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Wisdom, Cultural Synergy, and Social Change: A Taiwanese Perspective
(ACCEPTED DRAFT)

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Abstract

This study examined the relationships among wisdom, cultural synergy (i.e., incorporating lessons learned from different cultures), and social change by analyzing 220 “wisdom incidents” (i.e., real-life displays of wisdom) collected from a sample of Taiwanese adult participants reported by Yang (2008a). In the current study, wisdom is defined as a real-life process that encompasses three components: (a) cognitive integration—an individual cognitively incorporates separate or even conflicting ideas to form an integrated idea; (b) embodying actions—the same individual takes actions to implement the unified idea; and (c) positive effects for oneself and others—the embodying actions taken by the individual generating positive effects for the self as well as others. The 220 wisdom incidents were analyzed qualitatively for content related to cultures and cultural synergy. These incidents were also evaluated quantitatively for wisdom, cultural synergy, and social change. Subsequently, relationships among wisdom, cultural synergy, and social change were further evaluated with model-testing procedures using path analysis. The study’s results show that displays of wisdom were related to cultural synergy and social change. Displays of wisdom had: (a) a direct relationship with cultural synergy and social change; and (b) an indirect impact on social change through cultural synergy. The findings suggest that what one learns from both one’s own culture and other cultures is significantly related to cultural synergy which, in turn, is significantly related to the promotion of social change.

Keywords: wisdom, cultural synergy, social change, Taiwanese, mixed methods approach

Wisdom, Cultural Synergy, and Social Change: A Taiwanese Perspective

Wisdom pertains to the pursuit of the common good and serves to help people live meaningful and satisfying lives (Baltes, Staudinger, Maercker, & Smith, 1995; Mickler & Staudinger, 2008; Yang, 2013). Examples of wise endeavors appear in many cultures throughout human history (Sternberg & Glück, 2019). With transportation, international business and education, social media, and migration connecting individuals globally, people in today's world have unprecedented opportunities to experience and learn from diverse groups and cultures (Kuo, 2014). Cross-cultural contact and its consequences can affect people's wellbeing on a global scale, such as through the exchange of innovative ideas for solving global health and sociopolitical problems (Wang, Ng, & Brook, 2020). Significant displays of wisdom often transcend cultural boundaries, benefiting people across cultures and geographical regions (Yang, 2013). We might expect such displays of wisdom to be related to cross-cultural contacts or even "cultural synergy"—defined in the present study as acts that incorporate the lessons learned from different cultures. Although limited, previous research has found that many displays of wisdom have contributed positively to the larger society (Yang, 2008b, 2011). Hence, it stands to reason that displays of wisdom may promote positive social change. In this paper, we use "social change" to refer specifically to positive change which enhances social well-being. Taken together, it is speculated that wisdom can be found in concomitant with cultural synergy and social change. However, to date, the authors know of no research that has specifically investigated the associations among wisdom, cultural synergy, and social change. For this reason, the present study aims to address this issue by analyzing 220 wisdom incidents extracted from interviews conducted roughly two decades ago with 66 Taiwanese individuals, hereafter referred to as "wisdom nominees". Revisiting and reanalyzing these archival data, we posit and test the relationships among displays of wisdom, cultural synergy and social change using path analysis.

Defining Wisdom

Prevailing theoretical conceptualizations of wisdom are wide-ranging (e.g., Bangen, Meeks, & Jeste, 2013; McKenna, Rooney, & Kenworthy, 2013; Sternberg & Glück, 2019). In the psychological literature, wisdom has been defined as ego strength (Erikson, 1982), an internal resource (Glück & Bluck, 2014; Moraitou & Efklides, 2012), a detached way of thinking (Grossmann, Na, Varnum, Kitayama, & Nisbett, 2013), an overarching personality trait (Ardelt, 2003; Thomas, Bangen, Palmer et al., 2017; Webster, 2009). Others have described wisdom as a collective system of practical knowledge that is best preserved and transmitted through important historical texts (Baltes, Staudinger, Maercker, & Smith, 1995; Mickler & Staudinger, 2008), such as the Bible and the Koran. Sternberg (1998) defined wisdom as the application of intelligence, creativity, and tacit knowledge towards achieving the common good for humankind through balancing multiple interests. Wisdom has also been described as a real-life process that encompasses (a) an integrated idea, (b) actions embodying the integrated idea, and (c) positive effects generated from the embodying actions for oneself and others (Yang, 2008a).

Conceptions of wisdom in the literature can be categorized into two perspectives: person-based and endeavor-based (Yang, 2020). For instance, wisdom has been described in terms of ego strengths (Erikson, 1982), personal attributes (Ardelt, 2003; Webster, 2003), practical life knowledge (Baltes et al., 1995), ways of thinking (Grossmann et al., 2013), or internal resources (Glück & Bluck, 2014; Moraitou & Efklides, 2012). These definitions are *person-based definitions* as these are internal qualities of an individual. While discrete internal qualities such as personality traits or capabilities are important, it has been observed that even those with optimal qualities, capabilities, or personality traits of wisdom do not necessarily behave wisely in every real-life situation (Reynolds & Karraker, 2003).

Contrasting with the person-based view of wisdom, an endeavor-based view of wisdom

(Yang, 2008a, 2014) contends that wisdom is a phenomenon existing in the interaction between an individual and the situation faced by the individual. On this basis, wisdom cannot be evaluated in isolation solely based on a person's internal qualities/attributes. Under this definition, wisdom is a real-life process that encompasses three components: (a) cognitive integration—an individual cognitively incorporates separate or even conflicting ideas to form an integrated idea; (b) embodying actions—the same individual takes actions to implement the unified idea; and (c) positive effects for oneself and others—the embodying actions taken by the individual generate positive effects for the self as well as others. Based on this conceptualization, wisdom is best observed and assessed in the wisest decisions and actions that have already demonstrated by people in their lives—their most meaningful and significant endeavors (Yang, 2008b, 2011, 2017). Given that no prescribed set of internal qualities can consistently lead to a person's display wisdom across all situations, a more meaningful and productive approach is to assess wisdom, in a process-based framework, by examining individuals' *wisdom incidents*—real-life displays of wisdom, that can vary from one situation to another (Yang, 2008a, 2014).

To explore the relationships between wisdom, cultural synergy, and social change, we believe that research needs to be based on real-life observations and outward displays of wisdom. Hence, in the present study, we adopted Yang's process definition of wisdom, which is an endeavor-based approach and defines wisdom in terms of expressed ideas, demonstrated behaviors, and perceivable positive impacts. In this framework, wisdom incidents are the unit of analysis.

