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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THE IMPACT OF GENDER AND CULTURAL VALUES ON SAVORING AND HAPPINESS AMONG KOREAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

PROGRAM IN PSYCHOLOGY

 $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{Y}$

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	111
LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
ABSTRACT	vii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION Savoring Universal Gender Differences Gender Differences in Emotional Experiences and Savoring Gender and Cultural Values in Korea Happiness as a Product of Culture The Purpose of Current Study	1 2 3 4 6 7 8
CHAPTER TWO: METHODS Participants Procedures Measures	12 12 12 13
CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS Measurement Modeling Testing Gender Invariance of Factor Loadings for Composite Measures Descriptive Statistics Hypothesis Testing	16 16 23 26 28
CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION	35
APPENDIX A: KOREAN-TRANSLATED QUESTIONNAIRE INSTRUMENTS	41
REFERENCES	47
VITA	52

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Correlations among SBI, WOSC, AVS, and Gender ($N = 288$)	27
Table 2. Gender Comparison of Asian Values, Savoring Beliefs, and Savoring Responses, and Subjective Happiness (N = 288)	29
Table 3. Mediation of the Effect of Gender on Savoring Responses through Conformity to Collectivist Social Norms (N=288)	31
Table 4. Mediation of the Effect of Gender on Savoring Responses through Rejection of Traditional Asian Values (N=288)	31

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Mediation Model for Associations between Gender and Dampening of Positive Affects as Mediated by Rejection of Traditional Asian Values	30
Figure 2. Saturated 3-Path Model of Associations among Gender, Rejection of Traditional Asian Values, Dampening of Positive Affects, and Korean Subjective Happiness	32
Figure 3. Final Trimmed 3-Path Model of Associations among Gender, Rejection of Traditional Asian Values, Dampening of Positive Affects, and Korean Subjective Happiness	33

ABSTRACT

Historically, Korea has been strongly influenced by Chinese Confucianism, which emphasizes gender-role differentiation and patriarchal norms. Through globalization, however, Western values, which accentuate achievement and independence, have influenced Korean society and its emphasis on traditional values and sex roles. In particular, Korean females, relative to males, may gain more empowerment by rejecting traditional cultural values. Literature has shown that Asian cultures traditionally emphasize dampening rather than amplifying of positive emotions—a style of positive emotional regulation (i.e., savoring) that predicts lower reported levels of happiness. The present study examined gender differences in cultural values, savoring responses to positive experience, and happiness by testing a hypothesized structural path model, in which, Korean females, relative to males, more strongly rejected traditional Asian values, which predicted lower levels of dampening positive affects, which in turn predicted greater happiness.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

While the field of psychology has predominantly focused on psychological distress and psychopathology (Bryant, 2003), the emerging field of positive psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000) has integrated positive functioning and well-being into a comprehensive understanding of psychological functioning. Theorists and researchers have also distinguished the presence of subjective well-being from the absence of psychological distress (Bryant & Veroff, 1984). In other words, even if an individual is proficient in coping with negative life experiences and managing emotional distress, the person may not enjoy or appreciate positive events so as to maintain and maximize positive emotions and subjective well-being. Proposing a four-factor model of perceived control, Bryant (1989) highlighted the importance of perceived control over positive emotions, so-called "savoring," and documented the significant relationship between savoring and general happiness. In this four-factor model, beliefs about one's capacity to savor positive outcomes are distinguished from beliefs about one's capacity to avoid negative outcomes, to cope with negative outcomes that one cannot avoid, and to obtain positive outcomes. Although beliefs about all four types of control independently predict levels of happiness, beliefs about the ability to savor positive outcomes show the strongest relationship with happiness (Bryant, 1989).

1

Savoring

Bryant and Veroff (2007) described savoring as reflecting people's capacities to "attend to, appreciate, and enhance the positive experiences in their lives (pg. 2)." In other words, savoring processes can amplify the intensity of positive emotions and extend the duration of enjoyment derived from positive events. In explicating the concept of savoring, Bryant and Veroff (2007) distinguished the process of savoring from (a) savoring beliefs and (b) savoring responses, or ways of savoring. Savoring beliefs are evaluations of one's personal ability to amplify and prolong positive experience, if one so chooses. Savoring responses or strategies, on the other hand, are specific thoughts and behaviors in which people engage in reaction to positive experiences, and which regulate levels of consequent positive emotion including happiness. Beyond coping with psychological distress and negative life events, prospective longitudinal research indicates that savoring responses predict one's level of happiness in daily life (Jose, Lim, & Bryant, 2012).

Developing and validating the Savoring Beliefs Inventory (SBI), which measures people's beliefs about their personal capacity to savor positive experiences, Bryant (2003) proposed that savoring beliefs exist with respect to three temporal orientations that reflect the ability to derive enjoyment in the present by (a) anticipating future positive events before these events happen, (b) savoring the moment with one's own specific cognitive and behavioral savoring strategies while positive events are unfolding, and (c) reminiscing about past positive events after these events have occurred. Using the SBI, Bryant (2003) found that, compared to men, women feel more capable of enjoying positive outcomes in all three temporal domains—that is, by anticipating upcoming positive events, by savoring the moment, and by reminiscing about positive memories. Bryant and Veroff (2007) reported that these gender differences in SBI scores have been consistently found in a variety of Western countries, including the United States, Canada, and Australia, as well as in the East-Asian country of Japan.

Regarding the dimensionality of the savoring construct, researchers have argued different points of view. Quoidbach, Berry, Hansenne, and Mikolajczak (2010) considered Parrott's process of (1993) "dampening," which emphasizes subduing one's positive emotions, and Bryant and Veroff's (2007) process of savoring, which emphasizes amplifying and prolonging positive emotional experiences, as two separate constructs in positive emotion regulation. On the other hand, Bryant and Veroff (2007) described "Kill-Joy Thinking" as a type of dampening savoring response. Developing and validating the Ways of Savoring Checklist (WOSC), which measures thoughts and behaviors in response to positive events, Bryant and Veroff (2007) defined savoring responses as multidimensional, consisting of ten different subscales (i.e., Sharing with Others, Memory Building, Self-Congratulation, Comparing, Sensory-Perceptual Sharpening, Absorption, Behavioral Expression, Temporal Awareness, Counting Blessings, and Kill-Joy Thinking). Yet, the positive psychology literature currently lacks research on cross-cultural applications of savoring responses.

Universal Gender Differences

Research has documented a variety of gender differences in human characteristics, such as social behavior, personality, and abilities (Eagly, 1995). Eagly and Wood (1999) suggested two theories about the source of sex differences—namely, evolutionary psychology and social structural theory—both of which suggest that gender differences stem from interactions between biological and environmental factors that produce "adjusting factors" intended to promote survival. However, the two theoretical perspectives differ in their assumptions about the nature and timing of the specific adjusting factors that lead to sex-differentiated behavior (Eagly & Wood, 1999). For instance, evolutionary psychologists maintained that the human species genetically possessed gender-specifically evolved dispositions or mechanisms that were fundamental causes of universally sex-differentiated behaviors, since two sexes have evolved to maximize their survival and reproductive success (Tooby & Cosmides, 1992). According to evolutionary theorists, these adaptive psychological mechanisms and sex-differentiated behaviors have arisen as universal attributes since the earliest primeval environments (Eagly & Wood, 1999).

On the other hand, in developing social structural theory, Eagly and Wood (1999) argued that social structure and different gender roles might cause psychological sex differences that reflect cultural variations. Due to physical differences, such as men's greater size and strength and women's childbearing and lactation, social structural theorists maintained that sex-differentiated roles had been created from social structures (Eagly, 1987). Particularly, from the interactions with social conditions within the context of shared cultural beliefs, biological differences between men and women might separately advance the efficiency of certain activities that established gender roles and labor divisions (Eagly & Wood, 1999).

Gender Differences in Emotional Experiences and Savoring

Grossman and Wood (1993) have used social role theory to explain sex differences in emotional experience. In general, research has demonstrated that women report more intense emotions than men and are more likely to express and seek out emotional experiences (Eagly & Wood, 1982). These gender differences in emotion may be a consequence of traditional sex- roles, such as the caretaker role of women. For example, relative to men, women may show greater emotional sensitivity and expressiveness, because women's traditional caretaker role required emotion-related skills, which are associated with beliefs and expectations that women should be more responsive to their own emotions and others' emotions (Eagly & Wood, 1982). Due to differential social beliefs and expectations regarding male and female roles, sex differences in emotional experiences may have arisen (Grossman & Wood, 1993).

Moreover, from the perspective of social constructivist theory, these sexdifferentiated emotional experiences are also regulated by social norms within a given culture (Alexander & Wood, 2000). Traditionally, Asian cultures have also emphasized dampening of positive emotions (Miyamoto & Ma, 2011), in terms of valuing a regulated and humble mind. In this cultural context, Asian individuals may well report the use of Bryant and Veroff's (2007) "Kill-Joy Thinking" as a savoring response to positive events, which would dampen positive emotions (Bryant & Veroff, 2007). Literature has also shown that kill-joy thinking reduces one's subjective happiness (Jose, Lim, & Bryant, 2012). Therefore, in the current study, a path model was hypothesized, in which Korean females (relative to males) would more strongly reject traditional Asian values, which would predict lower levels of dampening for females, which would in turn predict greater happiness for females.

