

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem



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## **Enabling Confession through Legitimate Power and nonjudgmental listening**

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*Confessio* (Latin) - "acknowledging", both declaration and disclosure of a crime fault or weakness.

“Oh God, it’s me, I’ve come to confess,  
That I sin, err, lapse, transgress,  
Trip, slip, fall, and offend,  
Stray, misbehave, deviate, bend...  
Now monstrous, incorrigible, loathsome, mean,  
Refractory, recidivous, rank, unclean,  
Spiteful, malicious, malignant, bitter,  
Pliable, weak, spineless, a quitter”<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Confession by the book, Donald Capps, 2005.

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## Abstract

Confession to figure of authority is documented in religious practices, legal contexts (confession of a crime), as well as, medical settings, and psychological therapy. Based on a review of confession in all these domains, I hypothesized that confession probability increases when the person to whom one divulge the confession is perceived both to have a legitimate authority and shows nonjudgmental listening. Furthermore, I hypothesize that confession contributes to wellbeing, and that the effect of authority and listening are moderated by individual differences.

Results from a pretest,  $N = 15$ , support the suggested model and as so, served to construct a more extensive questionnaire. Results from a scenario experiment,  $N = 283$ , generally supported some aspects of the suggested model. Specifically both nonjudgmental listening and legitimate authority promoted confession, but the predicted interaction between these factors was not found. The results also suggested that insecure attachment style moderates the results, albeit it in a manner not predicted. Specifically, the higher the insecure attachment style the lower the confession probability, except when the authority is low and the listening is high. A hypothesis regarding the moderating effect of conformity values was not supported. This work raised new questions regarding confession including about the role of social authority that is not based on formal status, measurement issues, and reactions of people with insecure attachment style to opportunities to confess.

**Keywords:** Confession, Legitimate Authority, Listening, Avoidant, Well-Being.

## **Introduction**

When people are being listened to by someone else they enjoy a multitude of benefits, such as connection with the listener (Rogers & Roethlisberger, 1952), wellbeing, lower depression, and more. However, the experience of being listened to by another person may largely vary based on context (Imhof & Goethe-universitat, 2003), such as status difference (superior, equal or subordinate), and culture. The context of interest in this thesis is listening to a confession.

Confessions are revelations of secrets emanating from guilt. Some of those secrets are commonly divulged, like sharing an extramarital affair with a friend, or telling a colleague about hiding information from one's boss. However, when the guilt feeling is heightened and burdens the person from easily sharing the secret, only then the action of telling becomes a confession (Kassin, 2005). Confessions appears to be of interest in four different professional well known contexts: Legal, health care, psychotherapy, and religious, and so my goal in this thesis is to offer a theory-driven hypothesis regarding factors leading to confession based on these four areas of expertise. To achieve this goal, I first discuss the nature of confession and factors facilitating confession, including formation of relationship, legitimate-social power, and nonjudgmental listening. Next, I will review the roles and impact of both legitimate-social power and nonjudgmental listening in all four contexts of confession (e.g., legal). On the basis of this review, I will hypothesize that each nonjudgmental listening and legitimate-social power promote confession, but moreover, both interact in leading to a confession, such that confession is most likely when both nonjudgmental listening and legitimate-social power are high. Yet,

I also predict that this interaction will be further qualified by interactions with both avoidance-attachment style and respect to authority (values of conformity). Finally, I conclude by discussing the importance of confession for the confessor's wellbeing.

### **What's a confession?**

The word *Confessio* (Latin) means “acknowledging”, both declaration and disclosure of a crime, fault or weakness of a unique person. Similar to the latest, confessions has been argued as a way to acknowledge the inner-self through writing autobiographies (Peters, 2000) such as *Investigations* of Wittgenstein or the well-known *A confession* of Tolstoy. It is also advised nowadays, to use the ritual of confession as self-reflection like in academic research were self-knowledge practice is recommended to better identify oneself and situate in social surrounding (Pillow, 2003). Distinguishably, confessions in Christian writings refers to the action itself, defined as sharing guilt-raising deeds about an action that is *irreversible* (Getcha, 2007), opposed to sharing dilemmas regarding ways to resolve an ongoing event in the present or in the future. Hence, not all secrets are equal and perceived as repressed and confessional. Divulging repressed secrets differ significantly from sharing stories regarding faults that do not carry heavy guilt such as sharing adultery experience with a boasting attitude, from sharing an adultery experience with guilt, sometimes even involving unpleasant consequences. So why should one confess? The act of confession has been identified to reduce guilt and shame, provide meaning and coherence, empower social connection and develop spiritual functions (Murray-Swank, 2007), which tend to increase well-being. The hypothetical increase in well-being, as well as finding meaning and coherence to one's life,

engendered another interesting concept of confession in a form of *confessional support groups* (e.g. Alcoholic Anonymous), created to help people grow spiritually and overcome their faults and weaknesses by facilitating their psychotherapy process (Falby, 2003). It is common to confuse this group process, where individuals share in public the true nature of their existence with confessions. These shared stories are mostly equal to everyday events divulged and disclosed shortly after occurred, with lack of significant long-term negative impression (Pasupathi, 2001). Sharing a guileful and irreversible event is powerful to both participants, confessor and listener, even though the advantages and disadvantages are not clear to each ahead time. For example: confession of an illegal act is uniquely potent and raise significantly the odds for conviction in the favor of the listener (Kassin, Saul M., Neumann, 1997), while confession within a psychotherapy process is necessary to achieve a “breakthrough” in the favor of the confessor. Evidently, methods to extract the inner truth in the given samples differs largely.

To summarize, confessions are stories of *repressed secrets* that (a) shield the individual from painful and devastating truth, (b) involve deep feelings of guilt, as they are the result of an irreversible wrongdoing, and (c) consequently, they are rarely shared.

Finally, it is important to accentuate that some confessions may be false and are known in all four professional contexts: Legal, health care, psychotherapy, and religious (Kassin, 2005)(Peer, Acquisti, & Shalvi, 2014). However, true confessions may leave positive traces on the confessor, regardless to the action nature, including among others increase in wellbeing (Uysal, Lin, & Knee, 2010), reduction in skin

conductivity (J W Pennebaker, Hughes, & O'Heeron, 1987), reduction of heart-rate (James W Pennebaker & Beall, 1986), improved ability to execute physical tasks (Finkenauer, Engels, & Meeus, 2002), and reduction of guilt and cognitive dissonance (Stice, 1992).

### **Legitimate social power**

Social power presents the ability to deter undesired behavior by using coercion, reward or legitimate status to promote desired behaviors. Possessing social power is defined as the ability of one person to affect others' beliefs, attitudes, and/or behaviors such as celebrities influence: Madonna on the latest fashion, Donald Trump on political ideas etc. Although the concept of social power is comprehensive, perceived *legitimacy* of social power increases its potency. French and Raven (French & Raven, 1959) distinguish four sources of social power: (a) coercive power (b) reward power (c) legitimate power and (d) referent power. Following this distinction, the difference in social power is not measured as an entity attribute, but the believe in the powerholders to control any physical, economic or social outcome associated to their actions (Fiske, Susan T., 2015), and therefore be legitimate like in the case of a prime minister executing his electoral promises and claim responsibility to their outcome in all. While the use of coercive social power or reward requires a large amount of resources to obtain even a modest sometimes limited influence on others (like observed in non-democratic societies), social power has a stronger effect on public behavior when it is perceived as *legitimate* (Baldassarri & Grossman, 2011). Believing in legitimacy of social groups, authorities or institutions presents a central value of social systems based on norms,

to provide reasonableness and rational explanation of differences in authority power, status or wealth. But not only values and norms justify legitimacy; It is also the acceptance of the right of a person to hold to power (status power) (French & Raven, 1959), as the social power of a priest on religious believers, a judge on the constitutional interpretation, a doctor on health decisions and so. A more common concept of perceived authority is Charisma. Leaders defined as charismatic can promote cooperation through their motivating power upon groups or individuals (De Cremer & Van Knippenberg, 2002). A charismatic authority (e.g., prophets) can break a “normative” structure and create new norms to follow when it perceived as legitimate (Spencer, 1970). Hence, legitimacy of authority is a complex balance between group-norm, social psychology orientation, and sociology structure, and holds the power to influence others behavior above the simple social power or authority acquired with no legitimacy.

Note: Legitimacy depends both on perceived authority and on perceived skill (Thibaut, John W.; Kelley, 1959). Lack of each undermines legitimacy of authority like in a case of an obstetrician replaced by a new colleague, placing his former in a non-legitimate authority position – status power, or similar to a retired practitioner losing the legitimacy of authority along with the job termination – actual power.

In this paper, I suggest that one of key variable that affect confession is the confessor believe that the listener is *entitled* (legitimate status power) to hear his/her story and have the ability to understand it, or do something about it, regardless to the definition of power employed by the listener. Yet, I further argue that legitimate authority alone is not sufficient to induce confession and thus, the legitimate

authority must perform *nonjudgmental listening* as repressed secrets may not be divulged to just anyone possessing social power.

### **Listening to a confessor**

The art of listening is discussed in multitudes of researches such as: Rogerian-active listening (Rogers & Roethlisberger, 1952), empathic listening (Myers, 2000) pastoral listening<sup>2</sup>, and more. I mostly refer my theory in this work to the Rogerian perspective of an empathic non-judgmental listening as the right approach to adopt in the referred relationship. The proper action of listening (vs. merely hearing) is difficult to conceptualize as it involves multi-dimensional construct: physical behavior (context and external signs), psychological statement (mental process) and depends significantly on the nature of relations between the teller and the listener (Bodie & Crick, 2014)(High, 1985), but nonetheless the importance of its' nature and effect on human interaction is undeniable. Variant listening methods focus on the listener expressions of interest using external behavior like eye contact (Janet, Bavelas, Coates, & Johnson, 2002), uttering Aha, and head nodding (Bavelas & Gerwing, 2011), probably because they are simpler to define and previously proven to positively affect the outcome of the interaction. These methods are supported by other researches showing that a distracted listener promote shorter and unfinished stories, which are not completed, and induce negative emotions for the teller (Monisha Pasupathi & Rich, 2005). Parallel

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<sup>2</sup> Justes E.J. Hearing beyond the words, How to become a listening pastor 2006

practices can be found in the educational program in pastoral institutes where students are taught listening methods like the six-counseling skills program of Ph.D. reverent Kriesel (1977); (a) creating eye contact, (b) expressing invitation to talk, (c) reflection of feeling, (d) clarification, (e) confrontation, and (f) focus upon values. The basic assumption of these programs is that listening is an acquired ability, not an inherited capacity, and can be taught to large groups of people. Other available sources (and there are very few regarding religious confessions) discuss the pastor listening skills based on the pastor ability to “profoundly *listen* to the confessor’s concerns and deeply sense and understand their psychological condition, aspiring to reach a unique inter personality communication channel with no barriers”<sup>3</sup>. Pastors agree that this drop of barriers demand great courage to confront painful truth, often related to both sides fears and scary stories, and affect the outcome of confession for the listener and the confessor as one. Thus, pastoral education programs attribute great importance to hearing the self as a key element into becoming a “listening person” (Cedarleaf, 1984), a little like the psychiatrist pursuing a psychotherapy itself. Psychotherapists and other healthcare physicians resemble pastors activity in their patient’s expectations; find a therapy solution to their existential distress (Barnard & Barnard, 2015) and talk patients through the process of acknowledging their true story. Those similarities help to understand my theory across all four-confession domains.

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<sup>3</sup> Justes E.J. Hearing beyond the words, How to become a listening pastor 2006

Considering all of the above, listening to a confession requires certain skills to perform quality listening in order to promote confession, including both external and internal empathic expressions towards the confessor. Adopting a nonjudgmental approach while listening is to make a conscious effort not to be critical of the actions or thoughts of others. As so, my reference to a *nonjudgmental listening* throughout this paper is about adopting a set of attitudes to ones' listening skills such as acceptance, genuineness and empathy: accept the others without criticizing them for being different from oneself, genuinely make no moral judgment about their situation, and try to understand the other empathetically. I next review the context of confession in all four professional domains.

