Melikşah Demir · Nebi Sümer   *Editors*

Close Relationships and Happiness across Cultures

Springer

Cross-Cultural Advancements in Positive Psychology

Volume 13

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Preface

Relationships matter. Individuals maintain multiple close relationships and believe that these interpersonal bonds make meaningful contributions to their lives. The recently publicized results of Harvard University's 80-year study on adult development demonstrate that close relationships are an asset to physical and mental health throughout an individual's lifetime (Waldinger, 2017; http://robertwaldinger.com). Specifically, the study provides evidence that regardless of economic conditions or other hardships, those with close and stable partners, family members, and friends on whom they can depend live longer and are happier. Recent empirical work and meta-analyses have also demonstrated that having supportive and responsive companions is the main source of physical and mental health in all cultures (Holt-Lunstad, Smith & Layton, 2010; Loving & Slatcher, 2013, Simpson & Campbell, 2013; Slatcher & Selcuk, 2017). Yet, the pattern, intensity, and frequency of relationships vary across cultures.

In recent decades, many scholars from diverse disciplines have shifted their attention to analyzing the dynamics of happiness without a specific emphasis on close relationships. This endeavor has evolved into a well-established interdisciplinary science (Veenhoven, 2009). Numerous comparative studies and surveys have ranked the happiness of nations by documenting socio-demographic, economic, and political factors that promote or erode happiness. Despite not being linearly linked to national wealth, happiness is shown to be a powerful economic and political indicator. Several Latin American countries, for instance, are ranked among the happiest in many surveys. One example of this can be found in the World Happiness Report, which is the most common ranking of happiness since 2012 and lists Costa Rica as the 12th happiest country between 2014 and 2016 (the World Happiness Report, 2017). Despite not being as economically well off as other countries with lower rankings, such as the United States, the country has maintained its high rank for three consecutive years. In interpreting these results, many have posited that indicators like GDP and purchasing power parity might not be accurate reflections of a country's quality of life. Rather, it is speculated that social relationships and familial bonds are a primary source of happiness.

In the broader field of psychology, the study of close relationships has been a harbinger of the newly formed field of relationship science (Berscheid, 1999), which in time has become a multidisciplinary pursuit. The study of relationships is now in the ripening stage (Reis, 2007), and thus its core principles are being identified (Finkel, Simpson, & Easwick, 2017). A well-established finding in the extensive literature is that close relationships are robust markers of individual happiness. However, as is the case for psychological research in general, what we know about close relationships and their role in well-being is limited primarily to studies conducted in North America and Europe. A growing number of scholars have recently begun to examine the cultural aspects of the link between close relationships and happiness by proposing novel and/or idiosyncratic conceptualizations. Also, a substantial portion of these empirical investigations focuses exclusively on romantic relationships, thus creating a need to focus on other close relationships that people maintain. In an attempt to address these issues, we compiled some of these scattered but influential studies and approaches in a comprehensive book. In searching the relational sources of happiness across cultures, we invited well-known scholars from different cultures to bring their unique perspectives and report the most salient aspect of various close relationships relating to happiness in their cultural context.

This volume brings together experts from five continents (31 contributors from 10 countries) and presents reviews and empirical studies of multiple close relationships and their associations with mental well-being and happiness. Collectively, the chapters in this volume focus on parent-child relationships, marital relationships, friendships, and relationships with relatives such as grandparents. In addition to reviews of the current literature, the empirical studies included in this volume relied on multiple methods (e.g., longitudinal, dyadic) and investigated various aspects of relationships (e.g., satisfaction, overall quality, forgiveness) when investigating the close relationship-happiness association in different cultures.

There are twelve chapters in this volume. The first six of them provide up-to-date reviews of the literature, each of which focuses on different types of relationships. In Chap. 1, Selcuk, Karagobek, and Gunaydin provide a review of perceived responsiveness, a core organizing principle of relationship science, and its association with happiness. The authors also include several potential avenues for future research. In Chap. 2, Hitokoto and Uchida present a review of interdependent happiness, which is relationship-oriented happiness in interdependent cultural contexts. Their review highlights cultural differences within this new construct and emphasizes the utility of interdependent happiness in understanding culturally diverse types of happiness. In Chap. 3, Ramsey, Moran, Pubal, and Gentzler review the literature on parent-child relationships and happiness across cultures. They focus on parenting practices and how they are associated with happiness across the lifespan in individualistic and collectivistic cultures. In Chap. 4, Fok and Cheng present a review of the Asian literature on intimate relationships and happiness. The authors conclude that the association between relationship quality and happiness in Asian cultures is similar to that which exists in Western cultures. In Chap. 5, Garcia, Pereira, and Bucher-Maluschke provide a comprehensive review of studies on the association of close relationships with happiness in South America. The authors suggest that it is

necessary to comprehend the unique nature of Latin America in order to understand the association between close relationships and happiness. Finally, in Chap. 6, Taubman-Ben-Ari, Shlomo, and Findler review the literature on the well-being of grandparents. They highlight how grandparenting and transition to grandparenthood make a difference in the happiness of people across cultures.

The latter six chapters are empirical studies that focus on different aspects of various types of close relationships and investigate their role in the mental well-being and happiness of emerging, young, and middle-aged adults ($N = 8186$) in seven countries (Angola, Germany, Greece, Rwanda, Taiwan, Turkey, and the United States of America). In Chap. 7, Demir, Vento, Boyd, and Hanks investigate the significance of relationships with primary kin, collateral kin, and voluntary bonds to the happiness of single and dating emerging adults in the United States. The authors report that relationships with mothers and same-sex friends are consistent predictors of happiness in both groups. In Chap. 8, Landberg and Recksiedler longitudinally investigate the impact of recession on the social networks and happiness of German emerging adults. They report that worries about the economy, especially during the recession, were associated with having fewer close friends, which in turn predicted lower levels of happiness. In Chap. 9, Yan and Chen examine the roles of two types of filial piety, reciprocal and authoritarian, in the life satisfaction of emerging adults in Taiwan. The authors report that self-esteem mediated the associations of both types of filial piety with happiness. In Chap. 10, Sümer and Yetkili examine the role of attachment anxiety and avoidance in predicting life satisfaction from a cultural perspective. Across two studies, the authors report that attachment avoidance rather than attachment anxiety negatively predicts happiness among married couples in Turkey. The study also states that, in contrast to Turkey, attachment anxiety is a major contributor of unhappiness in the United States. This distinction signifies a critical cultural difference. In Chap. 11, Mukashema, Bugay, and Mullet investigate how idiosyncratic ways of reconciliation and forgiveness in interpersonal relationships in Rwanda and Angola can be the source of long-lasting peace and happiness after a catastrophic genocide experience. The authors demonstrate that culturally relevant reconciliation sentiments and unconditional forgivingness are the strongest sources of well-being and happiness. Finally, in Chap. 12, Kafetsios examine how partners' independent and interdependent self-construals relate to well-being in dyadic interactions in Greece. He demonstrates that spouses' life satisfaction is positively associated with their own interdependent self-construal but is negatively related to partners' independent self-construal, implying that relationship context is deeply influenced by culturally shaped self-contruals in the collectivist Greek cultural context.

This preface would not be complete without acknowledging the gratitude and appreciation we have for the relationships we have maintained throughout the finalization of this volume. The authors are grateful for the unwavering support of Esther Otten and Hendrikje Tuerlings, who made this book possible. We also extend our thanks to all of our contributors. Their professionalism, collegiality, and responsiveness to our comments made this journey a memorable one. Finally, the first editor (M.D.) dedicates this book to his family (Sahar Razavi and Evren Razavi

Demir) for being his everyday reminders of why relationships matter; to Edward Snowden, for whom relationships and the privacy in which they occur are vital; and to Rose Sydeman, for whom friendships always mattered. The second editor (N.S.) dedicates this book to his loved ones (Canan Sümer and Çınar Efe Sümer).

We are proud of the chapters in this volume. They represent not only top-notch reviews of the field but also present novel findings on multiple relationship types in different cultures. We believe the contents of this book are a valuable resource for those interested in learning more about how and why relationships matter for individual happiness across cultures.

