The Effect of Self-monitoring, Responsibility, and Transgression Consequence on Apologetic Behaviors

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Abstract

The present study, modeled after Schlenker and Darby's 1981 study, explores the use of apologetic behaviors with consideration for an individual's self-monitoring level. Participants (n = 235) were recruited using convenience sampling of undergraduate students and Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). Participants received a survey to measure self-monitoring and were randomly assigned to a scenario condition. The scenarios presented a hypothetical transgression experience that varied in regard to the consequence severity and situation responsibility of the transgression. Behavioral responses measuring how participants would react to the given scenario were recorded. Results from a 2x6 factorial ANOVA indicate a statistically significant interaction effect between our conditions and self-monitoring [$F(5, 223) = 2.68$, $p = .02$]. Participants identifying as high self-monitors were more likely to engage in apologetic behavioral responses compared to low self-monitors, namely in conditions with low responsibility. This result supports our hypotheses and has implications for future research.

Key words: self-monitoring, apologies, consequence, responsibility, transgressions

The Importance of Apologies: A Review of Previous Literature

Regarding apologies and apologetic behaviors, previous research has concluded much about the impact of apology reception. While much of this current literature focuses primarily on the victim of a transgression, with surveys pertaining to situations where an individual is *receiving* an apology, these studies have also gathered information on the value of apologies from the perspective of the perpetrator(s). In Berscheid and Walster's 1967 study, they observed the relationship between apologies and compensatory behaviors. Overall, Berscheid and Walster concluded that proper adequacy of compensation makes an individual more willing to compensate their victims. They determined that transgressors have a "soft spot" when deciding to issue an apology. Compensation deemed as inadequate, or reversely, overly excessive, was equally discouraging towards a transgressor's tendency to

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apologize. The value of compensation as a form of apology also has been explored in more recent research. For example, Jeter and Brannon (2018) focused on the effectiveness of certain types of apologies at eliciting forgiveness. Using an undergraduate student sample, the researchers determined that apologies including some form of compensation or restitution (e.g., "I'll make it up to you) appear to be more effective at eliciting forgiveness than offering sentiments of wrongdoing or guilt.

In addition to adequate compensation, apologies are also judged based on a given situation. Leunissen et. al. (2012) completed three studies to identify the similarities between victims' and perpetrators' need for apologies. They found that victims prefer to receive apologies after experiencing an intentional transgression, whereas perpetrators were more likely to offer an apology after an unintentional transgression. The results from the study emphasize the difficulty in understanding the mismatch of apologies contributing to the development of an "apology culture" worth studying.

Used as a common response to transgressions, apologies have become a norm within human interaction. With how frequently and mindlessly they are presented, an "apology culture" has been established. This development has led some research to solely focus on apologetic value in a "quantity or quality" mindset. De Cremer et al. (2011) conducted multiple studies on evaluating the weight of apologies. From their results, they concluded that people are prone to forecasting errors when reviewing the effectiveness of an apology. More specifically, De Cremer et. al. (2011) found that the tendency to overestimate the value of an apology impact is higher when an individual imagines receiving an apology compared to when they are actually in situations receiving an apology. Within their discussions, the researchers reference the importance of understanding the perception of apologies, as insincere or strategically made apologies could elicit further distrust or feelings of anger from the victim.

Apologies serve several social functions, in that they amend relationships, reestablish social interactions, and have the capability to restore social order in a scenario where social rules have been broken (De Cremer et. al., 2011). Do people willingly apologize hastily simply because they know they will be easily (and are obligated to be) forgiven? The present study aims to examine considerations for apologies, such as how people have become socialized into believing that apologies should be accepted when given. Depending on the situation, if one fails to accept an apology, that could transform them from being the victim to now becoming a transgressor. Depending on certain situations, individuals must become aware of intention and sincerity, and how to decide on delivering the message.

Personality and the Connection to Apologies

In relation to expressing and receiving forgiveness, many studies have explored how an individual's personality can impact decision-making processes when apologizing. Researchers in a 2000s study investigated the potential role of certain personality factors that may influence the likelihood of seeking forgiveness after recalling a personal experience and being given a written transgression scenario (Sandage et. al., 2000). Although they included a variety of demographic factors in their examination (e.g., age, developmental level, religion), the researchers concluded that one of the measures of self-involvement that were most successful at predicting whether the participants would seek forgiveness is self-monitoring.