Wisdom and Cultural Synergy

Within the literature, the process of learning from one's own culture is referred to as *enculturation* (Yoon et al., 2013). In the past, enculturation had been inaccurately viewed as incompatible with *acculturation*, which is the process of learning from a new culture (Berry

& Sam, 1996). However, recent research has shown that enculturation is independent of acculturation (Yoon et al., 2013). This finding suggests that people are capable of learning from multiple cultures and navigating among them. Such an acculturation strategy is referred to as “*integration*” or “*biculturalism*”—simultaneously maintaining one’s cultures of origin as well as acquiring new cultures (Berry, 1997, 2009; Berry & Sam, 1996). Acculturation researchers have found that those who adopt an integration strategy are often happier and report better quality of life than those who reject their own culture, the new culture, or both of them, as in the modes of assimilation, separation, and marginalization strategies (Yoon et al., 2013).

Being able to integrate one’s primary culture with other cultures often aids in developing dual or multiple frames of reference (Berry, 1997). Studies of bi-cultural individuals (e.g., Hong, Morris, Chiu, Benet-Martinez, 2000) have further shown that some individuals reach a state of “bicultural identity integration,” in which they experience their two differing cultural identities as fully compatible. Moreover, Morris, Chiu, and Liu (2015) proposed the concept of “polyculturalism,” which views that cultural influences on individuals can be both partial and pluralistic. Diverse, co-existing cultural traditions and influences can interact and impact each other. They observed that individuals have the personal agency to both adopt and reject elements of different cultures they are exposed to, including those of their own. Moreover, individuals have the capacity to incorporate influences from multiple cultures. People who incorporate the lessons learned from multiple cultures may develop new insights, perspectives, and ideas.

The above research highlights individuals’ capacity to learn from multiple cultures. It also indicates that the individuals’ capacity to incorporate multiple cultural influences represents a psychological strength, which in turn promotes adjustment and well-being. Likewise, research on wisdom has also suggested that wisdom is associated with living a

meaningful and satisfying life, and bears implication for well-beings (Baltes, Staudinger, Maercker, & Smith, 1995; Mickler & Staudinger, 2008; Yang, 2013). We thus speculate that the ability to cherish one's own cultural heritage while learning optimally from other cultures facilitates displays of wisdom through cultural synergy.

Cultural Context of Taiwan

Wisdom displayed through cultural synergy is particularly important in regions characterized by frequent intercultural contacts, geographically and historically speaking. Taiwan is situated between Northeast and Southeast Asia; it thus exemplifies such a cross-cultural nexus. Taiwan is a country with a population of 98% Han Chinese ancestry. Prior to the 17th century, Taiwan was inhabited mainly by indigenous peoples. It first became a Dutch then a Spanish colony between 1622 and 1662. It was a Chinese territory between 1662 and 1895, then became a Japanese colony between 1895 and 1945. Since 1945, Taiwan has been a territory of the Republic of China (ROC), and distinct politically from the People's Republic of China (PRC) since 1949 (Lin, 2004). Beginning in the 1980s, Taiwan underwent rapid industrialization, economy growth, and political reform (Hwang, 2015). Contemporary Taiwan is considered as the only Chinese democracy in the world (Tsai Ing-wen could lead the only Chinese democracy, 2015, June 18) and has received the highest ranking for press freedom in all of East Asia (2019 World Press Freedom Index, 2019, September 18).

Thus, Taiwan has been influenced by many cultures. Moreover, Taiwan's cultural context has been shaped by the decisions and actions of its people. Both the government of Taiwan and its people have actively learning from many cultures while maintaining its traditional cultures. Many languages (e.g, English, Taiwanese, Haka, Mandarin, and indigenous languages) and Chinese Classics (e.g., classical Chinese Confucian and Daoist texts) are taught in public schools (Hwang, 2015). The number of Taiwanese students studying abroad has increased tremendously since the 1990s. Each year, more than 30,000

Taiwanese students study abroad; the number reached a new high at the end of 2018, representing 0.1% the Taiwan's total population (ROC Department of International and Cross-strait Education, Ministry of Education, 2019). In addition, the number of international marriages in Taiwan has been increasing since the early 1990s; foreign spouses in Taiwan constituted 2.3% of its total population in 2018 (ROC Gender Equality Committee of the Executive Yuan, 2019). Considering Taiwan's diverse cultural influences and the collective decisions and efforts made by its people, past to the present, we speculate that some displays of wisdom from Taiwanese citizens would likely involve cultural synergy.

Wisdom and Social Change

Some displays of wisdom can generate widespread positive effects for many people, and hence can promote positive social change. Using Mother Teresa as an example, her lifelong commitment and actions to serve the poorest of the poor generated positive effects for the world, and unequivocally inspired a transformation of people's attitude about the poor (Mukherjee, 1999, June 14). Yang's (2008a) previous study of Taiwanese *wisdom nominees*—individuals nominated as wise persons—also found that many of the nominees' displays of wisdom involved compassionate acts to meet critical social needs. In a later study, Yang (2011) further reported that several wisdom nominees established organizations to address social problems that they themselves had encountered when they realized that some of these problems were being neglected by the society at large. These wisdom nominees' efforts to provide support that they themselves had never received may thus promote positive social change.

To illustrate this possible link between wisdom and social change, we cite an excerpt from a wisdom incident given by a nominee whose display of wisdom involved helping the disadvantaged by founding an organization and advocating for legislative change.

My situation is different, because I have a son with mental retardation. So naturally, I

thought about those issues.... Later I met parents who faced worse situations..., so I stuck my neck out and founded this foundation. At that time I had no money, no personnel, just me. So I started from scratch. I did the fundraising, I did the interviews and recruiting, and I searched and rented the office all by myself.... I began my work because our government didn't pay any attention to those issues at the time, so I started with advocating lawmaking.... And now, as you can see, they really employ a great deal of resources trying to make things better. The situation really has changed.... When the foundation started, my son had then reached his twenties, and I felt a lot of things were becoming more difficult as he grew older. So I decided to focus on early intervention, because in this way we can decrease the number of people going through similar kinds of difficulties. I do not want my foundation getting bigger because there are more people who need help; I'd rather have fewer and fewer people who need our support. Wouldn't you say that this was a good judgment? But people laughed at me: "Your son is already in his twenties. Why doesn't your foundation help your own son first? Why do you devote yourself to helping other people's children?".... But I have been insisting that this is the right path. Given a few decades, I believe that we can see our society change as a whole. (Nominee No. 26, female, age 59; Yang, 2008a, p. 71)

Social change is incremental and cannot be attributed to only a single wisdom nominee's decision or action to tackle significant social problems. Nevertheless, those who have initiated a response to social problems can begin a process that promotes and eventually leads to social change. From this perspective, wisdom can purportedly be linked to social change.