### **Confession of a legal act**

#### ***Law officer authority***

Law enforcement employees have the ability to force people to behave as told, but when people believe in their *legitimate* fair and valid authority, forcing is rarely needed, such as when a law enforcement authority explicitly order certain behavior against a person's will, it is acceptable as people feel obliged to follow the (legitimate) authority rules and orders (French & Raven, 1959). Hence, the persuasive power of the law over personal moral judgment depends on its being perceived as expert, authoritative and legitimate (similar to expert power). One can argue that law is legitimate simply by its substance as law is based upon norms whose *legitimacy* has been established in a manner which people recognize as legal (Spencer, 1970) as well as democratic. It is a proper argument as regardless to the individual personal beliefs in the law, when there is no one perfect answer, a large

scale of population have confidence in the legitimacy of legal process for using a fair procedure to extract the truth and do what is right (Tyler, 2006). For example in a trial case, when one's true innocence is typically unknown, the legitimacy of the outcome verdict is based on the fairness of the procedure prior to the verdict. Yet, when people truly believe in the legitimacy of a legal authority they will more likely offer extra information or action in order to help law officers solving a crime (Tyler, 2004), even though this information or action are not explicitly requested. Another aspect is the level of trust in authority, showing that the more people trust in the authority the higher is the motivation of the subjects to cooperate in action or in sharing information (De Cremer & Tyler, 2007). So sharing information about an illegal act depends on the level of trust and legitimacy of authority in the eyes of society. But, in a specific given situation, enabling incriminating confession depends on the level of trust and legitimacy of the interrogator in the eyes of the eligible confessor, regardless to the society opinion, especially when the window of opportunity to extract crime confession is limited in time (Pearse & Gudjonsson, 1998). Clearly, confessions are crucial for solving crimes. Given that, over the last few decades police investigators begun to receive scientific help and specific training of interrogation methods with one goal: obtain true information to solve crimes through elicit confessions. One of the most prevalent method to enhance incriminating probability is the "reid" technique, suggesting seven to sixteen steps (depends on the crime nature) of positive persuasion to confession ([www.reid.com](http://www.reid.com)), most of them evoke interrogator's social power over the suspect. Further development of these techniques seek to control the suspects emotions and psychological perception of reality (Leo, 1994) and to promise psychological relief

due to confession. I will further develop on one of these techniques, in relations to incriminating listening skills.

### *Incriminating listening*

Listening to confession of legal act have one goal: listener seeks to extract an incriminating confession from the suspect who is believed to be guilty within a narrow time frame. Hence, the urgency of the legal confession pushed enforcement agencies to teach investigators how to promote confessions, using psychological techniques. One technic presented in an FBI law-enforcement paper suggests three “magic words” of emotional statement that can lead to confession: rationalization, projection, and minimization (RPMs of interrogation) (Napier & Adams, 1998). *Rationalization* offers moral excuse to the suspect ("so obvious, anyone can understand") and an acceptable explanation to his/her action. *Projection* excuses the act itself by putting the blame on someone or something else, and finally *minimization* of the action (by using words like: accidentally, mistaken, unplanned) to avoid suspect from focusing on the consequences and reduce as possible the sensation of guilt. Interestingly, both minimization of the act itself and minimization of the outcome (offering a leniency deal) increase confession probability (Russano, Meissner, Narchet, & Kassin, 2005) but do not increase level of well-being. Using the RPMs method can be interpreted as the investigator *nonjudgmental approach*, encouraging the suspect to confess, along with attentive listening to allow the suspect to verbalize his or her side of the story (Tousignant, 1991), all seeking to gain the confessor’s confidence and trust throughout the process.

These findings are consistent with my basic assumption that confession of legal act depends greatly on the investigator's legitimate-social power combined with nonjudgmental listening to form the right environment to enable confession.

### **Religious confession**

#### ***“Pastor power” but not only***

Pastors are conceptualized as spiritual *leaders* followed by their community members and therefore, possess certain social power. But pastors are also meant to *serve* their congregation and as so, the essence of the clergy practice is to be available, provide answers, and live the daily life in an unpredictable manner in the service of others. So how to bridge the two opposing ideas of serving and being a leader? A new concept of leadership emerged this last two decades to define leaders that acts with respect, care, and fairness for the well-being of all involved (as opposite to the leader's own self-serving interests) – *servant leadership*. Servant leadership consists of 10 attributes, including among others listening and empathy, found in all five-major-world religions (Wallace, 2006). Recently, those same attributes were studied in OB quality management<sup>4</sup> domain, resulting that serving and leading can successfully combine without damaging the perceived social power of nowadays leaders. But, are all pastor's leaders? In ancient Christian times, confessors were part of a church community, and as so, confessions were mostly

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<sup>4</sup> Focus on Leadership, Servant-Leadership for the Twenty-First Century, Larry C. Spears, Michele Lawrence, 2002. ISBN 0471411620.

done in public were the leader identity was physically distant. Later, confessions became more frequent and were divulged to a unique listener (Getcha, 2007). This one on one position in leading the congregation reflects the pastors' authority over the members and even though the impact of each and one is varying, they are all *perceived* as leaders and as a result, possess the necessary power to promote or deter behavior. Following this attestation, authority is fundamental to pastors' success and workshops have been developed over the years, to help empower their influencing status in the eyes of their followers. One interesting method suggests an in-depth examination of pastor's leadership narratives (Hester L. Richard, 2009) through group conversation in order to raise their personal image within their approximate surrounding before confronting their congregation.

The social power of spiritual leaders (of any religion followers) and emissaries of law can vary, as both have their own convictions of what is right and wrong and frequently, religious believes and moral norms can oppose. For example; the statement regarding abortion or gay marriage is acceptable in many countries as the right moral value, sometimes even strengthened constitutionally, but not accepted by religions of any kind. The latest raise a dyadic dilemma; which of those authorities people of faith will follow? The answer lies on *legitimacy*. When a religion authority perceived as legitimate call for specified action, even extreme one as exterminating others (which is against the law), people of faith may follow (Philpott, 2007). Still, when the authority decision-making is perceived as *legitimate* like in the legal system, it creates the duty to obey upon personal believes (Skitka, Bauman, & Lytle, 2009), often against one's faith. Nevertheless, in both instances,

legal or religious, entity of legitimate authority have the *social-power-status* to promote desired behavior, one of them is divulging hidden secrets.

### ***Attentive listening***

Learn to know your congregation members and perform quality listening to their stories and concerns are high values in clergy assistance, in order to build a trustful relationship. The array of stories shared by the congregation members vary from everyday simple dyads to existential problems like stories encountered in mental care domain, the most fast developing care section of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is shown that nearly 45% of the persons facing a distress problem (no difference between religions) will firstly ask for clergy assistance (Holinger, 1979). Reciprocity exists between the two professions as in early Christian days, psychiatric deeds were concretely defined as spiritual problems to the point of mutual help between the two professions to fulfil the congregation demand (Harris, 1985). This reciprocity work both ways, prompting clergy professionals to obtain some psychotherapy counseling training in performing quality listening, although not all pastors become great listeners (Wong, 2009). A great part of this listening training passes from one clergy professional to another and known as the pastoral ethnography routine (Moschetta, 2011), a live experience routine leaning on adopting a nonjudgmental attitude and empathic listening towards the confessor. This same pastoral routine also recommend the practice of private confession to allow pastors better understand its' positive and negative aspects and outcomes (Stumpf, 1993), as listening to a confessor is first of all, learning to listen to the inner-self.

Observation: I previously suggest that a good congregation leader need to acquire listening skills in order to reach excellency in his work. It is interesting to compare the latest to nowadays business world, whereas an organization leader without listening skills at first, simply cannot lead (Brunner, 2008).

## **Confessing to a healthcare professional**

### ***Expert power***

The overall social power of the medical system is undeniable as this professional entity frequently operates under state protection and plays an important role in the economic and political functioning of the capitalist system<sup>5</sup>. Accordingly, the state provide healthcare professional extended power of decision, at times with legal backing, like in the case of obliging hospitalization against patients' free will. Moreover, healthcare professionals are obliged to collect data from their patients to both governmental and professional use, and *truth* is of great importance in that domain. Extracting the hidden truth of delicate subjects like sexual habits and orientation is conceptualized as a confessional process (Holmes & O'Byrne, 2006). This confessional process sets in motion the tension between concealment and revelation, and named the *confession techné*, a well-developed technique of "how to do" knowledge, widely taught to healthcare delegates. This position of power is backed by medical knowledge, acquired over years of studying and practicing.

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<sup>5</sup> Medical power and social knowledge, Bryan S. Turner, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1995.

Similarity exists between the healthcare confession techné and the criminal confession technique as the listener encourages the teller to confess by emphasizing his/her legitimate authority to hear the individual's deepest secrets (High, 1985), and know how to deal with it.

### *Nonjudgmental listening*

Patients expect a nonjudgmental response or attitude that allow divulging sensible information. Thus, practitioners are called to listen carefully to patients' questions and concerns, free of judgment (Herson, Hart, Gordon, & Rintala, 1999). It is important to note that healthcare professions include a large array of job description, ranging from counter nurses to medical professors, shown to be all perceived as authoritative figures in the eyes of the patients. Given the expert power of their profession (sometimes even intimidating), it is suggested that health-care professionals invest extra effort to gain their patients trust through acknowledging similarities in values, attitudes and believes (understanding), willingness to provide help (empathy), and give statements of being worthwhile upon a weakness (acceptance) (Rodin & Janis, 1979). Evidently, all compose the right nonjudgmental listening attitude to adopt.

Similarities exists between the pastors hearing the inner-self on his path to become a better listener, to the importance of self-confession arise in healthcare domain, as a personal reflection to assess practitioner's thoughts and actions by confessing themselves to themselves (Fejes, 2011). The idea of this practice is to encourage healthcare professionals to understand the benefits of confession and disclosure for the healing process (increase patient's level of well-being).

## **Confession within a psychotherapy**

### ***Expert power***

Although confession to a mental health professional is a result of a voluntary act, one cannot ignore the fear that setting the truth free might destroy a necessary component of the confessor's survival shield (Klenck, 2004). Hence, the legitimate social power of the psychotherapist is necessary to promote teller's behavior and increase willingness to accept the authority figure recommendations to be exposed. For example: patients going through depression seek to confirm that the person listening to their problems is professional and has legitimacy to do so (Dennis & Chung-lee, 2006) in order to address their problem. Thus, the essence of the therapy is the penitent reassurance to share the shame and guilt with the right human being, sanctioned to hear his/her confession (Todd, 2013). Another possible explanation refers to the psychotherapist ability to interpret the subject revealed secrets and thus, be an expert in that domain (Mayes, 2009), similar to the patient-centered approach.

### ***Empathic listening***

The outcome of a psychotherapy process depends greatly on the subject social environment and its' supportive attitude, mostly when the latest is nonjudgmental. Evermore, it was demonstrated that while higher social support can predict lower post-trauma effects, only nonjudgmental attitude significantly moderate trauma symptoms (Zealand, 1997). The most frequently observed trauma symptom in psychotherapy is depression. Women suffering from postpartum

depression, mostly seek to talk to a healthcare professional (psychotherapist) who can simply offer a nonjudgmental listening (Dennis & Chung-lee, 2006). It is also suggested that empathy may have positive impact on relationship outcome in many different ways, like for example: influencing married couples degree of well-being (Kilpatrick, Bissonnette, & Rusbult, 2002). In fact, empathy was shown to be a necessary component for clinical improvement and personal growth beyond its' therapeutic benefit (Block-Lerner, Adair, Plumb, Rhatigan, & Orsillo, 2007). Following this arguments, nonjudgmental listening promotes positive outcome in psychotherapy, which together with empathy, the compassionate form of understanding the other, increase teller's willingness to get exposed.

Note: although empathy benefits are largely discussed in this particular domain, I consider empathy as an integral part in performing nonjudgmental listening across all four domains of confession.

## **Summary**

The review of the four professional domains suggest that the key for enabling confession is the presence of two conditions: *legitimate authority* and *nonjudgmental listening*.