Self-Monitoring

Self-monitoring was introduced in the 1970s by Mark Snyder. Snyder developed the self-monitoring scale to measure the extent to which individuals have the will and the ability to modify how they are perceived by others (Snyder, 1974). The concept of self-monitoring focuses on different aspects of human behavior when engaging with others. It specifically observes an individual's self-observation and self-control based on situational cues to maintain social appropriateness (Lennox & Wolfe, 1984). In order to determine these levels, human behavior and expression must be examined and compared over a period of time. One theory that has been developed on self-monitoring was developed on the premise that people differ in the degree to which they choose to display their private selves in public situations (Shepherd & Meteyer, 2020). For most scales, individuals will be considered either as high scoring (high self-monitor) or low scoring (low self-monitor).

Regarding the realm of personality studies, self-monitoring has been found to be a strong influencer in other studies as well. Howell and colleagues (2011) observed an individual's tendency to apologize in relation to positive personality characteristics (e.g., well-being, acceptance, viewing oneself as amendable to change) and negative personality characteristics (e.g., self-monitoring, neuroticism, narcissism, entitlement). Overall, they

concluded that personality can impact an individual's decision-making process regarding forgiveness. Specifically, that self-monitoring levels can influence a perpetrator's willingness to apologize.

Self-monitoring is used during communication to portray an emotional state that is not congruent to the individual's true emotional experience (Lennox & Wolfe, 1984). In our study, we found that the element of "concealing inappropriate emotional state and appearing to be experiencing an appropriate emotional state, if nonresponse is also considered inappropriate" was what we sought for our self-monitoring variable to measure. Typically, this can be seen as the use of face-saving devices, being aware of others' interpretations, having a desire to maintain social approval and ego, and a willingness to use various impression management tactics to sustain approval (Lennox & Wolfe).

Snyder (1974) found that individuals who have more control over their facial expressions have the ability to intensify, de-intensify, neutralize, or mask a chosen expression in order to uphold the norms of social performance. This is referred to as an individual's ability to self-monitor in social situations. Snyder's Self-Monitoring Scale (1974) helps to predict the likeliness of individuals engaging in self-monitoring behaviors. The article shares four studies that demonstrate the validity of the self-monitoring scale. The research concludes that the scale is reliable for observing self-monitoring levels (high or low) and predicting the likeliness of those individuals adapting and conforming to their social environments (Snyder). Overall, it was found that higher scoring individuals were better at learning what is considered as "socially appropriate" in new situations, had better self-control of their emotional expressions, and were better suited to effectively use this ability to create the impressions they desired (Snyder).

Returning to Schlenker and Darby, their 1981 study mentions that apologies involve components governed by social rules, which are often a vehicle for seeking amends for transgressions. Transgressors typically feel a sense of personal obligation before deciding to aid the situation. The desire to obey social obligation and minimize ego damage could potentially be influenced by one's ability to adjust their behaviors to meet the social expectations of the given situation. Using Snyder's Self-Monitoring Scale (1974), we can measure different levels of self-monitoring based on an individual's ability to maintain a consistent expression during certain situations.

Overview of the Current Study

The present study is modeled after Schlenker and Darby's 1981 study which examined the use of apologies in social predicaments. In the original study, 120 participants imagine themselves as transgressors in a written scenario set in a university environment that varied in different levels of responsibility and magnitudes of consequence. After reading the scenario, participants were then asked their likeliness of carrying out six different apologetic behavior responses (e.g., saying "Pardon me," expressing feelings of remorse, offering to help the victim in some way, etc.), two nonapologetic behaviors (i.e., saying and doing nothing or acknowledging them through nonverbal behaviors), and two accounting tactics, which included how likely they were to use an excuse to decrease their responsibility for the situation, or use a justification to do or say something to minimize the amount of harm that was done.

Schlenker and Darby (1981) found that as the severity of their social predicaments increased (scenarios that utilized higher consequences), the use of apologies and number of apology responses also increased. They speculated that when consequences are kept minimal, a brief, obligatory apology is commonly given; however, when the condition of responsibility increases, individuals felt greater obligation to acknowledge the transgression and the victim (Schlenker & Darby). Although the original article is from the 1980s, it provided foundational research for our chosen topic and variables, and served as a solid model for our scenario and survey.

