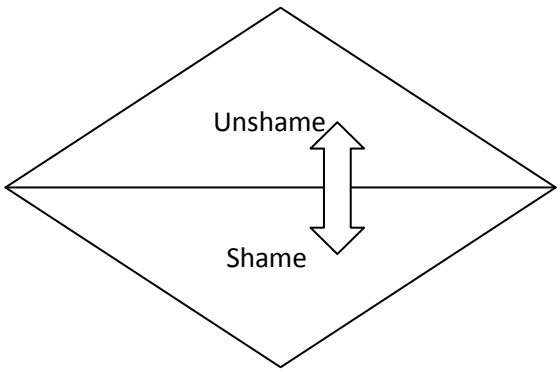

Figure 2. Unshaming to better relations at work

The embedment of hiya and malu in Filipino and Indonesian cultural, kinship, and political systems is especially manifest during elections. When a family member runs for political office, the kin support goes all the way to loss or victory. Political victory is payback time: the kin expect favors, political or otherwise, from their newly-elected member (Jocano, 1999a). Out of hiya and malu, the latter will grant favors left and right. In this context, hiya and malu arise out of a sense of gratitude or utang na loob (Filipino) or utang budi (Indonesian) to the kin support. The kin who cannot and do not help also expect political favors. The political victor is then forced to open his/her doors to kamag-anak (Filipino) or keluarga (Indonesian) or kapwa (Filipino) or kekeluargaan (Indonesian): kamag-anak or keluarga is traced to several ancestries while kapwa or kekeluargaan appeals to one's sense of altruism especially at times of good fortune.

Toward an understanding of shame

Self-concept and its development are central to understanding shame. As an emotion, shame is experienced as a diminution of the self, an inner torment, and a sense of being unmasked or getting disrobed in front of a real or imagined audience. It is the nervous anticipation of real or imagined loss of dignity, affection or self-regard that comes from realizing that one becomes susceptible to others' mocking gaze or negative judgment. While the onset of shame in an individual is a personal and covert experience, unconscious physical expressions such as blushing, averting the gaze, concealing the face, and stooping of the shoulders eventually become apparent. Moreover, going through this negative and painful state can result in behavior disruption, mental confusion, and speech difficulty. These expressions serve as external cues that can indicate a shame occurrence as it happens; however, shame is likewise a private failure that may not be visible to others. Some individuals cope with and respond to shame by withdrawing from the situation and involving as less people as possible because revealing a shame state only leads to further shame. (Chilton, 2012; Lewis, 2003; Lewis, Haviland-Jones, & Barrett, 2008; Shweder, 2003, p. 1111; Tangney et al., 1998 in Chao, Cheng, & Chiou, 2011, p. 202; Tomkins, Sedwick, & Frank, 1995 in Wong & Tsai, 2007; Walsh, 1999)

In developmental psychology, it is believed that emotions gradually develop as the self does. Karen (1992) posited that shame is developed early in life as an outcome of child-rearing practices where parents discipline their children through shame reinforcements. He believes that

constant emotional disturbance in a child can eventually lead to repressions, complaints, and addictions all designed to disguise shame. For clinical psychologists and psychotherapists, shame is an emotional problem which needs to be addressed. Lewis (2003) devised a schematic model of shame development which demonstrates how shame develops as our emotions evolve as a child. The model suggests that at eight months, a child develops primary emotions such as anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness, and surprise. After a while, the cognitive capacity of objective self-awareness arises and non-evaluative self-conscious emotions such as embarrassment, empathy, and envy are manifested. The child, having additional cognitive capacities at this point starts to make sense of standards, rules, and goals. These standards, rules, and goals, accompanied by consciousness, give rise to self-conscious evaluative emotions. Bentley (2012) also appears to agree that shame arises very early and even considers shame as a preverbal experience that triggers powerful emotions despite one's difficulty or inability to describe the experience. As a byproduct of self-reflection, shame is one of the self-conscious evaluative emotions along with embarrassment, guilt, and pride that are independent of other primary emotions (Lewis, 2003). In fact, one of the roles of shame is to regulate the expression and consciousness of these primary emotions (Starrin, 2007 in Bentley, 2012). The extent by which we allow the expression of our primary emotions depends on how little or how great we are ashamed of the primary emotion.

An individual's current susceptibility to shame is due to his or her early life experiences (Cavicchia, 2010). Shame-prone individuals tend to be overly self-conscious, expectant of criticisms, and dissatisfied with the self (Magai & McFadden, 1995). On a positive note, shame-prone individuals are more socially sensitive and are therefore inclined to have better relationships (Scott, 2011).

Figure 3 shows shame as a function of social capital in both Filipino and Indonesian workplaces or organizational contexts.