Are displays of wisdom that promote social change also related to cultural synergy? Real-life observations suggest that this is the case. Mother Teresa's own words suggest that her display of wisdom was related to cultural synergy: "By blood I am Albanian. By citizenship, I am Indian. By faith, I am a Catholic nun. As to my calling, I belong to the

world” (Spink, 2011, p. 308). Her knowledge of other cultures helped her to embody her integrated idea: “I feel that if I must serve the poorest among the Indians, it is necessary to live like an Indian with the Indians” (Mother Teresa to Cardinal Prefect, Sacred Congregation of Religious, February 7, 1948, cited in Kolodiejchuk, 2007, p. 115). This is similar to the case of the aforementioned nominee, who indicated that the lessons she learned from the West and Japan greatly inspired her to help those with special needs. She explained,

The West has this idea that I once read from a poem, God examines the parents and gives disadvantaged children to the loving ones. This idea is very different from the Eastern idea that the children are results of certain karma from the previous life. Later we went to Japan, where I met many parents of disadvantaged children. Their government does a good job in supporting them and the parents are willing to step out..., then we realized that we should have an organization to work with our own government, so I founded the organization and I was the first chair. (Nominee No. 26, female, age 59)

Despite these anecdotal observations, the relationship among displays of wisdom, cultural synergy, and social change has not yet been empirically examined. It is, therefore, the central focus of the current research.

The Present Study

Are real-life displays of wisdom related to cultural synergy and social change? This study aims to empirically address the research question by qualitatively exploring and quantitatively testing the relationships among wisdom, cultural synergy, and social change in the cultural context of Taiwan. To explore possible effects of social change, it intends to analyze and evaluate the 220 wisdom incidents reported in Yang’s (2008a) study, which were derived from interviews of 66 Taiwanese wisdom nominees roughly two decades ago. The current study focuses specifically on cultural synergy and social change as their relations to

wisdom in the Taiwanese cultural context.

Nominators, Wisdom Nominees, and Wisdom Incidents in Yang (2008a)

Because the analyses and evaluations of the present study are based on the interviews reported in Yang (2008a), we briefly described in the below Yang's (2008a) selection process for wisdom nominees, and also the collection and verification procedures for wisdom incidents. Interested readers are being referred to the original study for more detailed information.

Nominators and Wisdom Nominees

Eighty Taiwanese participants from different parts of Taiwan completed and returned a nomination questionnaire which asked them to nominate the wisest person whom they personally knew and also to provide detailed explanations for their nomination. A thematic/content analysis was conducted to examine the reasons cited for the nominations. The results showed that individuals who were most likely to be nominated by others as wise were those who made significant integration and took embodying actions to lead a good life while exerting positive influences on others (Yang, 2008a).

The wisdom nominees were then invited for face-to-face interviews with the researcher. Sixty-six nominees accepted the invitation. All nominees were ethnically Chinese. Most of them grew up in Taiwan ($n=47$, 71%), either during the Japanese occupation ($n=2$, 3%) or under the ROC regime ($n=45$, 68%). About a third of the nominees ($n=19$, 29%) were born in mainland China but subsequently moved to Taiwan after the Chinese Communist Party took over mainland China. The majority were men ($n=51$; 77%). At the time of the interviews, nominees' ages ranged from 31 to 86 years old ($M_{total}=54.82$, $SD_{total}=11.74$). Their educational levels ranged from elementary school to graduate school. Most of the nominees had either college ($n=24$, 36%;) or above (56%; $n_{(doctor)}=30$, $n_{(master)}=7$) level of education, with some ($n=5$, 7.5%) had less than college education. The occupations of the wisdom

nominees ranged broadly, representing over 25 categories. As reported by Yang (2008a), majority of these nominees were well-respected members of their local communities. Some of the nominees have made significant contributions to Taiwan and are well-known nationally, and a few of them are internationally renowned figures.

Wisdom Incidents

The wisdom nominees were interviewed between 1997 and 2003. They were interviewed for the wisest decisions and actions they had demonstrated in their lives. The interviews lasted a minimum of two hours (Yang, 2008a). The word count in Chinese characters for the 220 transcripts ranged from 3432 to 67,965 ($M=27,912.80$, $SD=13322.41$), indicating that the nominees gave rich description and detailed explanation for their wisest decisions and actions.

After the identifiable information of the nominees was masked, each transcript was sent to three of six educated, 'non-expert' analysts who were recruited through an internet advertisement. The use of non-expert analysts followed the example of the Berlin Wisdom studies (e.g., Baltes, Staudinger, Maercker, & Smith, 1995), in which they contended that most people could readily recognize wisdom. Based on Patton (2002), analysts were instructed to find the parts of an interview transcript containing a display of wisdom, based on their own judgment. They were asked to extract those parts as excerpts, then to label the excerpts according to their dominant theme. After the analysts extracted displays of wisdom, a research team, consisted of the three analysts and the first author, then met to resolve disagreements over interpretations. After the research group reached consensus, the resulting displays of wisdom were compiled.

The analysts were then asked to inspect each wisdom incident for (a) cognitive integration, (b) embodying actions, and (c) positive effects. The instruction was: "*Please find and extract the paragraphs showing any integration of thought. Integration means the*

interviewee has synthesized concepts and ideals that generally were considered separate to, or conflicting with, each other. After you find the integrated thought, please try to identify the actions or behaviors that displayed those thoughts being carried out, and the positive influences you perceive were generated by those embodying actions” (Yang, 2008a, pp. 69-70). Displays of wisdom that analysts agreed to have included all three core components of cognitive integration, embodying actions, and positive effects were then considered “wisdom incidents.” The analysis of the 66 interview transcripts yielded 220 wisdom incidents.

Another six recruited raters evaluated these incidents according to “how much they agreed that wisdom was involved in the incidents on a 7-point scale, with the rating ‘1’ meant strongly disagree and ‘7’ meant strongly agree” (Yang, 2008a, p. 70). Altogether, the mean wisdom rating for the 220 wisdom incidents across the six raters was 5.12 ($SD = 1.42$) on a 7-point scale, with 7 denoting the highest level of overall wisdom (interrater reliability Cronbach $\alpha = .72$, $p < .001$; Yang, 2008a). The word count in Chinese characters for the 220 wisdom incidents ranged from 122 to 8585 ($M = 1,615.13$, $SD = 1310.25$). Results of thematic analysis of the 220 wisdom incidents showed that nominees’ wisdom were most likely displayed through (a) striving for common good by helping others and contributing to society, (b) achieving and maintaining a satisfactory state of life, (c) deciding and developing life paths, (d) resolving difficult problems at work, and (e) insisting on doing the right thing when facing adversity (Yang, 2008b).