This study adds further knowledge about apologies and personality, specifically the quality of self-monitoring, by replicating and expanding on existing research. This study explores how one's self-monitoring level influences their likeliness of engaging in apologetic behaviors. Based on prior research, we developed the following main hypothesis: We anticipated a significant interaction effect between our main variables of interest, such that individuals reporting higher levels of self-monitoring would engage in more apologetic behaviors. However, we expected that this result would vary based on the assigned condition of magnitude of consequence and responsibility level. We anticipate that those who report higher levels of self-monitoring would engage in more apologetic behaviors when placed in scenarios of higher magnitude of consequence.

Method

Participants

We recruited 235 participants (140 males, 93 females, 1 transgender female, and 1 gender variant/non-conforming) to complete the current study using two main sampling methods. First, undergraduate students (n = 113) were recruited to participate in exchange for course or extra credit. Second, participants also were recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk; n = 122) in exchange for modest compensation. Using both recruitment methods allowed for more diversity within the sample demographic information. The average age for the sample was 33.13 (SD = 10.54). A majority of the sample identified as White/Caucasian (~75%) followed by 12% Asian, 7% Black/African American, 3% Hispanic/Latino(a), 3% American Indian/Alaska Native, and .5% Other. Thirty-five percent of the sample lived in the Midwest followed by 22% in the Northeast; 19% in the Southeast; 12% Southwest; 11% West.

Materials

To measure the main variables of interest, the following scales and materials were used.

Self-Monitoring

The *Revised Self-Monitoring Scale* (Lennox & Wolfe, 1984) was used to measure individual differences in self-monitoring. Participants responded to 33 items using a Likert-type scale rating of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Example items include: "In different situations and with different people, I often act like a very different person; My behavior often depends on how I feel others wish me to behave; Different people tend to have different impressions about the type of person I am." A composite **s**core for overall self-monitoring was calculated by averaging all responses on the scale (Cronbach's α = .85).

Scenarios/Experimental Conditions

Six vignettes were created based on the original work of Schlenker & Darby (1981). These vignettes presented a main scenario in which the participant bumped into another person while shopping at a grocery store. Similar to the original experiment, the vignettes in the current study systematically manipulated the magnitude of consequence to the other shopper (i.e., low, moderate, or high consequence) as well as the degree of responsibility for the incident on behalf of the participant (i.e., low or high responsibility). For example, in the *low* responsibility condition, participants were instructed that while shopping, they were knocked from behind by a third party causing them to then bump into another person in the grocery aisle. Or, in the *high* responsibility condition, participants were told that they were shopping inattentively and bumped into another person in the grocery aisle. This low or high responsibility situation was then paired with a consequence to the other shopper, such as the other person was "nudged slightly but regained their balance quickly" (*low* consequence); the other person was "pushed to the ground, startled but unhurt" (*moderate* consequence); and the other person was "knocked to the ground, fell on their arm, and began moaning in pain" (*high* consequence). For a complete list of each condition, see Appendix A.

Manipulation Checks

To determine if participants read and understood the assigned scenarios, we asked two manipulation check questions. These two questions assessed how hurt the other shopper was from the incident ("In the scenario you just read, how hurt was the person you bumped into?") and how responsible the participant was for the incident ("In the scenario you just read, how responsible are you for what happened to the other person?"). These questions were assessed on a 3-point Likert-type scale (e.g., 1 = not hurt at all or not at all responsible, 3 = hurt badly or very responsible). In conditions assigned with *low* responsibility, all participants responded accurately (or with a "1") indicating low responsibility when assessing who was at fault for the incident. In conditions assigned with *high* responsibility, participants responded accurately (or with a "3"). Similarly, in conditions assigned with *low* or *moderate* consequence, participants responded with a "1," and with a "3" when receiving the *high* consequence scenario. Thus, we concluded that participants who passed these manipulation checks understood our scenarios in terms of what happened to the other shopper and who was responsible for the incident.

