

SOCIO-REGULATORY FUNCTION OF THE CULTURAL CONCEPT "SHAME" IN THE BEHAVIOR OF STUDENTS

FUNÇÃO SÓCIO-REGULATÓRIA DO CONCEITO CULTURAL "VERGONHA" NO COMPORTAMENTO DOS ALUNOS

FUNCIÓN SOCIO-REGULADORA DEL CONCEPTO CULTURAL "VERGÜENZA" EN EL COMPORTAMIENTO DE LOS ESTUDIANTES

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ABSTRACT: Objectives of the research are to study the impact of the ethical concept of "shame" on the moral consciousness and behavior of adolescents in high school. To do this, an analysis of the concept of "shame" in special literature was carried out, as well as an analysis of the content of this concept in the minds of adolescents. The insufficient regulatory and modification effectiveness of the concept of "shame" revealed in the course of the research is influenced by several factors: a value crisis in the spiritual state of modern society; psychological characteristics of adolescence; shortcomings of the idea of shame formed in the minds of adolescents (a substantive understanding of emotion, an insignificant degree of the emotions of fear and guilt in the shame complex, lack of logical awareness of cause-and-effect relationships).

KEYWORDS: Cultural concept. Shame. High school students. Behavior correction. Regulatory function.

RESUMO: Os objetivos da pesquisa são estudar o impacto do conceito ético de "vergonha" na consciência moral e no comportamento de adolescentes do ensino médio. Para isso, foi realizada uma análise do conceito de "vergonha" na literatura especial, bem como uma análise do conteúdo desse conceito na mente dos adolescentes. A insuficiente eficácia regulatória e de modificação do conceito de "vergonha" revelada no decorrer da pesquisa é influenciada por vários fatores: uma crise de valores no estado espiritual da sociedade moderna; características psicológicas da adolescência; deficiências da ideia de vergonha formadas nas mentes dos adolescentes (uma compreensão substantiva da emoção, um grau

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insignificante das emoções de medo e culpa no complexo da vergonha, falta de consciência lógica das relações de causa e efeito).

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Conceito cultural. Vergonha. Alunos do ensino médio. Correção de comportamento. Função reguladora.*

RESUMEN: *Los objetivos de la investigación son estudiar el impacto del concepto ético de "vergüenza" en la conciencia moral y el comportamiento de los adolescentes en la escuela secundaria. Para ello, se realizó un análisis del concepto de "vergüenza" en la literatura especial, así como un análisis del contenido de este concepto en la mente de los adolescentes. La insuficiente efectividad regulatoria y de modificación del concepto de "vergüenza" revelada en el curso de la investigación está influenciada por varios factores: una crisis de valores en el estado espiritual de la sociedad moderna; características psicológicas de la adolescencia; deficiencias de la idea de vergüenza formadas en la mente de los adolescentes (una comprensión sustancial de la emoción, un grado insignificante de las emociones de miedo y culpa en el complejo de la vergüenza, falta de conciencia lógica de las relaciones de causa y efecto).*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Concepto cultural. Vergüenza. Estudiantes de secundaria. Corrección de conducta. Función reguladora.*

Introduction

The article examines the formation of basic ethical concepts in the minds of high school students and their impact on changing the behavior of adolescents. We have chosen the concept of "shame" in Russian as the object of study. The choice of this concept is due, firstly, by the fact that it belongs to the basic ones in the field of ethical ideas, and secondly, by the fact that it is an important tool of pedagogical influence with the aim of regulating, modifying and correcting the ethical consciousness and behavior of students. According to psychologist T. G. Stefanenko (2004, p. 8):

Among the regulators of socio-typical behavior, moral norms play an important role; systems of ideas about right and wrong behavior, requiring the performance of some actions and prohibiting others. ... But since the behavior of any person consists of the fulfillment of norms and their violation, attention should also be paid to the psychological mechanisms used by cultures in the implementation of social control over the observance of norms.

The author attributes shame to the regulatory and control mechanisms in human psychology, conditioned by culture. A significant number of works of philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, ethnologists, and anthropologists are devoted to the study of shame as a mechanism of social regulation and control (SMOTROVA; GRITSENKO, 2014;

PROKOFIEV, 2016; 2017; GORNAYEVA, 2012; RAKHIMZHANOV; AKOSHEVA; TEMIRGAZINA, 2020; BOGOLYUBOVA; KISELEVA, 2015a; 2015b).

We will consider the students' understanding of the ethical concept of shame, which they have formed, and then we will define its impact on changing consciousness and behavior in accordance with ethical norms and rules of society. Shame is one of the common human cultural ethical universals.