1. *Legitimate Authority* can be interpreted as followed: investigator power of law in legal act, certified-expert power in psychology, guiding power of expert person in healthcare, and spiritual guidance in religious domain.
2. *Nonjudgmental listening* is listening void of judgment in religious and psychology domain, the use of three magic words (rationalization, projection

and minimization) inside the interrogation room, and the confession techné practiced in healthcare.

There are other similarities in factors that may affect confessions in all four reviewed domains including *anonymity* and the *chance to be forgiven*. Yet, these factors are beyond the scope of this thesis.

### **Confession impact on well-being:**

**Clergy.** Confessions are stories of repressed secrets functioning as human shield from painful and devastating truth, involving deep feelings of guilt as a result of a wrongdoing. In Christian time, confession was viewed as a sacramental means of penance and seen as “the one and only remedy for a troubled conscience” in the confessor healing process (High, 1985). Nowadays, it is more about gaining forgiveness as part of the religious practice (Todd, 2013).

Repressing meaningful secrets can burden a person with emotional and psychological distress (Slepian, Masicampo, Toosi, & Ambady, 2012), and affect physical actions by making simple everyday tasks perceived as effortful and hard to carry (Slepian et al., 2012). On the other hand, individual’s reaching disclosure to their traumatic event will present increase in wellbeing (Uysal et al., 2010), reduction in skin conductivity (J W Pennebaker et al., 1987), reduction of heart-rate (James W Pennebaker & Beall, 1986), improved ability to execute physical tasks (Finkenauer et al., 2002), and reduction of guilt and cognitive dissonance (Stice, 1992). Furthermore, the degree of confessional disclosing is negative related to a vast array of objective-physiological-health outcomes (J W Pennebaker et al., 1987),

as well as with immunological functioning (Pérez, Benítez, O'Brien, Carels, Gordon, & Chiros, 2007). Similarly, people who revealed homosexual orientation, as opposed to people who concealed their tendencies, made better psychological recovery in the short term, and had less stress-related diseases on the long term (Pérez, Benítez et al., 2007).

**Psychology and Health Care.** In mental and health care domains, confession and self-disclosure are necessities for releasing stress as part of the healing process. For instance, when a victim of traumatic event is not talking or expressing his/her feelings, their body and mind inhibit physical and psychological reaction that on the long term will stress and fatigue them. Following the latest argument, Pasupathi examined the difference between disclosed and undisclosed narratives finding that undisclosed stories were more emotionally negative and based on vice (Monisha Pasupathi, McLean, & Weeks, 2009)(M. Pasupathi, 2001). These meaningful negative stories that people do not wish to disclose are problematic, and lead to a repressing emotion which eventually, decrease well-being. Hence, self-disclosure (frequently through confession) is of great importance to the outcome of the psychotherapy process together with health recovery. Recovery through disclosure process, defeat guilt feeling of wrongdoing that can lead individuals to self-punishment, self-deprecating naming and feeling, incessant tinkering and above all – avoidance from social connection until they feel “clean” (Bergin & Stinchfield, 1988). Some of these negative feelings disappear on their own with time, but others feelings will dissipate only with disclosure. Disclosing doesn't need to be complicated and sometimes the simple fact of talking or writing about a past

traumatic experience can increase the individual degree of well-being (James W Pennebaker & Susman, 1988). The examination of several disclosing methods revealed no significant differences between subjects talking to a therapists, passively listened or even simply writing about the stressful event (Slavin-Spenny, Cohen, Oberleitner, & Lumeley, 2011). However, they can all be interpreted as confessions and lead to a positive post-trauma growth. Furthermore, failure to disclose a mental issue harm the patients' chances for positive health outcome (Figueiredo, Fries, & Ingram, 2004) and increase cancer probability. On the other hand, women already diagnosed with breast cancer who expressed their anger openly and presented some degree of disclosure, lived the longest after diagnosis (J W Pennebaker et al., 1987).

**Legal.** Reaching disclosure regarding a legal wrong-doing is more complicated as confession of a legal act is frequently forced, and so the probability for partial or non-confession is high in this context. The basic assumption is that partial confession will provide certain relief from guilt and negative feeling even though confession is not completed, by minimizing the wrongdoing - "I did drink but only one glass, not the whole bottle". Surprisingly, both partial confession and a non-confession situation affect people's feelings in a negative way. In fact, partial confession aggravate people's negative feelings because of the additional unethical wrongdoing (Peer et al., 2014). On the other hand, one might wonder how penal (true) confession can increase the confessor well-being when dire consequences are involved, sometimes even long incarceration period. Testimonies from past interrogations demonstrate that confessor's of legal act experience feelings of relief

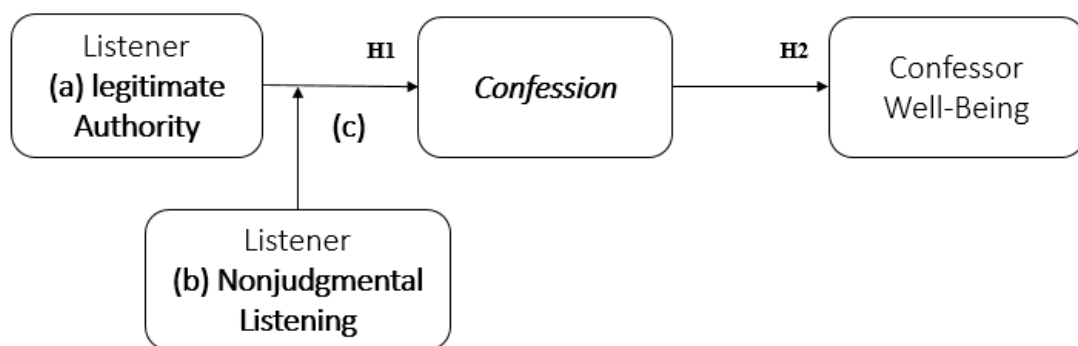
in the short term, but I found no references to the effects of confession in this context in the long term.

In summary, there is evidence that confession and self-disclosure increase individual's sense of well-being, regardless to the confession nature. Hence, people defining themselves as happy are more likely to "open up" and confess. Therefore, I hypothesize that:

**H1:** Confession is enable when (a) the listener is of legitimate authority, (b) perform nonjudgmental quality listening, and (c) there is an interaction between legitimate authority and nonjudgmental listening in affecting confession, such that confession is highest when both legitimate authority and nonjudgmental listening are present.

**H2:** Confession increases well-being.

**Proposed model:**



*Figure 1.*

*Model summary describing the predicted effect of the listener legitimate authority and nonjudgmental listening on the probability of teller's confession and well-being.*

## **Study 1: Pretest study**

Study 1 was a pretest of a vignette experiment.

### **Methods**

#### *Participants*

A convenience sample of 15 respondents, aged 24-53, completed a paper-and-pencil survey manipulating four different scenarios (4 respondents scenario A, 4 respondents scenario B, 3 respondents scenario C, 4 respondents scenario D). I recruited participants among my acquaintances and offered no compensation.

#### *Procedure*

I approached potential participants and asked if they were willing to participate in a paper-and-pencil study. I gave those who agreed one out of four survey versions, all of which required about 5 minutes of their time.

In each survey, I first asked participants to rate the perceived authority of eight professions, their perceived level of well-being and health on a 10-point scale, and one open question about the existence of a close person to whom they can confess. Then, participants were asked to give an example of a person with certain authority (high/low) and score the level of authority of the given sample on a 10-point scale.

They then read a scenario that said the following:

“People all around the globe arrive at different stages of life to confess or to admit to a painful event from their past, accompanied by feelings of guilt, and sometimes even shame. This study refers to an event that already happened to you in the past and remains a closely guarded secret for a time. To this end, we ask you to remember just such an occasion that you have saved as secret, and every time mentioned, flooded you with feeling of guilt and/or shame. We are not asking you to tell us about that incident. In other words, we ask you to remember an event that left a mark over time. An event you may have told to someone else or not at all – and still keep the big secret with you”.

Then, the authority/listening manipulation was introduced and participants were asked to imagine sitting in front of a person with certain authority (high/low) and level of empathy (nonjudgmental listening high/low).

**(Scenario A) Participants in high authority/high listening read the following:**

Now imagine you sitting in front of a person to whom you ascribe a very high-power status. This person listens attentively to your story, does not pass any criticism, and expresses understanding, sensitivity and consideration towards you. What are the chances that you will reveal your secret to this person?”

**(Scenario B) Participants in high authority/low listening read the following:**

Now imagine you sitting in front of a person to whom you ascribe a very high-power status. This person does not listen to your story attentively, criticize you, act impatiently and does not express understanding, sensitivity and respect. What are the chances that you will reveal your secret to this person?”

**(Scenario C) Participants in low authority/high listening read the following:**

Now imagine you sitting in front of a person to whom you ascribe a very low-power status. This person listens attentively to your story, does not pass any criticism, and expresses understanding,

sensitivity and consideration towards you. What are the chances that you will reveal your secret to this person?”

(Scenario D) Participants in low authority/low listening read the following:

Now imagine you sitting in front of a person to whom you ascribe a very low power-status. This person does not listen to your story attentively, criticize you, act impatiently and does not express understanding, sensitivity and respect. What are the chances that you will reveal your secret to this person?”

Next, I asked participants to rate the percentage probability of confession on a 0 to 100 scale, willing to share the secrecy, and quality level of listening on a 10-point scale.

I further asked all participants if they confess about the imagined scenario in the past. I asked respondents who answered positively to describe the authority figure and rate their perceived quality listening. I asked respondents who answered negatively “Did you ever confess to a person about any *other* guilt-and-shame event that happened to you in the past?”. I asked respondents who answered positively to this question to describe the authority figure and rate their perceived quality listening. Finally, I presented all respondents with a general wellbeing questionnaire (For the actual questionnaire in Hebrew – see Appendix I).

### ***Measures***

**Confession probability.** Confession probability was measured with two items. One item asked “What are the chances that you will reveal your secret to that person” on a scale ranging from 0 = *0% chance of confession* to 10 = *100% chance*

*of confession.* The other item stated “There is no chance that I will reveal my secret to this person”, on a scale ranging from 0 = *not true at all* to 10 = *true to a very high degree.* These two items were negatively correlated, and thus I reversed the negative item and averaged them to create one score of confession-probability scale.

**Past confession** I asked participant’s weather they already confess to someone in the past using a yes/no response. I presented those who answered no, with “Did it ever happen that you revealed a *different* guilt-and-shame arousing event to another person?”. Those who answered negatively were asked to provide a reason. Based on these two items, 80% reported past confession.

**Wellbeing after confession.** I used a collection of seven items from existing wellbeing instruments measuring subjective level of happiness after disclosure. Specifically, I asked respondents to mark down the digit that best reflects their feelings regarding: “I sleep better at night”; “I feel I dropped off a heavy burden”; “The exposure caused me chagrin” [reversed coded]; “I am more available to discuss personal issues”; “I fear other people opinions” [reversed coded]; “I feel depressed” [reversed coded]; and “I better cope with everyday tasks”, on a scale ranging from 0 = *not at all reflective,* to 10 = *Very reflective.* In addition, I asked participants “to what level did you feel optimism after revealing your secret?” on a scale ranging from 0 = *not at all optimistic,* to 10 = *Very optimistic.* Cronbach  $\alpha = .80$ .

**General wellbeing.** I used a collection of five items from existing wellbeing instruments measuring subjective level of happiness and problem coping like the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) or the WHO questionnaire of chronic patients (Snoek, 2006). Specifically, I asked

respondents to state the frequency in which each of the following reflect their feelings: “I am happy”; “I feel close to other people”; “I am lonely” [reversed coded]; “I cope well with problems”; and “I feel optimistic.” I presented these items on a scale ranging from 0 = *Do not know*, through 1= *Never* to 10 = *Always*. I also asked participants “to what level you are satisfied with your life in general?” on a scale ranging from 0 = *not at all satisfied*, to 10 = *Very satisfied*, “how often do you participate in social gatherings with people close to you?” on a scale ranging from 0 = *Never*, through 5= *Twice a month* to 10 = *Every day*, and “what is your level of health?” on a scale ranging from 0 = *Very poor*, through 5= *Sufficient* to 10 = *Excellent*. All items were positively correlated. Cronbach  $\alpha = .86$ .