Apologetic Behaviors

To measure our main dependent variable, participants responded to six questions that assessed apologetic-type behaviors using a Likert-type scale of 1 (extremely unlikely) to 5 (extremely likely). These questions were adapted from the Schlenker & Darby (1981) study and were provided to participants after they read the assigned scenario. For example, after reading the scenario, participants indicated how likely they would be to: say "I'm sorry" to the other person, express feelings of remorse about the situation (e.g., say "I feel so badly about this"), or do or say something to gain forgiveness (e.g., say, "how can I make it up to?)." A composite score was calculated by averaging responses to the six items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .66$).

Demographic Information

Participants also completed demographic questions to obtain more information about age (what is your age?), gender (what is your preferred gender identity?), race (what racial group or groups do you consider yourself to be in?), and geographic location (what region of the country do you currently live in?).

Procedure

Participants were either recruited via a convenience sample (undergraduate students) or via MTurk. To reduce any potential sampling bias, participants were told that they would be completing an online survey about personality and general decision-making. Qualtrics was used as an online platform to administer the survey. An electronic informed consent was provided prior to beginning the survey. Participants responded to basic demographic questions, and were then randomly assigned to one of the six scenarios. After reading the scenario, participants completed the manipulation check questions as well as the apologetic behavior items. Finally, participants completed the self-monitoring scale. A debriefing was provided at the conclusion of the survey. The current study was approved by our university's institutional review board and all APA guidelines for the ethical treatment of participants were followed.

Results

To examine possible relationships between self-monitoring and apologetic behaviors, bivariate correlations were conducted based on assigned conditions. Results suggest that overall, self-monitoring and apologetic behaviors are significantly positively related regardless of the assigned condition ($r = .53$, $p < .001$). Further, when taking condition into account, self-monitoring and apologetic behaviors were significantly positively related for all conditions (rs ranged from .47 - .77, all ps $< .05$) except the medium consequence/high responsibility and high consequence/high responsibility conditions. See Table 1.

To test our main hypothesis assessing an interaction effect between self-monitoring and the assigned condition, a 2x6 Factorial ANOVA was conducted[1]. Self-monitoring was used as the first factor with two levels (low or high). In line with previous research studying self-monitoring, forgiveness, and/or prosocial behavior (De Cremer et al., 2001; De Cremer & van Dijk, 2002; Jeter & Brannon, 2015; Wang et al., 2019), we calculated median split groups for participants identifying as high self-monitors (≥ 3.01; $N = 117$; $M = 3.63$, $SD = .20$) and low self-monitors (≤ 3.00; $N = 118$; $M = 2.33$, $SD = .38$) using responses on the revised self-monitoring scale. The second factor was the assigned condition with six vignettes or levels; the conditions varied based on the assigned vignette consequence to the shopper (i.e., low, medium, or high consequence) as well as by responsibility of the participant (i.e., low, medium, or high responsibility). See Figure 1 for the sample size of each condition.

[1] The decision to present the findings using a median split was done for presentational reasons and aligns with prior research on similar topics. Regression analyses using self-monitoring as a continuous variable and condition as a dummy coded variable were also conducted to determine if the median split method was valid. Regression analyses indicated significant interactions between condition and self-monitoring on apologetic behaviors for all conditions expect medium consequence/high responsibility and high consequence/high responsibility. These results are not only consistent with the factorial ANOVA conducted using the median split, but also with the bivariate correlation analyses performed by condition.

Table 1

Correlations between self-monitoring and apologetic behaviors by condition

		n	*r*	*p*
1.	Low Consequence/ Low Responsibility	39	.77	<.001
2.	Medium Consequence/ Low Responsibility	45	.47	.001
3.	High Consequence/ Low Responsibility	51	.76	<.001
4.	Low Consequence/ High Responsibility	32	.67	<.001
5.	Medium Consequence/ High Responsibility	35	.26	.12
6.	High Consequence/ High Responsibility	33	.14	.45

We were unable to detect a significant main effect of condition [F (5, 223) = .35, p = .88; partial η^2 = .01]. When examining the condition by itself without accounting for self-monitoring, no significant differences emerged. However, there was a main effect of self-monitoring [F (1, 223) = 62.74, p < .001; partial η^2 = .22]. When examining this variable by itself without accounting for the study condition, results suggest that high self-monitors [M = 4.05, SE = .05] were likely to engage in more apologetic behaviors compared to low self-monitors [M = 3.50, SE = .05]. Finally, this significant main effect was qualified by an interaction effect. Results indicate that high self-monitors would engage in more apologetic behaviors than low self-monitors and that this difference varies based on the assigned condition [F (5, 223) = 2.68, p = .02; partial η^2 = .06].

