Quest Journals
Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science
Volume 10 ~ Issue 4 (2022) pp: 49-54
ISSN(Online):2321-9467
www.questjournals.org

Research Paper

Psychological Costs and Benefits of Using Silent Treatment

[1*]Ms. Shilpi Agarwal and [2*]Dr. Nidhi Prakash
[1*]*Research Scholar, Department of Psychology, University of Delhi, Delhi- India.*
[2*]*Assistant Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Delhi, Delhi- India*
Corresponding Author: Ms Shilpi Agarwal

ABSTRACT: *People use silent treatment across different relationships for various reasons and purposes like timeout, punishment, manipulation, defense, and for rejection. Research on silent treatment has been extensive, however, they have focussed on its negative effects on the target (Williams, 2009; Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003), leaving the source with the image of perpetrator of crime. To develop a more comprehensive and inclusive understanding of silent treatment, the present study attempted to explore silent treatment and its effects from the perspective of the source in relational dyads. To meet these objectives, 15 female participants of age ranging from 20- 27 years were interviewed regarding their experience of using silent treatment with others. Recurrent emerging themes and patterns in the data were identified using thematic analysis and the results were discussed in light of both positive and negative experiences of the sources. Implications of the present study and future directions are also proposed.*

KEYWORDS*: silent treatment, source, target, relational dyad, psychological costs and benefits*

R*eceived 04 Apr, 2022;* ***R****evised 16 Apr, 2022;* ***A****ccepted 18 Apr, 2022 © The author(s) 2022.*
P*ublished with open access at* ***www.questjournals.org***

I. INTRODUCTION

Silent treatment refers to a range of behaviors which are purported to avoid verbal communication and ignore the other person. It is a very common phenomenon and researches have shown that about 75 percent of Americans have been at the receiving end of silent treatment, while 67 percent gave silent treatment to their loved ones (Faulkner, Williams, Sherman, & Williams, 1997). It is used in a variety of contexts, such as, within families, classrooms, organizations, military institutions, even political scenarios, and cultures throughout the world, for example, the Amish (traditionalist Christian church fellowships with Swiss German Anabaptist origins) practice Meidung where the perpetrator is ostracised from the society and neither friends nor family is allowed to keep contact with him/her (Gruter, 1986). Similarly, the Aboriginal people of the Northern Territory of Australia practice tribal taboo, where family and other community members withdraw their affection and support from the victim (Cannon, 1942). Moreover, silent treatment is not only restricted to humans but even dogs are reported to use it to show their sadness or anger with their owners It is so widespread that even pet animals are reported to use it show their sadness or anger with their owners (Rotholtz, n.d.; Harding, 2018)

Given its ubiquity, extensive researches have been done on the nature, motives, reasons, factors mediating silent treatment, and the effect of silent treatment on the target person. However, what misses largely from the research literature is the effect of silent treatment on the source.

Keeping in view the gaps in available literature, the current paper focusses on the psychological experience of the source of silent treatment. Since humans are social animals, they have a natural tendency to interact with others and reciprocate to conversations, therefore, silent treatment as a form of stopping all conversations can be a troubling experience for the source and ego-depleting too (Ciarocco, Sommer & Baumiester, 2001). Despite its debilitating effect, people are seen to use silent treatment which suggests that it must be reinforcing for them. Thus, it can be inferred that silent treatment may yield both troubling and rewarding experiences for the source. The present paper discusses the negative and positive consequences, i.e., the psychological costs and benefits of using silent treatment for the source.

What is Silent Treatment?

Despite its widespread existence, there is a lack of a clear definition of the term silent treatment. Researches have explained silent treatment as synonymous to or as a part of a larger phenomenon. Most often, it

is understood as a form of ostracism and rejection. In this context, Williams (1997) describes silent treatment as a form of ostracism used in a close dyadic relationship where one of the individuals withdraws his/her attention and affection from the other. However, silent treatment is neither limited to close dyadic relationships nor to rejection. Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson (1980) explain silent treatment in organizations as a power tactic to influence superiors. Employees also use silent treatment with managers to avoid negative consequences of arguing (Iannuzzelli, 2014; Zadro 2004). Silent treatment is also used as relational aggression in different relationships such friendship (Crick, Werner, Casas, O'Brien, Nelson, Grotpeter, & Markon, 1999) and marital relationships (Carroll, Nelson, Yorgason, Harper, Ashton, & Jensen, 2010), or as a manipulation technique by parents (Apostolou, 2013) or by romantic partners (Buss, Gomes, Higgins, & Lauterbach, 1987).