Methods of the Current Study

The current study adopted the mixed methods approach used in Yang (2008a) but extended the previous research by including themes pertaining to cultural synergy and social change. It also employed path analysis to examine the relationships among wisdom, cultural synergy, and social change.

The current study thus involved two independent components. The first component was

a qualitative examination of whether or not the Taiwanese nominees' narratives on their displays of wisdom involve features of cultural synergy. To this end, trained analysts analyzed the content of the 220 wisdom incidents for the nominees' explicit discussion of cultures and cultural synergy. For this analysis, we anticipated that some displays of wisdom would show characteristics of cultural synergy.

The second component of the current study was a quantitative examination of the relationships among wisdom, cultural synergy, and social change. For this purpose, trained raters were divided into different groups and evaluated the 220 wisdom incidents for different the following five themes: wisdom, the three wisdom components (i.e., cognitive integration, embodying actions, and positive effects), cultural synergy, the two cultural components (i.e., lessons learned from one's own culture and lessons learned from other cultures), and the promotion of social change. Subsequently, the relationships among the above described five themes, as evaluated by the raters, were tested statistically. We anticipated that the ratings for wisdom, cultural synergy, and social change would be significantly related. We further expected that: (a) the ratings for wisdom would be significantly related to the ratings for the three wisdom components; (b) the ratings of cultural synergy would be significantly related to the ratings for the two cultural components; and (c) all the above ratings would be significantly related to the ratings for promotion of social change.

Participants in the Current Study

The current study involved five analysts and 11 raters.

Analysts. Five Taiwanese analysts were recruited from an on-line advertisement.

Among them, two analysts had a graduate level of education and three had a college level of education. Their ages ranged from 23 to 26, with a mean age of 24 ($SD=1.41$). They reported having one to four years of working experience in diverse professional fields, including adult and continuing education, Chinese literature, health education, psychology, and social work.

Raters. Eleven raters, one male and ten female college students, were recruited from a university in central Taiwan. Their ages ranged from 19 to 24, with a mean age of 21.91 ($SD=1.58$). The raters represented students from various academic departments at the university, including educational administration and policy, public administration and policy, and history.

Procedures and Materials

Training. As a practice, both analysts and raters spent roughly ten hours practicing their assigned tasks by evaluating people's responses to open-ended questionnaires from a previous, separated wisdom study (Yang, 2017). Group discussions were then held to resolve any difficulty or misunderstanding.

Content analysis. Given that the task of analyzing these wisdom incidents was quite time and energy intensive, the 220 wisdom incidents were distributed among the five analysts. Each of the 220 wisdom incidents was independently analyzed by three of the five analysts. The analysts were instructed to identify the parts of the interview transcripts that reflected the wisdom nominees' discussion of (a) their own culture, (b) other cultures, and (c) cultural synergy. The analysts were instructed to extract these thematic elements and to code the excerpts according to the dominant themes, including "knowledge of one's own culture/other culture(s)," "important lessons learned from one's own culture/other culture(s)," "criticism of one's own culture/other culture(s)," "incorporation of important lessons learned from one's own culture with other culture(s)," etc. Since Taiwan's cultures are predominantly Chinese or Taiwanese, the five analysts were asked to pay particular attention to: (a) wording such as "in Taiwan," "we Taiwanese," "Taiwanese culture," "we Chinese," and "Chinese culture". In addition, as Berry et al. (1989) suggest that familiarity of book/magazine/literature in a given culture also constitutes a good indicator for individuals' acculturation, we also asked the analysts to pay attention to: (b) quotations from classical or

prominent texts in Taiwanese or Chinese cultures (e.g., *The Analects of Confucius*), (c) the mention of significant figures and personalities or books in Taiwan or China, and (d) any other explicit discussions of Taiwanese and Chinese cultures. The analysts were not told about the purpose of the research or the researchers' expectations. Each analyst was paid NT \$1000 (approximately \$30 US dollars) for reviewing and analyzing each transcript. To avoid any system-wise errors that could have resulted from using software to process traditional Chinese characters of the interview transcripts, no analytic software was used for content analysis.

Evaluation. Eleven raters were randomly assigned into three groups ($n_{group 1} = 4$, $n_{group 2} = 2$, $n_{group 3} = 5$) and were asked to rate the 220 wisdom incidents using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = "strongly disagree", 7 = "strongly agree") based on the degree to which the wisdom incidents reflect each of the following eight themes: (1) overall wisdom, (2) cognitive integration, (3) embodying actions, (4) positive effects, (5) lessons learned from one's own culture, (6) lessons learned from other cultures, (7) cultural synergy, and (8) promotion of social change. The raters were only asked to rate for the themes being assigned to them to avoid fatigue; hence, each rater evaluated X themes.

Ratings for overall wisdom. The first group of four raters was asked to rate the 220 wisdom incidents for "*overall wisdom*" following Yang (2008a)'s instruction "how much do you agree that wisdom is involved in the incidents on a 7-point scale, with the rating '1' meant strongly disagree and '7' meant strongly agree" (p. 70).

Ratings for the three wisdom components. Six months later, this group was also asked to rate the 220 wisdom incidents for the *three wisdom components* (i.e., cognitive integration, embodying actions, and positive effects) that were contained in each wisdom incident. The delay in rating was intended to avoid exhaustion and practice effects. The rating instructions for the three components of wisdom included: (a) *cognitive integration* - "How much do you

agree that the incident involved an integrated idea that incorporated unrelated or even conflicting elements/things?"; (b) *embodying actions* - "How much do you agree that the incident involves actions taken to embody the integrated idea?"; and, finally, (c) *positive effects* - "How much you agree that the incident involves positive effects generated from the embodying actions for the individual (the interviewee) and others?". The order in which these incidents were rated was counterbalanced from rater to rater.

Ratings for own culture. The second group of two raters were asked to rate the wisdom incidents for *lessons learned from their own culture*: "How much do you agree that the incident involved lessons learned from the individual's own culture?". The two raters were asked to pay particular attention to: (a) wording such as "in Taiwan," "we Taiwanese," "Taiwanese culture," "we Chinese," and "Chinese culture", (b) quotations from classical or prominent texts in Taiwanese or Chinese cultures (e.g., *The Analects of Confucius*), (c) the mention of significant figures and personalities or books in Taiwan or China, and (d) any other explicit discussions of Taiwanese and Chinese cultures.