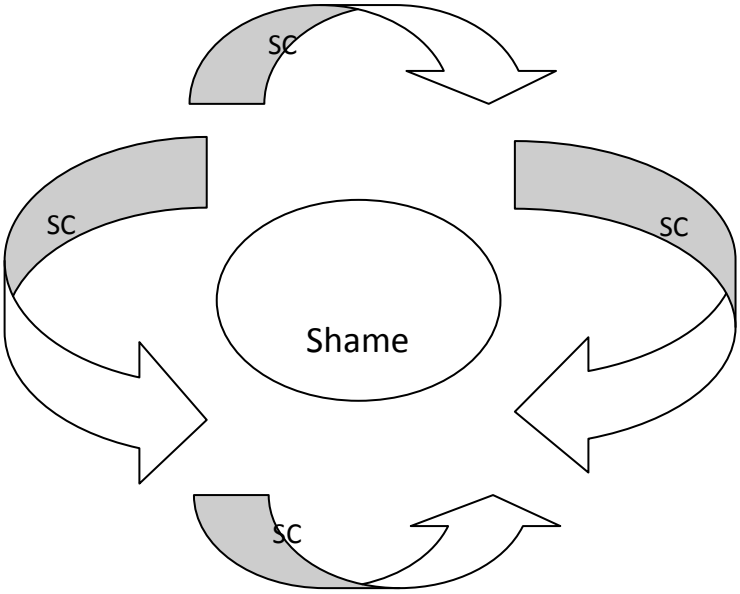

Figure 3. Shame as a function of social capital

A study by Sznycer et al. (2012) showed that shame proneness is regulated by an individual's social ecology. Serving as variables, relational mobility and shame proneness were measured towards friends and strangers in Japan, United States, and United Kingdom. Relational mobility is the degree to which individuals have the option to form new relationships while shame proneness refers to how easily shame will occur. Results revealed that the Japanese respondents are more prone to shame and have less relational mobility than the ones in the United States and the United Kingdom. Lower relational mobility was linked to greater shame proneness toward friends due to perceived difficulty to form new relationships that will compensate for a lost one. This only strengthens the idea that people are more likely to value relationships that are deemed irreplaceable. The study also revealed that people who possessed better social characteristics were less prone to shame. For East Asians, the existing relationship between the shamed person and the people with whom they felt ashamed is an important facet of shame experience (Morisaki & Gudykunst, 1994 in Wong & Tsai, 2007).

An individual’s shame-driven behaviors manifest in several ways: attacks another in an attempt to feel better about the self, pursues excellence at all costs, pins the blame on others to shield the self from being the focus of attention, becomes untrue to the self to feel worthy, and isolates the self from the real world (Felblinger, 2008 in Chilton, 2012). Despite its negative undertones, shame has positive aspects especially in non-Western cultural contexts (Wong &

Tsai, 2007) when it is valued as an innate survival response (Bentley, 2012) and as a form of adjustment to group standards and norms as well as for self-improvement (Wong & Tsai, 2007). Shame also functions to "prevent the leakage of damaging information, to limit or reverse devaluation, and to cope with the harsher world faced by a devalued person" (Sznycer et al., 2012, p. 354). For select cultures, people who do not feel shame are believed to be lacking an appropriate sense of context to their limits (Yontef, 1996 in Bentley, 2012).

The seemingly inward focus of shame on the self suggests a "relational and contextual self that is dependent on the maintenance of coordinates locating us firmly in the interpersonal field" (Broucek, 1991, p.7). In essence, shame is dependent on the quality of relationships that individuals have. And although shame is oftentimes attributed to one's personal failure or inadequacy, a person can also go through vicarious shame. Vicarious shame is experienced when one feels ashamed for the behavior of others (Welten, Zeelenberg, & Breugelmans, 2012). A mere observation of an unbecoming behavior by another person with whom we feel a sense of belongingness can make us feel threatened of our social or personal identity; hence, our feelings of shame.

Effects of shame

In the dominant models of shame and guilt, guilt leads to reparative action, whereas shame does not. Studies of Leith & Baumeister (1978) and Tangney (1978) reveal that, unlike experiencing both shame and guilt, experiencing guilt leads to higher self-esteem and increases the person's empathy and perspective-taking. Furthermore, shame-prone individuals are more likely to engage in avoidance and withdrawal, to experience inward anger, and to blame others than are guilt-prone individuals (Lutwak, Panish, Ferary & Razzimo, 2002; Tangney, 1991; Tangney & Fischer, 1995 in Wong & Tsai, 2007). This pattern of results may explain why U.S. samples show high levels of shame as linked to mental illness (Lewis, 1987 in Wong & Tsai, 2007) and physiological stress (Dickerson, Gruenewald, & Kemeny, 2004; Gruenewald, Kemeny, Aziz, & Fahey, 2004; in Wong & Tsai, 2007).

Shame as distinct from other values or emotions

According to Lewis (1974 in Wong & Tsai, 2007), "shame" and "guilt" are feelings associated with being negatively evaluated by self or others because one has failed to meet standards and

norms of what is good, right, appropriate, and desirable. Other experts on shame and guilt claim that people experience these emotions when they have done something "bad" or "wrong" in their own eyes or in the eyes of others (Tomkins, Sedgwick, & Frank, 1995 in Wong & Tsai, 2007). Some scholars from the mainstream emotion research distinguish these emotions. Lewis (1987) and Tracy and Robin (2004) argue that shame is often viewed as more devastating to people's self-concept and self-esteem than guilt. The person feels shame if she attributes a certain incident to her own incompetence whereas she experiences guilt if she attributes that incident to being sick or unavailable.

Researchers working on other emotions also differentiate shame and guilt with respect to self or others. Shame typically involves being negatively evaluated by others (real or imagined), whereas guilt involves being negatively evaluated by oneself (Smith, Webster, Parrott, & Eyre, 2002 in Wong & Tsai, 2007). In other words, shame has an "external" orientation and guilt has "internal" orientation. In Wong & Tsai (2007), Benedict (1946) and Kitayama et al. (1995) conclude that shame is associated with the fear of exposing one's defective self to others while guilt is associated with the fear of not living up to one's own standards. Shame, therefore, occurs more frequently in the presence of others as compared to guilt (Smith et al., 2002 in Wong & Tsai, 2007). Likewise, people who experience shame are more sensitive to contextual cues and pay more attention to others than those who experience guilt (Lewis, 1985; Tangney & Dearing, 2002 in Wong & Tsai, 2007).

Bedford and Hwang (2003) argue that in Chinese culture, guilt is more effective as a regulatory emotion in individualistic cultures because it is associated with a general code of ethics as held by oneself and others but shame is more effective in collectivistic cultures because it is associated with a code of ethics that varies by situation and relationship (also held by oneself as well as others).

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