Effect of silent treatment on the target

Silent treatment is found to have several harmful consequences for the target. Even when used for short periods silent treatment can cause social pain to the target which activates the same brain regions which are responsible for physical pain (Eisenberger, Lieberman, &Williams, 2003). Silent treatment can hurt even when it is received by a disliked outgroup member (Gonsalkorale & Williams, 2007) or by merely observing others being on the receiving end of the silent treatment (Wesselmann, Bagg, & Williams, 2009).

Specifically, silent treatment threatens the four fundamental human needs - belonging, self-esteem, control and meaningful existence (Williams, 2007, 2009). As behaviours involved in silent treatment such as evading eye contact or staring through the target without acknowledging his/her presence can elicit feelings of rejection (Wirth, Sacco, Hugenberg, & Williams, 2010; Wesselmann, Cardoso, Slater, & Williams, 2012), it thwarts the need of belonging of the target. Similarly, silent treatment can be used for punishing others which may force the target to think about his/her unwanted or "bad" characteristics just negatively affecting his/her self-esteem. The need for control of the target is also compromised if the target is unaware of the cause of the silent treatment and the source does not respond to repeated efforts of the target to communicate. Since silent treatment can indicate that the target's presence is insignificant it threatens the need of meaningful existence for the target.

Individuals who remain at the receiving end of silent treatment for prolonged periods may experience loneliness, depression, physical health problems, and may succumb to the lost needs which may lead to learned helplessness (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Cacioppo & Hawkley, 2003; Cacioppo & Patrick, 2008; Williams, 2001).

Effect of silent treatment on the source

As mentioned earlier silent treatment goes against the human tendency to respond and communicate with others and, therefore, it requires more energy to stop oneself from responding to the target and makes the source ego-depleted, leaving lesser energy for future tasks (Ciarocco, Sommer & Baumeister, 2001) which is not a very pleasant situation for the source. Researches report that sources may experience guilt and regret (Sommer, Williams, Ciarocco, & Baumeister, 2001) and self- dehumanization (Bastian, Jetten, Chen, Radke, Hardling, & Fasoli, 2013) on using silent treatment with loved ones and others.

With regard to the four fundamental needs -belonging, self-esteem, control and meaningful existence there have been mixed results. Zadro, Williams, and Richardson (2005), and Poulsen and Kashy (2012) reported that when participants were instructed to use silent treatment with others during a scripted interaction (direct source paradigm), the participants' need for belonging and self-esteem got fortified by using silent treatment. On the contrary, Bastian, et.al. (2013) reported that the sources' need for belonging and self-esteem were compromised as they felt their behaviour has been immoral. The most consistent finding from various researches is that the source experiences a heightened sense of control (Williams, 1997; Zadro Williams, & Richardson, 2005; Zadro, Arriaga, & Williams, 2008) which comes from the ability to influence target's behavior as the target may approach with apologies even if it is insincere, to regain previous interaction. However, over period of time this sense of control diminishes as the source becomes so habitual to using silent treatment that it becomes difficult to stop it (Zadro, Godwin, Svetieva, Sethi, Iannuzzelli, & Gonsalkorale, 2017). Also, Zadro (2004) found no change in the need for meaningful existence of the source despite receiving increased attention from the target. In spite of these findings, there is a lack of consistent and detailed understanding about the psychological experiences of the sources. There remains a need for researches that provides comprehensive explanation about the costs and benefits of using silent treatment from the perspective of the source.

THE CURRENT RESEARCH

Building upon the above arguments, the present research aims to postulate the negative (costs) and positive (benefits) experiences of using silent treatment from the perspective of the source using individual interviews. Since, silent treatment is used for variety of reasons and motives that creates effects on both sources

and targets, behavioural definition of the term is used in the current research. Thus, for the present research, silent treatment is defined as "range of behaviors that aim to avoid or ignore others for some purpose".