Ratings for other cultures. After six months, the same two raters in the second group were asked to rate the incidents for *lessons learned from other cultures*. The question was "How much do you agree that the incident involved lessons learned from other cultures that are not the individual's own culture?" The raters were asked to pay particular attention to (a) mentions of specific nations, regions, and cultures, such as Japan, the United States, etc.; (b) quotations from classical or important texts of cultures other than Taiwan and China; (c) mentions of important figures or books of cultures other than Taiwan and China; and (d) any explicit discussion of cultures other than the Taiwanese and/or the Chinese cultures.

Ratings for cultural synergy. Again, after six months, the same two raters in the second group were also asked to rate for *cultural synergy*: "How much do you agree that the incident entailed incorporation of lessons learned from the individual's own and other cultures?"

Again, the order of the incidents presented for rating was counterbalanced between the raters.

Ratings for social change. The third group of five raters was asked to rate for promotion of *social change*: “How much do you agree that the incident involves endeavors that brought change and innovation to our society?” The order of the incidents was once again counterbalanced between the raters.

Data Analysis

The following section reports the data analysis procedures for the current study, including the content analysis, interrater reliabilities, correlation, and the path analysis.

Content analysis. After the analysts analyzed the transcripts, a research team consisting of the analysts and the researchers discussed each analyzed wisdom incident and its themes to help clarify any disagreement or misunderstanding over the results. The identified themes and their corresponding excerpts were then grouped into three major categories: (a) lessons learned from one’s own culture, (b) lessons learned from other cultures, and (c) cultural synergy.

Interrater reliabilities. Inter-rater reliabilities were calculated for the eight themes described above. The ratings for each of the eight themes were averaged across raters in the same group ($n_{group 1} = 4$, $n_{group 2} = 2$, $n_{group 3} = 5$). Aiken’s *H* or coefficient of Homogeneity (Aiken, 1985) was used to calculate inter-rater reliability. Aiken’s *H* is a reliability coefficient that evaluates internal consistency of the ratings on ordinal and Likert scales. It ranges between 0 (no internal consistency) and 1 (perfect internal consistency).

Correlations. The ratings over the 220 wisdom incidents for each of the eight themes were averaged across raters in the same group. We treated the eight sets of averaged ratings as eight variables and calculated the correlations and the path analysis. The eight variables are: (1) overall wisdom (OverWis), (2) cognitive integration (CogInt), (3) embodying actions (EmboAct), (4) positive effects for oneself and others (PosEff), (5) lessons learned from one’s

own culture (OwnCult), (6) lessons learned from other cultures (OthCult), (7) cultural synergy (CulSyn), and (8) promotion of social change (SocCha). We estimated Pearson product-moment correlations coefficients (r) among the eight variables.

Path analysis. Path analysis is a form of multiple regression used to assess causal models by examining the relationships between dependent variables and two or more independent variables (Crossman, 2019). Thus, we used path analysis to assess possible causal relationships among five independent variables (i.e., “cognitive integration”, “embodying actions”, “positive effects”, “lessons learned from one’s own culture”, and “lessons learned from other cultures”) and three independent variables (i.e., “overall wisdom”, “cultural synergy”, and “social change”). The analysis was conducted with LISREL 8.8 software.

Results

In this section, we present the results of the content analysis and the statistical analyses.

Content Analysis

Overall, the results of the content analysis show that certain displays of wisdom reported by the nominees contain discussions pertaining to lessons learned from one’s own culture and other cultures, and descriptions of cultural synergy, as we had anticipated. Among the 220 wisdom incidents, 125 (57%) of them contained discussions of one’s own culture, 106 (48%) contained discussions of other cultures, and 94 (43%) contained discussions of both one’s own and other cultures. Altogether, 84 (38%) contained a description of cultural synergy. This excerpt below from Nominee No. 50 illustrates a description of cultural synergy.

Today I am a hybrid. I was born into a Taiwanese family. I grew up in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period, so I used Japanese textbooks until the third grade. After the retrocession of Taiwan, I received a full Chinese education. After that, I went overseas to study and lived in the U.S. for fourteen years. So I am a hybrid. I think I retain some

Taiwanese traits. I am sincere, hard-working, and friendly. I also value highly the Chinese traits of being flexible, being able to persevere despite hardship, and tolerance of other cultures. I also learned to be honest and law-abiding from the Japanese. I particularly admire their commitment. Once committed, they keep their promise to the end. This I have tried very hard to emulate. I also learned from Americans, who are positive, optimistic, innovative, creative, individualistic, and self-confident. Every culture has its merits and virtues and I try to learn from them. Whether I succeeded or not, I do not know, but this is what I demanded of myself. (Male, educator, doctoral degree, age 68 at the time of interview, Wisdom Incident No. 171)

Raters' Ratings and Interrater Reliabilities

The ratings for the same theme (e.g., overall wisdom, cultural synergy) over the 220 wisdom incidents ($N_{\text{wisdom incidents}} = 220$) were averaged across the raters in the same group ($n_{\text{group 1}} = 4$, $n_{\text{group 2}} = 2$, $n_{\text{group 3}} = 5$). We then calculated Aiken's H for inter-rater reliability. Table 1 shows the results of the mean ratings and inter-rater reliabilities for the eight themes. The Aiken's H coefficients range from moderate (.46) to moderately high (.78), reaching $p < .001$ level of significance.

 Insert Table 1 Here

Correlations

We treated the eight sets of the 220 averaged ratings as eight variables ($n_{\text{variable}} = 8$). We then estimated the correlation coefficients (r) for all the eight variables. The correlation coefficients range from 0.23 to 0.81 and are all statistically significant (see Table 2).

 Insert Table 2 Here

Path Analysis

Furthermore, we ran path analysis to examine the relationships among the eight variables simultaneously. In the analysis, there were 220 observations ($N_{wisdom\ incident} = 220$). The eight variables ($n_{variables} = 8$) consisted of five dependent variable (i.e., CogInt, EmboAct, PosEff, OwnCul, and OthCul) and three independent variables (i.e., OverWis, CulSyn, and SocCha). Thus, the number of variances was 8 ($n_{dependent\ variables} = 5$ and $n_{independent\ variables} = 3$), the number of covariance was 15 ($n_{intercorrelations\ of\ dependent\ variables} = 15$), and the number of estimated error variances was 3 ($n_{residuals\ of\ the\ independent\ variables} = 3$). We tested the model using LISREL, which reports the estimate for each parameter and its standard error. LISREL also reports the ratio of a parameter to its standard error in terms of a t value, which can be examined for levels of statistical significance given that the sample is large enough (e.g., > 200), and t values that are higher than 1.96 are statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level. The path coefficients of this path model are statistically significant, except for the path between “lessons learned from other cultures” (OthCul) and “promotion of social change” (SocCha). Altogether, the model shows that the eight variables are related to one another as speculated, except for the above path. The model, together with the estimates for path weights, is represented in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 Here

Fit indicators pointed to a good fit of the expected model with the data, including, $\chi^2 = 10.06$ ($df = 7, p = .18$), the GFI = .99, the AGFI = .94, the SRMR = .02, and RMSEA = 0.04. These indices correspond to Kline’s (2011) recommendation for goodness of fit—values greater than .90 for the GFI and AGFI, and below .05 for SRMSR and RMSEA. Therefore,

the results of the path analysis support the model.