## **Results**

While the pretest supports H1, the sample is too small for running reliable statistical analyses. Nevertheless, I ran a two-way *ANOVA* on the probability of confession. There was a main effect for legitimate authority (H1a),  $F(1, 15) = 11.3$ ,  $p < .006$ ,  $\eta^2 = .508$ , and listening (H1b),  $F(1, 15) = 8.48$ ,  $p < .014$ ,  $\eta^2 = .435$ , as well as their interaction(H1c),  $F(1, 15) = 6.82$ ,  $p = .024$ ,  $\eta^2 = .383$ . I plotted these effects in Figure 2 below. As can be seen in Figure 2, the pretest provide supportive evidence to an interaction effect between legitimate authority and nonjudgmental listening on confession, such that confession is most likely when both nonjudgmental listening and legitimate-social power are high.

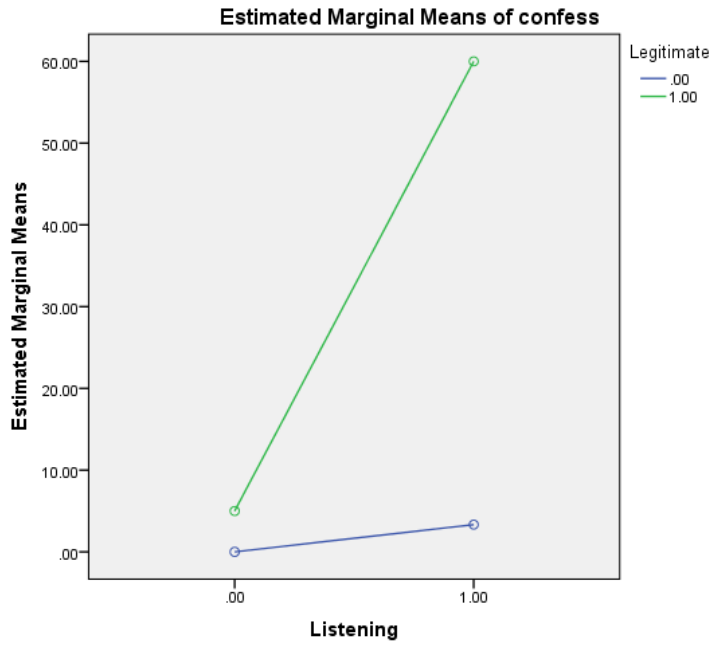


Figure 2.

*Pretest: Probability of confession by legitimate authority (low = 0, high = 1) and listening (low = 0, high = 1).*

To test H2, I checked the correlations among study variables as presented in

Table 1.

	1	2	3
1 Confess			
2 Well-Being post confession	.02	(.80)	
3 General Well-Being	.42	.43	(.86)

There is a hint for better well-being among confessors. However, the small sample size of the pretest did not permit to further check results of well-being after confession among participants who declared past confession, as they are even fewer than the all,  $N = 12$ .

Moreover, and based on the H1 pretest results, I wanted to explore the potential moderating effect of individual-difference variables: Avoidance attachment-style, and values, as results from the high authority X high listening manipulation check show only 60 % of confession probability. Specifically, it is possible that the effect of legitimate power will be higher among people who value submission to authority and present low level of avoidance attachment. Therefore, I next review these constructs.

### **Individual-Difference Variables**

**The Experience in Close Relationship.** Multiple instruments to assess attachment in human behavior have been explored in the last four decades, as attachment was shown to influence a large array of social functioning, stress response, physical and psychological phenomena, and more. Among those instruments: Bowlby attachment theory, George et al.'s Adult Attachment Interview, Ainsworth et al.'s strange situation paradigm of mother and child relationship, and the Hazan and Shaver attachment process. The original attachment ECR count thirty six self-reporting items: 18-items presenting attachment avoidance and 18-items presenting attachment anxiety. Later, a shorter 12-items version was created (6-items for attachment avoidance and 6-items for attachment anxiety) with a stable two factor structure and high level of internal consistency (Brenning, Van Petegem, Vanhalst, & Soenens, 2014);  $\alpha = .78$  vs  $.92$  (anxiety),  $\alpha = .84$  vs  $.93$  (avoidance), and correlation (12-items)  $r = .19$  (36-items)  $r = .17$  (Wei, Russell, Mallinckrodt, & Vogel, 2007). I therefore decided to use the short 12-items attachment questionnaire

to offer a gap explanation to the confession probability among participants when the legitimate authority and listening are high. I further elaborate my theory hereby.

*Attachment anxiety* (model of self) refers to the individual social support system. It is characterized by the perceived failure to handle threats autonomously, fear from abandonment and rejection, excessive need for approval from others, and the intensified need for interpersonal love and support. *Attachment avoidance* (model of others) refers to the discomfort with interpersonal intimacy, the emotional encumbrance to experience closeness with other people, and high level of self-reliance directly connected to the lack of trust in others. Individuals who score high on either or both of these attachment styles are assumed to have an insecure adult attachment orientation, thus, I expect them to be less responsive to the confession call of the listener.

**Values Social Structure.** The value theory is based on forty six different values, consisting ten motivationally distinct value-types such as self-direction, universalism, benevolence and so, widely recognized to determinate the individual's social behavior. People adopt certain behavior and mode of conduct, which appears to be socially preferable to other existing alternatives, and thus, those values characterize their individual and cultural group belonging and action (S H Schwartz, 1994). Each person possess a large array of values set by order of priority, but not all attribute those values the same order of importance. The relative importance of the given value within the values possibilities will determine one's action. For example, attending to church might express tradition, conformity and security, but at the expense of self-direction and stimulation values. I therefore hypothesize that

Value-types, specifically conformity and self-direction, will affect confession probability such that conformity will increase confession and self-direction will decrease confession, because the first is likely to increase adherence to authority. I next review the two conflictual value-types (S.H Schwartz, 1996),

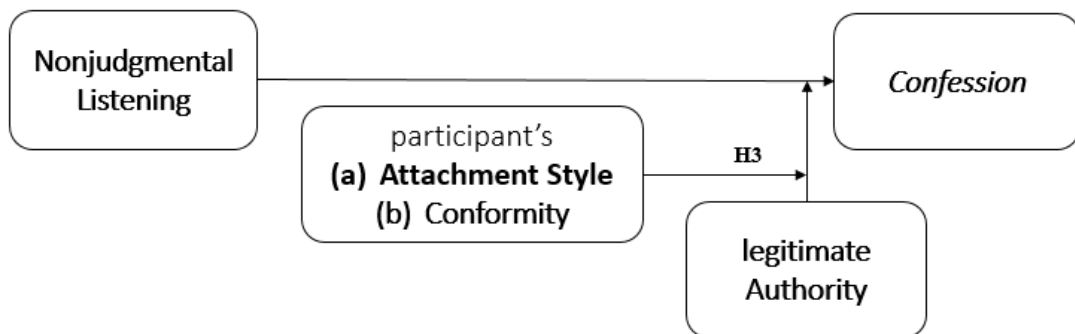
*Conformity* value-type refers to the individual social relation with others, through inhibition of urgent actions that might hurt the surrounding feelings and impact fault consequences. Values of conformity are listed as obedient, polite, and self-controlled (Shalom H. Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). People reflecting high conformity values will most likely restrain themselves from violating social expectations or norms, and therefore, they may respond positively to high authority demands. My basic assumption is that high conformity individuals will demonstrate higher probability for confession.

*Self-direction* value-type reflects the psychological ability to rely on one's uniqueness. Values of self-direction rely on independency and the capacity for decision making and creativity, in order to fulfil the individual need for control and mastery (Shalom H. Schwartz, 1992). I expect from self-directed individuals to respond poorly to the authority manipulation for confession.

## Hypotheses:

**H3:** There is a three-way interaction between listening, legitimate authority, and both (a) avoidance-attachment style, and (b) values of conformity, such that confession will be highest (a) when listening, and legitimate authority are high and avoidance-attachment style is low, and (b) when listening, legitimate authority and value of conformity are high.

## Proposed model:



*Figure 3.*

*Model summary describing the predicted effect of the listener high value of conformity and low Avoidance-Attachment style on the initial theory.*

## Main Study: Scenario experiment

In this study, I used both a scenario-based experimental design and a correlation design (past confession) to test my hypotheses. That is, I presented participants with a scenario manipulating authority and listening. In addition, I asked who indicated that they confess in real life in the past, to report the role of the person receiving confession and the degree to which that person listened.

## **Methods**

### ***Participants***

Two hundred and eighty three Israeli respondents aged 18-72 (136 male and 147 female;  $M = 39.50$ ,  $SD = 13.91$ ) completed one out of four online scenarios in Hebrew ( $n = 69$  scenario A,  $n = 71$  scenario B,  $n = 73$  scenario C,  $n =$  scenario D). Respondents were recruited from a registered pool of an external online survey company (Midgam Panel) and given a small monetary compensation for their participation. All participants were Jewish with varying degrees of religiosity (42.8% atheist, 23.7% traditional, 17.6% religious, and 6% other).

### ***Procedure***

I randomly assigned respondents to one out of four Legitimate Authority X Listening conditions. Then, I asked all respondents to rate perceived level of authority of eight professions. Next, depending on the legitimate-authority condition (high or low), I asked respondents to name the occupation with the highest or lowest perceived level of authority. Then, I asked participants to recall an event involving feelings of guilt and shame which already happened to them in the past, and imagine themselves sitting in front of a person, who occupied the profession they chose with regards to perceived level of authority, and was described either as a good or as a poor listeners, as in the pretest. Based on the scenario, I asked participants to rate the manipulation checks, probability of confession, and other *DVs*.

I further asked all participants if they confess about the imagined scenario in the past. I asked respondents who answered positively to describe the authority

figure and rate their perceived quality listening. I asked respondents who answered negatively “Did you ever confess to a person about any *other* guilt-and-shame event that happened to you in the past?”. I asked respondents who answered positively to this question to describe the authority figure and rate their perceived quality listening. I did not ask respondents who answered negatively both questions any further questions (For the actual scenario experiment questionnaire in Hebrew – see Appendix II). Finally, I presented all respondents with the attachment style questionnaire and the value survey.

### *Measures*

**Manipulation checks.** To assess understanding of authority in the scenario, I asked participants to rate the degree of authority that they ascribe to eight professions, on a scale ranging from 0 = *very low authority* to 10= *very high authority*. I presented four professions expected to have high authority (doctor, judge, spiritual leader, psychologist / psychiatrist), and four-related professions expected to have low authority (masseuse, lawyer, taxi driver, and barber). Next, I asked participants to give an example of either a high or a low authority figure, dependent on their assigned authority condition (low or high), either freely chosen figure or one out of the eight professions.

I then assigned the list of professions mentioned in the open question into qualitative clusters, such that I coded responses like “street cleaner”, “housekeeping”, “cleaning lady” as “cleaner”, in order to assess the overall understanding of the high/low authority manipulation check.

In addition, I asked participants to rate the level of authority they ascribed to their chosen figure; using the same scale, as previous question. Furthermore, I tested whether the authority was perceived as legitimate with “Do you trust the judgement [discretion] of the authority figure you chose?” on a scale ranging from 0 = *I do not trust at all* to 10 = *I trust the judgement of the given authority*. These two items were correlated, and thus I averaged them to create one score of legitimate-authority-manipulation check, Cronbach  $\alpha = .87$ .

Using a 10-point scale, I also asked participants to rate the perceived level of listening of the person they imagined in the scenario, and “to what extent did the person you imagined listen to your story?”

**Confession probability.** As in the pretest, the confession probability was measured with two items. One item asked “What are the chances that you will reveal your secret to that person” on a scale ranging from 0 = *0% chance of confession* to 10 = *100% chance of confession*. The other item stated “There is no chance that I will reveal my secret to this person”, on a scale ranging from 0 = *not true at all* to 10 = *true to a very high degree*. These two items were negatively correlated, and thus I reversed the negative item and averaged them to create one score of confession-probability scale, Cronbach  $\alpha = .79$ .