The ethnologist investigates the deep layer that exists in the modern state of culture in a latent form that is not recognized by people. The researcher of spiritual culture in this part follows the ethnologist and uses his method ... that is, he searches for the literal meaning of well-known concepts (STEPANOV, 2004, p. 49).

Following N. M. Dmitrieva (2017, p. 20), we also believe that a necessary condition for the correct understanding and interpretation of ethical concepts is an appeal to the internal form of the word, including the search for literal meaning.

In the philosophical dictionary, this concept is defined as

one of the manifestations of the moral self-consciousness of the individual; a moral feeling in which a person expresses condemnation of his actions, motives and moral qualities. A person either independently in an emotional form realizes their immorality, or admits this to himself under the influence of condemnation from others (PHILOSOPHICAL DICTIONARY, 2020).

The concept of "shame" refers to the basic ethical elements of the conceptual sphere of the Russian language. According to Dmitrieva (2017, p. 44-45), ethical concepts create a system of moral and ethical values, organize the social and personal life of individuals and influence the processes of cognition of reality. Shame is one of the main emotional and ethical categories that regulate human behavior (ANTONOVA, 2009, p. 177). This definition focuses on the regulatory and modification function of ethical concepts, which is especially significant in the pedagogical formation of the system of moral and ethical values of high school students. This definition focuses on the regulatory and modification function of ethical concepts, which is especially significant in the pedagogical formation of the system of moral and ethical values of high school students.

Shame as a part of the conceptual world picture of the Russian language has been studied in detail in the works of N. D. Arutyunova (1997; 2000), N. M. Dmitrieva (2017), A. A. Zaliznyak (2000), E. R. Ioanesyan (2016), T. I. Vendina (2002), G. V. Petrova (2018), L. S. Muzafalova (2011) and others. They emphasize the basic ethical character of the concept "shame", its cultural conditioning, and correlation with the concept of "conscience".

Despite the closeness of the concepts of “shame” and “conscience” in the Russian world picture, the researchers note that “shame, consciousness and conscience are not reducible and replaceable with each other; they should not be confused, just as we do not confuse the manifestations of feeling, reason and will” (KOLESOV, 2006, p. 505). The interpretation of conscience from religious Christian positions is proposed in the above-mentioned works by N. M. Dmitrieva, T. I. Vendina and others. A person's conscience is defined as “an invisible, internal organ that evaluates his life, thoughts and feelings from the standpoint of their compliance with the Highest Law, whose name is God, therefore conscience is the voice of God in the soul of man” (VENDINA, 2002, p. 250). The author also notes the direction of shame “not only to “I”, but also to “we”, to the opinion of other people. Стоудъ – shame, dishonor, disgrace” (VENDINA, 2002, p. 251). In other words, shame is more focused on external factors than conscience, so some researchers talk about the concept of “social shame” (DOLGOV, 2013, p. 169), “public shame” (IOANESYAN, 2016).

Vendina (2002, p. 251) also emphasizes the connection between shame and cold (chilly), since shame is a cold that “chills” and mortifies the human soul. This is confirmed by the etymology of the word shame:

Стыд. Indo-European – *steu* > *stu* (cold > shrink, numb). Common Slavic – *studъ* <*stydyъ* (shame, scolding, disgrace). The word “shame” (dishonor, disgrace, feeling of embarrassment) has been known since the ancient Russian era (since the 11th century). Old Russian “стыдь” is a borrowing from Old Slavonic, where “стыдь” goes back to the common Slavic *studъ* <*stydyъ*, formed from the Indo-European root *steu* > *stu* using the common Slavic suffix *-дь*. The original meaning of the word is “what makes you shrink, numb, stiffen”, hence the cognate words “студеный” (chilly), “стужа” (cold). Related are: Ukrainian – *стид*. Czech – *stud*. Derivatives: *стыдливый*, *стыдливость*, *постыдный*, *пристыдить* (SEMYONOV, 2020).

Shame as an important ethical category is studied in many languages and cultures. Back in the 1930s, the theory of “culture of shame” and “culture of guilt” arose in cultural anthropology (see: MEAD, 2003; BENEDICT, 2004). Researchers have not lost interest in the concept of shame throughout the entire XX-early XXI century. It is studied from a psychological point of view by G. Piers and M. B. Singer (1953), P. Galligan (2016), from a sociological point of view by P. Gilbert (2003), T. J. Scheff (2003) and others. The non-verbal biological aspects of the expression of shame as emotion are studied in the works of J. L. Tracy and D. Matsumoto (2008). B. Mesquita and R. Walker (2003) devoted their research to identifying cultural differences in the interpretation of different emotional expressions (including shame) depending on the context.