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About the Editors

Melikşah Demir is an Associate Professor of Psychological Sciences at Northern Arizona University (Flagstaff, AZ, USA). He earned his Master's and Doctoral degrees in Developmental Psychology at Wayne State University. His main research interests are friendship and happiness. His past work focuses on how and why various friendship experiences are associated with happiness in different cultures. His current research program addresses methodological issues in the assessment of friendship and includes the validation of new constructs tapping into various aspects of subjective experience within friendships (specifically, perceived friendship uniqueness and inspiration in the friendship). He is currently serving as an associate editor for the journal *Emerging Adulthood*.

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Chapter 1
Responsiveness as a Key Predictor of Happiness: Mechanisms and Unanswered Questions

Emre Selcuk, Ayse Busra Karagobek, and Gul Gunaydin

Abstract The importance of close relationships for happiness has long been recognized. This long-held interest has produced an increase in relevant empirical work investigating the links between relationships and personal well-being in the last three decades. Recent attempts at integrating this vast body of literature suggest that responsiveness—i.e., the belief that close relationship partners understand, validate, and care for us—is a core process linking close relationships to health and happiness. In the present chapter, we review the links between responsiveness and happiness, with an emphasis on studies of marital and long-term romantic relationships. The available evidence indicates that partner responsiveness improves happiness in both negative contexts (by preserving happiness in the face of stress and adversity) and positive contexts (by augmenting and prolonging happiness induced by pleasant events and supporting the pursuit of personally meaningful goals and self-actualization). We believe that future work should build on this literature by investigating intergenerational effects of partner responsiveness on offspring happiness, comparing the roles of different social network members in happiness, examining how cultural grounding of relationships modulate the responsiveness-happiness link, and identifying the different components of responsiveness critical for happiness across cultures and developmental stages.

The crucial relevance of close relationships for how happy and healthy we are "from the cradle to the grave" has long been at the center of psychological theorizing (Bowlby, 1988; Harlow, 1958; Hofer, 1984). After the mid-80s, this long-held interest was complemented with a rapidly growing body of empirical evidence on the protective (or detrimental) effects of relationships on physical and psychological

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well-being obtained in hundreds of studies involving thousands of respondents. For instance, a recent meta-analysis combining 148 studies that involve a total of more than 300,000 adults showed that quality of social relationships is linked with a 50% increase in chances of survival (Holt-Lunstad, Smith, & Layton, 2010). This figure rivals the effects of many oft-noted health risks including smoking, blood pressure and other cardiovascular problems, sedentary activity, air pollution, alcohol consumption, and obesity. Social relationships are consistently associated with not only physical health but also happiness. Whether with a spouse, partner, family, or friends, people see relationships as a major source of happiness across the globe (Crossley & Langdrigde, 2005; Demir, 2015; Pflug, 2009). Indeed, in daily life, the moments that we feel the happiest usually include social interaction with another person (Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz, & Stone, 2004; Killingsworth & Gilbert, 2010). In addition to boosting positive mood in the short-term, maintaining stable relationships also promotes happiness in the long-term (e.g., Lakey, 2013; Proulx, Helms, & Buehler, 2007; Ramsey & Gentzler, 2015). Even temporary separations from relationship partners can bring down our mood (Diamond, Hicks, & Otter-Henderson, 2008) and reunion is met with joy (Bowlby, 1979). Furthermore, the permanent dissolution of these bonds (through breakup or loss) leads to persistent decreases in happiness, sometimes down to such a level that returning to pre-loss levels of happiness may be difficult or take a long time (Lucas, 2007).

Although decades of research consistently documented that close relationships (or lack thereof) are tightly linked with health and happiness, a fundamental question is yet to be fully addressed—what aspects of relationships are associated with these outcomes, and through which psychological mechanisms? In this chapter, we highlight the central importance of one relationship process, perceived responsiveness, which has increasingly been linked to protective health and well-being benefits (Reis, 2012a; Selcuk & Ong, 2013). We have recently reviewed the links between responsiveness and physical health elsewhere (Slatcher & Selcuk, 2017), so here we focus on the role of responsiveness in happiness with an emphasis on studies about marital and long-term romantic relationships. We begin with a brief description of responsiveness, followed by a review of existing evidence on the associations between responsiveness and happiness and the mechanisms underlying these associations. We conclude with a discussion of future research directions.

1.1 Responsiveness as an Integrating Concept in Relationship Science

Broadly, responsiveness refers to the extent to which individuals believe their close relationship partners understand, validate, and care for them (Reis, Clark, & Holmes, 2004). It entails the belief that relationship partners are attentive to our needs, desires, and experiences, that they appreciate and agree with our point of view, and that they are able to provide empathy, affection, and care (Maisel, Gable, &

Strachman, 2008). Recent theorizing by Harry Reis and colleagues (Reis, 2007; Reis et al., 2004), which has been a guiding framework for us and many others, conceptualizes responsiveness as a core process cutting across all influential developmental and social psychological theories of relationships, such as attachment theory (e.g., Bowlby, 1988), social support theory (Cutrona, 1996), and applications of interdependence theory (Drigotas, Rusbult, Wieselquist, & Whitton, 1999). Common to all of these theories is the idea that relationships with understanding, validating, and caring partners promote personal and relationship well-being (see Reis et al. (2004) and Reis (2013) for detailed discussions of the role of responsiveness in major psychological theories). Among these theoretical perspectives, attachment theory is perhaps the one that most prominently features responsiveness as a critical feature of human bonds shaping social and psychological development across the lifespan (Bowlby, 1988). According to attachment theory, parental responsiveness in early life not only contributes to long-term happiness but also lays the foundations of how individuals form and maintain new social relationships in adulthood, including friendships and romantic bonds (Zayas, Mischel, Shoda, & Aber, 2011). These adult relationships, in turn, continue to influence personal and relationship well-being (e.g., Simpson, Collins, Tran, & Haydon, 2007).

Responsiveness as an interpersonal process in adulthood was first systematically formulated in the context of relationship formation and development (Reis & Shaver, 1988). When we perceive our partners as understanding, validating, and caring, we are more likely to self-disclose and to react responsively to their disclosures. When this process is enacted reciprocally and mutually, it reinforces the development and maintenance of intimacy, and bolsters relationship satisfaction. This initial work, together with subsequent elaborations, revisions, and refinements (Reis, 2007; Reis et al., 2004; Reis & Gable, 2015) provides the guiding theoretical framework to study the role of responsiveness in relationship and personal well-being.

Romantic bonds are the prototypical adult social relationships where the interplay between self-disclosure and responsiveness and the resulting increase in intimacy are commonly observed. In addition, stable romantic bonds allow researchers to study couples for a long period of time (sometimes spanning over several years) when many of the strong effects of responsiveness can be observed. Therefore, the majority of what we know about the links between responsiveness and happiness is based on research with romantic couples. As a result, our review of the existing evidence mostly focuses on long-term pair bonds. This does not mean that responsiveness is irrelevant to other types of relationships (e.g., parental, friendships) or developmental periods (e.g., infancy and childhood). On the contrary, responsiveness can be thought of as an organizing construct to study all close social bonds across different developmental stages. We believe that existing findings with romantic couples can provide a strong foundation on which an understanding of the lifespan effects of responsiveness can be built. Therefore, after reviewing evidence on the links between partner responsiveness and happiness, we revisit these important issues at the end of the chapter.

1.2   Partner Responsiveness and Happiness

When asked what happiness is, individuals nominate different indicators, including achieving pleasure and avoiding pain, having a meaningful and purposeful life, and maintaining satisfying relationships (Furnham & Cheng, 2000; Lu, 2001; Pflug, 2009). Extensive work with diverse samples of adults from different age groups and cultures provides strong empirical support to these lay theories of happiness by demonstrating that hedonia (life satisfaction and positive affect; Pavot & Diener, 2013), eudaimonia (fulfilling one's potential, finding meaning in life, and meeting lifespan developmental challenges; Ryff, 2013), and relationship satisfaction generally form empirically distinct (albeit correlated) higher-order indicators of well-being (e.g., Gallagher, Lopez, & Preacher, 2009; Lindfors, Berntsson, & Lundberg, 2006; van Dierendonck, 2004).

Prior work has linked partner responsiveness with all three forms of happiness. First, partner responsiveness predicts better relationship well-being in daily life. On days when individuals perceive their partner as more responsive, they also feel greater intimacy in their relationship (Otto, Laurenceau, Siegel, & Belcher, 2015). These repeated responsive interactions with a partner in daily life culminate in an increase in relationship satisfaction over time (Drigotas et al., 1999).