Gender and Cultural Values in Korea

Cross-cultural literature has suggested that men generally have more social power than women across many cultures (Rosaldo & Lamphere, 1974), although social psychologists have argued that patriarchal social structure is not a universal tendency (Wood & Eagly, 2002). Throughout its long history, Chinese Confucianism, which emphasizes strict gender-role differentiation and patriarchal social norms, has influenced many Asian countries (Kim, 1997). As a result, Korean traditional cultural values have also been embedded in these gender-differentiated Confucianism norms, and traditionally, having sons was preferred over having daughters in Korean families among older generations.

According to Stacki and Monkman (2003), in the process model of empowerment and change, education generally facilitates changes in the status quo and promotes gender equity. Women have traditionally been denied access to higher education in traditional Korean society, as was the case in Western societies. As a result of the pervasive impact of globalization, Western values have been challenging traditional Korean values, especially among younger generations. Contrary to the Korean traditional values, Western values accentuate individual achievement and independence and emphasize gender equity. Living in an era of conflicts between traditional and new Westernized values, Korean males and females may differentially react by either conforming or rejecting traditional values. For example, Korean females relative to Korean males may be more likely to reject traditional Asian values because Korean females might gain more from the empowerment that rejecting these values provides, whereas Korean males derive greater power from the status quo within the context of Korean traditional values.

Happiness as a Product of Culture

Across cultures, most human beings may universally prefer positive emotions while avoiding negative emotions (Larsen, 2000), although emotions are products of culturally shared experiences embedded in each cultural context (Uchida, Norasakkunkit, & Kitayama, 2004). As is the case with other positive or negative emotional experiences, happiness may thus be a product of culture and social norms. Regarding cognitive, emotional, and motivational differences between individuals in Eastern versus Western cultures, Markus and Kitayama (1991) emphasized that Eastern cultures more strongly value interdependence and connectedness of the self with others, while Western cultures more strongly value the individual self and independence. Specifically, understanding "good feelings," one's subjective well-being and happiness, in both cultures are associated with different self-related constructs; for example, Japanese typically report calm and friendly feelings as "good," while Americans more often reported feelings of pride and accomplishment as "good" (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000). In fact, in Western literature, one's subjective happiness is understood as a matter of self-oriented cognitive and motivational processes (Lyubomirsky, 2001). Thus, Westerners may believe that personal happiness is primarily gained through personal achievement, whereas in Asian culture, personal happiness is interpreted as an "inter-subjective state" and constructed by realizing social harmony in relationships (Uchida et al., 2004).

In addition to these different constructs of happiness across Eastern and Western cultures, one's expression of happiness may also vary. For instance, Westerners, on the one hand, may savor and amplify their positive emotion or events by celebrating with others and explicitly expressing excitement through physical and verbal behaviors, such as jumping, waving their arms, or shouting. On the other hand, overt expression of happiness or exaggerated self-congratulation among Easterners in response to personal achievement can be negatively interpreted by others and may worsen social relationships, in terms of violating social norms, such as modesty and social harmony among collectives.

Along these lines, Korean participants, who live in a collectivistic culture that values interdependence and social connectedness, may choose "Kill-Joy Thinking" as a culturally appropriate way of savoring, in order to dampen positive emotional experiences. Individuals who embrace traditional Korean values may also purposefully endorse lower levels of subjective happiness, reporting that they are not as happy as they might be in order to conform to social norms, compared to individuals who do not embrace these traditional Asian values. In particular, traditional Korean values embrace the Confucian belief in dialecticism, which asserts that the world consists of co-existing opposites that must inevitably lead from one to another (Chen, Benet-Martinez, Wu, Lam, & Bond, 2013). Individuals who hold dialectical beliefs may be motivated to downplay positive events and dampen positive feelings, in order to avoid intensifying and prolonging the opposite (negative) experiences which they believe must inevitably follow. These differences in culture values may produce differences in savoring beliefs, in savoring responses to positive events, and in reported levels of subjective happiness.

The Purpose of Current Study

This study aims to compare savoring beliefs, savoring responses, and levels of happiness, across gender among Korean college students. Although Bryant and Veroff's (2007) book, "Savoring: A New Model of Positive Experience," was translated into Korean in 2010 ("인생을 향유하기"; Kwon, Lim, & Ha, 2010), the concept of savoring is new to Korean culture and has not been studied among Korean samples. Because the notion of savoring is largely a product of Western culture, it is important to understand Koreans' savoring beliefs, savoring responses, and the relationship between savoring and happiness from a Korean cultural perspective framed in terms of Asian cultural values.

Hypothesis 1. In the present study, I hypothesized that there would be gender differences in the level of savoring beliefs, specifically, in scores on a Korean version of the Savoring Beliefs Inventory (SBI; Bryant, 2003). In order to ensure a meaningful gender comparison of levels of savoring beliefs, I sought first to establish the gender invariance of factor loadings in the measurement of savoring beliefs. I hypothesized that Korean women would be more likely to endorse savoring beliefs than Korean men, whereas Korean men would tend to reject savoring beliefs.

Hypothesis 2. I hypothesized that there would be gender differences in dampening and amplifying of savoring responses. In order to ensure a meaningful gender comparison of savoring responses, I sought first to establish the gender invariance of factor loadings in the measurement of savoring responses. In particular, I hypothesized that Korean men would report a greater use of dampening strategies as assessed by a Korean version of the Ways of Savoring Checklist (WOSC; Bryant & Veroff, 2007), compared to Korean women. I also hypothesized that Korean women would report a greater use of amplifying strategies from the WOSC, compared to Korean men.

Hypothesis 3. I hypothesized that Korean women would more strongly reject traditional Asian values as assessed by a Korean version of the Asian Value Scale (AVS; Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999) than will Korean men, reflecting women's stand against

gender-role differentiation and patriarchal norms in rejecting traditional values in order to gain greater empowerment. On the other hand, I assumed that Korean men would endorse more collectivist social norms on the AVS than would Korean women. Before comparing the means of AVS across genders, I sought first to establish the gender invariance of factor loadings in the measurement of Asian values, in order to ensure a meaningful gender comparison of the levels of these values.

Hypothesis 4. Hypothesis 4 combined the first three hypotheses into an integrated path model linking gender to Asian values, Asian values to savoring responses, and savoring responses to subjective happiness. In particular, Hypothesis 4 included two related hypotheses about indirect effects—Hypothesis 4a tested two-path indirect effects of gender on savoring responses mediated by Asian values, and Hypothesis 4b examined a three-path mediational model of indirect effects whereby gender predicted Asian values, which predicted savoring responses, which in turn predicted subjective happiness.

Generally, traditional Asian values emphasize dampening of positive emotions (Miyamoto & Ma, 2011) so as to *decrease* the intensity of positive feelings, whereas Western culture stresses amplifying of positive emotions in savoring responses (Bryant, 2003; Bryant & Veroff, 2007) so as to *increase* the intensity of positive feelings. In the previous Hypothesis 3, I predicted that Chinese Confucianism would motivate Korean women more than Korean men to reject traditional Asian values which support egalitarian sex roles and freedom of opportunity for females. Likewise, in Hypothesis 4a, I predicted that Korean women's rejection of traditional Asian values would subsequently influence their savoring responses, specifically by decreasing their use of dampening strategies. Given that savoring predicts higher levels of subjective happiness (Bryant, 1989, 2003; Bryant & Veroff, 2007; Jose, Lim, & Bryant, 2012), Korean participants' greater use of dampening as a savoring strategy, more specifically "Kill-Joy Thinking" (Bryant & Veroff, 2007), should predict lower levels of reported subjective happiness, relative to Western samples. Therefore, this study tested a hypothesized three-path model in hypothesis 4b, in which Korean women relative to men more strongly reject traditional Asian values, which predict lower levels of dampening for these women, which in turn predict greater female happiness.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS

Participants

Survey data were collected from 296 Korean participants in summer 2012 in Seoul, South Korea. However, survey data for only 288 respondents were analyzed in hypothesis testing, due to incomplete data for 2.7% of the sample. Participants were undergraduate students of four different Korean universities, and data collection at these various universities was approved by the IRB at Loyola University Chicago. At Seoul National University, Ewha Women's University, and Seoul National University of Science and Technology, participants who attended an introductory psychology or an English course were recruited in class. At Inha University, participants were recruited at the library. Participants were provided informed consent and had to be at least 18 years of age to take part in the research.

Procedures

Adopting the back-translation method, which checks the equivalence of meaning in cross-cultural translation (Brislin, 1970), all the English measures were translated into Korean by the bilingual researcher and then back-translated to English afterward by a second bilingual Korean. The researcher collected the informed consent forms at the beginning of the study, and asked participants to complete the survey questionnaire either in class or later at the library. Participants were informed that the survey was anonymous and their survey responses would remain confidential. In exchange for voluntary participation in the study, a free ball-point pen was offered to each participant. At the end of the study, the researcher debriefed participants and described the study hypotheses.

Measures

Cultural values. The Asian Value Scale (AVS; Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999) was used to assess cultural values associated with Korean respondents' ethnic and cultural beliefs, including conformity to norms, family recognition through achievement, emotional self-control, collectivism, humility, and filial piety (see Appendix A for a copy of the AVS). The AVS consists of 36 statements to which respondents indicate their level of agreement, using a 7-point scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree.