Materials and methods

Having determined the importance of the concept of shame for the formation of a system of ethical values and norms in the consciousness and behavior of students, we conducted a survey, the task of which was: 1) to reveal the understanding of the concept by students, 2) to determine the degree of its influence on the modification of their consciousness and behavior. The results of the survey were analyzed from a statistical point of view on several grounds, and then summarized in tables and in text form. Thus, the material for this study was the data of a survey of 71 students in grades 10–11 (age 16–17) of a secondary school with Russian as the language of instruction in Pavlodar (Kazakhstan).

The choice of high school students for the survey is due to a number of psychological characteristics of personality development at the age of 16–17. So, adolescence is a period of intensive formation of a system of value orientations, which influences the formation of character and personality as a whole. This is due to the fact that it is during this age period that conditions appear that contribute to the formation of a system of personal values: this is the mastery of conceptual thinking, the accumulation of sufficient moral experience, awareness of one's social position. The process of forming a system of values is stimulated by the following factors: a significant expansion of communication, a clash with a variety of forms of behavior, views, and ideals. Thus, the late period of adolescence – 16–17 years is characterized by the active formation of the basic moral and ethical attitudes and beliefs of a person, the completion of the socialization of the personality of a young person who is preparing to enter "adult" life and realizing the ethical norms and rules of society, in which it will continue to exist. At this age, moral and spiritual values are checked and tested for strength; adolescents treat others with understanding and value their opinion of themselves; if moral and spiritual truths are instilled in them, then during this period they are able to assimilate and apply them in life.

To reveal the understanding of the concept of shame by high school students, we used the method of modeling its meaningful features, named by adolescents in the process of self-reflection, considering statistical data. We then used a series of questions to determine the impact of shame and the extent of this impact on adolescent behavior modification. It is important for research to establish a connection between the concept of shame that exists in the minds of adolescents, its semantic features and the degree of its influence on their deeds and actions, i.e., establishing its effectiveness as a mechanism for social modification and regulation.

Results and discussion

The concept of shame in the minds of adolescents

In the specialized literature, the main content-semantic features of the concept of *shame* in the minds of Russian speakers have been determined (see the above-mentioned works by N. D. Arutyunova, E. R. Ioanesyan, K. E. Izard, N. M. Dmitrieva etc.). Ioanesyan writes that a situation of shame includes several participants, among which are obligatory: the subject of an emotional state, the reason for this state; optional: audience; patient (if the cause of shame is related to harm to a person). Actant means "an interested and often collective witness or judge to whom the subject of the action appeals" (APRESYAN, 2009, p. 491). A person can experience shame not only in connection with his or her actions or properties, but also in connection with the behavior of people close to him or her, people from his or her personal sphere (IOANESYAN, 2016, p. 201).

In the situation of shame, causal relationships are presented, i.e., shame is a consequence of a certain event-cause, which can be characterized as "violation of the norms of values" developed and accepted in society (KHUDOIBERDIEVA, 2020, p. 89).

Let's consider the semantic dominants of the concept of shame, which have developed in the minds of adolescents, aged 16–17; they were identified during a survey of students in grades 10–11. The adolescents had to give a definition of 3 cognate words: *Styd – eto...* (Shame is...), *Stydno – eto ...* (To be ashamed...), *Styzhus' – eto ...* (I'm ashamed of...). The choice of lexical representations of a different morphological nature (noun, predicative adverb and verb) is dictated by the emphasis on different aspects of the concept: in the noun, attention is focused on the emotion itself, which is considered as an objectified entity; in a predicative adverb, the mental state of a person comes to the fore; the verb emphasizes the mental processes taking place in the inner world of a person and associated with this emotion.

So, out of 71 respondents, 60 (84.5%) characterized shame as an objectified concept using nouns *chuvstvo* (feeling) (27), *pozor* (dishonor) (4), *smuscheniye* (embarrassment) (2), *probuzhdeniye sovesti* (awakening of conscience) (2), *boyazn', sovest', reaktsiya organizma na nelovkuyu situatsiyu* (fear, conscience, body reaction to an awkward situation etc.); 11 respondents (15.5%) described it situationally as an action. Most respondents are aware of the negative nature of this feeling (15 times/ 21.1%) and characterize it as *nepriyatnoye* (unpleasant) (10), *plokhoye/plokho* (bad / badly) (3), *otritsatel'noye* (negative) (1), *glupoye* (stupid) (1). Adolescents are aware of the outward orientation of a sense of shame, which is heightened when other people witness it. Heightened self-awareness, anxiety of the ashamed

person about what impression he or she will make on others, his/her concern with social assessment almost always accompany the experience of shame (IZARD, 2000, p. 358).