Partner responsiveness is also a strong predictor of the hedonic aspect of happiness in daily life, typically operationalized as life satisfaction and/or positive affect (Drigotas, 2002; Otto et al., 2015). Experimental evidence also demonstrates that individuals who were led to believe that their partner was responsive (vs. unresponsive) to them during a challenging laboratory task experienced greater positive affect (Feeney, 2004), providing evidence for the causal link between partner responsiveness and hedonic well-being.

The link between partner responsiveness and eudaimonic well-being has received relatively less empirical attention, at least until recently. This is probably because the role of responsiveness has traditionally been conceptualized as preserving personal and relationship happiness in times of stress. Increasing appreciation of the role of partner responsiveness in positive contexts (as we elaborate in more detail below) has led to studies investigating its consequences for eudaimonic well-being. For instance, experimentally enhancing close others' responsiveness reduces defensive reactions to failure (attributing failure to external sources) (Caprariello & Reis, 2011). Moreover, discussing personal goals with a responsive partner is associated with increased confidence in goal attainment (Feeney, 2004). These processes are expected to promote self-acceptance and personal growth, and to contribute to long-term increases in eudaimonic well-being. In a recent investigation of this issue during middle and late adulthood (Selcuk, Gunaydin, Ong, & Almeida, 2016), we found that partner responsiveness predicted increases in eudaimonic well-being (measured by feelings of autonomy, environmental mastery, self-acceptance, personal growth, and purpose in life) and hedonic well-being (measured by positive affect, reverse-scored negative affect, and life satisfaction) a decade later. Moreover, the benefits of partner responsiveness for eudaimonic (but not hedonic) well-being

held even after additionally controlling for initial levels of well-being, responsiveness of other network members including family and friends, and demographic (age and gender) and personality factors (extraversion and neuroticism) known to affect happiness. These findings indicate that the long-term association of partner responsiveness with change in eudaimonic well-being is unique and not explained by the well-known demographic and personality predictors of happiness as well as responsiveness of other social network members.

In sum, prior work documented the relevance of partner responsiveness for different aspects of happiness including hedonia, eudaimonia, and relationship well-being. The theoretical causal link has been supported in experimental studies manipulating responsiveness or in naturalistic studies modeling change in happiness (i.e., predicting happiness at a later time point by controlling initial happiness). Finally, partner responsiveness has a discriminant role in predicting happiness, since its effects hold even after adjusting for demographic, personality, or other psychosocial factors predicting happiness.

1.3 Mechanisms Underlying the Effect of Partner Responsiveness on Happiness

What are the processes by which partner responsiveness is linked with happiness? Traditionally, the role of partner responsiveness was conceptualized as one of protection in times of stress. Accordingly, partner responsiveness was thought to preserve happiness by buffering emotional reactivity as individuals go through stressful life experiences. However, recent theorizing argues that the role of responsiveness is not only limited to preserving baseline happiness in stressful contexts but also extends to promoting happiness in positive contexts (Feeney & Collins, 2014). Most of the psychological mechanisms underlying the impact of responsiveness on happiness in bad or good times can be traced back to Bowlby's (1988) attachment theory, which ascribes a central role to responsiveness in human development.

1.4 Buffering Stress Reactivity in Negative Contexts

According to attachment theory, a core function of responsiveness is buffering reactivity to stressful events. In early life, parents or primary caregivers who are available and responsive to their infant's needs help regulate the infant's stress reactivity. Through repeated interactions with attachment figures who are consistently responsive, infants develop a sense of "felt security" (Sroufe & Waters, 1977), which in turn promotes adaptive stress regulation as indicated by decreases in biological markers of reactivity to stress and novelty such as cortisol levels (Gunnar, Brodersen, Krueger, & Rigatuso, 1996) or right frontal cortical activity (Hane & Fox, 2006).

Recent evidence suggests that the influence of parental responsiveness on stress regulation capacity extends even to adulthood (Mallers, Charles, Neupert, & Almeida, 2010). In adulthood, however, parents are gradually replaced by long-term marital or romantic partners as primary attachment figures that help regulate stress reactivity and anxiety (Selcuk, Stanton, Slatcher, & Ong, 2017; Selcuk, Zayas, & Hazan, 2010). Indeed, numerous studies demonstrate that warm, supportive interactions with romantic partners reduce reactivity to acute laboratory stressors (such as giving a public speech, receiving a mildly painful stimulus, disclosing a recent worry) as reflected by smaller elevations in self-reported and observer-rated stress and negative affect (Collins & Feeney, 2000; Simpson, Rholes, & Nelligan, 1992), endocrine responses (cortisol; Ditzen et al., 2007), and cardiovascular reactivity (blood pressure and heart rate; Grewen, Anderson, Girdler, & Light, 2003) as well as reduced activation of neural systems regulating threat responses (Coan, Schaefer, & Davidson, 2006).

At the neurobiological level, the effects of partner responsiveness are thought to be mediated by oxytocin and endogenous opioid systems. Repeated responsive interactions with romantic partners elevate oxytocin and opioid neurotransmission (Depue & Morrone-Strupinsky, 2005; Uvnas-Moberg, 1998), both of which lead to potentially persistent long-term down-regulations in biological stress response systems such as the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis. For instance, one study (Slatcher, Selcuk, & Ong, 2015) observed that partner responsiveness is prospectively linked with steeper ("healthier") declines in daily cortisol (the hormonal output of the HPA axis) 10 years later. The stress buffering effects of relationships are so potent that upon repeated interactions with responsive partners, merely thinking about them or looking at their photograph may instill the psychobiological processes originally activated by the partners' physical presence (Zayas, Günaydin, & Shoda, 2015) and help regulate reactivity to stress and pain (Eisenberger et al., 2011; Selcuk, Zayas, Günaydın, Hazan, & Kross, 2012).

These reductions in neural, physiological, and subjective reactivity to stressful events that come with maintaining a relationship with a responsive partner help preserve happiness even in the face of adversity. For instance, in women coping with breast cancer and their romantic partners, daily partner responsiveness positively predicted daily relationship well-being and positive affect (Otto et al., 2015). Similarly, in women coping with lupus (a chronic autoimmune disease that affects connective tissue and increases the risk for organ damage) and their spouses, partner responsiveness predicted greater marital satisfaction and lower depression for both husbands and wives (Fekete, Stephens, Mickelson, & Druley, 2007). Similar decreases in depression linked with high partner responsiveness were observed also in individuals who were recovering from knee surgery (Khan et al., 2009). Taken together, the evidence from studies of couples going through health-related stressors converge with the evidence from laboratory studies on the stress buffering role of partner responsiveness.

Lower stress reactivity also mediates the link between partner responsiveness and eudaimonic well-being. A responsive partner who has your back if things go wrong increases confidence in autonomously and purposefully pursuing personal

goals and exploring the world even in the face of adversity (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). To the extent that individuals show lower reactivity to daily stressors, they are more likely to continue working toward daily life responsibilities and goals, learning new information and engaging in new experiences, and growing as a person in an uninterrupted manner. In our 10-year longitudinal analyses (Selcuk et al., 2016), we also examined whether the association between partner responsiveness and increase in eudaimonic well-being was mediated by lower stress reactivity in daily life. A subset of respondents participated in an 8-day diary study where they completed measures of daily stressful events (e.g., having an argument, encountering a problem at work, something bad happening to a close other, perceived discrimination) and negative affect, allowing us to capture stress reactivity in daily life. Specifically, we computed a within-person slope for each respondent corresponding to change in negative affect from a day with no stressors to a stressful day. Partner responsiveness predicted lower reactivity to daily life stressors, which, in turn, predicted increases in eudaimonic well-being a decade later. Lower stress reactivity accounted for 11% of the association between partner responsiveness and increase in eudaimonic well-being a decade later, providing further evidence that reducing reactivity to stressful events is one of the key mechanisms by which partner responsiveness contributes to happiness.

1.5 Promoting Happiness in Positive Contexts

Increasing evidence indicates that the role of partner responsiveness in happiness is not limited to preserving baseline happiness in the face of adversity. Partner responsiveness is also a resource which helps individuals thrive in positive contexts (Feeney & Collins, 2014). Here we illustrate the happiness-promoting role of responsiveness in two domains: reacting to a partner's disclosures of positive experiences and enabling a partner to achieve their ideal self.