II. METHOD

Sampling and participants

Purposive sampling was used to select 15 unmarried female participants of age group 20-27 years from different fields of education for interviewing. Only those people who could consciously recall at least one incident of using silent treatment were included in the sample. Only females were included in the sample as researches suggest that females use silent treatment and indirect aggression more often than males (Zahn-Waxler, 2000; Asher & Coie, 1990; Barner-Barry, 1986; Cairns & Cairns, 1991) despite being more emotionally expressive than males because of the socialization process (Balswick & Avertt, 1977; Scharfe, 2000; Fischer & LaFrance, 2015) It will be interesting to explore the psychological experience of the sources of silent treatment themselves. Further, females belonging to 20-27 years of age group were interviewed as researches have postulated that the emerging adulthood period (18-29 years) is the period of identity exploration and self-focus (Arnett, 2000) and thus, interviews with this age group can provide understanding of how silent treatment forms a part of their identity and their willingness to use it as a preferred mode of communication. Only unmarried females were interviewed to explore psychological experiences while using silent treatment in a wider context of relationships which is not limited to marriages as researches on silent treatment in romantic and married couples have been ample (see Gottman, 1994, 1999, 2000, 2008; Buss et al., 1987; Falbo & Peplau, 1980).

Procedure

To meet the research objective, a semi-structured interview schedule was prepared. After establishing rapport and taking consent, each participant was assured confidentiality and individual interviews were conducted in the following major areas.

1- General feelings and thoughts while using silent treatment
2- The effect on self-image of the participants while using silent treatment
3- The effect of silent treatment on participant's relationship with the target and consequent effect on the participant.

A preliminary pilot testing was done with 3 participants. Required modifications were made based on observations from the pilot testing.

Data analysis

The data from all 15 participants was transcribed verbatim. The interview content was subjected to thematic analysis to identify the major themes.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

It is noteworthy yet not surprising to know that silent treatment is not only unpleasant to the target but to the source as well. The following section discusses the interview data in terms of the psychological experience of the participants, who were the sources of silent treatment.

General feelings and thoughts of the source of silent treatment:

It was found from the interviews that anger and frustration were consistently and constantly found to be the general feelings of the participants. These emotions were the cause of using silent treatment and continued to be constantly present during the whole silent treatment episode. In spite of this feeling of anger, participants had to end their silence because they valued the relationship.

Participants also reported that during the silence episodes, they retrospected on the events that caused them to use silent treatment and introspected about their stand in the situation. They even tried to think from the perspective of target to understand whether they did the right thing or not. In contrast, another participant said that she keeps too engrossed in her own feelings to take the perspective of others. One participant said that she felt that the target's behaviour was unjust and therefore she wanted to directly communicate this, but she felt unheard and unappreciated and therefore used silent treatment. However, she continued feeling the same during the silent treatment episode also. Participants felt that they could not communicate directly with the target as they were afraid that the target may get offended, will not understand them or leave them forever and therefore, they kept silent and ruminated on the past events.

The silence period was found to be uncomfortable for all the participants. In the words of one participant, "silent treatment is not good for your health, there is a burden on your heart". Another participant mentioned that her sleep gets affected and even while working the thoughts about the incidents that provoked silent treatment continue to repeat themselves at the back of her mind. One participant said that "everything is disturbed for some time".

Thus, the emotional experience that the silent treatment episode produces in sources is generally negative where anger and frustration are the most pervasive feelings throughout the silent treatment episode.

The work and sleep of the sources also gets affected as they are occupied with thoughts of related incidents which they cannot directly communicate to the target because of fear of losing them or being misunderstood. However, one positive aspect of silent treatment is that it provides time to the sources to think from the perspective of the targets also.

Self- image of the source on using silent treatment:

The interview data indicated that whether the self-image of the participant was affected or not depended on participant's attribution to the cause of silent treatment. If participants attributed the cause of silent treatment internally such as communication issue from their end, then their self-image was negatively affected. For example, a participant said "I think I am a nasty person doing nonsense to other people" as she felt that it was her problem that she cannot directly communicate the issue to others and uses silence instead.

However, in most cases participants reported no change in their self-image. This happened either when the participants attributed the cause of silent treatment externally, for example, a participant said that she thinks her roommate "deserved" this kind of behaviour and reported feeling valued and important for others when others approach on being silent; or when, as another participant illustrated that, silent treatment is automatic and she cannot think of any other possible alternative to it when she is upset. Also, the self-image of the participant was not affected when their relationship with the target remained intact.