**Past confession.** I asked respondents “Have you already revealed the event on which you thought when you answered the previous questions [regarding the guilt-and-shame-arousing scenario]?” using a yes/no response. I presented those who answered no, with “Did it ever happen that you revealed a *different* guilt-and-

shame arousing event to another person?” Based on these two items, 68.2% reported past confession.

**Perceived authority (open question).** Those who reported past confession were asked about the nature of the authority of the person to whom they confessed with an open question. More than 50% of the participants declaring a former confession, confessed to a close friend or a spouse.

**Perceived listening.** I also asked those who reported past confession about their experience of being listened by the person to whom they confessed, using a 7-item scale. The listening items were “this person listened to my story with great attention”, “this person ignored me” (reversed coded), “this person showed interest in my story”, “this person understood me”, “this person had good attentions towards me”, “this person gave me his full attention”, “this person prevent from judging me”, on a scale ranging from 0 = *Not at all* to 10 = *Very highly*. Cronbach  $\alpha$  = .93.

**Wellbeing.** I used a collection of five items from existing wellbeing instruments measuring subjective level of happiness and problem coping like the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) (Diener et al., 1985) or the WHO questionnaire of chronic patients (Snoek, 2006). Specifically, I asked respondents to state the frequency in which each of the following reflect their feelings: “I am happy”; “I feel close to other people”; “I am lonely” [reversed coded]; “I cope well with problems”; and “I feel optimistic.” I presented these items on a scale ranging from 0 = *Do not know*, through 1 = *Never* to 10 = *Always*. Placing the *Do not know* alternative was an error. However, only three people used this alternative across three items. Therefore, I ignored this error. Cronbach  $\alpha$  = .86.

**General wellbeing.** I also measure several variables known to affect wellbeing (Uysal et al., 2010). Specifically, I asked participants “how often do you participate in social gatherings with people close to you?” on a scale ranging from 0 = *Never*, through 5 = *Twice a month* to 10 = *Every day*, and “what is your level of health?” on a scale ranging from 0 = *Very poor*, through 5 = *Sufficient* to 10 = *Excellent*. These items were positively correlated with the well-being 5-items scale, and thus I averaged them to a general-well-being scale, Cronbach  $\alpha = .85$ .

**Attachment style.** I used the short-version of *The Experience in Close Relationship questionnaire* (ECR), which is a 12-items scale (Wei et al., 2007). Items 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 11 comprise the avoidance-attachment scale. Items 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12 comprise the anxious-attachment scale. Items 1, 5 and 9 of the ECR are reversed before analysis. The reliabilities were .52, and .71, for avoidance- and anxious-attachment style, respectively. Given the poor reliability of the avoidance-attachment scale, I factor analyzed, with Promax rotation these data. A factor analysis suggested three factors, with one item (8) loading on third factor. Thus, I dropped this item and repeated the factor analysis. This time, I found two factors, however, they appear to reflect *secure* attachment (items 1, 5, and 9),  $\alpha = .64$ , and *insecure* attachment (all other items),  $\alpha = .85$ . Therefore, I tested the hypothesis with four scales.

**Values.** I measured values with 9-items from two value-types: conformity and self-direction. As one’s behavior or action is relative to values not only by order of importance but moreover by the value relative importance to other values as explained above, I used the self-direction values as a conceptual replication of the

conformity values because these both value-types oppose (for values questionnaire see Appendix V, for full values list see appendix VI).

## Results

**Manipulation Checks.** First, participant perceived large differences in authority across eight professions (see Table 2). A one-way repeated-measure ANVOA showed that these differences are highly significant,  $F(7, 275) = 274.2, p < .001, \eta^2 = .875$ .

Table 2.

*Means and SDs of Authority Ratings of Eight Professions*

Profession	M	SD
Doctor	8.40	1.64
Massues	3.84	2.40
Lawyer	7.21	2.06
Judge	8.69	1.78
Spiritual Leader	6.24	3.26
Taxi Driver	2.10	2.00
Barber	2.69	2.35
Psychologist/Psychiatrist	6.48	2.50

Next, I analyzed the qualitative data from the open question, resulting in nine high authority clusters (judge 29%, doctor 21%, prime minister 13%, spiritual leader 12%, expert/parent/leader 7%, president 3%, police officer 1%, others>1%), and eight low authority clusters (cleaners 24%, service providers 21%, taxi drivers 16%, salesmen 11%, hair dresser 9%, clergy 7%, care people 6%, politician/beggar 2%, others>1%). Consistent with the results in Table 2, the qualitative data confirms the overall understanding of high/low perceived authority.

Next, I tested the effect of the authority condition on the authority-manipulation check. There was a strong effect in the predicted direction,  $t(281) = 32.1, p = .001, d = 3.23$ . Thus, the authority manipulation was successful.

Last, I tested the effect of the listening condition on the listening-manipulation check. There was a moderate effect in the predicted direction,  $t(277) = 5.12, p = .001, d = 0.61$ . Thus, the listening manipulation was also effective, but not as powerful as the authority manipulation.

The correlations among study variables is presented in Table 3.

Table 3.

*Correlation and Reliabilities among Study 1 variables.*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Authority								
2. Listening	-.02							
3. Confession	.30**	.16**	(.79)					
4. General WB	-.03	-.04	-.05	(.85)				
5. Avoidant	.03	-.03	-.01	-.13*	(.85)			
6. Anxious	.01	-.04	-.01	-.22**	.70**	(.70)		
7. Self-Direction	.08	-.06	.00	.29**	-.03	-.07	(.81)	
8. Conformity	.11	.04	.12*	.37**	-.07	-.06	.72**	(.80)

*Note.* \*  $p < .05$ ;  $p < .01$

## Hypothesis testing

To test H1, I ran a two-way ANOVA on the probability of confession. There was a main effect for legitimate authority (H1a),  $F(1, 279) = 28.5, p < .001, \eta^2 = .093$ , and listening (H1b),  $F(1, 279) = 9.19, p < .003, \eta^2 = .032$ , but not for their interaction (H1c),  $F(1, 279) = 0.96, p = .32, \eta^2 = .003$ . I plotted these effects in Figure 4 below. As can be seen in Figure 4, there is a hint of an interaction, such that the highest likelihood of confession is observed when both legitimate authority and listening are high. Yet, the statistical test does not support H1.

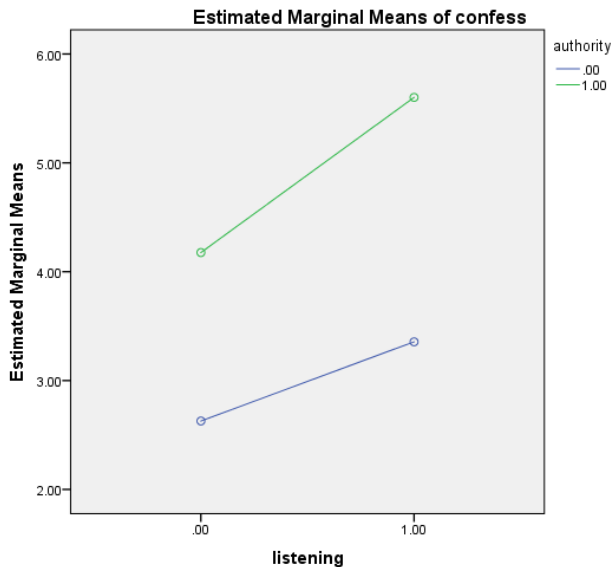


Figure 4.

*Probability of confession by legitimate authority (0 = low; 1 = high) and listening (0 = low; 1 = high).*

I further tested whether participant's report of any confession in the past moderated the above results. I ran a three-way ANOVA with past confession and all its interaction added to the two-ANOVA I used to test H1. Neither the main effect,

nor any of the interactions of past confession affected the likelihood of confession in the scenario. Thus, my results regarding H1 can be generalized to people with and people without past confession.

To test H2, I ran a *t*-test comparing the wellbeing mean among participants who reported past confession to those who did not. The means were practically identical,  $t(281) = 0.05, p = .96$ . Similar results were obtained with the general wellbeing measure,  $t(281) = 0.69, p = .49$ . Therefore, H2 is not supported.

To test H3, I ran a three way ANCOVA predicting confession from authority, listening (the experimental conditions), and each of the attachment style and value variables. The results are presented in Table 4 and 5. To interpret the significant and near significant interactions in Table 4, I calculated the correlations between the two variables, attachment styles and confession,  $r = .27, p = .000, n = 283$ , in each of the experimental conditions, as well as I plotted these results in Figure 5. The results suggest that confession probability decreases as avoidance attachment style increases in all conditions, except when listening is high and authority is low (group 3 in Figure 5). I obtained very similar results (not shown here) when I plotted either anxious attachment style, or *insecure* attachment style (the composition of avoidance- and anxious-attachment style). This pattern of results is inconsistent with H3a.

Table 4.

*ANCOVA Predicting Confession from Authority, Listening (the Experimental Conditions), and Attachment Style*

Source	Avoidance			Anxious		
	F	<i>p</i>	Partial $\eta^2$	F	<i>p</i>	Partial $\eta^2$
Authority (A)	7.26	.01	.026	10.73	.001	.038
Listening (B)	0.03	.86	.000	0.01	.93	.000
Attachment style (C)	0.27	.61	.001	0.00	.97	.000
A*C	1.49	.22	.005	1.63	.20	.006
A*B	3.03	.08	.011	4.06	.04	.015
B*C	1.28	.26	.005	1.88	.17	.007
A*B*C	2.37	.13	.009	3.21	.07	.012

Note. *df* = 1, 275.

Table 5.

*ANCOVA Predicting Confession from Authority, Listening (the Experimental Conditions), and Values*

Source	Conformity			Self-Direction		
	F	<i>p</i>	Partial $\eta^2$	F	<i>p</i>	Partial $\eta^2$
Authority (A)	0.00	.99	.000	0.42	.52	.002
Listening (B)	3.56	.06	.013	2.53	.11	.009
Values (C)	3.25	.07	.012	0.00	.99	.000
A*C	1.27	.26	.005	0.17	.68	.001
A*B	0.98	.32	.004	0.41	.52	.001
B*C	1.58	.21	.006	1.00	.32	.004
A*B*C	0.58	.45	.002	0.19	.67	.001

Note. *df* = 1, 275.

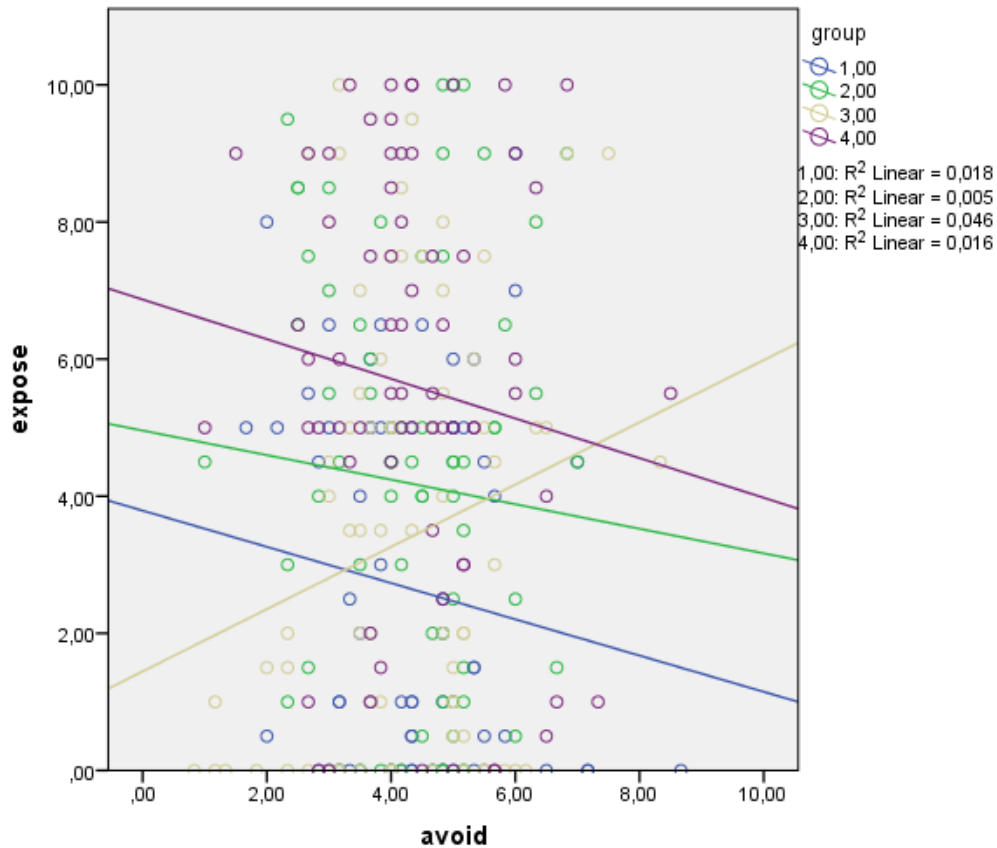


Figure 5.