When something good happens in our life (e.g., getting a promotion), most of us itch to share it with our partners. Langston (1994) referred to this process of conveying positive personal events to others as *capitalization*. By telling others, people expect them to share the excitement and respond positively. Does sharing good news with significant others augment the happiness induced by the event? An impressive program of research by Harry Reis, Shelly Gable and their colleagues (see Gable & Reis, 2010 for a review) reveals that the answer is yes, but mostly when significant others react responsively to capitalization attempts. Sharing positive events enhances and prolongs the happiness induced by the event to the extent that individuals feel that their partner understands (e.g., listens attentively what they share, gathers information about the event), validates (e.g., expresses appreciation and agreement), and cares for them (e.g., shows love and affection, expresses empathy) (Maisel et al., 2008). In daily life, partner responsiveness to capitalization attempts predicts diverse indicators of happiness including relationship satisfaction

(Gable, Reis, Impett, & Asher, 2004) and hedonic well-being (Gable, Gosnell, Maisel, & Strachman, 2012; Monfort et al., 2014). Importantly, these effects hold even when positivity of the event itself is partialled out, indicating that the role of partner responsiveness goes above and beyond individual differences in positivity of shared events. Although more direct evidence on its effects on eudaimonic well-being is needed, responsiveness to capitalization attempts has also been linked to a more open, exploratory mindset (Gable & Reis, 2010), which is likely to lead to behaviors and experiences that build eudaimonic well-being.

Indeed, an open-minded and exploratory view of the world, confidence in achieving personal goals, and persistence in goal pursuit even when things do not go as planned are the building blocks of achieving one's ideal self and experiencing eudaimonic well-being. Accomplishing these things in life is easier said than done, but attachment theory argues that these accomplishments are less difficult for individuals who have a partner serving as a "secure base" from which they can explore the world (Bowlby, 1988). And responsiveness is the heart of the "secure base" process (Cutrona & Russell, 2017). The mediating role of partner responsiveness in helping individuals achieve their ideal self is elegantly demonstrated in Rusbult and colleagues' research program on the Michelangelo phenomenon. Although Rusbult herself approached the issue from an interdependence theory perspective, partners' roles in supporting each other's ideal self in Rusbult's model resemble the attachment theoretical role of romantic partners in supporting each other's exploratory behavior. The Michelangelo phenomenon refers to the process by which partners "sculpt" each other into their respective ideal selves. This process entails the belief that the partner can achieve their ideal self (referred to as perceptual affirmation). It also requires behaving in ways that elicit ideal-congruent qualities in the self (referred to as behavioral affirmation). In several studies, Rusbult and colleagues demonstrated that partner perceptual or behavioral affirmation prospectively led to movement toward the ideal self (Drigotas et al., 1999; Kumashiro, Rusbult, Wolf, & Estrada, 2006). Movement toward the ideal self, in turn, promoted both relational and personal happiness (Drigotas, 2002; Drigotas et al., 1999).

Overall, accumulating evidence indicates that partner responsiveness confers benefits for well-being not only in negative contexts but also in positive contexts (Cutrona & Russell, 2017). Growing converging evidence from experimental, longitudinal, and daily diary studies indicates that partner responsiveness cultivates happiness derived from pleasant experiences. Importantly, the increase in the level and duration of happiness persists even after controlling for the initial positivity of the experience. Moreover, partner responsiveness helps individuals work toward purposeful and meaningful goals and grow as a person.

One issue is whether the documented benefits of partner responsiveness for hedonic and eudaimonic well-being as well as relationship satisfaction differ across women and men. Attachment theory does not make any explicit predictions about the potential moderating role of gender—that is, partner responsiveness is expected to benefit both men and women. However, other theoretical perspectives argue that the benefits may be larger for women than for men. For instance, the tend-and-befriend model (Taylor, 2002) argues that because women were historically more

involved in child care, turning to close others in times of threat and adversity was more critical for them than it was for men. This tendency worked to ensure the joint safety and protection of the women themselves as well as their offspring. As a result, women may have developed greater sensitivity to the quality and maintenance of their relationships. The idea that this tendency translates to a reliable increase in the importance of partner responsiveness for happiness and well-being, however, has received mixed empirical support. Most studies detected no gender difference in the association between partner responsiveness and happiness (e.g., Collins & Feeney, 2000; Drigotas, 2002; Gable et al., 2012; Grewen et al., 2003; Mallers et al., 2010). However, in the few cases when there was a significant gender difference, the benefits were greater for women as compared to men (e.g., Selcuk et al., 2012), as the tend-and-befriend model predicts (see also Sapphire-Bentler & Taylor, 2013).

1.6 Unanswered Questions and Directions for Future Research

Despite advances in our understanding of the ways by which partner responsiveness enhances happiness, there are still questions remaining to be addressed in future research. First, although most of the extant work on partner responsiveness (including our own) has been heavily influenced by the developmental attachment theory, research on partner responsiveness in adulthood and on caregiver responsiveness in early life have remained relatively disparate. The integration of these two research lines may help us understand whether responsiveness leads to intergenerational effects on happiness. Are individuals with responsive partners also more likely to be responsive caregivers, which in turn leads their children to be happier and more responsive in their close relationships (including romantic and parental bonds), which increases the chances that their offspring would evidence greater responsiveness and happiness, and so on? Initial evidence suggests that such intergenerational links may be likely. For example, mothers who are avoidantly attached to their husbands (and hence, likely to perceive them as less responsive) are also less likely to be available and responsive to the needs of their offspring both in early childhood (Selcuk et al., 2010) and in adolescence (Stanton et al., 2017). Notably, maternal responsiveness, in turn, predicts healthier biological regulation of stress responses in adolescence (Stanton et al., 2017), showing that partner responsiveness may affect not only one's own well-being but also that of one's offspring. Whether such intergenerational effects also exist for offspring happiness is an important question for future research.

Another important question concerns the generalizability of the link between partner responsiveness and happiness across cultures. The present volume is comprised of excellent examples on how culture shapes the links between close relationships and happiness. Most of the work we reviewed here was conducted with North American samples. Does what we know about the associations between partner

responsiveness and the various indicators of happiness generalize to other cultures? Although forming and maintaining attachments is a normative aspect of human development and has been observed across virtually all parts of the world, there are several reasons to expect that the magnitude of the association between partner responsiveness and well-being may differ across cultures. For one, relationship formation and development processes differ across the Western and non-Western worlds. The Western perspective on romantic relationships emphasizes personal choice and voluntary effort as the basis of relationship formation. Individuals are thought to "select" a mate who possess desired physical and psychological characteristics—with responsiveness being one of them (Goodwin, 1999). Mutual engagement in self-disclosure and reacting responsively to these self-disclosures (whether negative or positive as we have reviewed) is seen as the catalyst of intimacy (Reis & Shaver, 1988). Furthermore, the couple is seen as a relatively separate unit from the partners' family (as reflected both physically in separate living arrangements and psychologically in preference of partners to view each other as the primary source and recipient of support; e.g., Zeifman & Hazan, 2008). In contrast, in cultures where the self is not seen as an agentic force shaping social reality but rather as embedded in a network of (oftentimes inescapable) social relationships (e.g., East Asia or West Africa; Adams, Anderson, & Adonu, 2004), pair bonds are perceived as a product of incontrollable situational factors such as fate or, as in the case of arranged marriages, the preferences of kin (as opposed to preferences of prospective spouses). Even when a marriage is not arranged in the strictest sense, the opinions of family members may be weighted more heavily in marriage initiation in the non-Western world. To the extent that beliefs in relationship formation do not reflect personal choice and voluntary effort, bases of mate preferences (e.g., physical attractiveness, partner responsiveness) should be less predictive of personal well-being (see also Anderson, Adams, & Plaut, 2008). Moreover, self-disclosure and responsiveness to these disclosures may not be the defining characteristic of the relationship, but other factors such as kin keeping may take precedence, making partner responsiveness a weaker predictor of both relational and personal well-being. Finally, marriage may be seen as a way to further strengthen one or both partners' ties with their extended families, suggesting the possibility that partners may not necessarily become the preferred source and recipient of support, which would again lead to a weaker association between partner responsiveness and well-being.