Savoring beliefs. The Savoring Beliefs Inventory (SBI; Bryant, 2003) was used to measure individuals' perceived capacity to savor positive experiences in terms of their ability to derive enjoyment through anticipating future positive events, enjoying positive events in the moment, and reminiscing about past positive events (see Appendix A for a copy of the Korean Savoring Beliefs Inventory). This measure consists of 24 statements that respondents rate in terms of how true these statements are for them personally, using a 7-point scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree. Of the 24 SBI items, 8 items assess future-focused savoring through anticipation, 8 items assess presentfocused savoring of the moment, and 8 items assess past-focused savoring through reminiscence (Bryant, 2003). Within each of these three temporal domains, half of the items reflect the endorsement of savoring beliefs, whereas the other half reflect the rejection of savoring beliefs (Bryant, 2003).

Savoring responses. The Ways of Savoring Checklist (WOSC; Bryant & Veroff, 2007) was used to measure participants' savoring responses (see Appendix A for a copy of the Korean Ways of Savoring Checklist). The 56 close-ended WOSC items assess cognitive and behavioral responses to a recent positive event. Respondents rate each savoring response in terms of the degree to which it applies to their personal experience of the positive event, using a 7-point scale ranging from (1) definitely doesn't apply, to (4) applies somewhat, to (7) definitely applies.

Subjective happiness. The Subjective Happiness Scale (SHS; Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999) was used to assess participants' levels of happiness (see Appendix A for a copy of the SHS). Participants responded to each of the four items constituting the Subjective Happiness Scale using a 7-point scale, with higher scores indicating greater subjective happiness. The first item of the SHS, "In general, I consider myself...," measures the extent to which respondents generally consider themselves to be a happy versus unhappy person, ranging from (1) not a happy person to (7) a very happy person. The second item, "Compared to most of my peers, I consider myself...," used a response scale ranging from (1) less happy to (7) more happy. The third item, "Some people are generally very happy. They enjoy life regardless of what is going on, getting the most out of everything. To what extent does this characterization describe you?" used a response scale ranging from (1) not at all to (7) a great deal. The fourth item, "Some people are generally not very happy. Although they are not depressed, they never seem as happy as

they might be. To what extent does this characterization describe you?" used a response scale ranging from (1) not at all to (7) a great deal. Reverse-scoring this fourth item, higher scores indicated greater Western-style happiness (Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999).

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

Measurement Modeling

As a means of developing composite measures of underlying common factors for each self-report instrument (i.e., the Asian Values Scale, Savoring Beliefs Inventory, Ways of Savoring Checklist, and Subjective Happiness Scale), I used principal axis factoring (PAF) with promax rotation that allowed latent factors to be correlated and maximized the common variance that the factors explained (Thompson, 2004). Horn's (1965) parallel analysis, which is considered the optimal method for determining the most appropriate number of underlying factors (Dinno, 2009), was conducted to identify the underlying structures and subscales for each self-report instrument. In particular, PARAN, a plug-in of the Visual Statistics System (Young, Valero-Mora, & Friendly, 2006), was used to conduct nonparametric Monte Carlo parallel analysis of responses to each instrument by generating 1,000 random data sets each with N = 288, based on multivariate permutations of the sample data.

Asian values scale. From PAF with promax rotation and the parallel analysis, four factors were extracted for the set of 36 items constituting the Asian Values Scale (Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999; AVS). However, only the first three factors were found to be reliable enough to use in data analyses. The first factor, labeled "Conformity to Collectivist Social Norms," consisted of eight items with loadings above .40 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .76$): "One should avoid bringing displeasure to one's ancestors," "Following familial and social expectations is important," "One should not make waves," "The worst thing one can do is bring disgrace to one's family reputation," "One should think about one's group before oneself," "One's achievements should be viewed as family's achievements," "Children should not place their parents in retirement homes," and "One should not deviate from familial and social norms." The second factor, labeled "Rejection of Traditional Asian Values," was comprised of seven items ($\alpha = .75$): "One need not focus all energies on one's studies," "Younger persons should be able to confront their elders," "Elders may not have more wisdom than younger persons," "Educational and career achievements need not be one's top priority," "Parental love should be implicitly understood and not openly expressed," "Family's reputation is not the primary social concern," and "One should be able to question a person in an authority position." The third factor, labeled "Humility," consisted of two items ($\alpha = .72$, r = .57, p < .001)—"One should not be boastful," and "One should be discouraged from talking about one's accomplishments." The fourth factor, labeled "Rejection of Family Expectations," consisted of three items; "One need not conform to one's family's and the society's expectation," "One need not follow the role expectations (gender, family hierarchy) of one's family, " and " One need not achieve academically to make one's parents proud." However, as noted above, this last factor was excluded from the analysis due to low reliability ($\alpha = .54$).

Savoring beliefs inventory. The results of PAF with promax rotation suggested that four reliable factors underlie responses to the 24 items constituting the Korean

version of the Savoring Beliefs Inventory (SBI; Bryant, 2003), and the parallel analysis confirmed the appropriateness of retaining four factors. The first factor, labeled "Endorsement of Amplification," consisted of twelve items—"I can make myself feel good by remembering pleasant events from my past," "I like to store memories of fun times that I go through so that I can recall them later," "I enjoy looking back on happy times from my past," "I know how to make the most of a good time," "It's easy for me to rekindle the joy from pleasant memories," "I can make myself feel good by imagining what a happy time that is about to happen will be like," "When something good happens, I can make my enjoyment of it last longer by thinking or doing certain things," "I can enjoy pleasant events in my mind before they actually occur," "I feel fully able to appreciate good things that happen to me," "It's easy for me to enjoy myself when I want to," "Before a good thing happens, I look forward to it in ways that give me pleasure in the present," and "I feel a joy of anticipation when I think about upcoming good things"—that endorsed amplification of savoring positive emotional experiences ($\alpha = .87$).

The second factor, labeled "Rejection of Cognitive Elaboration," contained six items—"I find that thinking about good times from the past is basically a waste of time," "For me, once a fun time is over and gone, it's best not to think about it," "I don't like to look back at good times too much after they've taken place," "I can't seem to capture the joy of happy moments," "When it comes to enjoying myself, I'm my own 'worst enemy'," and "For me, anticipating what upcoming good events will be like is basically a waste of time"—that were related to reject one's cognitive elaboration of savoring ($\alpha = .83$).

The third factor, labeled "Rejection of Positive Affective Consequences," included four items—"When I reminisce about pleasant memories, I often start to feel sad or disappointed," "I don't enjoy things as much as I should," "It's hard for me to hang onto a good feeling for very long," and "When I think about a pleasant event before it happens, I often start to feel uneasy or uncomfortable"—that rejected the amplification of positive feelings ($\alpha = .73$).

The fourth factor, labeled "Rejection of Anticipation," included two items—"It's hard for me to get very excited about fun times before they actually take place," and "I don't like to look forward to good times too much before they happen"—that rejected future-focused savoring and active anticipation of positive events ($\alpha = .76$, r = .62, p < .001).

The ways of savoring checklist. Both PAF with promax rotation and the parallel analysis revealed that seven dominant factors underlie responses to the 56 items constituting the Korean version of the Ways of Savoring Checklist (WOSC; Bryant & Veroff, 2007). The first factor, "Broadband Dampening," consisted of ten items—"I withdrew and inhibited my feelings (stiffened up)," "I told myself how it wasn't as good as I'd hoped for," "I thought about things that made me feel guilty," "I reminded myself of other places I should be or of other things I should be doing instead," "I focused on the future--on a time when this good event would be over," "I thought about other things that were hanging over me, problems and worries that I still had to face," "I reminded myself that it would be over before I knew it," "I told myself why I didn't deserve this good thing," "I compared myself to others (asked myself 'Am I enjoying this as much as they

are?')," and "I tried to speed up and move more quickly"—that endorsed kill-joy thinking as a general dampening strategy in response to positive events ($\alpha = .84$).

The second factor, "Broadband Amplifying," included seven items—"I thought about what a triumph it was," "I said a prayer of thanks for my good fortune," "I reminded myself how lucky I was to have this good thing happen to me," "I reminded myself what a relief it was," "I told myself how proud I was," "I thought about what a lucky person I am that so many good things have happened to me," and "I told myself how impressed others must be"—endorsing cognitive savoring responses that serve to amplify positive emotions ($\alpha = .81$).

The third factor, labeled "Awareness of Temporal Fleetingness and Memory Building," included nine items—"I thought how I wished this moment could last-reminded myself how I must enjoy it now because it would soon be over," "I thought about how fast the time was passing," "I reminded myself that nothing lasts forever so I must enjoy this now," "I tried to memorize my surroundings," "I thought about how things might never be this good again," "I reminded myself how transient this moment was--thought about it ending," "I thought about what a good time I was having," "I took photographs with a camera to capture the experience," and "I took mental photographs"—reflecting perceptions of the scarcity of time during positive events, as well as the active encoding of positive details of these experiences for later recall ($\alpha = .83$).