The survey results show that students associate shame with the opinion of other people who witnessed an unseemly act (8 times): *"fear of being dishonored in front of others"*, *"when you did something bad and others noticed your action"*, *"shame is the fear of being dishonored in front of others"*, *"An unpleasant feeling, for example, when you did something wrong and a large audience was looking at you"*, *"a feeling when society detracts your opinion / actions"*, etc. The outward orientation of shame is also evidenced by the definition of shame by adolescents (7), and the semantics of the word *pozor* (dishonor) goes back to the verb *zrit'* ("to see, to look at") and is interpreted as 'the fame / visibility of an unsightly situation for others' (IOANESYAN, 2016, p. 232). Accordingly, the appeal to the outside of the concept of shame is 15 / 21.1%.

Adolescents also name the reason for shame (5 times / 5%): "violation of the generally accepted norm", "consciousness of the reprehensibility of an act", "awareness of their incorrect actions", "awareness of the inconsistency of their actions or their behavior", "acted incorrectly or against public opinion". Speaking about the causes of shame, one should remember the cultural and social conditioning of this feeling: "The social environment of the individual, like culture in general, is important determinants of the experience of shame. Each culture and subculture carry a set of norms and rules, the violation of which is considered shameful" (IZARD, 2000, p. 265; TEMIRGAZINA; IBRAYEVA, 2021, p. 291).

The conducted survey fixes the interpretation of shame not only as an external, but also as an internal feeling. Shame is associated with a whole range of emotions. T. Chef defines shame as follows: "Shame is a collective name for a wide family of emotions and experiences that arise when I look at myself through the eyes of another person in a negative (even slightly negative) light, or only anticipates such a reaction" (2003, p. 254). Students identify the following emotions as accompanying shame: (severe) embarrassment (9 / 12.67%), conscience (5 / 5%), awkwardness (5 / 5%), guilt (4 / 5.6%), discomfort (2 / 2.8%), fear (1 / 1.4%), total 26 / 36.6%.

Fear, according to scientists (K. Izard, E. R. Ioanesyan, N. M. Dmitrieva etc.), is one of the most important emotions accompanying shame, but the survey shows that adolescents are insignificantly aware of the connection between fear and shame. Adolescents also describe the physiological signs characteristic of the feeling of shame – 4 times / 5.6%: *"when the chest and heart hurt"*, *"burning cheeks and anxiety shrunk in a lump in the heart"*, *"a hurricane of regret, the wind of which does not allow to breathe normally"*, *"This is a lowered gaze"*. They use

expressive metaphors that help them convey their physiological sensations when feeling shame (TEMIRGAZINA; KHAMITOVA; ORAZALINOVA, 2016).

When answering the next question, what is embarrassing, the respondents describe the situation in which they experience this emotional state, or call a similar state awkward, uncomfortable. The respondents begin the description of the situation with a conjunction *когда* (when) or with a verb (50 times / 70.4%): *“when you understand that you have done wrong”*; *“when you feel uncomfortable, you understand that you did something wrong”*, *“this is when you are embarrassed by your actions, thoughts”*, *“when your cheeks start to blush”*, etc.; *lying to relatives*, *“it is to stand and listen to every detail of your mistake, even after you apologized”*, etc.

Understanding the word “стыдно” (ashamed) as a mental state occurs 7 times / 9.8%: *“inconvenient”*, *“scary”*, *“ashamed”*, *“bad”*, *“uncomfortable”*; as an objectified feeling – 14 times / 19.7%: *“feeling of awkwardness, worries about some act”*, *“feeling of shame after something”*, *“feeling of shame”*.