Confession by avoidance-attachment style and experimental conditions (1 = high authority & high listening; 2 = high authority & low listening; 3 = low authority & high listening; 4 = low authority & low listening).

To interpret the significant and near significant interactions in Table 5, I calculated the correlations between the two variables, values and confession,  $r = .16$ ,  $p = .008$ ,  $n = 282$ , in each of the experimental conditions, as well as I plotted these results in Figure 6. The results suggest that confession probability increase as conformity values increases but mostly when the authority condition is high and the listening condition is low.

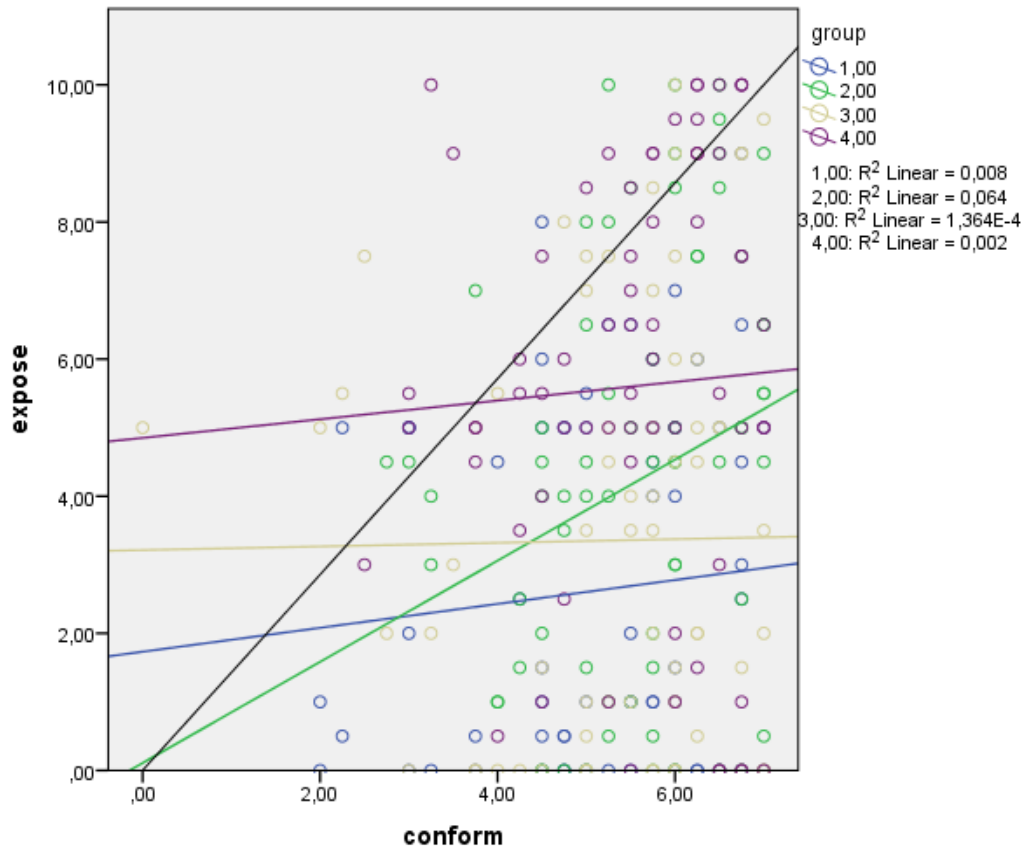


Figure 6.

*Confession by conformity and experimental conditions (1 = high authority & high listening; 2 = high authority & low listening; 3 = low authority & high listening; 4 = low authority & low listening).*

## Discussion

Results of both the pretest and Study 1 show that legitimate authority and nonjudgmental listening increase confession probability. However, only the pretest results supported H1 in showing that listening moderates the effect of authority, such that highest confession probability is found when both authority and listening are high. Perhaps the failure to support H1 in Study 1 stems from failure of the scenario to induce a large variance in the perception of listening (very poor vs. very good). This possibility is consistent with the moderate effect size of the listening manipulation check, which stand in contrast to the highly effective manipulation of authority.

H2, regarding the impact of confession on participants' well-being, was not supported in Study 1. This might have been results of poor choice of wording in the wellbeing questions. Specifically, I asked participants about their general wellbeing. Perhaps, asking participants to report their wellbeing after the confession would have made the pattern of results predicted by H2 to emerge. This possibility is consistent with my argument that confession can result a short term effect on wellbeing. That is, in the legal domain, for example, confession can lead to a momentary relief from guilt and shame feelings (increase in wellbeing), regardless of the probability of penance that can sometimes awaken confession regrets. In line with this rationale, questions recalling a memory of wellbeing experienced immediately after confession, may better support my prediction.

The test of H3a, regarding attachment style, yielded unpredicted results. Specifically, people with insecure attachment style whether measured by avoidance, anxiousness, or both were least likely to confess, except when listening was high (as predicted) and authority was low (opposite the prediction). These results could be a statistical aberration as the three-way interaction was not clearly significant. Moreover, the scales of avoidant- and anxious-attachment style were highly correlated,  $r = .70$ , indicating perhaps lack of attention of the participants (note that in the original 12-item ECR, the correlation between avoidant- and anxious-attachment style in several studies ranged between .19 and .28). However, if these results are replicated, they may hint at a potential paradox. That is, people high in attachment insecurity may especially need psychological help. Yet, psychological help is typically provided by professionals high in authority. The high authority of the professionals (the psychologist's authority) at may counteract the likelihood of those needing support most to be able to confess in order to get the support. Accordingly, people high in attachment insecurity may gain most from confession to peers. Unfortunately, due to their attachment insecurity that may fail to do so as well.

H3b, suggesting that the effects of authority and listening on confession are moderated by values of conformity, was not supported. In addition, the correlation between conformity and self-direction was positively high,  $r = .72$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $n = 283$ , opposite of what one may expect in measuring the Schwartz-value types. Perhaps, using the full value questionnaire would have created responses that are more valid.

## Limitations

The current work has at least two potential limitations. First, results from both studies showed that more than 50% of the participants declaring a former confession, confessed to a close friend or a spouse. The fact is that a unique person with no authority in the eyes of the masses, can elicit confession from a confessor, simply believing in their legitimate social power. Legitimate authority and the level of the perceived social power can vary from one person to the other in similarity to the distinction between *social-status* authority and *social* authority in one's social circle. Thus, it could be that to properly manipulate power, I had to manipulate perceived authority regardless of its source. This could be tested in future research.

Second, copious previous researches tried to reflect what really happens inside the interrogation room (legal-act confessions), as the proportion of false confessions is high and the reasons to their existence are not clear. It was shown that suspects mental condition (Pearse & Gudjonsson, 1998), level of experience, even objective parameters like age (young vs. elder), impact the outcome of confession with no relevancy to the implemented method (Forrest, Wadkins, & Larson, 2006). This may suggest that past experience with confession (whether it led to positive or negative outcomes to the confessor) may have moderated my results. Thus, future research should control for, not only for presence of past confession, as I did, but also the outcome of past confession.

## **Future Work**

There are some unfortunate differences between the pretest and the experiment scenario designs. I administered the pretest to personal acquaintances, whereas the scenario study was administered to anonymous participants. It may be that the personal trust affected the seriousness in which respondent reacted to the study. Thus, future study may attempt to create a trustful environment in which the study will be conducted.

In addition, I believe that the perceived social status of the listener goes both ways – the confessor perception of the listener social power is high and promote confession, and accordingly when confession occur, the listener feels greater social power as he/she was trusted to hear the confessor deepest secrets. I name it “the double effect of Secrecy”. It is probable that this mutual trust will provide better explanation to the differences found between subjects reporting confession when both legitimate social power and listening are high, as in study 1 more than 50% of the confessors reported confessing to a close friend or a spouse, presenting a unique authority level with no connection to their social status.

## **Conclusion**

In this study, I have reviewed the construct of confession in four social professional contexts. I have shown similarities across contexts, and offered hypotheses regarding the effects of authority, listening and their interaction on the likelihood of confession. Results of both a pretest and a scenario experiment

suggested that both authority and listening play a central role in confession, but that their specific effects should be explored in future research.

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## Appendix I – Pretest Study 1

### Enabling Confession Pretest study questionnaire - Hebrew

1 באופן כללי באיזו מידה אתה מרוצה מהחיים שלך?										
מרוצה במידה רבה מאוד					לא מרוצה כלל					
10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
2 באיזו דחיפות אתה משתתף במפגשים חברתיים עם חברים או קרובים אליך?										
כל יום			אחת לשבוע		פעם בחודש			אף פעם		
10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
3 מה רמת הבריאות שלך?										
מעולה			טובה		לא טובה			גרועה מאוד		
10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
4 האם יש לך מישור לדבר/להלוק אתו סיפורים אינטימיים או אישיים?										
כן					לא					
5 מוצגת לפניך רשימה של בעלי תפקידים מוכרים בכל העולם. מה היא רמת הסמכותיות שאתה מייחס בד"כ לכל אחד מבעלי התפקידים הבאים בסולם של 0-10 כאשר: 0=רמת סמכותיות נמוכה ביותר. 10=רמת סמכותיות גבוהה ביותר.										
רמת סמכותיות גבוהה ביותר					רמת סמכותיות נמוכה ביותר					
10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
רופא										
מסג'יסט										
עורך דין										
שופט										
מנהיג רוחני (רב, כומר וכדומה)										
נהג מונית										
ספר(מעצב שיער)										
פסיכולוג/פסיכיאטר										
<b>תרחיש א</b>										
6 עכשיו נבקשך לתת דוגמה לדמות/בעל תפקיד בעל/ת מעמד הסמכות הגבוה ביותר שאתה יכול לחשוב עליו (עפ"י דעתך האישית או מהרשימה מעלה).										
7 מה היא רמת הסמכותיות של בעל התפקיד שאותו בחרת כפי שהיא נתפסת בעיניך?										
רמת סמכותיות גבוהה ביותר					רמת סמכותיות נמוכה ביותר					
10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0

<p>אנשים בכל העולם מגיעים בשלבים שונים של החיים לווידוי או הודעה על אירוע מן העבר, אירוע כואב מלווה ברגשות אשמה, ולעיתים גם בבושה. מחקר זה מתייחס לאירוע שקרה לך בעבר ונשאר כסוד שמור למשך תקופה לך לשם כך, נבקשך להיזכר בלבד באירוע כזה ששמרת בסוד, אירוע שבכל פעם שנזכרת בו, הציף בך רגשות אשמה ו/או בושה. איננו מבקשים ממך לספר לנו על אותו אירוע. כלומר, נבקשך להיזכר באירוע שהשאיר בך חותם לאורך זמן. אירוע שיכול להיות שכבר סיפרת אותו לאדם אחר או כלל לא והסוד בגדול עדיין שמור אתך.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>אתה דמיין שאתה יושב מול אותו אדם לו אתה מייחס מעמד סמכות גבוה ביותר.</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>אדם זה מקשיב לסיפורך בקשב רב, לא מעביר עליך שום ביקורת, ומגלה הבנה רגישות והתחשבות כלפיך.</b></p>	
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**תרשיש ב**