The fourth factor, labeled "Sensory-Perceptual Sharpening and Absorption," consisted of nine items—"I tried to focus on certain sensory properties in particular

(perhaps blocking out others)," "I thought only about the present--got absorbed in the moment," "I made myself relax so that I could become more absorbed in the event or activity," "I concentrated and blocked out distractions; I intensified one sense by blocking another," "I tried to take in every sensory property of the event (sights, sounds, smells, etc.)," "I closed my eyes, relaxed, took in the moment," "I opened my eyes wide and took a deep breath--tried to become more alert," "I just went through the experience one moment at a time and tried not to look too far ahead," and "I tried to slow down and move more slowly (in an effort to stop or slow down time)"—reflecting active efforts to block out distracting stimuli in order to become more fully engrossed in the moment ($\alpha = .83$).

The fifth factor, labeled "Behavioral Expression." included four items—"I screamed or made other verbal expressions of excitement," "I touched myself - rubbed my stomach, clapped my hands, etc.," "I sighed or made other verbal sounds of appreciation to help myself savor the moment (e.g., saying mmm, aahh, humming or whistling)," and "I jumped up and down, ran around or showed other physical expressions of energy"— reflecting outward physical manifestations of positive emotions ($\alpha = .83$).

The sixth factor, labeled "Sharing with Others," consisted of three items—"I thought about sharing the memory of this later with other people," "I looked for other people to share it with," and "I talked to another person about how good I felt"— reflecting spontaneous verbal communication of positive emotions to other people present in the moment ($\alpha = .79$).

The seventh factor, labeled "Past-Focused Mental Time Travel," consisted of two items—"I thought back to events that led up to it--to a time when I didn't have it and wanted it," and "I reminded myself how long I had waited for this to happen"—reflecting awareness of an earlier time before the positive event had actually occurred and when it was only hoped for ($\alpha = .82$, r = .69 p < .001).

Subjective happiness scale. Both PAF and parallel analysis revealed only one underlying factor for the Korean version of the four-item Subjective Happiness Scale (SHS; Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999). However, reliability analysis revealed that the composite SHS subscale was more reliable when excluding the fourth item—i.e., "Some people are generally not very happy. Although they are not depressed, they never seem as happy as they might be. To what extent does this characterization describe you?"—than when including all four SHS items ($\alpha = .82$ versus .79, respectively). Although the authors of the SHS originally proposed utilizing a total score based on all four items (reverse-scoring the fourth item) based on data from American samples, in the current Korean sample, the fourth item appears to reflect more than simply the opposite of the endorsement of happiness (as assessed by the first three SHS items).

Indeed, the fourth SHS item specifically reflects an expression of happiness that is entirely normative for traditional Korean culture, whereby respondents present themselves as being below the highest possible level of happiness they could attain, due to the cultural norm of humility and Confucian beliefs in dialecticism (Chen et al., 2013). The first three SHS items, in contrast, reflect striving toward maximum levels of happiness and represent endorsements of subjective happiness that are normatively appropriate for Western culture, but that are not culturally normative for Korean respondents. For this reason, instead of reverse-scoring responses to the fourth item and summing it along with responses to the first three items to obtain a total happiness score, SHS item #4 was treated as a culturally-appropriate measure of normative Korean subjective happiness and was used without reverse-scoring to represent normative endorsements of happiness for the present Korean sample.

Testing Gender Invariance of Factor Loadings for Composite Measures

Comparison of males' and females' scores on a composite measure assumes that the items that compromise the composite measure have the same meaning (i.e., the same factor loadings) for both genders. Metric invariance (Bontempo & Hofer, 2007), which concerns the degree to which a one-unit change in the underlying factor is associated with a comparable change in measurement units for the same given item for males and females, is necessary, in order to be sure that the subscale scores being compared mean the same thing for males and females. Otherwise, comparisons of means scores across gender are uninterpretable.

Before proceeding with analyses of gender differences in the composite measures of Asian values, savoring beliefs, and savoring responses, I therefore tested whether each of the items for the composite subscales reflecting these constructs showed equivalent factor loadings (i.e., metric invariance) for males and females. Specifically, I used multigroup confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) via LISREL 8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1996) to compare the goodness-of-fit of two one-factor measurement models for each separate, composite subscale—(1) a baseline (noninvariant) model that freely estimated the factor loadings for males and females, and (2) a nested (invariant) comparison model that constrained the factor loadings to be equal for males and females. Following the recommendations of Cheung and Rensvold (2002), I contrasted the value of the comparative fit index (CFI; Bentler, 1990) for each of these two models, using the difference in CFI values (Δ CFI) of < 0.01 to infer metric invariance (Conley, Kirsch, Dickson, & Bryant, 2014). Because estimating a one-factor CFA model requires at least three items, I assessed the gender invariance of two-item subscales by directly comparing the size of the correlation between the two items for males and females using a *Z* test for independent correlation coefficients (Fisher, 1921).

Asian values. Two of the three AVS subscales consisted of three or more items, while one AVS subscale consisted of only two items. For the first AVS subscale consisting of three or more items, Conformity to Collectivistic Social Norms, the difference in CFI values between the invariant and noninvariant CFA models was .0115, which exceeds the < .01 criterion for inferring metric invariance. Item-level analyses revealed that only one of the 9 constituent items (AVS26) produced noninvariant loadings for males and females. Omitting this item from the subscale yielded an 8-item CFA model that produced gender invariant factor loadings (Δ CFI = .0007). Demonstrating that the omission of AVS26 does not alter the conceptual content of the Conformity to Collectivistic Social Norms subscale, the 8- and 9-item unit-weighted versions of this subscale correlated 0.99. Cronbach's α for the 8-item of Conformity to Collectivistic Social Norms subscale was .76. For the Rejection of Traditional Asian Values subscale, the difference in CFI values between the invariant and noninvariant

CFA models (i.e., Δ CFI = .0031) met the < .01 criterion for inferring metric invariance. Finally, the correlation between the two items constituting the Humility subscale was equivalent for males (N = 137; r = .516) and females (N = 157; r = .638), Z = 1.56, p >.11. These results support the conclusion that each of the three AVS subscales (when using the 8-item version of the Conformity to Collectivistic Social Norms subscale) has the same meaning for males and females, thus enabling an interpretable comparison of mean differences in Asian values as a function of gender.

Savoring beliefs. Three of the four SBI subscales consisted of three or more items, while one SBI subscale consisted of only two items. For all three of the WOSC subscales consisting of three or more items, the difference in CFI values between the invariant and noninvariant CFA models met the < .01 criterion for inferring metric invariance: Perceived Amplifying Ability (Δ CFI = .0021), Rejection of Cognitive Elaboration (Δ CFI = .0061), and Rejection of Positive Affective Consequences (Δ CFI = 0). In addition, the correlation between the two items constituting the Rejection of Anticipation subscale was equivalent for males (N = 137; r = .569) and females (N = 158; r = .612), Z = 0.66, p = .51. These results support the conclusion that each of the four SBI subscales has the same meaning for males and females, thus enabling an interpretable comparison of mean differences in savoring beliefs as a function of gender.

Savoring responses. Six of the seven WOSC subscales consisted of three or more items, while one WOSC subscale consisted of only two items. For all six of the WOSC subscales consisting of three or more items, the difference in CFI values between the invariant and noninvariant CFA models met the < .01 criterion for inferring metric

invariance: Broadband Dampening ($\Delta CFI = .0043$), Broadband Amplifying ($\Delta CFI = .0010$), Awareness of Temporal Fleetingness and Memory Building ($\Delta CFI = .0025$), Sensory-Perceptual Sharpening and Absorption ($\Delta CFI = .0003$), Behavioral Expression ($\Delta CFI = .0058$), and Sharing with Others ($\Delta CFI = 0$). In addition, the correlation between the two items constituting the Past-Focused Mental Time Travel subscale was equivalent for males (N = 134; r = .695) and females (N = 154; r = .692), Z = 0.05, p = .96. These results support the conclusion that each of the seven WOSC subscales has the same meaning for males and females, thus enabling an interpretable comparison of mean differences in savoring responses as a function of gender.

Subjective happiness. From the PAF analysis with promax rotation, the Westernstyle subjective happiness subscale consisted of three items, whereas the Korean measure of subjective happiness was distinguished with a single item (SHS item #4). The test of invariance in factor loadings for the one-factor CFA model for the 3-item Western-style Subjective Happiness Scale was conducted. The baseline noninvariant multigroup model had perfect fit (i.e., CFI = 1.00), whereas the comparison invariant multigroup model has CFI = .981, which produces $\Delta CFI = .019$ between the two models. Because this difference in CFI values exceeds the .01 threshold for inferring invariance, the results support that the 3-item SHS subscale is not gender invariant.