Thus, use of silent treatment affects self-image of the sources negatively only when they attribute the cause of silent treatment to their own inefficiency of communication. However, there is no effect on self-image of the sources when they either attribute the cause of silent treatment externally to the target, or when they find no other alternative to silent treatment, or when their relationship with the target remains intact.

The effect of silent treatment on participant's relationship with the target and consequent effect on the participant:

It was found in the interviews that participants often used silent treatment by choice to end relationships with others. In such cases, the participant was either hurt or angry with targets' actions and chose to keep silent as a punishment to others. If the target did not approach the participants or if the participants did not feel satisfied with target's attempts, the relationship ended. However, since the issue causing the silent treatment remained unresolved participants often felt regret over it.

Some participants mentioned that they valued their relationship with the target too much to continue using silent treatment. When the target approached them, they felt they had to discontinue their silence. However, since the incidents repeated and initial issue was not resolved with direct communication, the memory of similar events provoking silent treatment was strengthened. The participants felt that it affected them negatively but they had to keep the issues aside in favour of continuing the relationship. For example, a participant said that after the silent treatment episode, she thinks the love remains the same but the relationship gets worse. Earlier she used to talk with her friend for hours but now they only meet like acquaintances. She never spoke to her friend about the issues that affected her to save their relationship, but silent treatment affected their relationship adversely.

Participants also reported that it was not easy to get back to normal relationship easily. Even when the targets could mollify them, it was not easy to resume normal behaviour with them. This is partly because of the inertia as the use of silent treatment becomes prolonged, it is difficult to discontinue (Zadro, Godwin, Svetieva, Sethi, Iannuzzelli, & Gonsalkorale, 2017) and partly because the feelings associated with the event are not completely addressed.

There was also an interesting and opposite finding where a participant stated that her relationship with her friend (target) gets better after every use of silent treatment as they are better able to understand which behaviours to continue and what to avoid in order to strengthen their bond. She was of the opinion that silent treatment deepened her understanding with her friend.

Thus, the relationship between the source and the target, gets negatively affected with the use of silent treatment. The relationship gets terminated when the target does not approach and the source does not give up on his/her silence. However, some sources chose their relationship over silent treatment and end their silence either with the first approach of the target or by themselves. In either scenario, the relationship suffers as the issues underlying silence remain undiscussed. However, relationship can sometimes be improved with the use of silent treatment, when the issues creating silence are effectively discussed and resolved.

IV. CONCLUSION

The aim of the present paper was to explore the psychological costs and benefits of using silent treatment. Silent treatment is found to be stressful for the sources, as they keep playing the hurting events in their mind which distracts them from focusing on other tasks and affects their sleep. This is line with the earlier research findings which suggest that silent treatment leaves the sources ego-depleted (Ciarocco, Sommer & Baumiester, 2001). Furthermore, the feelings of the sources while using silent treatment are generally negative, dominated by anger and frustration throughout the silence period.

However, the psychological experiences of the sources are not limited only to negative feelings but there are certain benefits of it as well. The silence period offers time to the source to re-evaluate the situation from the perspective of the targets which might provide opportunity to lessen the situational and relational differences between the source and the target. Though this re-evaluation comes with its own costs of overthinking and rumination.

Silent treatment has some relational benefits also, such as, when it is used for timeout purpose, it can prevent an argument from escalating (Sommer, Williams, Ciarocco & Baumeister, 2001; Williams, 1997) and avoid getting into unnecessary heated fights. Thus, both the source and target get time to re-evaluate the situation from each other's' perspective which can be helpful if the issues underlying silent treatment are discussed or used constructively to enhance understanding and provide feedback regarding the relationship. Further, the source feels valued in the relationship and there is an increase in her/his sense of personal worth, when the target approaches to end the silence episode. It also gives the source a sense of control over the relationship as they initiate the silent treatment episode and decide when to end it while eliciting some behavioural changes in the target.

Thus, the present paper provides important insight into the psychological and relational experiences of the sources of silent treatment which is both negative and positive. It can be inferred from the present paper that in spite the negative experiences, people continue using silent treatment as they enjoy the relational benefits of using it, or because they think the target "deserves" receiving such treatment or when they are not able to communicate directly because of the fear of being misunderstood or loosing important relationships, or they simply find no other alternative to it. However, silent treatment is not a viable behaviour as even when the sources use silent treatment to 'save' their relationship, this behavior inadvertently worsens it if the issues underlying silence are not discussed to a closure.