The negative characteristic of the state of being ashamed occurs 21 times / 29.5%: *bad, ugly, just awful, wrong, uncomfortable, awkward, reprehensible, extremely unpleasant, disapproving*, etc. The survey also presented adolescents' awareness of the cause-and-effect relationships of the emotional state with some unseemly / wrong act – 35 times / 49.3%: *“when you understand that you did wrong”* (3 times), *“when you committed a rash act”* (2 times), *“when you are guilty somehow”* (2 times), *“when you feel guilty for any actions you have taken”* etc. The survey also shows the external conditionality of the state of shame by the impression that the wrong act produces on others, on the audience, which increases the degree of the experienced emotion, and also shows a connection with the concept of “shame” – 9 times / 12.6%: *“this is the fear of censure before public opinion”*, *“When it becomes uncomfortable in front of someone”*, *“when a person realizes that a situation is extremely unpleasant for everyone around”*, *“for a sense of shame, real or supposed witnesses of an awkward situation are needed”*, *“disgrace”*, etc.

As accompanying emotions, adolescents called awkwardness (7 / 9.8%), discomfort (5 / 5%), guilt (5 / 5%), conscience (3 / 4.2%), fear (3 / 4.2 %), pity (2 / 2.8%), embarrassment (1 / 1.4%), total 26 / 36.6%. Adolescents also call various physiological signs of the condition “ashamed” – 3 times: *“you can't raise your head”*, *“uninvited tears that are difficult to contain, hurting eyes”*, *“when your cheeks start to turn red”*.

The following is the understanding of the concept “I am ashamed” from the point of view of the feelings experienced by an adolescent: as a mental process using a verb – 63 times

/ 88.73%, as an objectified concept using a noun – 8 times / 11.26%. The meaning of procedural and situationality is described using the conjunction *kogda* (when) (45) and verbs (18): “when you feel guilty about what happened”, “when you cheat and a feeling of shame appears”, “this is when you did something not quite right”, “when you did the wrong thing and you regret it”, “I worry about what I did”, “be ashamed, feel guilty”, “feel shy, I feel awkward”, etc.

Negative characteristics are found in the survey 39 times / 54.9%: *bad, untruth, shameful, shame, discomfort, contempt, being dishonored, wrong, confused, humiliating*, etc.; awareness of the logical connection between the feeling of shame and behavior, an act that violates the ethical norms of society – 12 times / 16.9%: “I am ashamed of the wrong actions that I did when I did it”, “when I cheat and a feeling of shame appears”, “This is when you screwed up and you are reprimanded for this action”, “he is ashamed of what he did”, “when you did some act and it was bad”, “when you regret what you did”, etc. Understanding of the external orientation of shame was presented 15 times / 21.1%: “I am ashamed that everyone will know that I’m a untidy”, “I feel my inferiority and inadequacy to others”, “I am afraid to be disgraced”, “when I was disgraced in front of someone”, etc. As emotions accompanying the inner feeling of shame, adolescents call guilt (12 / 16.9%), embarrassment (6 / 8.4%), conscience (5 / 5%), fear (2 / 2.8%), sadness (2 / 2.8%), humiliation (1 / 1.4%), pity (1 / 1.4%); total 29 / 40.8%.

The description of physiological signs of the concept “I am ashamed” is presented in the questionnaires 4 times / 5.6%: “hitting all limbs and making you lose ground under your feet”, “you start to blush”, “you become constrained in movements”, “I want to fall through the ground”.

Thus, when interviewing adolescents, it was revealed that the ethical concept of shame is understood by them as an objectified concept, as a mental state and as a process, a situation. See the detailed information in Table 1.

Table 1 – Representation of shame as an object, state and mental process in the minds of adolescents

Lexical representation of the concept	Object	State	Mental process
Styd (Shame)	84.5 %	0 %	15.5 %
Stydno (To be ashamed)	19.7 %	9.8 %	70.4 %

Styzhus' (I'm ashamed of)	11.26 %	0 %	88.73 %
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Source: Devised by the authors

The concept of shame in the ethical consciousness of 16-17-year-old adolescents appears mainly as a mental process, depending on the morphological nature of the lexical representative, the meaning of procedurality increases – from a noun (15.5%) to a verb (88.73%). Also, the concept of shame exists in the minds of adolescents as a static phenomenon - an object-emotion, the meaning of objectivity also depends on the morphological characteristics of the representative and decreases from a noun (84.5%) to a verb (11.26%). It is interesting to note that the presentation of shame as a mental state is not typical of adolescents. The perception of shame as a mental process / situation is important for the pedagogical influence on the ethical consciousness of a teenager, since it implies the ability to influence the change in the situation and action. Situation and action as dynamic processes leave the prospect of modification and correction, while the static perception of shame as an object requires a longer work on its mental correction.

The main semantic dominants of the concept of shame, which have developed in the minds of adolescents and reflect their level of understanding of this important element of the ethical sphere of the individual, are shown in Table 2.