Based on this reasoning, we have recently compared the link between partner responsiveness and well-being across the United States (where the self is seen more as an independent entity, relationships are seen as a product of the voluntary actions and choices of the agentic self, and self-disclosure is a critical factor mediating relationship development) and Japan (where the self is seen more as an interdependent entity embedded in social relationships and a less powerful agent in determining relationship formation or dissolution, and self-disclosure is a less defining characteristic of social relationships). Indeed, although partner responsiveness predicted hedonic and eudaimonic well-being with small-to-medium effect sizes (Cohen, 1988) in both cultures, the slopes were smaller in Japan than in the United

States (Tasfiliz, Selcuk, Gunaydin, Slatcher, Corriero, & Ong, 2018). Overall, these findings support the theoretical argument that partner responsiveness is more strongly linked with happiness in contexts where relationship formation is based on personal volition and effort, self-disclosure is a defining feature of relationships, and high residential mobility is likely to limit the functions of other existing social ties. A subsequent study in Turkey (Tasfiliz, Sagel, & Selcuk, 2016), where independent values have been steadily increasing over the last two decades while interdependent values are retained, also revealed a positive association between partner responsiveness and well-being, with an effect size similar to that observed in the United States.

In addition to influencing the strength of the association between partner responsiveness and happiness, the cultural construction of relationships may also shape how responsiveness of different relationship partners (e.g., spouses, adult children, parents, close friends) affects happiness. Majority of researchers studying functions of responsiveness in adulthood, including ourselves, opt to focus mainly on partner responsiveness. There are both practical and theoretical reasons for this choice. On the practical side, as we have mentioned earlier, the pair bond (and its institutional form, marriage) allows researchers to study couples over a long period of time, during which the effects of relationships on health and happiness are realized. On the theoretical side, marriage (or long-term cohabitation) is thought to be the primary attachment relationship in adulthood (Bowlby, 1979) shaping biological, psychological, and social functioning. This theoretical contention received strong empirical support in Western samples, with adults consistently preferring their spouse or long-term romantic partner as the primary attachment figure (Doherty & Feeney, 2004; Fraley & Davis, 1997; Markiewicz, Lawford, Doyle, & Haggart, 2006; Zeifman & Hazan, 2008). As such, partner responsiveness is thought to confer benefits above and beyond responsiveness of other social network members, including family and close friends. This is not to say that responsiveness of other social network members is unimportant. For instance, work on capitalization finds that other social network members' (e.g., friends, parents) responsiveness to capitalization attempts also improves personal well-being (Demir & Davidson, 2013; Demir, Doğan, & Procsal, 2013; Demir, Haynes, & Potts, 2017; Gable et al., 2004; Gable & Reis, 2010¸ Gore, Cross, & Morris, 2006). However, partner responsiveness is thought to have a particularly potent effect. Indeed, although researchers have called for further empirical studies looking at the independent roles of different relationship partners (Robles, Slatcher, Trombeloo, & Mcginn, 2014), available evidence mainly from North American samples indicates that partner responsiveness may have a unique effect on health and happiness that is not accounted for or replaced by responsiveness of other social network members (e.g., Brooks et al. 2015; Selcuk et al., 2016; Vormbrock, 1993). These findings suggest that different social ties (marital, kinships, or friendships) are likely to have independent, additive associations with happiness.

But is the status of romantic partners as preferred attachment figures generalizable across cultures? In cultures where individuals are already embedded in close interdependent ties, transferring all attachment functions to the partner or spouse

may take longer than it does in Western cultures. Moreover, partners may have lower expectations for responsiveness if they already satisfy this need using other existing close relationships—for example, with parents, siblings, or close friends. Although direct evidence for this prediction is yet to be obtained, findings across different cultures indirectly speak to the possibility of its accuracy. First, studies show that individuals do not always see their romantic partners as the primary source of social support in East Asian cultures (Goodwin, 1999; Li & Cheng, 2015). Moreover, in both East Asian and West African cultures romantic partners are not the primary target for support provision when compared with parents (Salter & Adams, 2012; Wu, Cross, Wu, Cho, & Tey, 2016). In line with these findings, Turkish wives (vs. husbands) in arranged marriages perceived lower levels of responsiveness from their spouse, possibly due to traditional gender roles ascribing a greater expectation of being responsive to wives as compared to husbands (Imamoğlu & Selcuk, 2018). In such cases, interactions with other social network members as preferred sources of responsiveness may increase. Supporting this argument, a study with retired Turkish couples found that wives, when compared to their husbands, reported more frequent interactions with their close network of children and neighbors (Imamoğlu, Küller, Imamoğlu, & Küller, 1993). Given these findings, future work should investigate how the effects of different social network members on happiness compare within and across cultures.

The relative importance of different social network members may change across not only cultural contexts but also developmental periods. Most of the studies we reviewed here were conducted with adults in established long-term relationships. Whether these findings would generalize to early-stage romantic relationships in emerging and young adulthood during when close friends or family are still major sources of support is an important future research direction. We speculate that although partner responsiveness would predict intimacy and satisfaction in early-stage relationships during when an attachment bond is being forged (Zeifman & Hazan, 1997), other close relationships may remain the more critical determinants of well-being. Individual differences in motivations for forming romantic relationships (e.g., preference for remaining single or delaying committed romantic relationships; De Paulo, DePaulo, 2011; Shulman & Connolly, 2013) may also affect the likelihood with which responsiveness of friends and family serve as predictors of happiness during emerging and young adulthood.

Finally, features of responsiveness that are relevant for happiness may differ across cultural contexts. For instance, in cultures where individuals see themselves embedded in a broad network of strong kin ties, would responsiveness to kin keeping obligations (vs. responsiveness to self-disclosures) be more strongly related with happiness? This is not a remote possibility given the prevalence of experiencing close relationships based on obligations (e.g., providing instrumental support) in non-Western settings (Adams & Plaut, 2003).

The crucial effect of social relationships on the individual is evident as an issue of interest even in the earliest texts and teachings of civilizations across the globe (Reis, 2012b). Compared with this long-held interest, empirical work addressing how close relationships affect happiness has been recent, most notably accumulating

in the last three decades. A growing literature indicates that partner responsiveness is a central, organizing construct linking relationships to happiness. Studies with long-term marital or romantic relationships reveal that partner responsiveness helps preserve happiness in negative contexts by alleviating affective reactivity to stressful experiences and promote happiness in positive contexts by augmenting and prolonging happiness induced by pleasant experiences and by facilitating pursuit of personally meaningful goals and self-actualization. Building on this body of knowledge, the literature will benefit from future work investigating the implications of partner responsiveness for offspring happiness, examining how cultural grounding of relationships modulate the responsiveness-happiness link, and comparing the relative roles of different social network members and different components of responsiveness across cultural contexts and developmental stages. Addressing these issues will help us gain a deeper understanding of how responsiveness shapes personal well-being.

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Chapter 2
Interdependent Happiness: Progress and Implications

Hidefumi Hitokoto and Yukiko Uchida

Abstract We argue that interdependent happiness, predicated on interpersonal harmony, quiescence and ordinariness, is the core concept of shared meanings of happiness in interdependent cultural contexts. This paper presents its theoretical background based on culture and self studies, methods of measurement, and the latest available evidence from both the East and the West on interdependent happiness, while also elaborating on future directions. In particular, we investigate how interdependent happiness correlates with subjective well-being differently and flourishes differently across cultures. Our argument is an East Asian contribution to the recent world-wide interest in the measurement of culturally diverse types of happiness, that attempts to better appreciate the deeply rooted, socio-cultural nature of human ways of life.

2.1 Independent and Interdependent Happiness

Happiness is vital to social life. If we feel happiness as a result of our current social structure, we are motivated to maintain that structure, because it provides our source of happiness. If we cannot feel happiness, however, we are motivated to change that social structure because it creates obstacles to happiness. In this review, we assume that happiness is one of the key components to elucidating the mutual construction of culture/society and the human mind. In this paper, we will describe (1) the theoretical background of cultural happiness, (2) its measurement, and (3) the recent accumulation of evidence drawn from the cultural psychology of emotion.