There are direct relationships among variables. The three wisdom components (i.e., CogInt, EboAct, PosEff) are directly related to overall wisdom (OverWis). Overall wisdom (OverWis) has a direct relationship with cultural synergy (CulSyn) and the promotion of social change (SocCha). The two cultural components (i.e., OwnCul and OthCul) are directly related to cultural synergy (CulSyn). However, only lessons learned from one's own cultures (OwnCul) forms a direct relationship with promoting social change (SocCha). Cultural synergy (CulSyn) is also directly related to the promotion of social change. In addition, positive effects (PosEff) has a direct relationship to the promotion of social change (SocCha). Table 3 presents the parameter estimates, the standard errors, *t* values, and standardized values of these direct effects in the model.

 Insert Table 3 Here

There are indirect relationships among variables. We found one full mediation effect and four partial mediation effects within this model. The path that goes from OthCul through CulSyn to SocCha shows a full mediation effect. The four partial mediation effects are paths that point from (a) OverWis through CulSyn to SocCha, (b) PosEff through OverWis to SocCha, (c) OwnCul through CulSyn to SocCha, and (d) PosEff through OverWis via CulSyn to SocCha. Table 4 displays the parameter estimates, the standard errors, *t* values, and standardized values of the indirect effects found in the model. We presented both the direct and indirect relationships in detail below.

 Insert Table 4 Here

The three wisdom components and overall wisdom. The results showed that the three components of wisdom were significantly related to “overall wisdom”. Among the three components of wisdom, “positive effects” was most strongly related to “overall wisdom”, while “cognitive integration” were least strongly related to “overall wisdom”.

Lessons learned from cultures and cultural synergy. The results further indicated that both “lessons learned from one’s own culture” and “lessons learned from other cultures,” respectively, were significantly related to “cultural synergy.” However, “cultural synergy” was more strongly related to “lessons learned from other cultures” than to “lessons learned from one’s own culture”.

Social change and the remaining variables. “Social change” were directly related to “overall wisdom”, “positive effects”, “lessons learned from one’s own culture”, “lessons learned from other cultures”, and “cultural synergy”. In addition, “social change” was indirectly related to all the seven variables.

We calculated the total effects (i.e., total standardized values) for the variables relating to “social change” by adding both the direct and indirect effects. We presented the parameter estimates, the standard errors, *t* values, and standardized values of the total effects in Table 5. Altogether, we found that “social change” was most strongly related to “positive effects”, followed by “overall wisdom”, “cultural synergy”, “one’s own culture,” “other cultures”, “embodying actions”, and “cognitive integration”. We described the relationship between “social change” and the remaining variables below.

Insert Table 5 Here

Components of wisdom and social change. “Positive effects” were related to “social change” in three ways: (a) a direct relationship between the two, (b) an indirect relationship

via “overall wisdom”, and (c) an indirect relationship via “overall wisdom” and “cultural synergy”. The other two wisdom components did not have a direct relationship with “social change”; these two variables were indirectly related to “social change”, both via “overall wisdom” and via “overall wisdom” and “cultural synergy”.

Overall wisdom and social change. “Overall wisdom” were related to “social change” in two ways: (a) a direct relationship between the two, and (b) an indirect relationship via “cultural synergy”.

Lessons learned from cultures, cultural synergy, and social change. “Social change” was directly related to “cultural synergy” and “lessons learned from one’s own culture”, but only indirectly related to “lessons learned from other cultures” via “cultural synergy”.

Discussion

The current study examined the relationships among wisdom, cultural synergy, and social change using both qualitative and quantitative analyses. Overall, the results of the present study highlight that displays of wisdom by wisdom nominees in Taiwan were related to cultural synergy and the promotion of social change. We interpret the findings and discuss the limitations below.

Findings

Results of the qualitative analysis. The results of the content analysis showed that many nominees talked about lessons they learned from their own and other cultures when explaining their wisest decisions and actions. Moreover, many wisdom incidents involve descriptions of incorporation of these lessons—acts of cultural synergy.

Results of the quantitative analysis. Even though the nominees described many efforts to promote social change in the wisdom incidents, the consequences of their efforts should be evaluated decades later by others in the same cultures, such as the raters in the current study, to gauge to what extent the nominees’ wise decisions and actions had promoted social change

in Taiwan. The results of raters' evaluation evidence that the nominees' displays of wisdom were related to promoting social change in Taiwan.

Moreover, the results also showed that "overall wisdom," "cognitive integration," "embodying actions," "positive effects for oneself and others," "lessons learned from one's own culture," "lessons learned from other cultures," "cultural synergy," and "social change" were related, directly or indirectly, to one another. We interpret these relationships from the raters' perspective below.

The relationship between the three components and overall wisdom. Among the variables, overall wisdom was related to cognitive integration, embodying actions, and positive effects for oneself and others. This finding implies that raters saw cognitive integration, embodying actions, and positive effects for oneself and others to be essential components for real-life displays of wisdom. It also suggests that the positive effects generated by the nominees for themselves and others played a more significant role in influencing the raters' perception of nominees' overall wisdom.

The relationships among three components and social change. The results indicate that the raters perceived the nominee's integrated ideas and embodying actions are insufficient in directly leading to the promotion of social change. However, these two components can only indirectly lead to the promotion of social change through the nominees' displays of wisdom. Furthermore, from the raters' perspective, the positive effects generated by nominees can impact social change both directly and indirectly. A plausible explanation is that, while certain positive effects generated by actions aimed at social change can directly promoted social change, other positive effects which may not aim at social change can also indirectly facilitate social change through the nominees' displays of wisdom.

The relationship between overall wisdom and social change. The results show that raters considered the nominees' overall wisdom to bear direct impact on the promotion of

social change and also indirect impact on the promotion of social change through cultural synergy. It is interpreted that while certain socially impacting displays of wisdom do involve cultural synergy, other displays of wisdom can occur without involving cultural synergy.