Table 2 – Content parameters of the concept of *shame* in the minds of adolescents

Lexical representation of the concept	Negativity	Reason	External focus	Internal character
Styd (Shame)	21.1 %	5 %	21.1 %	36.6 %
Stydno (To be ashamed)	29.5 %	49.3 %	12.6 %	36.6 %
Styzhus' (I'm ashamed of)	54.9 %	16.9 %	21.1 %	40.8 %

Source: Devised by the authors

The negative perception of shame in the minds of adolescents is, according to the researcher, “a relevant integral sign of emotive content” and “a cultural component of the Russian concept of “shame” (KHUDOIBERDIEVA, 2020, p. 91). The internal character of the concept of shame is appeared in a complex of emotions. Important in terms of studying the modifying potential of the concept of shame is its connection in the minds of adolescents with a sense of guilt (29.5% / 21), which in turn gives rise to a sense of responsibility for the committed offense. Many psychologists, studying the mechanisms of social regulation of

human behavior, talk about the functional similarity of shame and guilt (see: STEFANENKO, 2004; GORNAYEVA, 2012; SMOTROVA; GRITSENKO, 2014).

[...] Shame and guilt act not only as emotional experiences associated with various moral sanctions, but also as mechanisms of social control – the regulatory mechanisms of culture... Thus, culture uses guilt and shame as social regulators of behavior, regulating the interaction of its carriers, determining the methods and ways of upbringing, punishment and encouragement, say T. N. SMOTROVA and V. V. GRITSENKO (2014, p. 194).

According to some researchers, the main emotion in the experience of shame is fear: “Hypothetically, one can imagine that the mental basis of the concept of “shame” is the gestalt “fear” (KHUDOIBERDIEVA, 2020, p. 87). But a survey of adolescents shows that fear occupies only 8.45% (6 times) in the complex of emotions accompanying shame. It can be concluded that violation of ethical norms rarely causes fear in the psychological state of adolescents. A more frequent emotion is embarrassment – 22.5% (16 times). E. Hoffman analyzed in detail the fundamental role of the emotion of embarrassment in “normal social life”. In his opinion, embarrassment is the result of a person's inability to present to other people "a strong and coherent self" and "concern about this fact" (HOFFMAN, 2009, p. 136). It is functionally not a mental abnormality, but a sign of good social fitness of a member of society.

The modifying impact of the ethical concept of shame

After we have established what important meanings in the concept of shame are formed in the minds of adolescents, we will try to determine how moral condemnation, using the concept of shame, affects the understanding of the reasons for a committed violation of ethical norms. Analysis of respondents' answers to the question "Do you think about why you were shamed?" allows us to establish the degree of awareness of the cause. The results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 – The analysis of adolescents' comprehension of the reasons causing condemnation of others

Do you think about why you were shamed?	Yes	No	Not always
	42	9	20
	59.2 %	12.7 %	28.2 %

Source: Devised by the authors

As the survey results show, more than half of adolescents (59.2%) think about the reasons for moral condemnation expressed by someone (teacher, parents, etc.). This is an important basis for modifying one's behavior in the future, since the change in behavior should be preceded by changes in the adolescent's ethical consciousness: analysis of his/her act, identification of the reasons that caused moral condemnation from others. Note, however, that about a third of the respondents (28.2%) do not always reflect on their behavior after moral condemnation, and 12.7% do not think about it at all, from which it follows that they do not seek to adjust their behavior in accordance with the moral norms and values of society. Perhaps this is due to the fact that adolescents, as we found out earlier, rarely experience feelings of fear in a situation of shame in violation of socio-ethical norms of behavior, and as it is known that “in the Russian linguistic world picture, fear of society has a greater specific weight, acting as a regulator of social relations” (STEFANSKY, 2009, p. 15). How adolescents relate to moral condemnation from others, show the answers to the question "Do you have a desire not to be told this again?" See Table 4.

Table 4 – The attitude of adolescents to moral condemnation

Do you want to not be told this again?	Yes	Not	Not always
	47	10	14
	66.2 %	14.1 %	19.7 %

Source: Devised by the authors

Most of the surveyed students (66.2%) have a desire to no longer face a situation in which they are subjected to moral condemnation, which can act as one of the external psychological motives for changing their behavior in accordance with generally accepted moral values in society. The formation of personal values is carried out through the adoption of social values by a person. However, not all social values, realized and even accepted by a person, actually become his or her personal values. A necessary condition for such an adoption of values is the inclusion of the subject in practical collective activity aimed at realizing the corresponding value (CHO, 2015). The intermediate link in this process is the system of values of the group that is referential for the individual. At first, the family is the only reference group that mediates the assimilation of social values. In adolescence, communication with peers acquires particular importance, peer groups become the second alternative channel for the transmission of values. Depending on which small group is a reference point for a teenager, its values can act as a catalyst or a barrier to the assimilation of social, including ethical, values.