Our research is motivated by two perspectives. One is a nuanced approach to the diversity of human happiness. Previous research has found cultural similarities in what leads to happiness, such as economic and material wealth (Diener, 2000). However, while material wealth can secure a certain level of societal well-being, a

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good portion of happiness comes from the actualization of psychological meaning in life, which is influenced by socio-cultural context. For example, Diener, Diener, and Diener (1995) found a positive correlation between national individualism – the national characteristic of valuing people's freedom – and average subjective well-being (SWB). Here, the value that individualistic societies place on cultivating the inner positivity (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) should be reflected in such societal difference. Culturally nuanced researchers frame such findings as an opportunity to closely examine the meaning of happiness in various cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1994) and to look for explanations of true cultural diversity in happiness.[1] From this critical point of view, we argue that existing happiness measures that blindly ask whether "*I* am happy" should be reframed as measuring only one type of available happiness in humans. Relationship researchers have long been aware that relational context matters in promoting well-being (Reis, Collins, & Berscheid, 2000; Demir & Özdemir, 2010). Self as the basis of happiness is essentially context dependent (Church et al., 2008; Kanagawa, Cross, & Markus, 2001). According to relationship research across cultures (Lansford, Antonucci, & Akiyama, 2005; Delle Fave et al., 2016), taking into account the contextual perspective on happiness would enrich the understanding that our sense of well-being is in fact "not alone," and that contextual factors ranging from relationships to cultural self-ways should be taken into account (Antonucci, Ajrouch, & Birditt, 2014).

The second motivation concerns the applied need for a sustainable society. A growing political-economic debate, demonstrated in conferences such as RIO + 20 by the United Nations, has risen regarding well-being as a sustainable and valid outcome of society, above and beyond GDP (OECD, 2011). The search for an alternative measure to describe a happy society has led to a promising line of research focusing on interpersonal relationships. For example, Alesina and Giuliano (2010) found family ties to be positively correlated with fertility and happiness across 70 countries. Oishi and Schimmack (2010) demonstrated the positive effect of perceived social support across 131 nations, after controlling for national wealth. Good interpersonal relationships are undoubtedly the prominent component of societal welfare, independent of what economy can bring.

Uchida and Ogihara (2012) theorized that the construal of happiness is conceptualized more interdependently among members of interdependent cultures than among members of individualistic cultures. This cultural psychological theory on the shared meaning of happiness in cultural context became an important milestone for the study of happiness. This is partly because the meaning of happiness could provide a basis for feasible political decision making. For example, no matter how economic globalization transforms institutions into individualistic ones (Ogihara & Uchida, 2014), certain tendencies are so deeply intertwined with the minds of a culture's members that they may hinder the complete implementation of the new

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[1] We define happiness as a global, subjective assessment of whether one is a happy or unhappy person (Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999). Also, subjective well-being is defined as the satisfaction of one's life as a whole and the predominance of positive emotion over negative emotion (Diener et al., 1995).

cultural idea (Toivonen, Norasakkunkit, & Uchida, 2011). If this is the case, then political decision making regarding the promotion and measurement of happiness should take into consideration cultural modes of happiness. Achieving a sustainable society in a non-Western nation requires studies that are open to the nuanced diversity, and we believe that the first step is to look into the positive function of interpersonal relationships.

2.2   Diversity of Self-Ways

The idea of independent and interdependent models of happiness is based on the theory of independent and interdependent self-construals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The cognitive, emotional, and motivational processes of the self which we repeatedly use in our daily social lives are diverse. Therefore, how people carry out various social behaviors in their respective lives, the goal of engaging in each social behavior, and the seemingly subtle meanings conveyed in their actions may vary tremendously across cultural contexts (Markus & Conner, 2013). Because our social behavior is necessary to live our life well in a given social environment, these self-related processes can be understood as a chunk of operations that we utilize on a daily bases to live effectively (Kitayama & Park, 2010). Consequently, the socially shared conceptions of what it means to be human, to live a good life, and to be happy, are best understood as a part of the self in context.

One of the defining features of independent and interdependent self-construals is the contextual dependency of the self. Cross-cultural comparisons of the self strongly suggest that for members of interdependent cultural contexts, one's self-view varies according to shifts in social context. Cognitively, members of such cultures recognize themselves differently when they are with friends than when they are with strangers (Kanagawa et al., 2001; Church et al., 2008). On the other hand, in independent cultural contexts, self-consistency is quite important. For example, as Kanagawa et al. (2001) suggest, members of these cultures do not change their self-view based on contexts such as who they are with. They consider cultural self-ways to be learned through one's education (Azuma, Kashiwagi, & Hess, 1981; Wang & Leichtman, 2000) which is also a part of a larger cultural cycle involving daily interactions and institutions that is governed by cultural values (Markus & Conner, 2013).

2.3   Emotion and Culture: Seeking Harmony

Because of this context dependency, happiness that is compatible with the interdependent self—the most relevant for this chapter—mainly concerns emotional processes that are relational in nature. Emotionally, members of interdependent cultures feel strongly positive when respect and friendliness is experienced (Kitayama,

Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000), and are highly concerned when their social standing is at stake (Taylor et al., 2004). They also have a tendency to appraise emotional events by focusing on the relationship between the self and their counterpart and give priority to the preservation of harmony over enhancement of positive self-view (Boiger, Mesquita, Uchida, & Barrett, 2013; Mesquita & Leu, 2007; Uchida, Townsend, Markus, & Bergsieker, 2009). The culturally colored appraisal of emotion is so much a daily practice that through one's experience the frequency of emotion is skewed in a way that is dependent upon culture (Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006).

A typical interdependent cultural context can be found in East Asia. Specifically, Japanese people seek *harmony* between themselves and others. This orientation towards balance affects their emotional experience—in particular, it makes them feel comfortable about inferred others' feelings. Miyamoto, Uchida, and Ellsworth (2010) found that Japanese students report concerns about whether their own success has troubled others. Japanese students, as compared to North American students, report the co-occurrence of positive and negative emotions, in situations where one's benefit weighs against the cost of others. In other words, Japanese emotional ambivalence comes into play because of the value that they place on harmony: a balanced-positive state between the self and others.

In fact, the *positive* correlation between positive and negative emotions in Japanese (Kitayama et al., 2000) can be explained by their concerns about troubling others (Hitokoto, 2009). Hitokoto, Niiya, and Tanaka-Matsumi (2008) studied indebtedness, a social emotion that is felt after appraising one's own benefit (for receiving help) and a helper's cost (for providing help to the self). While European Americans tend to evaluate obligations based on their own benefit, Japanese people evaluated their obligations based on a helper's cost. It appears that Japanese individuals, compared to North Americans, are susceptible to feelings of concern when exchanges take place between the self and others (Hitokoto, 2016). Japanese people try to achieve harmony by accepting some negativity in themselves. Sundararajan (2014) argues that among the members of an interdependent culture, concern about harmony, the capacity to be able to pay attention, mind, and even be embarrassed about one's social misconduct is a crucial means to survive in such contexts. At first glance, regarding the painful emotion of embarrassment as functional may not make sense; however, in an interdependent context, sensitivity to embarrassment can become adaptive due to the importance of a stable in-group (Sznycer et al., 2012). This stability leads to the pursuit of harmony.

These studies together suggest that our emotions, a seemingly private system for survival, is in fact inseparably intertwined with the larger cultural context in which one takes part. Because of this, achieving happiness should also involve fine-tuned adjustments between the culturally afforded meanings of happiness and the individual phenomenological experience that matches with such a meaning system.

2.4   Meaning of Happiness

Just as emotional experiences are affected by culture, predictors of happiness also differ across cultures. Kwan, Bond, and Singelis (1997)'s study shows that the level of subjective well-being across the United States and Hong Kong can be differentially explained by either self-esteem or relational harmony. They also show that these two antecedents of happiness can be explained by using a self-construal scale that measures independence and interdependence. This study is a seminal one that shows how cultural variables might come into play in altering the antecedent, or the meaning of subjective well-being. Additionally, both a daily diary study (Oishi, Diener, Scollon, & Biswas-Diener, 2004) and a priming experiment (Suh, Diener, & Updegraff, 2008) jointly suggest that the meaning of subjective well-being is culture/self dependent. Culture has an impact on how we construe happiness in terms of personal and social implications. These findings point to how direct comparisons of average happiness across cultures may oversimplify the functional aspect of happiness by de-contextualizing the concept from its complex contingencies in daily life. Thus, we can view happiness not as a simple score to rank nations, but as a context-embedded, functional concept in the ways of daily life maintained by the members of a culture. From such viewpoint, we may take into consideration the antecedents and consequences of subtle thoughts, feelings, and motivations underlying cultural behavior. By doing this, we can also realize the value of both taking diverse modes of self into account and examining correlates of happiness across cultures (Uchida & Ogihara, 2012).