Descriptive Statistics

The results of descriptive analyses (N = 288), including variable means, standard deviations, and correlations between variables with significance tests, are reported in Table 1. The correlations between certain subscales provide evidence concerning the

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. SBI1 Endorsement																	
of Savoring	1																
2. SBI2 Rejection of																	
Cognitive Elaboration	31	1															
3. SBI3 Rejection of																	
Positive Affect	28	.50	1														
4. SBI4 Rejection of																	
Anticipation	29	.49	.34	1													
5. WOSC1																	
Dampening	.02	.59	.47	.28	1												
6. WOSC2																	
Amplifying	.44	.01	.05	14	.34	1											
7. WOSC3 Aware of																	
Temporal Fleetingness	.33	.05	.25	06	.37	.51	1										
8. WOSC4 Sensory-																	
Perceptual Sharpening	.40	.23	.12	.04	.46	.53	.55	1									
WOSC5 Behavioral																	
Expression	.16	.06	.08	05	.28	. 35	.35	.36	1								
10. WOSC6 Sharing																	
with Others	.31	14	.01	18	.05	.35	.31	.16	.37	1							
11.WOSC7 Past-																	
Focused MTT	.21	.02	.13	05	.35	.48	.38	.37	.30	.29	1						
12. AVS1 Conformity																	
to Collectivist Norms	.07	.19	02	.19	.18	.07	.05	.08	16	10	.11	1					
13. AVS2 Rejection of																	
Traditional Values	.13	45	12	26	32	05	02	17	.01	.15	07	27	1				
14. AVS3 Humility																	
	.02	.09	.09	.16	04	04	.04	.05	11	20	02	.28	11	1			
15. SHS Western-																	
Style Happiness	.48	08	37	02	02	.20	06	.18	.06	.07	.07	.08	03	07	1		
SHS Korean																	
Happiness	21	.34	.48	.14	.36	.01	.20	.10	.12	.04	.13	.02	18	.05	47	1	
17. Gender																	
	.15	35	02	31	16	.17	.16	03	.10	.20	.06	26	.25	08	10	04	1
M (Mean)	5.05	2.58	3.45	3.37	3.04	4.51	4.48	3.98	4.13	5.12	4.47	3.85	5.24	4.01	4.98	3.64	
SD(Standard	.91	1.15	1.25	1.43	1.14	1.21	1.25	1.17	1.62	1.39	1.64	.96	.87	1.15	1.18	1.60	
Deviation)	.91	1.15	1.25	1.43	1.14	1.21	1.25	1.1/	1.02	1.39	1.04	.90	.8/	1.15	1.18	1.00	

Table 1. Correlations among SBI, WOSC, AVS, and Gender (N = 288)

Note. N = 288. |rs| = .116 are significant at two-tailed p = .05. |rs| = .152 are significant at two-tailed p = .01. |rs| = .193 are significant at two-tailed p = .001.

convergent validity of these particular measures. With respect to *convergent* validity, for instance, the first subscale of SBI, "Endorsement of Savoring Beliefs," is significantly and positively correlated with the second subscale of WOSC, "Amplification of Positive Emotional Experiences," r = .44, p < .001, as would be expected if both subscales in fact reflect tendencies to intensify and prolong positive emotional experiences. In addition, there is a strong positive correlation between the second SBI subscale, "Rejection of Cognitive Elaboration," and the first WOSC subscale, "Dampening of Positive Emotional

Experiences," r = .59, p < .001, as would be expected if these subscales actually reflect what they are presumed to measure.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis 1: Gender differences in savoring. As predicted in the first hypothesis, Korean women scored higher on the Endorsement of Savoring Beliefs subscale of the SBI than did Korean men, t(286) = -2.54, p < .05, d = -0.30, r = -.15, whereas Korean men scored higher on the Rejection of Cognitive Elaboration subscale of the SBI than did Korean women, t(286) = 6.28, p < .001, d = 0.75, r = .35. Also confirming Hypothesis 1, Korean men scored higher on the Rejection of Anticipation subscale of the SBI than did Korean women, t(286) = 5.42, p < .001, d = 0.64, r = .31. Contrary to the Hypothesis 1, however, there was no significant gender difference on the SBI subscale assessing Rejection of Positive Affective Consequences, t(286) = 0.28, p = .78, d = 0.03, r = .02.

Hypothesis 2: Gender differences in savoring responses. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, Korean men reported higher levels of WOSC Broadband Dampening than did Korean women, t(286) = 2.63, p < .01, d = 0.31, r = .15; and Korean women, in contrast, reported a greater use of WOSC Broadband Amplifying than did Korean men, t(286) = -2.99, p < .01, d = -0.35, r = -.17. Along with the broadband amplifying strategies, two narrowband amplifying strategies revealed the same hypothesized pattern of gender differences: Korean women, compared to Korean men, reported greater use of the WOSC savoring strategies of: (1) Awareness of Temporal Fleetingness, t(286) =-2.65, p < .01, d = -0.32, r = -.16; and (2) Sharing with Others, t(286) = -3.45, p < .01, d = -0.41, r = -.20. Contrary to Hypothesis 2, no significant gender differences were found for the other three narrowband WOSC amplifying strategies: (1) Sensory-Perceptual Sharpening, t(286) = 0.46, p = .65, d = 0.05, r = .03; (2) Behavioral Expression, t(286) =-1.77, p = .08, d = -0.21, r = -.10; and (3) Past-Focused Mental Time Travel, t(286) =-1.03, p = .31, d = -0.12, r = -.06 (see Table 2).

 Table 2. Gender Comparison of Asian Values, Savoring Beliefs, and Savoring Responses, and Subjective Happiness (N = 288)

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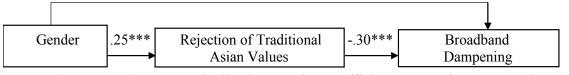
	Male $(N=134)$		Female $(N = 154)$						
								Cohen's	Effect-
	M	SD	М	SD	t	df	р	d	size r
Savoring Beliefs Inventory (SBI) Subscales									
1. Endorsement of Savoring 2. Rejection of Cognitive	4.91	.85	5.18	0.95	-2.54	286	.012*	-0.30	-0.15
Elaboration 3. Rejection of Positive	3.01	1.19	2.20	0.96	6.28	286^{\dagger}	<.001***	0.75	0.35
Affective Consequences	3.48	1.26	3.44	1.24	0.28	286	.783	0.03	0.02
4. Rejection of Anticipation	3.84	1.39	2.96	1.35	5.42	286	<.001***	0.64	0.31
Ways of Savoring Checklist (WOSC) Subscales									
1. Dampening	3.23	1.25	2.88	1.00	2.63	286^{\dagger}	.009**	0.31	0.15
 Amplifying Awareness of Temporal 	4.29	1.21	4.71	1.18	-2.99	286	.003**	-0.35	-0.17
Fleetingness 4. Sensory-Perceptual	4.27	1.23	4.66	1.23	-2.65	286	.009**	-0.32	-0.16
Sharpening	4.01	1.26	3.95	1.08	0.46	286	.647	0.05	0.03
Behavioral Expression	3.95	1.58	4.28	1.63	-1.77	286	.078	-0.21	-0.10
 6. Sharing with Others 7. Past-Focused Mental 	4.82	1.44	5.38	1.30	-3.45	286	.001**	-0.41	-0.20
Time Travel	4.37	1.66	4.56	1.62	-1.03	286	.305	-0.12	-0.06
Asian Value Scale (AVS) Subscales 1. Conformity to									
Collectivist Social Norms 2. Rejection of Traditional	4.11	1.00	3.61	0.86	4.54	286	<.001***	0.54	0.26
Asian Values	5.00	.90	5.45	0.79	-4.44	286	<.001***	-0.53	-0.25
3. Humility	4.11	1.23	3.92	1.06	1.40	286	.163	0.17	0.08
Subjective Happiness Scale (SHS) Subscales									
1. Western-Style Happiness	5.10	1.10	4.87	1.23	1.63	286	.104	0.20	0.10
2. Korean Happiness	3.71	1.64	3.58	1.56	0.69	286	.489	0.08	0.04

Note. ***p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .05. [†] indicates that due to significantly different gender differences in variances of SBI's Rejection of Cognitive Elaboration and WOSC's Dampening subscales, gender comparisons of the two dependent variables were analyzed with Welch's *t*-test, rather than Student's *t*-test, due to gender differences in the variances of these dependent variables.

Hypothesis 3: Gender differences in Asian values. As hypothesized, Korean women more strongly rejected traditional Asian values of Asian Value Scale than did Korean men, t(286) = -4.44, p < .001, d = -0.53, r = -.25. In order to stand against genderrole differentiation and patriarchal norms of traditional values and thereby gain more empowerment, Korean women tend to reject traditional values more than do Korean men. On the other hand, Korean men endorsed more traditional Asian values, particularly, collectivist social norms of AVS, than did Korean women, t(286) = 4.54, p < .001, d = 0.54, r = .26. There was no significant gender difference in humility, t(286) = 1.40, p = .16, d = 0.17, r = .08.

Figure 1. Mediation Model for Associations between Gender and Dampening of Positive Affects as Mediated by Rejection of Traditional Asian Values

Estimated Indirect Effect = -.17; BC 95% CI [-.31, -.08] -.16** (-.08^{ns})



Note. Values on paths are standardized regression coefficients. BC: Bias Corrected; 5000 bootstrap samples. Gender was coded as male = 0 and female = 1. ^{ns}Not statistically significant. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.

Hypothesis 4a: Indirect effects of Asian values on savoring responses. To

estimate the hypothesized mediational effects, Preacher and Hayes (2008) SPSS Macro for Multiple Mediation was employed using bias-corrected bootstrapping with 5,000 resamples, as well as a normal-theory Sobel (1988) test of the significance of the indirect effect (see Tables 3 and 4). As hypothesized, Korean participants' cultural values mediated the influence of gender differences on savoring responses (see Figure 1). In particular, participants' rejection of traditional Asian values significantly mediated the effect of gender on dampening, which represents the most dominant and culturally

appropriate savoring response among Korean participants, estimated indirect effect =

-.17, SE = .05, Z = 3.38, p < .001, bias corrected 95% CI [-.31, -.08].