<p>עכשיו נבקשך לתת דוגמה לדמות/בעל תפקיד/בעל/ת מעמד הסמכות הגבוה ביותר שאתה יכול לחשוב עליו (עפ"י דעתך האישית או מהרשימה מעלה).</p>	6
<p>מה היא רמת הסמכויות של בעל התפקיד שאותו בחרת כפי שהיא נתפסת בעיניך?</p>	7

רמת סמכויות גבוהה ביותר	רמת סמכויות נמוכה ביותר
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

<p>אנשים בכל העולם מגיעים בשלבים שונים של החיים לווידוי או הודעה על אירוע מן העבר, אירוע כואב מלווה ברגשות אשמה, ולעיתים גם בבושה. מחקר זה מתייחס לאירוע שקרה לך בעבר ונשאר כסוד שמור למשך תקופה לך לשם כך, נבקשך להיזכר בלבד באירוע כזה ששמרת בסוד, אירוע שבכל פעם שנזכרת בו, הציף בך רגשות אשמה ו/או בושה. איננו מבקשים ממך לספר לנו על אותו אירוע. כלומר, נבקשך להיזכר באירוע שהשאיר בך חותם לאורך זמן. אירוע שיכול להיות שכבר סיפרת אותו לאדם אחר או כלל לא והסוד בגדול עדיין שמור אתך.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>אתה דמיין שאתה יושב מול אותו אדם לו אתה מייחס מעמד סמכות גבוה ביותר.</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>אדם זה אינו מקשיב לסיפורך בקשב רב, מעביר עליך ביקורת, מתנהג בחוסר סבלנות, ואינו מגלה הבנה רגישות והתחשבות כלפיך.</b></p>	
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**תרשיש ג**

<p>עכשיו נבקשך לתת דוגמה לדמות/בעל תפקיד/בעל/ת מעמד הסמכות הנמוך ביותר שאתה יכול לחשוב עליו (עפ"י דעתך האישית או מהרשימה מעלה).</p>	6
<p>מה היא רמת הסמכויות של בעל התפקיד שאותו בחרת כפי שהיא נתפסת בעיניך?</p>	7

רמת סמכויות גבוהה ביותר	רמת סמכויות נמוכה ביותר
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

<p>אנשים בכל העולם מגיעים בשלבים שונים של החיים לווידוי או הודעה על אירוע מן העבר, אירוע כואב מלווה ברגשות אשמה, ולעיתים גם בבושה. מחקר זה מתייחס לאירוע שקרה לך בעבר ונשאר כסוד שמור למשך תקופה לך לשם כך, נבקשך להיזכר בלבד באירוע כזה ששמרת בסוד, אירוע שבכל פעם שנזכרת בו, הציף בך רגשות אשמה ו/או בושה. איננו מבקשים ממך לספר לנו על אותו אירוע. כלומר, נבקשך להיזכר באירוע שהשאיר בך חותם לאורך זמן. אירוע שיכול להיות שכבר סיפרת אותו לאדם אחר או כלל לא והסוד בגדול עדיין שמור אתך.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>אתה דמיין שאתה יושב מול אותו אדם לו אתה מייחס מעמד סמכות נמוך ביותר.</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>אדם זה מקשיב לסיפורך בקשב רב, לא מעביר עליך שום ביקורת, ומגלה הבנה רגישות והתחשבות כלפיך.</b></p>	
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**תרשיש ד**

<p>עכשיו נבקשך לתת דוגמה לדמות/בעל תפקיד/בעל/ת מעמד הסמכות הנמוך ביותר שאתה יכול לחשוב עליו (עפ"י דעתך האישית או מהרשימה מעלה).</p>	6
<p>מה היא רמת הסמכויות של בעל התפקיד שאותו בחרת כפי שהיא נתפסת בעיניך?</p>	7

רמת סמכויות גבוהה ביותר	רמת סמכויות נמוכה ביותר
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

אנשים בכל העולם מגיעים בשלבים שונים של החיים לוודאו או הודעה על אירוע מן העבר, אירוע כואב מלווה ברגשות אשמה, ולעיתים גם בבושה. מחקר זה מתייחס לאירוע שקרה לך בעבר ונשאר כסוד שמור למשך תקופה לך לשם כך, נבקשך להיזכר בלבד באירוע כזה ששמרת כסוד, אירוע שבכל פעם שנזכרת בו, הציף בך רגשות אשמה ו/או בושה. איננו מבקשים ממך לספר לנו על אותו אירוע. כלומר, נבקשך להיזכר באירוע שהשאיר בך חותם לאורך זמן. אירוע שיכול להיות שכבר סיפרת אותו לאדם אחר או כלל לא והסוד בגדול עדיין שמור אתך.

**אתה דמיין שאתה יושב מול אותו אדם לו אתה מייחס מעמד סמכות נמוך ביותר.**

**אדם זה אינו מקשיב לסיפורך בקשב רב, מעביר עליך ביקורת, מתנהג בחוסר סבלנות, ואינו מגלה הבנה רגישות והתחשבות כלפיך.**

8	מה הסיכויים שתחשוף את סודך לאדם זה?	לא אחשוף	אחשוף	0%	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%
9	באיזו מידה היית אוצה לשתף אדם זה בסוד שלך (בין אם חשפת את סודך או לא)?	רוצה לשתף במידה רבה	לא רוצה לשתף כלל	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10	באיזו מידה חשובה לך איכות ההקשבה של אותו אדם לסיפור שלך?	לא חשובה כלל	חשובה במידה רבה מאוד	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	אין שום סיכוי שאחשוף את סודי בפני אדם זה!	לא נכון כלל	נכון במידה רבה מאוד	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
12	האם כבר קרה שסיפרת לאדם אחר על האירוע האישי עליו חשבת כשענית על השאלות הקודמות?	כן	לא	אם ענה "כן":	אם ענה "לא" - המשך לשאלה 18									
13	תאר את תפקידו של האדם שבפניו חשפת את סודך													
14	באיזו מידה אותו אדם (סמן את הספרה המשקפת בצורה הטובה ביותר את הרגשתך):	לא משקף כלל	משקף במידה רבה מאוד	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	הקשיב לסיפור שלך													
	התעלם ממך													
	התעניין בדבריך													
	הבין אותך													
	היו לוכוונות טובות כלפיך													
	הקדיש לך את תשומת הלב המלאה													
	נמנע מלשפוט אותך													
15	באיזו מידה הרגשת אופטימיות לאחר שגילית את סודך?	אינני אופטימי כלל	אופטימי מאוד	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
16	באופן כללי, עד כמה אתה מרגיש מאושר מהחיים שלך?													

מאושר במידה רבה מאוד	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	אינני מאושר כלל
משקף במידה רבה מאוד	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	סמן מהרשימה את הספרה המשקפת בצורה הטובה ביותר את הרגשתך, לאחר שחשפת את סודך:
												אני ישן טוב יותר בלילה
												אני מרגיש שעול כבד ירד ממני
												החשיפה גרמה לי לעוגמת נפש
												אני פתוח יותר לדבר על נושאים אישיים
												אני מפחד מדעתם של אחרים
												אני מרגיש מדוכא
												אני מתמודד טוב יותר עם משימות יומיומיות
												האם כבר קרה שסיפרת לאדם אחר על אירוע אישי אחר שנשאר כסוד והציף בכך רגשות אשמה ו/או בושה?
												כן
												לא
												אם ענה "כן": חזור על שאלות 13-17 ועבור ל-20
												אם ענה "לא":
												מדוע מעולם לא חשפת את סודך?
												סמן מהרשימה מטה את הספרה המשקפת בצורה הטובה ביותר את הרגשתך באופן כללי:
תמיד	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	לא יודע
												אף פעם
												מיד פעם
												בד"כ
												אני מאושר
												אני מרגיש קרבה לאנשים
												אני בודד
												אני מתמודד בצורה טובה עם בעיות
												אני מרגיש אופטימי

## Appendix II – Scenario experiment study 2

### Enabling Confession

#### Original scenario experiment study questionnaire - Hebrew

1

ניתן להעריך מעמד סמכות, ביכולתו של בעל תפקיד לקבל החלטות ולהכפיף דפוסי התנהגות מסוימים על אדם כלשהו, מתוקף כוח חברתי כזה או אחר שניתן לו. מוצגת לפניך רשימה של בעלי תפקידים מוכרים בכל העולם. מה היא רמת הסמכותיות שאתה מייחס בד"כ לכל אחד מבעלי התפקידים הבאים בסולם של 0-10 כאשר: 0=רמת סמכותיות נמוכה ביותר. 10=רמת סמכותיות גבוהה ביותר.

רמת סמכותיות גבוהה ביותר	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	רמת סמכותיות נמוכה ביותר
רופא												
מסג'יסט												
עורך דין												
שופט												
מנהיג רוחני (רב, כומר וכדומה)												
נהג מונית												
ספר (מעצב שיער)												
פסיכולוג/פסיכיאטר												

**תרחיש א**

2 עכשיו נבקשך לתת דוגמה לדמות/בעל תפקיד/בעל/ת מעמד הסמכות הגבוה ביותר שאתה יכול לחשוב עליו (עפ"י דעתך האישית או מהרשימה מעלה).

3 מה היא רמת הסמכויות של בעל התפקיד שאותו בחרת כפי שהיא נתפסת בעיניך?

רמת סמכותיות גבוהה ביותר	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	רמת סמכותיות נמוכה ביותר
לא סומך עליו כלל												
סומך עליו וכלל												

4 האם אתה סומך על שיקול הדעת של אותו בעל תפקיד בו בחרת?

לא סומך עליו כלל	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	סומך עליו כלל
אנשים בכל העולם מגיעים בשלבים שונים של החיים לוודאי או הודעה על אירוע מן העבר, אירוע כואב מלווה ברגשות אשמה, ולעיתים גם בבושה. מחקר זה מתייחס לאירוע שקרה לך בעבר ונשאר כסוד שמור למשך תקופה לישם כך, נבקשך להיזכר בלבד באירוע כזה ששמרת בסוד, אירוע שבכל פעם שנוכרת בו, הציף בך רגשות אשמה ו/או בושה. איננו מבקשים ממך לספר לנו על אותו אירוע. כלומר, נבקשך להיזכר באירוע שהשאיר בך חותם לאורך זמן. אירוע שיכול להיות שכבר סיפרת אותו לאדם אחר או כלל לא והסוד בגדול עדיין שמור אתך.												
אתה דמיון שאתה יושב מול אותו אדם לו אתה מייחס מעמד סמכות גבוה ביותר.												
אדם זה מקשיב לסיפורך בקשב רב, לא מעביר עליך שום ביקורת, ומגלה הבנה רגישות והתחשבות כלפיך.												

**תרחיש ב**

2 עכשיו נבקשך לתת דוגמה לדמות/בעל תפקיד בעל/ת מעמד הסמכות **הגבוה ביותר** שאתה יכול לחשוב עליו (עפ"י דעתך האישית או מהרשימה מעלה).

3 מה היא רמת הסמכויות של בעל התפקיד שאותו בחרת כפי שהיא נתפסת בעיניך?

רמת סמכויות גבוהה ביותר	רמת סמכויות נמוכה ביותר
10	0
9	1
8	2
7	3
6	4
5	5
4	6
3	7
2	8
1	9
0	10

4 האם אתה סומך על שיקול הדעת של אותו בעל תפקיד בו בחרת?

סומך על שיקול דעתו מתוקף תפקידו	לא סומך עליו כלל וכלל
10	0
9	1
8	2
7	3
6	4
5	5
4	6
3	7
2	8
1	9
0	10

אנשים בכל העולם מגיעים בשלבים שונים של החיים לווידיאו או הודעה על אירוע מן העבר, אירוע כואב מלווה ברגשות אשמה, ולעיתים גם בבושה. מחקר זה מתייחס לאירוע שקרה לך בעבר ונשאר כסוד שמור למשך תקופה לישם כך, נבקשך להיזכר בלבד באירוע כזה ששמרת בסוד, אירוע שבכל פעם שנוכרת בו, הציף בך רגשות אשמה ו/או בושה. איננו מבקשים ממך לספר לנו על אותו אירוע. כלומר, נבקשך להיזכר באירוע שהשאיר בך חותם לאורך זמן. אירוע שיכול להיות שכבר סיפרת אותו לאדם אחר או כלל לא והסוד בגדול עדיין שמור אתך.