Uchida and Kitayama (2009) examined the meaning of happiness among students in the United States and Japan. They gathered qualitative data by asking both groups of students to first nominate multiple meanings of happiness and evaluate the desirability of the resulting descriptions. They then asked another group of participants to manually categorize the items nominated by their own cultural members, which revealed how happiness is construed around different themes across cultural groups. The results of the first stage suggest that whereas 98% of American happiness is filled with positive valence-associated words and a central meaning of personal achievement, Japanese happiness is only 66% positive. Furthermore, multi-dimensional mapping of the second stage reveals that Japanese cultural components also include transcendental reappraisal (i.e., feeling happy while easing the time away) and social disruption (i.e., concerns about disharmony caused by being happy). These two components rarely appeared in the United States, where the central meaning of happiness is personal achievement. Importantly, for Japanese people, the central meaning of happiness is social harmony, rather than personal achievement.

In another study using Japanese students, Uchida (2010) further showed that the Japanese conception of happiness was a transitory interpersonal idea fraught with negative consequences, such as inviting the envy of others for being happy, or reducing the ability to attend to one's surroundings in ways such as being inconsiderate

to others. The low levels of happiness among East Asians, therefore, could in large part be due to concerns about harmony in one's social circle (Oishi & Sullivan, 2005).

This cultural inclination to perceive happiness as harmony seems to be the major shared meaning for the members of interdependent cultures, or among those living in collaborative lifestyles such as farming. Hitokoto, Takahashi, and Kaewpijit (2014) corroborated the past findings that the source of happiness is predominantly harmony among adults in Thailand, and that the level of interdependent happiness tends to be even higher among those living in rural, agricultural regions. This result fits nicely with the argument by Talhelm et al. (2014) that the socio-ecological ante-cedent to collectivism was a rice making, farming lifestyle which required collab-orative work to provide carbohydrates to the population. When daily collaboration is necessary for survival, the participants involved tend to communicate, converse, and ultimately conceptualize happiness as harmony.

These past studies together point to how cultural context might be responsible for our meaning of happiness, and how happiness tends to imply interpersonal har-mony among the members of interdependent cultures. We will argue below that this sense of harmony, coupled with those of quiescence and ordinariness in one's close relationships, is one important variety of human happiness that is attained through living in an interdependent cultural context. We will offer some evidence on this account, and conclude by demonstrating how interdependent happiness has positive functions in an interdependent context, and how it might lead to a culturally mean-ingful course of development.

2.5   Cultural Happiness as Cultural Task Achievement

Kitayama, Park, Sevincer, Karasawa, and Uskul (2009) argue that cultural contexts contain repertoires of tasks, and that people living in that cultural context are, more or less, destined to self-actualize by completing those tasks. This completion might depend on individuals choosing which of the tasks to excel at using their acquired cultural skills. Cultural happiness, then, is considered to be the positive result of such endeavors, rewarding individuals for doing well in those tasks.

In an independent cultural context such as that of North America, the repertoire of tasks revolves around the ideal way of being independent. To be independent, one may choose to have high self-regard (Heine et al., 1999), be good at controlling one's environment (Morling, Kitayama, & Miyamoto, 2002), process things ana-lytically (Masuda & Nisbett, 2001), be positive (Markus & Kitayama, 1994), and so on. In an interdependent cultural context, on the other hand, one may choose to be self-effacing (Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997), be able to keep one's social standing (Taylor et al., 2004), process things holistically (Masuda & Nisbett, 2001), be contextual (Church et al., 2008), and so on. As the result of these endeavors, people feel harmony in their close relationships, quiescent for being able to avoid trouble around their social circle, and feel the self to be

ordinary—neither too special nor too behind, but at about the similar level as others (Hitokoto & Uchida, 2015). Good feelings revolve around the consequences of this obligation fulfilling (Oishi & Sullivan, 2005), a minimalist style of life that focuses on the transcendental reappraisal discussed above (Kan, Karasawa, & Kitayama, 2009). Lu and Gilmour (2006) measured social-oriented SWB, or the belief people have in happiness as role obligation and dialectical balance across Taiwan, the People's Republic of China, and the United States. The results clearly show that the Chinese endorse this belief more than the Americans. Because our interdependent happiness is tapping into the more personal and emotional implications of cultural happiness and adding on ordinariness as another element (Hitokoto & Sawada, in press), the input from Chinese culture coincides nicely with our interests.

2.6   Interdependent Goal Pursuit

The quality of emotional experiences resulting from the pursuit of such interdependent goals, in contrast to the high-arousal positive emotions idealized in the individualistic cultural context (Tsai, 2007), is more of a benign, tentative intermission that arises from the absence of social disharmony. To fully digest this critical point regarding the enjoyment of the non-negative, the concept of *face* needs to be explicated. *Face* is the respectability and/or deference that a person can claim from others by virtue of the relative position he/she occupies in a social network and the degree to which he/she is judged to have functioned adequately in that position as well as acceptably in his/her social conduct (Ho, 1976). As detailed by Hamamura and Heine (2008), the maintenance of *face* hinges on others' evaluation of it; therefore, the critical task here is to not fail to live up to the minimal expectations of related others (Oishi & Sullivan, 2005). Minimal expectations can take the form of fulfilling one's social role, maintaining the minimum standard of life, or simply being ordinary. Importantly, others' evaluations cannot be fully controlled by the self; therefore, the effort involves careful attention to social context and the seamless and smooth coordination of transient evaluations. Doing "well" in such a context would best be described and experienced as the absence of social trouble or interpersonal strain (Kitayama, Karasawa, Curhan, Ryff, & Markus, 2010). In order to devise a nuanced measurement of such a well-being, an interdependent framework which encompasses these cultural processes and outcomes of a meaningful life are required.

Hitokoto and Uchida (2015) standardized a self-report scale named the "interdependent happiness scale," or IHS, to measure individual perceptions of the interpersonally harmonized, quiescent, and ordinary nuances of happiness which are the shared meaning of happiness in an interdependent cultural context. Examples of items on the scale are, "I believe that I and those around me are happy", "I feel that I am being positively evaluated by others around me", and "I can do what I want without causing problems for other people". The scale is a nine-item, five-point Likert-type scale, and data indicates uni-dimensionality for the 9 items. Among the

American sample, the IHS showed no gender differences across both students and adults. Among the Japanese sample, females scored higher than the males across both students (t (282) = 2.98, $p < .01$) and adults (t (3138) = 5.27, $p < .001$).

Hitokoto and Uchida (2015) standardized the scale using Japanese and American students. Thai adults were also sampled (Hitokoto & Uchida, 2015; Hitokoto et al., 2014; Hitokoto & Uchida, 2016a), and three representative items were used for comparison between Japanese, American, German, and Korean adults (Hitokoto & Uchida, 2015). These studies together point to how people's definition of happiness implies harmony under the cultural context of interdependence.

The student sample has now been extended to other countries (Hitokoto & Uchida, 2016b), and the scale has been compared to Japanese counterparts regarding its cross-cultural equivalence. Datu, King, and Valdez (2015) measured Philippine high school students' interdependent happiness and came up with three factors with a single second order factor solution. This finding in a highly collectivistic country is theoretically meaningful because Hitokoto and Uchida (2015)'s original item production started as three interrelated facets of relationship-oriented happiness, quiescent happiness, and ordinary happiness. At this point, users of the scale may aggregate the nine items to form a single scale score, since predominant replications suggest that the three facets are correlated very strongly with each other.

2.7   Cross-Cultural Comparison

In their study, Hitokoto and Uchida (2015) measured interdependent happiness of students in Japan and the United States and adults in the United States, Germany, Japan, and Korea, and compared how the scale score would differentially predict subjective well-being across these countries, showing the semantic overlap between interpersonal harmony and a sense of well-being. In some studies, such analysis is known as "nation profiling" (Bond, 2013, p.161). The hypothesis is that in more collectivistic countries, the relative impact of the scale score on self-esteem – theoretically treated as a measure of positive self-regard encouraged under an independent context – would be higher. The study confirms this hypothesis; interdependent happiness predicts overall well-being much better than self-esteem, especially in Korea, where the impact of self-esteem is negligible. Therefore, the degree to which participants' spontaneous well-being rating implies either interpersonal harmony or positive self-regard is meaningfully different according to individualistic and collectivistic cultural variations. Recently, adding another student sample from the United Kingdom, Hitokoto and Uchida (2016a; 2016b) examined the same regression model, and replicated the stronger impact of IHS for Japanese well-being and the stronger impact of self-esteem for English students.