The relationships among lessons learned from cultures and cultural synergy. These findings suggest that both “lessons learned from one’s own culture” and “lessons learned from other cultures” were related to “cultural synergy,” but “lessons learned from other cultures” played a more significant role in “cultural synergy.” Thus, for cultural synergy to occur, a person not only needs to appreciate his or her own culture but also needs to learn optimally from other cultures.

In addition, these findings suggest that individuals are capable of learning from multiple cultures, as Berry and his colleagues asserted (Berry, 1997, 2009; Berry et al., 1989, Berry & Sam, 1996). Moreover, the findings also reveal that the nominees incorporated influences from multiple cultures. This is consistent with the perspective of polyculturalism (Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015), which contends that individuals have personal agency and capacity to determine how they respond to or even incorporate different cultural influences they experienced.

The relationship between overall wisdom and cultural synergy. The results denote that “overall wisdom” were directly related to “cultural synergy” but not to “lessons learned from one’s own culture” or to “lessons learned from other cultures.” Thus, the findings suggest that cherishing one’s own culture and being willing to learn from other cultures by themselves were not directly related to wisdom, it requires the incorporation of the lessons learned from both to facilitate the displays of wisdom.

The relationships among lessons learned from cultures, cultural synergy, and social change. The results also reveal that the lessons learned from the nominees’ own culture were both directly and indirectly related to promoting social change. From the raters’ perspective,

the lessons learned from other cultures were not directly related to promoting social change; those lessons can promote social change only through nominees' engagement in cultural synergy. It is possible that it takes deep understanding and appreciation of one's own culture before the person can bring positive change to that culture.

The relationships among wisdom components, lessons learned from cultures, cultural synergy, and social change. The results suggest that only through cultural synergy can the lessons learned from one's own and other cultures be related to wisdom. In addition, wisdom can also be related to social change through cultural synergy. These findings highlight the importance of cultural synergy, which not only links cultural knowledge to wisdom, but also links wisdom to social change. Accordingly, we argue that the findings of the present study have complemented the existing literature on acculturation, biculturalism, and polycultural psychology, as the study's results link cultural, cross-cultural, and multicultural learning to wisdom as well as social change.

Limitations

A major limit of this study lies in its use of archival data based on interviews conducted with Taiwanese wisdom nominees about two decades ago. Although this method allowed the current research to study actual efforts of the Taiwanese nominees in promoting social change and their possible effects, it also restricted the study's scope due to using already collected wisdom incidents as data. In addition, by re-analyzing a twenty-year-old data set, the study risks the violation of chronological validity. For example, what was considered wise at that time may not be considered wise by today's perspective. Even though we countered this limitation by using new analyses and ratings, this risk cannot be completely overlooked. We recognize the methodological trade-off of using decades old archival data between learning the long-term effects of promoting social change as professed by nominees in Yang's (2008a) study and potentially violating the chronological validity. Future research on culture and

wisdom would greatly benefit from replicating the current study, to examine the relationships among the key constructs, with more current and contemporary displays of wisdom, both in Taiwan and elsewhere.

Moreover, the present study would have more compelling results if we had tested competing theories/models with path analysis. Nevertheless, we found it difficult to examine the acts of cultural synergy and of promoting social change with more person-based definitions of wisdom. As it stands, the results of the present study, which focuses on real-life displays of wisdom and the positive impacts of wisdom on the external world, complement wisdom research that is informed by the person-based definitions of wisdom. It is recommended that future research adopts both person-based and endeavor-based perspectives of wisdom and to cross-validate studies on cultural synergy and social change with both frameworks. By integrating both these two perspectives and the respective methodological approaches, researchers would be able to understand more thoroughly the interaction between wise personality traits and capabilities (i.e., internal qualities) and actual displays of wisdom (i.e., thoughts, actions, and consequences).

Conclusion

This study represents among the first empirical investigation to examine the relationships among wisdom, culture, and social change. A unique take-home lesson identified in this study is this: not only can culture shape wisdom, as is commonly believed, but also wisdom itself may act to affect culture and society through synergy of lessons learned from diverse cultures. This reciprocal interaction between culture and wisdom, identified in the current study with Taiwanese sample, confers a novel perspective in understanding the cultural elements of wisdom. The findings implicate wisdom's connection to integration acculturation strategy (biculturalism) (Berry, 2009) and polyculturalism (Morris et al., 2015) and lend further evidence in support of the endeavor-based conceptualization of

wisdom (Yang, 2014). It is our hope that this study and its findings will serve as the basis upon which future research on culture and wisdom might build and expand.

We believe the findings of this study hold important implications not only for Taiwan but also for other multicultural societies around the world. One practical implication is that in order to foster wisdom, we need to encourage not only cross-cultural learning but also cultural synergy. The finding that “lessons learned from other cultures” can significantly contribute to positive social change only through cultural synergy indicates that cross-cultural learning by itself may not be enough. Instead, more should be done to foster cultural synergy, so that individuals may incorporate the lessons they learned from different cultures. Based on these findings, we need more educational programs, in schools and across communities, that can foster cultural synergy. As evidenced in the present study, this, in turn, can help support and foster real-life displays of wisdom and eventually promote positive social change.

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Table 1

Interrater Reliability of Ratings across Raters over the 8 Themes

Ratings	Raters	Mean	SD	Coefficient of Homogeneity
Overall Wisdom (OverWis)	4	6.06	0.55	.75***
Cognitive Integration (CogInt)	4	5.68	0.75	.74***
Embodying Actions (EmboAct)	4	6.03	0.58	.77***
Positive Effects (PosEff)	4	5.92	0.67	.78***
One's Own Culture (OwnCul)	2	5.01	1.14	.77***
Other Cultures (OthCul)	2	3.13	1.83	.77***
Cultural Synergy (CulSyn)	2	3.89	1.34	.46***
Social Change (SocCha)	5	3.93	1.50	.50***

Note. *** $p < .001$

Table 2

Correlation Matrix for Path Analysis

Ratings	OverWis	CogInt	EmboAct	PosEff	OwnCul	OthCul	CulSyn	SocCha
OverWis	1							
CogInt	0.70	1						
EmbAct	0.77	0.58	1					
PosEff	0.81	0.56	0.66	1				
OwnCul	0.54	0.57	0.50	0.52	1			
OthCul	0.25	0.27	0.23	0.31	0.32	1		
CulSyn	0.44	0.41	0.42	0.48	0.55	0.65	1	
SocCha	0.63	0.45	0.54	0.62	0.56	0.35	0.56	1

Note. All correlation coefficients are significant ($p < .001$)

Table 3

Direct Effects of the Path Model

Parameters	Unstandardized	Standardized	<i>t</i>	Standardized
	Value	Error		Value
PosEff-OverWis	0.37	0.04	10.30	0.44
EmboAct-OverWis	0.31	0.04	7.36	0.33
CogInt-OverWis	0.20	0.03	6.63	0.27
OthCul-CulSyn	0.38	0.04	10.94	0.52
OwnCul-CulSyn	0.36	0.06	5.61	0.31
OverWis-CulSyn	0.34	0.13	2.55	0.14
OverWis-SocCha	0.74	0.22	3.33	0.27
CulSyn-SocCha	0.30	0.08	3.74	0.27
PosEff-SocCha	0.42	0.18	2.33	0.19
OwnCul-SocCha	0.23	0.08	2.86	0.18
OthCul-SocCha	-0.01	0.05	-0.14	-0.01

Note. In this analysis $N_{wisdom\ incident} = 220$, $df = 219$. *t* values that are higher than 1.96 are significant ($p < .05$).