Also, it was found that the negative personal or relational experiences made the sources use silent treatment less frequently or under limited circumstances as they reported having gained emotional "maturity" over time, which raises important questions here- if people become aware of their personal and relational experiences, would it help them to avoid silent treatment or use it to their benefit? Even, if silent treatment has benefits, is it a negative behavior altogether, which needs to be discontinued? Is this emotional "maturity" a part of personality or can be learned in order to not use this behavior in the first place? Further researches can be done to address these questions, which can find implications in educational areas which can help people communicate effectively if silent treatment is conclusively found to be non-constructive mode of communication.

REFERENCES:

[1] Apostolou, M. (2013). Do as we wish: Parental tactics of mate choice manipulation. Evolutionary Psychology, 11(4), doi: 10.1177/147470491301100404.

[2] Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. American psychologist, 55(5), 469.

[3] Asher, S. R., & Coie, J. D. (1990). Peer rejection in childhood. Cambridge University Press.

[4] Balswick, J., & Avertt, C. P. (1977). Differences in expressiveness: Gender, interpersonal orientation, and perceived parental expressiveness as contributing factors. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 121-127.

[5] Barner-Barry, C. (1986). Rob: Children's tacit use of peer ostracism to control aggressive behavior. Ethology and Sociobiology, 7(3-4), 281-293.

[6] Bastian, B., Jetten, J., Chen, H., Radke, H. R., Harding, J. F., & Fasoli, F. (2013). Losing our humanity: The self-dehumanizing consequences of social ostracism. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 39(2), 156-169.

[7] Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. Psychological bulletin, 117(3), 497.

[8] Buss, D. M., Gomes, M., Higgins, D. S., & Lauterbach, K. (1987). Tactics of manipulation. Journal of personality and social psychology, 52(6), 1219-1229. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.52.6.1219 ·

[9] Cacioppo, J.T., & Hawkley, L.C. (2003) Social isolation and health, with an emphasis on underlying mechanisms. Perspectives in Biology and Medicine, 46, S39-S52.

[10] Cacioppo, J. T., & Patrick, W. (2008). Loneliness. NY: W. W. Norton & Company.

[11] Cairns, R. B., & Cairns, B. D. (1991). Social cognition and social networks: A developmental perspective. The development and treatment of childhood aggression, 249-278.

[12] Cannon, W. B. (1942). "Voodoo" death. American anthropologist, 44(2), 169-181.

[13] Carroll, J. S., Nelson, D. A., Yorgason, J. B., Harper, J. M., Ashton, R. H., & Jensen, A. C. (2010). Relational aggression in marriage. Aggressive Behavior, 36(5), 315-329.

[14] Ciarocco, N. J., Sommer, K. L., & Baumeister, R. F. (2001). Ostracism and ego depletion: The strains of silence. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27(9), 1156-1163.

[15] Crick, N. R., Werner, N. E., Casas, J. F., O'Brien, K. M., Nelson, D. A., Grotpeter, J. K., & Markon, K. (1999). Childhood aggression and gender: A new look at an old problem. In D. Bernstein (Ed.), Nebraska symposium on motivation: Vol. 45. Gender and motivation (pp. 75-141). Lincoln: Nebraska University Press.

[16] Eisenberger, N. I., Lieberman, M. D., & Williams, K. D. (2003). Does rejection hurt? An fMRI study of social exclusion. Science, 302(5643), 290-292.

[17] Fablo,T. & Peplau, L.A. (1980). Power strategies in intimate relationships. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 38(4), 618-628. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.38.4.618

[18] Faulkner, S., Williams, K., Sherman, B., & Williams, E. (1997). The "silent treatment": Its incidence and impact. 69th Annual Midwestern Psychological Association, Chicago, IL.

[19] Fischer, A., & LaFrance, M. (2015). What drives the smile and the tear: Why women are more emotionally expressive than men. Emotion Review, 7(1), 22-29.

[20] Gonsalkorale, K., & Williams, K. D. (2007). The KKK won't let me play: Ostracism even by a despised outgroup hurts. European Journal of Social Psychology, 37(6), 1176-1186.

[21] Gottman, J. M. (1994). An agenda for marital therapy. The heart of the matter: Perspectives on emotion in marital therapy, 256-293.