The mechanism of using shame as a regulator of behavior is based on the desire of a person to be part of a group, and can be implemented in the subordination of individual behavior to the group standard with the help of public opinion, ridicule, and boycott (GORNAYEVA, 2012, p. 48).

It should be noted that 14.1% of adolescents expressed an indifferent attitude towards moral condemnation, and 19.7% were not always concerned about the current situation. In other words, the modification possibilities of moral judgments with the concept of shame (“Aren't you ashamed?”) are not realized in this case; the interiorization of ethical values in the minds of adolescents with a similar attitude to moral condemnation did not occur.

In high school age, the moral development of a person is characterized by the emergence of ethical convictions, which are a complex of relevant knowledge and feelings. The emergence of a moral worldview leads to a new relationship between ethical consciousness and individual behavior. High school adolescents have the opportunity to consciously control their behavior, the desire to develop in themselves those qualities that correspond to their moral views and beliefs (BOZHOVICH, 1997).

The survey showed that the moral influence of others, expressed in the condemnation of violations of ethical norms and rules committed by a teenager, is effective in less than half of the cases – 46.4%. See Table 5.

Table 5 – The attitude of adolescents to the modification of their behavior after moral condemnation

Will you change your behavior after being shamed?	Yes	No	Don't know
	33	25	13
	46.4%	35.2%	18.3%

Source: Devised by the authors

As we can see, 35.2% of the respondents answered negatively the question about changing their behavior and bringing it into line with the social norms of adolescents, 18.3% answered “I don't know”, i.e., 53.5% of adolescents have not formed a system of ethical values and beliefs, part of which is the concept of shame. This led to the fact that the function of shame as a social regulator and modifier in this case turned out to be ineffective. Psychologists note:

The emergence of a sense of shame is associated with the transition from external direct regulators of human behavior, based on fear of physical, external influence from society, to external regulators, mediated by the moral influence of the group. The formation of shame is associated with the perception of social attitudes and norms of behavior not directly, but through the consciousness of the individual (GORNAYEVA, 2012, p. 48).

In other words, the formation of shame in the individual ethical consciousness of adolescents, who have no intention of modifying their behavior in accordance with the ethical values of society, did not happen; the feeling of shame is not adopted, because, assimilating social norms, accepting them as their own moral convictions, a person begins to feel a sense of guilt, as he or she is already violating his/her own, accepted for him/herself rules of conduct. But more than half of the teenagers surveyed – high school students do not feel guilt and shame and, accordingly, do not consider it necessary to correct and modify their behavior.

The reliability of the data is confirmed by a statistical analysis of answers to the opposite question of whether the teenager is going to continue to act as before, despite the fact that his/her unethical act was condemned by others. See Table 6.

Table 6 – The attitude of adolescents to maintaining their behavior unchanged after moral condemnation

Are you going to continue doing the same thing after being shamed?	Yes	No	Don't know
	22	33	16
	30.9%	46.4%	22.5%

Source: Devised by the authors

30.9% of the respondents answered that they would not change their behavior after moral condemnation, i.e., they categorically ignore social ethical values and norms; 22.5% do not know what they will do. 46.4% of adolescents intend to change their behavior and bring it into line with the ethical attitudes of the social group.

Thus, shame, as the main moral regulator, does not always fulfill its function of modifying adolescent behavior. What explains this? Sociologists and psychologists have always emphasized the socio-cultural nature of shame: shame is "a psychic mechanism that is specifically inherent only in humans and is formed by culture" (DOLGOV, 2013, p. 169). The dependence of the concept of shame on socio-cultural conditions forces us to turn to the characteristics of these conditions at the current stage of development of our society in order to better understand why the regulatory and modification capabilities of the ethical concept are not fully realized in adolescents.

The conditions in which the moral formation of the modern growing generation in our country takes place are characterized by the loss of the traditional system of values, which leads to the development of cynicism, an aggressive attitude towards others, the formation of contempt for the weak and envy of the strong, excessive ambition, an orientation towards

external success, an existential vacuum and a number of other moral deviations. In the process of breaking the traditional system of values in the destruction of the previous social system, ethical values of the significance of life, its meaningfulness, justice, truth, order, etc. are especially vulnerable. Due to the integrity and interconnection of higher motives, with the loss of their individual group, all other values, in particular family values, which are especially important in the formation of ethical beliefs of children, are deformed.