Table 3. Mediation of the Effect of Gender on Savoring Responses through Conformity to Collectivist Social Norms (N=288)

	Coefficients				Point	Product of Indirect Coefficients (a-b)		Bootstrapping BC 95% CI	
Savoring Responses	а	b	с	c'	Estimate	SE	Z	Lower	Upper
Dampening	50***	.18*	35**	26	09	.04	-2.23*	19	02
Amplifying Awareness of	50***	.15*	.42**	.50***	07	.04	-1.82	18	006
Fleetingness Sensory-Perceptual	50***	.12	.39**	.45**	06	.04	-1.50	17	.01
Sharpening Behavioral	50***	.10	06	01	05	.04	-1.28	14	.02
Expression	50***	24*	.34	.22	.12	.06	2.12*	.03	.26
Sharing with Others	50***	07	.56***	.52**	.03	.04	.79	06	.13
Past-Focused	50***	.23*	.20	.32	12	.06	-2.02*	25	03

Note. BC = bias corrected, using 5,000 bootstrap resamples. ***p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .05.

Table 4. Mediation of the Effect of Gender on Savoring Responses through Rejection of Traditional Asian Values (N=288)

	Coefficients			Point	Bootstrapping BC 95% CI				
Savoring Responses	а	b	с	c'	Estimate	SE	Z	Lower	Upper
Dampening	.44***	39***	35**	18	17	.05	-3.38***	31	08
Amplifying Awareness of	.44***	14	.42**	.49**	06	.04	-1.55	16	.01
Fleetingness Sensory-Perceptual	.44***	09	.39**	.42**	04	.04	-1.01	14	.04
Sharpening Behavioral	.44***	24**	06	.04	11	.04	-2.47*	22	03
Expression	.44***	03	.34	.35	01	.05	22	13	.10
Sharing with Others	.44***	.18	.56***	.48**	.08	.05	1.71	01	.19
Past-Focused	.44***	17	.20	.27	07	.05	-1.40	20	.01

Note. BC = bias corrected, using 5,000 bootstrap resamples. ***p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .05.

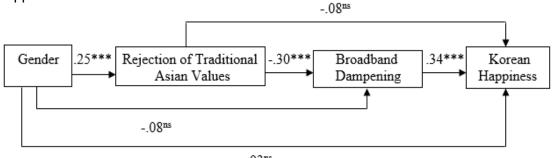
Hypothesis 4b: Indirect effects of Asian values on subjective happiness. To

test the hypothesized three-path model, path analysis via LISREL 8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 2006) and Sobel (1988) tests of the statistical significance of indirect effects among

gender, rejection of traditional Asian values, dampening, and Korean subjective

happiness were conducted. Although the exactly identified, "fully saturated" path model produced a perfect fit (i.e., $\chi^2 = 0$, df = 0) to the data (Bollen, 1989; Kline, 2011; Dinizulu, et al., 2013), I also estimated a nested three-path model (see Figure 3) that trimmed nonsignificant direct linkages in the baseline saturated model (see Figure 2), in pursuit of a more parsimonious model. Compared to the saturated model's perfect fit, the final three-path model (see Figure 3) did not provide a significantly worse fit to the data, $\Delta \chi^2(3) = 3.91$, p = .27, RMSEA = .03, SRMR = .03, CFI = .99, NNFI = .98. This more parsimonious path model is thus preferred (Bentler & Mooijaart, 1989).

Figure 2. Saturated 3-Path Model of Associations among Gender, Rejection of Traditional Asian Values, Dampening of Positive Affects, and Korean Subjective Happiness



.03ns

Note. Values on paths are standardized regression coefficients. Gender was coded as male = 0 and female = 1. Korean Happiness was assessed by item 4 of the Subjective Happiness Scale (Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999): "Some people are generally not very happy. Although they are not depressed, they never seem as happy as they might be. To what extent does this characterization describes you?" (1 = not at all; 7 = a great deal.) ^{ns}Not statistically significant. *** p < .001.

As predicted in hypothesis 4b, in the final three-path model, there was a

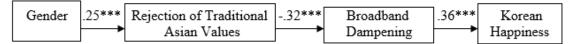
significant direct relationship between participants' gender and their rejection of

traditional Asian values (see Figure 3). In addition, indirect relationships among the

measured variables in the model also revealed significant results. First, participants'

rejection of traditional Asian values mediated the influence of their gender on Broadband Dampening, $\beta = -.32$, Sobel Z = 3.51, p < .0001. Second, Broadband Dampening mediated the link between Rejection of Traditional Asian Values and Korean subjective happiness, $\beta = .36$, Sobel Z = 4.33, p < .0001. Thus, relative to males, female Korean participants reported stronger rejection of traditional Asian values, which predicted less dampening of positive affects and consequently greater Korean subjective happiness. Because both of these indirect effects were statistically significant, a joint significance test thus indicates that the three-path mediational effect is also statistically significant (Taylor, MacKinnon, & Tein, 2008). Overall, the three-path model explained 6% of the variance in Koreans' rejection of traditional Asian Values, 10% of the variance in dampening of positive affects, and 13% of subjective happiness. Thus, the model produced small to moderate effect sizes in predicting Asian values, savoring responses, and happiness (Cohen, 1988).

Figure 3. Final Trimmed 3-Path Model of Associations among Gender, Rejection of Traditional Asian Values, Dampening of Positive Affects, and Korean Subjective Happiness



Note. Values on paths are standardized regression coefficients. Gender coded as male = 0 and female = 1. Korean Happiness was assessed by item 4 of the Subjective Happiness Scale (Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999): "Some people are generally not very happy. Although they are not depressed, they never seem as happy as they might be. To what extent does this characterization describes you?" (1 = not at all; 7 = a great deal.) The proportion of variance explained in each endogenous dependent variable was as follows: Rejection of Traditional Asian Values ($R^2 = .06$); Dampening ($R^2 = .10$); Korean Happiness ($R^2 = .13$). *** p < .001.

Additionally, a three-path model with Western-style subjective happiness was

analyzed, and compared to the saturated model's fit, the trimmed 3-path model with

Western-style happiness did not worsen the model fit, $\Delta \chi^2(3) = 4.94$, p = .18, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .041, GFI = .99, CFI = .96. In this Western-style happiness model relative to the hypothesis 4b's original Korean-style happiness model, Broadband Dampening did not significantly mediate the influence of Rejection of Traditional Asian Values on Western-style subjective happiness, $\beta = -.02$, Sobel Z = .36, $p > .05^{ns}$, and the three-path model explained 1% of the variance in Western-style happiness. Thus, this three-path model with Western-style happiness did not reveal significant mediation effects. Furthermore, there were no significant direct effects of gender (i.e., gender differences) on either the 3-item Western-style happiness subscale, t(286) = 1.63, p = .10, d = 0.20, r = .10, or the traditional Korean happiness item, t(286) = 0.69, p = .49, d =0.08, r = .04 (see Table 2).

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION

Relevant to the fields of positive psychology and cross-cultural psychology, the current study enhances our understanding of the relationships among gender, values within the context of culture, savoring responses, and happiness among Korean college students. Savoring beliefs and savoring responses are not only core constructs in the field of psychology (Bryant & Veroff, 2007), but are also novel conceptual frameworks within Korean culture. In light of the absence of research on Koreans' experiences of savoring in relation to happiness, this study's findings contribute to an understanding of cross-cultural similarities and differences in how individuals approach positive events and manage positive emotions.

Paralleling Eagly and Wood's (1999) observations concerning gender differences in emotional experience, Bryant and Veroff (2007) reported gender differences among Western samples in response to positive events, whereby males are more likely to use kill-joy thinking, a dampening strategy, and females are more likely to endorse cognitive and behavioral amplifying strategies. Replicating findings from these Western samples, the present study found the same pattern of gender differences in savoring responses among Korean participants. Moreover, the results of the current study indicate the gender differences that exist within Korean culture reflect males' and females' different orientations toward traditional cultural values. The present data reveal that Korean males and females endorse different values, which lead to different experiences in savoring positive events and ultimately to different levels of reported happiness.

The present study illuminates several important findings with respect to the impact of cultural values on savoring and happiness, and indicates that cultural values shape (a) beliefs about savoring capacity, (b) the specific savoring strategies used in response to positive events, and (c) levels of subjective happiness. First, the current study revealed that the endorsement of traditional Korean cultural values predicted lower perceived savoring capacity and greater use of dampening savoring strategies in response to positive events. Furthermore, Koreans' savoring was a unique experience compared to Westerners' savoring.

Noticeably, although Koreans did understand and share the Western paradigm of savoring beliefs and responses, Korean participants showed a distinct pattern of responses in relation to the constructs of savoring beliefs and strategies, compared to the patterns observed by Bryant and Veroff (2007) in their original studies with American participants. Regarding the relationship between cultural values and savoring responses, the present study demonstrated that although Korean females rejected Asian values more strongly than did males, these women did not more strongly endorse Western ways of savoring, such as amplifying positive emotional experiences through sensory-perceptual sharpening, behavioral expression, or past-focused mental time travel. Rather, Korean women who rejected traditional Asian values endorsed lower levels of traditional Korean ways of savoring, such as dampening of positive emotions, rather than higher levels of Western-style savoring. Thus, as hypothesized, culture shaped one's savoring responses in reaction to positive events in ways that remained normatively appropriate.