To probe this interaction effect further, we conducted post hoc tests using a Bonferroni adjustment. These findings suggest that high self-monitors were more likely than low self-monitors to engage in apologetic behaviors, namely for conditions with low responsibility but varying levels of consequence to the shopper, as well as high responsibility but low consequence to the shopper (ps ≤ .001). However, there was not a significant difference between high and low self-monitors when examining the moderate (p = .20) and high consequence (p = .21) conditions at high levels of responsibility. See Figure 1.

Discussion

While the findings of our study support our hypothesis, we made speculations based on our results. Although our findings show a significant interaction in which high self-monitors were more likely to engage in apologetic behaviors for most of the conditions, this was not the case for all conditions. One explanation for these results is that people will use apologetic behaviors regardless of self-monitoring level when they are at fault, and they see that the victim is visibly hurt. This speculation aligns with research on the high influence of a given situation. Situational factors, such as responsibility, can influence whether someone apologizes (Riek, 2010).

However, looking more closely at the personality aspect of our variables, high self-monitors could have chosen to engage in slightly more apologetic behaviors in attempts to uphold their social image during these situations. Personality factors, particularly self-monitoring, can influence the likelihood of an individual seeking forgiveness (Sandage et. al., 2000). Much of the self-monitoring theory involves ego maintenance (Shepherd & Meteyer, 2020); therefore, our participants who were high-scoring self-monitors would choose to participate in actions that would result in the least amount of image damage.

Another speculation made when observing the results focuses on the societal expectation of an apology. Those that were high self-monitors could have felt *more* sensitivity to the social situation, leading them to increased engagement in apologetic behaviors. The conclusion that Leunissen et. al. (2012) reach—that perpetrators are more likely to issue an apology after unintentional transgressions—aligns with our results as we saw higher engagement in apologetic behaviors in our low responsibility scenarios compared to our high responsibility scenarios. If an individual acknowledges that apologies are best in situations where the victim is not badly hurt and there is low responsibility, they could feel *obligated* by social norms to engage in some type of apologetic behavior, rather than choose to ignore the situation.

Limitations and Future Research

As a replication study, generalizability still remains a limitation. Further replication in a more diverse sample can help to see if our findings are relevant to the general population. It would be recommended to gather more participants from various regions and countries. The leading percentage of our demographic was from the United States Midwest region (approx. 35%), where apologies may arguably be more casually expressed. Including