Ethical values act as an important component of the personality and are associated with the development of self-awareness, understanding of one's position in the system of social relations; therefore, the crisis of meaning-forming life values, leading to a crisis of identity, is often accompanied by social and spiritual deprivation. The result of this is the deformation of a person's self-consciousness, the alienation of the individual from his/her own history, the loss of the meaning of being, prospects for the future and responsibility. In a crisis period, a person is in search of a socio-cultural reference point, but often these searches lead to confusion, devastation, and nihilism. This may be one of the main reasons for the emergence of irrational aggressiveness, adherence to a forceful model of interaction (see: MIZHERIKOV, 1998; TEMIRGAZINA; BAKHTIKIREEVA; SINYACHKIN, 2017). Undoubtedly, the difficult social conditions for the formation of the personality of a teenager have a negative impact on the formation of the ethical self-awareness of the personality, the formation of the most important ethical concepts, including shame, which play the role of social regulation and modification. Our analysis has shown this negative influence of external social factors on the modification potential of the concept of *shame*.

At the same time, we should note the negative role of internal psychological factors in the complicated multidimensional process of the formation of mechanisms for the modification and regulation of the behavior of adolescents in high school, associated with the emotional and psychological specifics of adolescence.

At this age, communication with parents, teachers and other adults begins to develop under the influence of the emerging sense of adulthood. Adolescents begin to resist the previously unopposed demands of adults, to more actively defend their rights to independence, which in their understanding is identified with adulthood. They react painfully to real or seeming violation of their rights, try to limit the claims of adults in relation to themselves (FROLOVA, 2009, p. 65).

Thus, the internal protest against the intervention of adults, the desire to limit their claims and demands are a significant obstacle to the full formation of effective mechanisms of behavioral modification and regulation of adolescents, one of which is the feeling of shame.

Conclusion

Considerable attention is paid to the ethical development of the individual and society as a whole, since it is not an isolated process, but is organically included in the integral mental and social development of the individual. At each age stage, the mechanisms that allow solving urgent problems of personal development acquire special importance.

The study revealed that the emotion of shame as one of the most important social modifiers and regulators of the behavior of high school students is only half effective. As the analysis has shown, this is due to the insufficient formation in the minds of adolescents of such accompanying content elements of the concept of shame as fear and guilt. Feeling awkward, embarrassed, uncomfortable from a complete violation of moral norms and rules, adolescents often do not feel fear and do not feel guilty. The analysis also showed that the presentation of shame as a mental state is not typical for adolescents; more typical is the presentation of shame as an object-feeling (84.5%). And the object, as you know, has no reasons, therefore the semantic attribute “cause” of the object-emotion shame is only 5% in the minds of adolescents.

The perception of shame as a mental process (88.73%) is important for the pedagogical influence on the ethical consciousness of a teenager, since it presupposes the ability to influence the change in the situation and action. A static perception of shame as an object requires more time-consuming work on its mental correction.

More than half of adolescents (59.2%) think about the reasons for moral condemnation expressed by someone (teacher, parents, etc.). In our opinion, this fact indicates the possibility of modifying the adolescent's behavior in the future. Changes in the adolescent's ethical consciousness of ideas about shame (analysis of their actions; identification of the reasons that caused moral condemnation on the part of others) are a promising basis for modification and correction of behavior.

12.7% of high school students are not going to adjust their behavior in accordance with the moral norms and values of society. First, this is largely due to the socio-cultural crisis of the values of modern society. Secondly, this is due to the peculiarities of the psychological development of adolescents: the emerging sense of adulthood and independence, the emergence and actualization of negativism - the adolescent's denial of the elders' right to teach and upbringing, the denial of ideals, norms and values that are “traditional” from his/her point of view. The adolescent does not accept the statements of the elders, not because he or she really does not agree with them, but because they come from the authority of the elders and are superimposed on him or her as a priori the only correct ones. This can provoke both the

adolescent's persistent search for his or her own worldview for the sake of personal comfort, and the "external" search for meanings or rejection of it – denial for the sake of denial (CHETVERTKOVA, 2016).

As evidenced by the study, increasing the effectiveness of shame as a social regulator requires considering the peculiarities of moral development in the adolescent stage when organizing a system of targeted influence that will ensure the achievement of a high level of moral development of the individual, which is especially important in the crisis period of society development.

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