In addition, the current study demonstrates that the personal experience and expression of subjective happiness is uniquely determined by one's cultural values (Uchida & Kitayama, 2009). Specifically, the present data reveal differences between Korean participants' and Westerners' conception of subjective happiness in terms of Lyubomirsky and Lepper's (1999) Subjective Happiness Scale (i.e., SHS item #4 -"Some people are generally not very happy. Although they are not depressed, they never seem as happy as they might be. To what extent does this characterization describe you?"). This study found that it was inappropriate to use the Lyubomirsky and Lepper's (1999) recommended reverse-scoring of this SHS item to compute a SHS total score in the Korean sample. Rather, cultural differences in Koreans' interpretation of SHS item #4 led to the use of this item as a culturally normative measure of Korean subjective happiness. Nevertheless, paralleling the association between savoring and happiness that Bryant and Veroff (2007) emphasized, the current study found that Korean participants who used less dampening of positive emotional experiences also reported higher levels of subjective happiness.

The present study also contributes to the research literature in cross-cultural positive psychology through the development and preliminary validation of Korean versions of the Savoring Beliefs Inventory, the Ways of Savoring Checklist, and the Subjective Happiness Inventory. The availability of these measurement tools should facilitate future research not only investigating further the dynamics of savoring in the context of Korean culture, but also comparing more directly savoring processes across Korean and Western cultures.

There are some limitations to the present study that suggest potentially fruitful directions for future research. First, the current study used only self-reported measures of cultural values, savoring beliefs and responses, and subjective happiness, which mainly reflect cognitive aspects of participants' beliefs and attitudes towards the variables. For example, the Ways of Savoring Checklist (Bryant & Veroff, 2007) was used to assess one's savoring responses and strategies that would theoretically reflect their behavioral reactions (i.e., WOSC item - "I jumped up and down, ran around, or showed other physical expressions of energy.") in actual life events. However, there could be discrepancies between one's self-reported answers and one's behavioral responses to a real-life event. For this reason, it is important to develop and utilize behavioral measures of savoring responses and strategies, in order to overcome this limitation.

The present study also relied on measures of savoring beliefs and savoring responses that were originally developed using Western samples (Bryant, 2003; Bryant & Veroff, 2007) to assess these constructs in a Korean sample. Although this assessment approach yielded a set of reliable composite measures that partially resembled those found in Western samples, it did not allow the measurement of savoring beliefs and savoring responses that are unique to Korean culture. Future research has much potentially to gain from developing measures of savoring beliefs and responses that are specific to Korean culture, rather than adopting measures of these constructs that are grounded in the perspectives of Western culture. In particular, whereas the WOSC includes only a single dimension of cognitive dampening (i.e., "Kill-Joy Thinking"), there may well be multiple dimensions of emotional regulation (e.g., distraction, faultfinding, externalization, suppression; Quoidbach et al., 2010) that serve to dampen positive emotions in response to positive events among Korean adults. Assessing savoring responses that are specific to Korean culture might well facilitate a clearer and more in-depth understanding of the dynamics of savoring among Koreans.

In addition, the current study used a cross-sectional research design that is inherently correlational in nature. Future work might adopt a longitudinal research design in order to study relationships among key study variables prospectively. Along these lines, daily diary methods (Jose et al., 2012) and experience-sampling procedures (Bryant, Chadwick, & Kluwe, 2011) may prove valuable in clarifying the impact of savoring strategies on both momentary positive affects and long-term subjective happiness.

It should also be noted that although the present study assessed the degree to which participants endorsed traditional Asian values, it did not assess the degree to which participants endorsed Western values. Future research should also include a separate measure of Western values along with measures of Asian values, in order to determine whether or not the rejection of traditional Asian values found among Korean women is accompanied by greater endorsement of Western values.

Furthermore, the present study used only young adults who were enrolled in college in Korea. Future research using Korean samples should investigate the

39

associations among gender, cultural values, savoring, and happiness among older adults, who may well show a different pattern of results compared to younger samples.

In the current study, it was vital to translate English-language materials into Korean language by the process of back-translation, in order to resolve conceptual discrepancies or ambiguities of cross-cultural translation and thereby enhance the construct validity of the dependent measures (Brislin, 1970). However, the main issue that emerged from administering translated instruments from English to Korean was the observed cultural difference in Koreans' conception of subjective happiness, beyond the matter of accuracy in translation. Although it was suitable for this study to use SHS item #4 as a culturally normative measure of Koreans' subjective happiness, future research might develop a multi-item, culturally appropriate measure to assess Koreans' subjective happiness with greater conceptual breadth and reliability. APPENDIX A

KOREAN-TRANSLATED QUESTIONNAIRE INSTRUMENTS

The Savoring Beliefs Inventory

<u>작성요령</u>: 다음 각각의 문항을 읽고 당신에게 가장 잘 해당되는 숫자 하나에 표시해주십시오. 맞거나 틀린 답은 없습니다. 최대한 솔직하게 대답해 주십시오.

1. 곧 좋은 일이 생길 것을 떠올리면서 나는 지금 매우 기쁘다.

2. 나는 오래도록 좋은 기분을 유지하는 것이 매우 어렵다.

3. 나는 과거에 있었던 좋은 기억들을 떠올리는 것을 즐긴다.

4. 나는 어떤 좋은 일이 막상 생기기 전까지는 그 일을 떠올리며 미리 들떠하지 않는다.

5. 나는 좋은 일들을 즐길 줄 안다.

6. 나는 좋은 일이 생기고 난 후에는 그 일을 계속해서 회상하지 않는다.

7. 곧 생기게 될 좋은 일을 생각하면서 나는 기쁨을 느낀다.

8. 나는 무언가를 즐기려고 할 때마다 결과적으로 더 즐길 수 없게 된다.

9. 나는 과거의 기쁜일들을 기억함으로써 나 자신을 기분좋게 할 줄 안다.

10. 곧 생기게 될 좋은 일을 상상하는 것이 나에게는 시간 낭비같다.

11. 어떤 좋은 일이 생겼을 때, 나는 어떤 생각이나 행동을 함으로써 그 기쁨을 오래 간직하려 한다.

12. 행복한 기억들을 추억하면서 나는 종종 슬퍼지거나 실망스러울 때가 있다.

13. 기쁜 일들이 생기기 전에 나는 마음속으로 그 기쁨을 즐길 줄 안다.

14. 나는 행복한 순간순간의 기쁨을 즐길 수가 없다.

15. 나중에 다시 회상할 수 있도록 나는 즐거운 시간들을 기억하기를 좋아한다.
16. 어떤 신나는 일이 실제로 생기기 전까지는 나는 그것을 떠올리며 매우 들뜨지 않는다.

17. 나에게 생긴 좋은 일들을 감사하며 즐길 수 있다.

18. 과거에 있었던 좋은 일들을 떠올린다는 것은 시간낭비라 생각한다.

19. 나는 곧 있을 행복한 시간을 상상하면서 그 기쁨을 즐길 수 있다.

20. 나는 내가 즐길 수 있는 만큼을 실제 즐기지 못한다.

21. 즐거웠던 기억들로 부터 그 기쁨을 다시 불러일으키는 것은 나에게 쉬운 일이다.

22. 어떤 기쁜 일이 생기기도 전에 그 일을 생각할 때면, 나는 종종 불안해지거나 불편해진다.

23. 내가 원할 때, 좋은 기분을 즐긴다는 것이 나에겐 쉬운 일이다.

24. 일단 어떤 재밌었던 시간이 끝나거나 지나간 후에는, 나는 그것을 다시 생각하지 않는 게 최선이라 생각한다.

The Ways of Savoring Checklist

<u>작성 요령</u>: 다음 문항들은 사람들이 좋은 일들을 겪으면서 생각하거나 행동하는 것들에 대한 질문들을 포함하고 있습니다. 각 문항을 꼼꼼히 읽으시고, 당신이 위에 언급한 좋은 일을 겪으면서 생각하고 행동하였던 것들과 얼마나 잘 해당되는지 솔직하게 대답해 주시면 됩니다. 1. 그 일에 대한 기억들을 다른 사람들에게 들려줘야 겠다고 생각했다.

2. 나는 그 일에 관련된 모든 감각들 (시각, 청각, 후각 등)을 느끼기 위해 노력했다.

3. 나는 그 일이 일어나기를 얼마나 내가 기다렸었는지를 다시 떠올려보았다.

4. 나는 그 순간들이 얼마나 짧았는지 (빨리 지나갔는지) 를 다시 생각했다.

5. 나는 점프를 하거나 뛰거나 혹은 다른 방식으로 신체적 에너지의 표현을 했었다.

6. 나는 그 일이 일어나기 전 내가 그것을 얼마나 원했는지를 회상했다.

7. 나는 특정 감각들에 집중하려고 노력했다. 아마도 다른 감각들은 차단했을지도 모른다.

8. 나는 그 당시에 오직 그 상황에 집중하고 그 순간만을 생각했다.

9. 나는 이런 좋은 일이 나에게 생긴 것에 대해서 내가 얼마나 운이 좋은 사람인지 다시떠올렸다.

10. 나는 이렇게 좋은 일이 생길 만한 자격이 왜 없었는지를 스스로에게 되되었다.

11. 나는 그 일에 대해 다른 사람들에게 이야기하고 싶었다.

12. 나는 그 순간에 내가 나중에 그 일을 떠올리며 추억에 잠길 것이라고 생각했다.