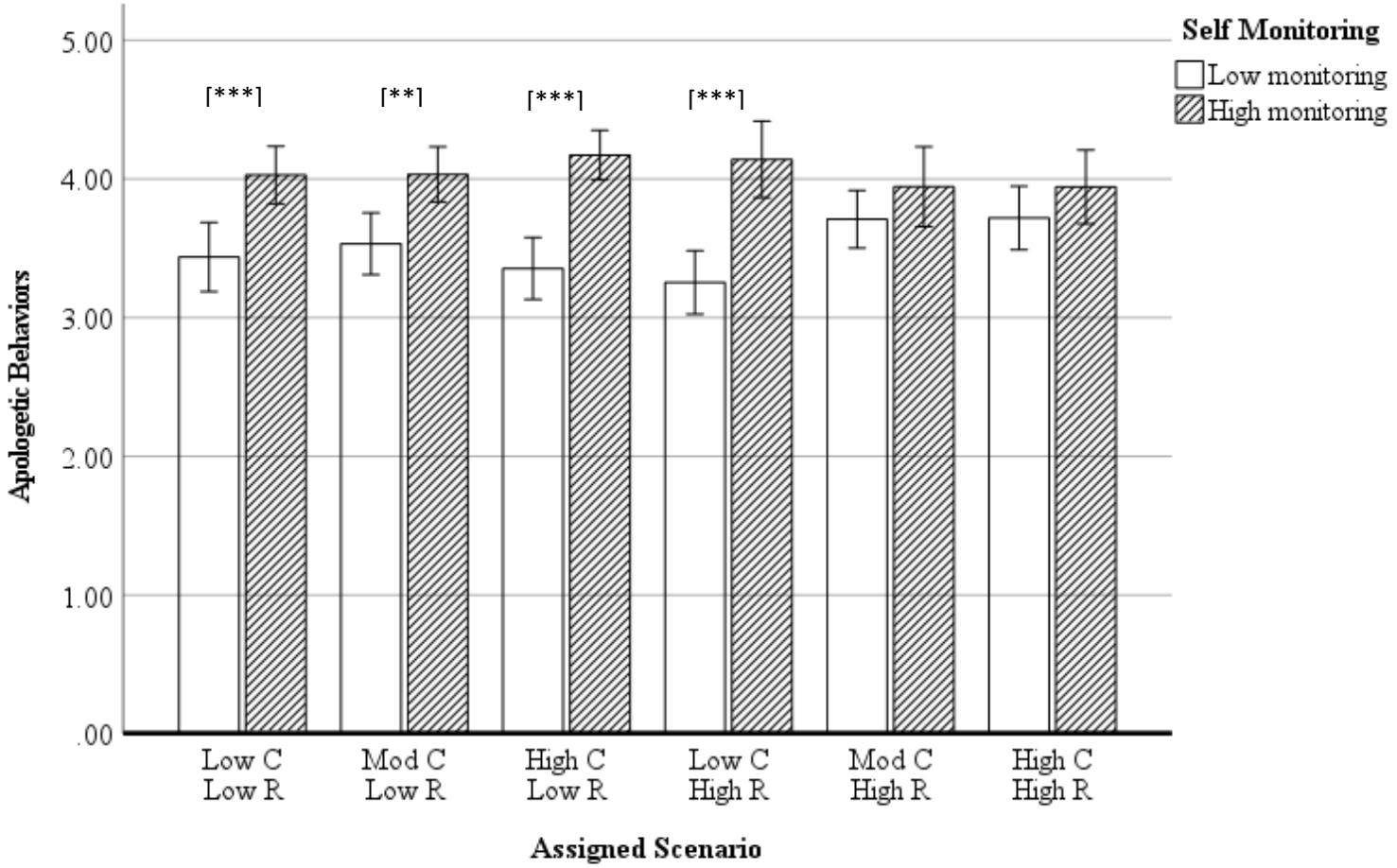

Figure 1. Interaction effect of self-monitoring and assigned scenario on apologetic behaviors.

Notes: Bars with asterisks represent significant self-monitoring by scenario interaction. *** $p < .001$; ** $p = .001$. Error bars represent 95% confidence interval. Low C Low R = Low Consequence/Low Responsibility ($n = 45$); Mod C Low R = Moderate Consequence/Low Responsibility ($n = 45$); High C Low R = High Consequence/Low Responsibility ($n = 51$); Low C High R = Low Consequence/High Responsibility ($n = 32$); Mod C Low R = Moderate Consequence High Responsibility ($n = 35$); High C High R = High Consequence/High Responsibility ($n = 33$).

more participants from faster paced locations or more collectivistic societies would be valuable for our sample. Further research with more diverse populations could produce results that vary based on region and cultural standards. For instance, we speculate that in more urbanized areas, issuing simple apologies to strangers may not be instilled as a norm in the same capacity that it is in more rural areas, therefore resulting in lower responses to participating in apologetic behaviors in our low responsibility condition.

In addition, some of our measures may present specific limitations. For example, the Cronbach's alpha estimate of reliability for apologetic behaviors was below a standard threshold of acceptability ($\alpha = .66$). When conducting analyses to determine if reliability could be increased by removing one (or more) of the items, we did not find this to be the case. Given the low reliability, findings should be interpreted with caution and researchers might consider using other measures to further assess apologetic behaviors. Another limitation of our study is the face validity of our scenarios. If future research is conducted with focus on the personality aspect of our study (self-monitoring), it would be recommended to adjust the scenarios to make it more consequential to the subject's social image. Our scenarios were modeled after Schlenker and Darby's 1981 scenarios which focused on responsibility and consequence severity. Therefore, they were not written with the intention of varying in factors that would directly influence one's self-monitoring level (i.e., ego damage, public setting, relationship to victim). In order to fully maximize the personality (self-monitoring) component of this study, it would be most ideal to adjust the given scenarios to reflect this variable, rather than focus on the situational variables of the scenario.