Table 4

Indirect Effects of the Path Model

Parameters	Unstandardized Value	Standardized Error	<i>t</i>	Standardized Value
PosEff-OverWis-SocCha+				
PosEff-OverWis-CulSyn- SocCha	0.31	0.09	3.52	0.14
OthCul-CulSyn-SocCha	0.11	0.03	3.54	0.14
EmboAct-OverWis-SocCha+				
EmboAct-OverWis-CulSyn- SocCha	0.26	0.08	3.34	0.10
OwnCul-CulSyn-SocCha	0.11	0.03	3.11	0.08
PosEff-OverWis-CulSyn	0.12	0.05	2.48	0.06
CogInt-OverWis-CulSyn	0.07	0.03	2.38	0.04
EmboAct-OverWis-CulSyn	0.10	0.04	2.41	0.04
OverWis-CulSyn-SocCha	0.10	0.05	2.11	0.04

Note. In this analysis $N_{wisdom\ incident} = 220$, $df = 219$. All *t* values are higher than 1.96 and are significant ($p < .05$). Indirect effects involving four variables were too small to be presented separately by the software.

Table 5

Total Effects of Different Variables Relating to Social Change in the Path Model

Parameters	Unstandardized	Standardized	<i>t</i>	Standardized
	Value	Error		Value
PosEff-SocCha	0.73	0.14	5.27	0.32
OverWis-SocCha	0.84	0.22	3.75	0.31
CulSyn-SocCha	0.3	0.08	3.74	0.27
OwnCul-SocCha	0.34	0.08	4.34	0.26
OthCul-SocCha	0.11	0.04	2.53	0.13
EmboAct-SocCha	0.26	0.08	3.34	0.10
CogInt-SocCha	0.16	0.05	3.26	0.08

Note. In this analysis $N_{wisdom\ incident} = 220$, $df = 219$. All *t* values are higher than 1.96 and are significant ($p < .05$).

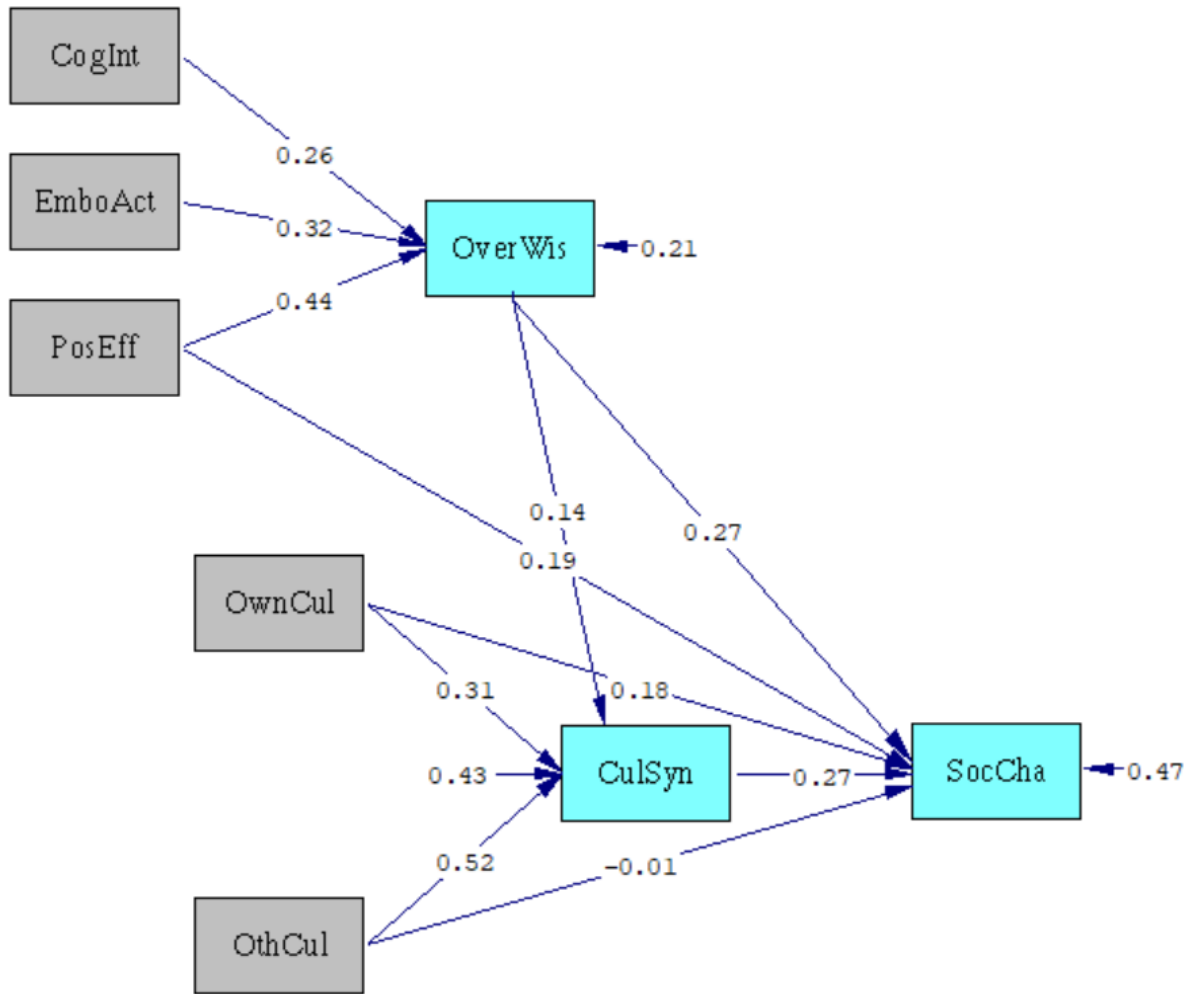


Figure 1. Path Model