13. 나는 그 일이 얼마나 다행이었는지 떠올렸다.

14. 나는 이 순간이 지속되면 얼마나 좋을지 생각했다. 그리고 그 기쁜 일이 곧 끝날 것을 알기에 그것을 그 순간에 즐겨야 한다고 생각했다.

15. 나는 웃거나 키득거렸다.

16. 나는 그 일이 더 나빴을 수도 있었다는 것을 생각했다.

17. 나는 더 주의를 기울이기 위해서 눈을 크게 뜨고 크게 심호흡을 하였다.

18. 나는 눈을 감고, 긴장을 풀고, 그 순간을 느꼈다.

19. 나는 그동안 나에게 많은 좋은 일들이 있었기에 내가 얼마나 운이 좋은지를 생각했다.

20. 나는 그 일이 더 좋게 되었을 수도 있다고 생각했다.

21. 나는 그 순간을 함께 해준 다른 사람들에게 얼마나 고마운지를 표현했다.22. 나는 세부적인 것들을 느끼고, 기억하고, (타인의 느낌 혹은 지난 일들과) 비교하기도 하면서 의도적으로 그 일을 깊게 생각했다.

23. 나는 자신 스스로 얼마나 자랑스러운지 되뇌었다.

24. 나는 내가 깨닫기도 전에 그 일이 곧 끝날 것임을 스스로 되뇌었다.

25. 나는 속도를 내어 더 빨리 움직이려고 노력했다.

26. 나는 이 좋은 일이 끝났을 미래의 시간에 집중했다.

27. 나는 속도를 줄이고 더 천천히 움직이려고 노력했다.

28. 나는 긴장을 풀었기에 그 일이나 활동에 푹 빠질 수 있었다.

29. 나의 행운에 대해 감사의 기도를 했다.

30. 나는 물러서서 내 감정들을 억제하였다. (경직되어 있었다)

31. 나는 어떤 일을 즐길 줄 아는 사람들과 함께 있었다.

32. 나는 그 일의 세부적인 것들을 명백하게 규정하였고 내가 즐기고 있었던
것이 어떤 것이었는지를 찾고 각각의 세부사항을 분명히 기록하려고 노력했다.
33. 나는 다른 사람들이 얼마나 감격했을지를 스스로 되뇌었다.

34. 나는 영원한 것은 없기에 이 순간을 지금 즐겨야 한다고 스스로 되되었다. 35. 나는 한숨을 쉬거나 다른 소리를 내어 ("와!", "야!" 혹은 "음…" 혹은

콧소리나 휘파람 등) 그 순간을 더 즐기려고 했다.

36. 나는 이 일과 관련되어 있는 다른 사람들도 역시 나처럼 생각하고 느끼는 중이라고 생각했다.

37. 나는 집중해서 주의가 산만해지지 않도록 하였다. 나는 다른 감각들은 억제하면서 하나의 감각에 초점을 두었다.

38. 나는 한 번에 하나씩 겪어가면서너무 빨리 앞서가지 않으려고 했다.

39. 나는 내가 기대했던 것 만큼은 그 일이 좋지 않다고 스스로 되뇌었다.

40. 나는 내 감정들을 다른 사람들과 포옹을 하거나 악수 등의 신체적 접촉을 하는 등으로 표현했다.

41. 나는 마음속으로 (그 순간들의) 사진을 찍었다.

42. 나는 그것이 얼마나 큰 성공/성과였는지를 생각했다.

43. 나는 시간이 얼마나 빠르게 지나고 있는지를 생각했다.

44. 나는 환호성을 외쳤거나 혹은 다른 언어적 표현으로 그 흥분된 마음을 나타냈다.

45. 나는 내 자신을 타인과 비교하면서 스스로에게 내가 다른 사람들만큼 이 일을 즐기고 있는지 되물었다.

46. 나는 내가 다른 곳에 있었어야 했다고 혹은 그 일 대신 다른 일을 하고 있어야 했다고 생각했다.

47. 나는 내가 얼마나 기쁜지를 다른 사람에게 이야기했다.

48. 나는 내 주변상황을 기억하려고 노력했다.

49. 나는 내가 왜 이런 좋은 일이 생길 자격이 있는지 스스로 되뇌었다.

50. 나는 내 감정을 내 신체적 행동으로 표현했다. 주먹을 쥐어 흔들거나 두 손을 모아 비비거나 박수를 치기도 했다.

51. 나는 과거에 있었던 기쁜 일들과 연결지어 생각하며 그 일들을 떠올렸다.

52. 나의 머릿속을 떠나지 않는 여전히 생각해야 하는 문제나 걱정들을 떠올렸다.

53. 나는 그 순간을 담아두기 위해 카메라로 사진을 찍었다.

54. 나는 내가 얼마나 좋은 시간을 즐기고 있는지 생각했다.

55. 나는 다시 없을 좋은 일이라고 생각했다.

56. 나는 스스로 죄책감을 느끼는 일들을 떠올렸다.

Asian Value Scale (AVS)

응답방법: 아래 기준을 각 항목에 적용시켜 번호를 기입해 주십시요.

1. 공부를 못하는 것은 집안을 부끄럽게 하는 일이 아니다.

2. 각 개인은 가족과 사회적 전통에서 벗어나지 말아야 한다. 3. 자녀들은 그들의 부모를 양로원에 보내서는 안된다. 4. 각 개인이 공부에만 몰두할 필요는 없다. 5. 자신의 성공담을 떠벌리는 행동은 자제되어야 된다. 6. 자기자신을 스스로 자랑해서는 안 된다. 7. 젊은 사람도 나이드신 분께 자기주장을 내세울 수 있어야 한다. 8. 선물을 받으면 그것에 상응 또는 그 보다 더 값비싼 선물로 보답해야 한다. 9. 각 개인은 가족과 사회적 전통에 따를 필요가 없다. 10. 부모를 기쁘게 하기 위해 학문적으로 성공 할 필요는 없다. 11. 자기 자신의 성공에 대해서 겸손해 하거나 평가절하 하지 않아도 된다. 12. 자기 자신보다 다른 사람의 요구와 필요를 먼저 고려해야 한다. 13. 학문적, 사회적 성공이 개인의 최우선 순위일 필요가 없다. 14. 개인보다는 단체가 우선되어야 한다. 15. 권위가 높은 사람에게도 따질 수 있어야 한다. 16. 겸손은 인간의 중요한 요소이다. 17. 개인의 성공은 가족모두의 성공으로 봐야한다. 18. 나이드신 분들이 젊은 사람보다 지혜롭지 않을 수 있다. 19. 가족구성원은 조상이름에 먹칠해서는 안 된다. 20. 각 개인은 가족과 사회의 기대에 따를 필요가 없다. 21. 각 개인은 정서적인 문제들을 해결하기 위해 내적으로 충분히 갖추어져야 한다. 22. 부모님의 사랑은 은연중에 표현되야지 공개적으로 표현되어서는 안 된다. 23. 가문의 명예를 훼손하는 것은 개인이 할 수 있는 가장 나쁜 행동이다. 24. 각 개인은 과묵하거나 조용히 있을 필요가 없다. 25. 개인의 감정을 조절할 수 있는 것은 강인함의 징표다. 26. 각 개인은 소박하고 겸손해야 한다. 27. 가문(가족)의 명예가 가장 중요한 사회적 관심사는 아니다. 28. 개인이 심리적인 문제들을 스스로 해결하지 않아도 된다. 29. 가족과 사회적인 기대에 따르는 것은 중요하다. 30. 개인이 다른 사람을 귀찮게 해서는 안 된다. 31. 직업상의 실패는 가족을 부끄럽게 하는 일이 아니다. 32. 개인은 성별이나 가족서열에 따른 가족의 기대에 따를 필요가 없다. 33. 개인은 문제를 일으켜서는 안된다. 34. 자녀들은 부모가 부모 자신들을 돌보지 못할 때 보살펴 드리지 않아도 된다. 35. 개인은 감정표현을 자제할 필요가 없다. 36. 가족이 개인이 신뢰하고 의지하는 가장 중요한 원천일 필요는 없다.

Subjective Happiness Scale

<u>작성요령</u>:다음의 질문을 읽고 당신을 가장 잘 표현해 줄 수 있는 곳에 표시하시오.

일반적으로, 나는 나자신을 다음과 같이 생각한다:
 나는 전혀 행복한 사람이 아니다나는 아주 행복한 사람이다
 대부분의 내 주변사람들에 비해서, 나는 나를 다음과 같이 생각한다.
 나는 그들보다 덜 행복하다나는 그들보다 더 행복하다
 아떤 사람들은 매우 행복하게 산다. 그들은 어떤 일이 있던지 상관없이 최선을
 다해 삶을 즐기려고 한다. 당신은 얼마나 그런 편인가?
 어떤 사람들은 불행하다. 그들이 우울증에 걸린 것은 아님에도 불구하고,
 그들이 행복할 수 있는 만큼 그들은 행복해 보이지 않는다. 당신은 얼마나 그런
 편인가?

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VITA

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After meeting with Dr. Fred B. Bryant at Loyola University Chicago, Kim was fascinated with Dr. Bryant's research on savoring and happiness in the field of positive psychology, and Kim further developed her interests in cross-cultural research on savoring and happiness. Currently, Kim is a doctoral student in the Social Psychology program at Loyola and continues to collaborate with Dr. Bryant.