Given that our study used hypothetical scenarios, it would also be valuable to see behavioral manipulation of our study if participants experienced the scenarios rather than read them. There could be more contrast when we are able to examine true participant reaction compared to what a participant simply claims they would do. Lastly, we recommend future studies to focus on other personality variables, in addition to self-monitoring. For instance, Sandage et. al. (2000) found that granting forgiveness was negatively related to narcissism, presumably due to the lack of empathy associated with narcissism. The component of self-monitoring interfered with people seeking forgiveness, possibly because of the concern that it impairs empathy and ego in attempts to maintain social impression.

Finally, it may be important for future research to consider how gender relates to apologetic behaviors given scenarios that manipulate consequence and responsibility of a transgression. Prior research suggests that women may be more likely than men to engage in apologetic behaviors, particularly when an offense is perceived as being severe (Schumann & Ross, 2010). However, and interestingly, results of Schlenker and Darby's (1981) research, which served as the basis for this current replication and extension study, suggest no significant gender differences. That is, gender did not influence apologetic responses based on conditions in any consistent fashion. Although not the focus of the current work, it may be important to explore further if or how gender impacts the likelihood of apologizing following a variety of transgression experiences.

Conclusions

Despite the limitations listed above, findings from the current study contribute useful information to previous research. In the original 1981 study, Schlenker and Darby discuss how social norms and personal norms can differ in various circumstances related to prosocial behaviors. For instances where differences may occur, obtaining data on personality qualities could be valuable in providing additional information when attempting to predict an individual's behavior. Using self-monitoring in particular is a way of measuring the extent to which individuals would choose to alter their behaviors and personal norms to fit the social norms present when in the position of the victim. Despite not utilizing a role-play method, garnering an individual's self-monitoring level alone could provide some motive into their chosen actions. Further research on the topic could determine if individuals choose to apologize, even if it is unnecessary, whether to obey social obligation, avoid experiencing social dissonance, or preventing potential ego damage. Continuing apology research can help to explore more personality or situational characteristics that influence the human behavior.

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Appendix A

Base Scenario (Low Responsibility):

1. Low Severity Consequence: You are shopping at the grocery store. It's a pretty busy day, but you manage to find almost everything you're looking for. As you're reaching for the last item, another shopper accidentally knocks their cart into you. You lose your balance and accidentally bump into another shopper next to you. **[They are nudged lightly and regain their balance quickly.]** A second later, they turn and look at you.

2. Medium Severity Consequence: You are shopping at the grocery store. It's a pretty busy day, but you manage to find almost everything you're looking for. As you're reaching for the last item, another shopper accidentally knocks their cart into you. You lose your balance and accidentally bump into another shopper next to you. **[They are pushed to the ground, startled but unhurt.]** A second later, they turn and look at you.

3. High Severity Consequence: You are shopping at the grocery store. It's a pretty busy day, but you manage to find almost everything you're looking for. As you're reaching for the last item, another shopper accidentally knocks their cart into you. You lose your balance and accidentally bump into another shopper next to you. **[They are knocked to the ground and fall on their arm. They begin moaning in pain.]** A second later, they turn and look at you.

Base Scenario (High Responsibility):

1. Low Severity Consequence: You are shopping at the grocery store. It's a pretty busy day, but you manage to find almost everything you're looking for. As you're walking into the next aisle, you begin to zone out and accidentally bump into another shopper next to you. **[They are nudged lightly and regain their balance quickly.]** A second later, they turn and look at you.

2. Medium Severity Consequence: You are shopping at the grocery store. It's a pretty busy day, but you manage to find almost everything you're looking for. As you're walking into the next aisle, you begin to zone out and accidentally bump into another shopper next to you. **[They are pushed to the ground, startled but unhurt.]** A second later, they turn and look at you.

3. High Severity Consequence: You are shopping at the grocery store. It's a pretty busy day, but you manage to find almost everything you're looking for. As you're walking into the next aisle, you begin to zone out and accidentally bump into another shopper next to you. **[They are knocked to the ground and fall on their arm. They begin moaning in pain.]** A second later, they turn and look at you.