[22] Gottman, J. M., & Levenson, R. W. (1999). Dysfunctional marital conflict: Women are being unfairly blamed. Journal of Divorce & Remarriage, 31(3-4), 1-17.

[23] Gottman, J. M., & Levenson, R. W. (2000). The timing of divorce: Predicting when a couple will divorce over a 14-year period. Journal of Marriage and Family, 62(3), 737-745.

[24] Gottman, J. M. (2008). Gottman method couple therapy. Clinical handbook of couple therapy, 4(8), 138-164.

[25] Gruter, M. (1986). Ostracism on trial: The limits of individual rights. Ethology and Sociobiology, 7(3-4), 271-279.

[26] Harding, A. (2018, July 23). Surprising signs that mean your dog is secretly mad at you. Showbiz Cheatsheet. Retrieved from https://www.cheatsheet.com/culture/surprising-signs-that-mean-your-dog-is-secretly-mad-at-you.html/

[27] Iannuzzelli, R. (2014). From all sides: Real-life experiences of being a target, source, and observer of ostracism. Manuscript in preparation.

[28] Kipnis, D., Schmidt, S. M., & Wilkinson, I. (1980). Intraorganizational influence tactics: Explorations in getting one's way. Journal of applied psychology, 65(4), 440.

[29] Poulsen, J. R., & Kashy, D. A. (2012). Two sides of the ostracism coin: How sources and targets of social exclusion perceive themselves and one another. Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 15(4), 457-470.

[30] Rotholtz,M. (n.d.) 7 signs your dog might be annoyed at you. The Dog People. Retrieved from https://www.rover.com/blog/is-my-dog-annoyed-with-me/

[31] Scharfe, E. (2000). Development of Emocional Expresión, Understanding, and Regulation in Infants and Young Children. In R. Bar-On, & J. D. A. Parker (Eds.), The Handbood of Emotional Intelligence. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

[32] Sommer, K. L., Williams, K. D., Ciarocco, N. J., & Baumeister, R. F. (2001). When silence speaks louder than words: Explorations into the intrapsychic and interpersonal consequences of social ostracism. Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 23(4), 225-243.

[33] Wesselmann, E. D., Bagg, D., & Williams, K. D. (2009). "I feel your pain": The effects of observing ostracism on the ostracism detection system. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 45(6), 1308-1311.

[34] Wesselmann, E. D., Cardoso, F. D., Slater, S., & Williams, K. D. (2012). To be looked at as though air: Civil attention matters. Psychological Science, 23(2), 166-168.

[35] Williams, K. D. (1997). Social ostracism. In Aversive interpersonal behaviors (pp. 133-170). Springer, Boston, MA.

[36] Williams, K.D. (2001). Ostracism: the power of silence. New York : The Guilford Press.

[37] Williams, K. D. (2007). Ostracism. Annu. Rev. Psychol., 58, 425-452.

[38] Williams, K. D. (2009). Ostracism: A temporal need-threat model. Advances in experimental social psychology, 41, 275-314.

[39] Williams, K. D., & Nida, S. A. (2011). Ostracism: Consequences and coping. Current Directions in Psychological Science, 20(2), 71-75.

[40] Wirth, J. H., Sacco, D. F., Hugenberg, K., & Williams, K. D. (2010). Eye gaze as relational evaluation: Averted eye gaze leads to feelings of ostracism and relational devaluation. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 36(7), 869-882.

[41] Zadro, L. (2004). Ostracism: Empirical studies inspired by real world experiences of silence and exclusion. Unpublished manuscript. University of New South Wales, Australia.

[42] Zadro, L., Arriaga, X. B., & Williams, K. D. (2008). Relational ostracism. Social relationships: Cognitive, affective, and motivational processes, 305-320.

[43] Zadro, L., Godwin, A., Svetieva, E., Sethi, N., Iannuzzelli, R., & Gonsalkorale, K. (2017). Creating the silence: Ostracism from the perspective of the source. Ostracism, exclusion, and rejection, 130-145.

[44] Zadro, L., Williams, K. D., & Richardson, R. (2005). Riding the "O" train: Comparing the effects of ostracism and verbal dispute on targets and sources, Group Processes and Interpersonal Relations, 8, 125-143.

[45] Zahn-Waxler, C. (2000). The development of empathy, guilt, and internalization of distress: Implications for gender differences in internalizing and externalizing problems. Anxiety, depression, and emotion, 222, 265.