**אתה דמיון שאתה יושב מול אותו אדם לו אתה מייחס מעמד סמכות גבוה ביותר.**  
**אדם זה אינו מקשיב לסיפורך בקשב רב, מעביר עליך ביקורת, מתנהג בחוסר סבלנות, ואינו מגלה הבנה רגישות והתחשבות כלפיך.**

**תרחיש ג**

2 עכשיו נבקשך לתת דוגמה לדמות/בעל תפקיד בעל/ת מעמד הסמכות הנמוך ביותר שאתה יכול לחשוב עליו (עפ"י דעתך האישית או מהרשימה מעלה).

3 מה היא רמת הסמכויות של בעל התפקיד שאותו בחרת כפי שהיא נתפסת בעיניך?

רמת סמכויות גבוהה ביותר	רמת סמכויות נמוכה ביותר
10	0
9	1
8	2
7	3
6	4
5	5
4	6
3	7
2	8
1	9
0	10

4 האם אתה סומך על שיקול הדעת של אותו בעל תפקיד בו בחרת?

סומך על שיקול דעתו מתוקף תפקידו	לא סומך עליו כלל וכלל
10	0
9	1
8	2
7	3
6	4
5	5
4	6
3	7
2	8
1	9
0	10

אנשים בכל העולם מגיעים בשלבים שונים של החיים לווידיאו או הודעה על אירוע מן העבר, אירוע כואב מלווה ברגשות אשמה, ולעיתים גם בבושה. מחקר זה מתייחס לאירוע שקרה לך בעבר ונשאר כסוד שמור למשך תקופה לישם כך, נבקשך להיזכר בלבד באירוע כזה ששמרת בסוד, אירוע שבכל פעם שנוכרת בו, הציף בך רגשות אשמה ו/או בושה. איננו מבקשים ממך לספר לנו על אותו אירוע. כלומר, נבקשך להיזכר באירוע שהשאיר בך חותם לאורך זמן. אירוע שיכול להיות שכבר סיפרת אותו לאדם אחר או כלל לא והסוד בגדול עדיין שמור אתך.

**אתה דמיון שאתה יושב מול אותו אדם לו אתה מייחס מעמד סמכות נמוך ביותר.**  
**אדם זה מקשיב לסיפורך בקשב רב, לא מעביר עליך שום ביקורת, ומגלה הבנה רגישות והתחשבות כלפיך.**

**תרחיש ד**

2 עכשיו נבקשך לתת דוגמה לדמות/בעל תפקיד בעל/ת מעמד הסמכות הנמוך ביותר שאתה יכול לחשוב עליו (עפ"י דעתך האישית או מהרשימה מעלה).

3 מה היא רמת הסמכויות של בעל התפקיד שאותו בחרת כפי שהיא נתפסת בעיניך?

רמת סמכותיות גבוהה ביותר	רמת סמכותיות נמוכה ביותר	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
--------------------------	--------------------------	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

4 האם אתה סומך על שיקול הדעת של אותו בעל תפקיד בו בחרת?

סומך על שיקול דעתו מתוקף תפקידו	לא סומך עליו כלל וכלל	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
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אנשים בכל העולם מגיעים בשלבים שונים של החיים לווידיאו או הודעה על אירוע מן העבר, אירוע כואב מלווה ברגשות אשמה, ולעיתים גם בבושה. מחקר זה מתייחס לאירוע שקרה לך בעבר ונשאר כסוד שמור למשך תקופה לשישם כך, נבקשך להיזכר בלבד באירוע כזה ששמרת בסוד, אירוע שבכל פעם שנוכרת בו, הציף בך רגשות אשמה ו/או בושה. איננו מבקשים ממך לספר לנו על אותו אירוע. כלומר, נבקשך להיזכר באירוע שהשאיר בך חותם לאורך זמן. אירוע שיכול להיות שכבר סיפרת אותו לאדם אחר או כלל לא והסוד בגדול עדיין שמור אתך.

אתה דמיון שאתה יושב מול אותו אדם לו אתה מייחס מעמד סמכות נמוך ביותר.

אדם זה אינו מקשיב לסיפורך בקשב רב, מעביר עליך ביקורת, מתנהג בחוסר סבלנות, ואינו מגלה הבנה רגישות והתחשבות כלפיך.

5 באיזו מידה האדם אותו דמיינת בתרחיש מעלה מקשיב לסיפורך בקשב רב?

מקשיב לי במידה רבה מאוד	לא מקשיב לי כלל	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
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6 מה הסיכויים שתחשוף את סודך לאדם זה?

הסיכוי שאחשוף את סודי בפני אדם זה הוא (באחוזים):	0%	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%
--	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	------

7 אין שום סיכוי שאחשוף את סודי בפני אדם זה!

נכון במידה רבה מאוד	לא נכון כלל	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
---------------------	-------------	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

8 האם כבר קרה שסיפרת לאדם אחר על האירוע האישי עליו חשבת כשענית על השאלות הקודמות?

לא	כן	אם ענה "כן":	אם ענה "לא" - המשך לשאלה 11
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9 תאר את תפקידו של האדם שבפניו חשפת את סודך

באיזו מידה האדם האחר:	בכלל לא	במידה בינונית	במידה רבה מאוד	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
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הקשיב לסיפורי בקשב רב

התעלם ממני

התעניין בדברי

בהבין אותי

היה בעל כוונות טובות כלפי

הקדיש לי את מלוא תשומת הלב

נמנע מלשפוט אותי

11	האם כבר קרה שסיפרת לאדם אחר על אירוע אישי שנשאר כסוד והציף בך רגשות אשמה ו/או בושה?											
	כן					לא						
	אם ענה "כן" חזור על שאלות 9-10 והמשך ל-12 אם ענה "לא" - המשך לשאלה 12											
12	סמן מהרשימה מטה את הספרה המשקפת בצורה הטובה ביותר את הרגשתך, באופן כללי:											
	לא יודע	אף פעם	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	אני מאושר											
	אני מרגיש קרבה לאנשים											
	אני בודד											
	אני מתמודד בצורה טוב עם בעיות											
	אני מרגיש אופטימי											
13	באיזו דחיפות אתה משתתף במפגשים חברתיים עם חברים או קרובים אליך?											
	אף פעם	פעם בחודש	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	אחת לשבוע											
	כל יום											
14	מה רמת הבריאות שלך?											
	גרועה מאוד	ירודה	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	טובה											
	מעולה											
15	המשפטים שלפניך מתייחסים לאיך שאתה מרגיש במערכות יחסים קרובות עם אנשים אחרים. אנו מתעניינים בדרך שבה אתה חווה בד"כ מערכות יחסים. התייחס לכל משפט עפ"י הדירוג המתאים לך, בהתאם לסולם מטה:											
	לא יודע	מעט מסכים	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	מסכים מאוד											
	בד"כ מסכים											
	אני מרגיש שאני מרוחק מרוב אנשים											
	אני מרגיש שאנשים אחרים אינם מעוניינים להתקרב כפי שאני הייתי רוצה											
	אני פונה לאנשים אחרים בקשר להרבה דברים כולל נחמה ואישור											
	הרצון שלי להיות מאוד קרוב לעיתים מרחיק ממני אנשים											
	אני מנסה להימנע מלהתקרב יותר מידי לאנשים אחרים											
	אינני מודאג לעיתים קרובות מידי מכך שיינטשו אותי											
	בד"כ אני דן בדאגות ובבעיות שלי ען אנשים הקרובים לי											
	אני נעשה מתוסכל אם אנשים אחרים מתקרבים אלי יותר מידי											
	אני מעשה מתוח כאשר אנשים אחרים מתקרבים אלי יותר מידי											
	אני מודאג שמא לאנשים אחרים לא יהיה איכפת ממני באתה מידה שבה לי איכפת מהם											
16	לפניך רשימת ערכים. עליך לציין את מידת החשיבות של כל ערך עבורך כעיקרון מנחה בחייך לפי סולם החשיבות הבא: (0) ערך שאינו רלוונטי כעיקרון מנחה. (3) ערך חשוב לך. (6) ערך חשוב לך מאוד. (7) ערך בעל חשיבות עליונה כעיקרון מנחה בחייך. (-1) ערך מנוגד לעקרונות המנחים אותך בחייך.											
	בעל חשיבות עליונה	חשוב מאוד	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	חשוב	מנוגד לערכי	
	-1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7											
	א. חופש											
	ב. נימוס											

ג.	יצירתיות
ד.	משמעות עצמית
ה.	עצמאי
ו.	מכבד הורים וזקנים
ז.	בוחר את מטרותיי
ח.	שומר על כבודי
ט.	אחראי

**Appendix III – General Well-Being**

**General Well-Being**

Original five items table with social habits and level of health

*Please mark down the number from the list that best reflects how you feel in general*

		Scoring scale										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	I am happy											
2	I feel close to other people											
3	I am lonely											
4	I cope in a good way with problems											
5	I fell optimistic											

Reversed key scale items = 3

How often do you participate in social gatherings with friends or people close to you?

		never	once a month		twice a week		everyday					
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

what is your level of health?

		very poor	not good		sufficient		good		excellent			
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

*Appendix IV – ECR Survey*

***The Experience in Close Relationship questionnaire***

Original twelve items table in english - ECR Short Version

*Items for the experience in close relationship with others. "Others" refer to close surrounding. We are interested in the way you normally experience this relationship using the ranging from 1 (not agree at all), to 10 (agree very much), 0= I don't know.*

		Scoring scale										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	A											
1	V											
	A											
2	X											
	A											
3	V											
	A											
4	X											
	A											
5	V											
	A											
6	X											
	A											
7	V											
	A											
8	X											
	A											
9	V											
	A											
0	X											
	A											
1	V											
	A											
1	A											
2	X											

*Note: AV = Avoidance Attachment items; AX = Anxious Attachment items*

*Reversed key scale items = 1, 5 and 9.*

## Appendix V – Values Survey

### The Theory of Basic Values

Schwartz values measurements - list of items Conformity and Self-Direction

Items for values measurement, indicate level of importance using a scale ranging from 0 (not at all important), to 7 (very important), -1 = opposite to my value.

			Scoring scale								
			-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	SD	Freedom									
2	CN	Politeness									
3	SD	Creativity									
4	CN	Self-discipline									
5	SD	Independent									
6	CN	Honoring parents and elders									
7	SD	Choosing own goals									
8	SD	Private life									
9	CN	Obedient									

Note: CN = Conformity items; SD = Self-Direction items

Reversed key scale items = 1, 5 and 9.

*Appendix VI – Values Full List*

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*Single Values with association to Motivational Types of Values*

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<i>Primary Type of Value</i>	<i>Secondary Type of Value</i>
<b>Conformity</b>	
1 Obedient	
2 Self-discipline	
3 Politeness	
4 Honoring Parents and Elders	<b>Tradition</b>
<b>Security</b>	
5 Reciprocation of Favors	<b>Conformity</b>
6 Clean	<b>Conformity</b>
7 National security	
8 Family security	
9 Social order	
<b>Tradition</b>	
10 Humble	<b>Conformity</b>
11 Moderate	
12 Devout	<b>Spirituality</b>
13 Respect for tradition	
14 Accepting portion in Life	<b>Spirituality</b>
<b>Power</b>	
15 Social power	
16 Wealth	
17 Authority	
18 Preserving public image	<b>Security</b>
<b>Benevolence</b>	
19 Responsible	<b>Conformity</b>
20 Loyal	<b>Conformity</b>
21 Helpful	
22 Forgiving	
23 Honest	
<b>Self-Direction</b>	
24 Freedom	
25 Creativity	
26 Independent	
27 Curious	
28 Choosing own goals	
<b>Achievement</b>	
29 Ambitious	
30 Capable	

31 Successful

32 Influential

**Universalism**

33 Equality

34 Wisdom

35 Unity with Nature

36 Social Justice

37 A world of Beauty

38 A world of peace

39 Broad Minded

40 Protecting the environment

**Hedonism**

41 Pleasure

42 Enjoying Life

43 Self-Indulgent

**Stimulation**

44 An exciting Life

45 A varied Life

46 Daring