Using the Filipino high school student sample, Datu et al. (2015) demonstrated the reliability as well as discriminant validity of the IHS against the sense of relatedness to others—whether one feels accepted and/or special when one is with one's

parents, teachers, and peers. The small size of the correlations ($.14 < r < .26$) suggests that interdependent happiness is something beyond distinct acceptances by each of the close others, but an integrated interpersonal happiness experienced through one's social relationships.

The Commission on Measuring Well-Being, Japan (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, 2012) sampled 10,000 Japanese adults aged 15 to 69 who completed the IHS. Cross-age group comparison of the scale indicates that the scale score increased with age, and it correlates strongly with current happiness level ($r = .69$), family happiness ($r = .65$), and life satisfaction ($r = .77$). Interestingly, it correlates only weakly ($r = .29$) with the "future happiness (the degree to which one estimates increase (+) or decrease (-) of happiness in the next 5 years)," which may indicate the transitory nature of interdependent happiness. This finding is reasonable if one's social harmony is understood as something essentially uncontrollable, and is enjoyed only in the moment of transitory harmony with its potential loss.

2.8   Cross-Regional Comparison

Since cultures are not rigid, physically demarcated systems, but "dynamic open systems that spread across geographical boundaries" (Hong & Chiu, 2001), the sharing of values and worldviews can also take place within local units, such as regions, that are divergent in terms of historically-derived prevalent ideas, norms, and products (Plaut, Markus, & Lachman, 2002; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Therefore, the impact of IHS on overall well-being – the meaning of happiness as interdependent – can be different depending on the local cultural context paralleling national individualism-collectivism (Varnum & Kitayama, 2011).[2]

Hitokoto and Uchida (2015) replicated the four countries' difference of the impact of the IHS on subjective well-being using Japanese adults from various regions ($N = 3045$). That is, those groups of Japanese adults who were from more collectivistic and historically agricultural regions of the country, such as Niigata or Yamagata, implied that happiness was more interdependent: they showed stronger association between IHS and SWB compared to more individualistic or modern regions, such as Tokyo or Hokkaido. Further, Hitokoto and Uchida (2016a) replicated this association between IHS and SWB among American adults from various original states using an online survey ($N = 809$): adults who were from more collectivistic states exhibited a stronger association than those from individualistic states. These findings suggest that one's local cultural context, in terms of individualism-collectivism, is one determinant of the ways in which happiness implies either harmony or positive self-regard.

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[2] There are also some methodological advantages in regional comparisons, such that within a nation, institutions that are often quite distinct across nations –political systems and economic situations, education and so on– can be held constant. Also the methodological problems due to translation (van de Vijver & Tanzer, 2004), response biases (Johnson, Kulesa, Cho, & Shavitt, 2005) and reference group effect (Heine, Lehman, Peng, & Greenholtz, 2002) can also be kept minimum.

According to the argument by Talhelm et al. (2014), a farming lifestyle in one's local living environment can be a socio-ecological base of interdependent happiness. In Thailand, Hitokoto et al. (2014) found that residents among the farming villages of this collectivistic country exhibited a higher level of interdependent happiness compared to residents in the urban cities. Culture, which has emerged from human group living, corresponds to various collective means of living. In particular, farming, which inevitably involves accommodation with others and organized group norms has provided the meaning of happiness as interdependent throughout the history. Similarly, certain social ecologies may have created self-oriented happiness as it exists in independent cultures today.

2.9   Interdependent Happiness as "Cultural Strength"

Ryff and her colleagues suggest that psychological well-being (PWB; Ryff, 1995) is a meaningful flourishing—a sense of meaning and a feeling of richness that emerge in one's life course—and is *eudaimonic* and long-term in nature, instead of *hedonic* and short-term. PWB is also reported to have positive effects on physical health through facilitating biological health (Morozink, Friedman, Coe, & Ryff, 2010).

Reconsidering its theoretical background, PWB is predicated on Western theories of flourishing (Christopher, 1999), such as those of Neugarten, Buhler, Erickson, Birren, Jahoda, Jung, Maslow, Rogers, and Allport (Ryff, 1995). Taking into account the criticism that psychological findings are biased towards using Western, educated, industrialized, rich and democratic participants and thus are based on the theories made by such unique sub-group of humans (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010), composing a theory of human flourishing from Western theories alone can limit the scope of what constitutes good flourishing in life, for flourishing should also be intertwined with cultural context. How is one flourishing, for example, if they end up appreciating the opportunity to die through controlling nothing under a sal tree as Buddha did? There should be a richer diversity in theories about the cultural logic of how to flourish in life.

Kitayama et al. (2010) demonstration of divergent contributions of relational strain on PWB persuasively demonstrates the above point. Relational strain – the degree to which one is being criticized by, being demanded by, being let down by, and being irritated by one's family and friends – negatively explains PWB, especially among Japanese. Because of the interdependent cultural context that requires tasks of harmony, flourishing may imply building one's social standing firmly, being skilled at attending and responding to others' expectations efficiently, and as a consequence, preserving harmony.[3]

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[3] In this regard, the *positive relationships* factor of the PWB apparently overlap with interdependent happiness. However, while the former involves active management of and control over relationships, the latter is predicated on a harmonious approach to relationships, such as maintaining
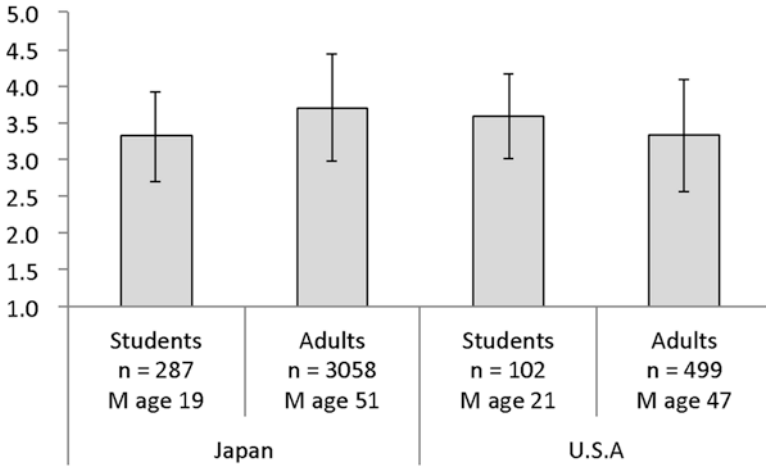
Fig. 2.1 Average level of the IHS score across Japanese and Americans, divided by students and adults

Note. Student and Japanese adult data were retrieved from Hitokoto and Uchida (Hitokoto & Uchida, 2015), and data for the American adults are from Hitokoto (2016a)

Error bars represent +/− 1SD

There is an interesting cross-cultural difference in the age trajectory of happiness across Japan and the U.S. Japanese happiness levels decline with age, while those of Americans follow a U curve, hitting the lowest level during midlife. This developmental pattern, however, might be true only when personalized happiness questions are used, as is the case in this census. IHS score is *higher* among adults as compared to students in Japan (Hitokoto & Uchida, 2015). However, when American students and adults were compared on the IHS, adults scored *lower* than students (Fig. 2.1). These results indicate the possibility of a culturally based course of flourishing. In other words, interpersonal harmony can flourish through life more successfully in an interdependent cultural context, while it may not do so in an independent context. Because the more interdependent European Americans experience *negative* emotions in their life (Hitokoto, 2015), being harmonized may, in part, hinder one's independence selectively for adult Americans –who are primarily expected to live on their own, and actively choose relationships that are operational to maintain their self-esteem (Uchida, Kitayama, Mesquita, Reyes, & Morling, 2008). In light of this argument, why young Japanese students have scored lower than young American students on the IHS (Hitokoto and Uchida (2015), can be understood as the former group being placed in a cultural challenge to succeed in mainstream interdependent life (Kitayama et al., 2009). After experiencing

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quiescence and being ordinary without necessarily controlling it, as we discussed regarding *face* maintenance above. In fact, the two correlate modestly (Japan: $r = .52$, $p < .001$; U.S.: $r = .40$, $p < .001$, Hitokoto & Uchida, 2015).

mainstream Japanese interdependent life, elderly Japanese people can maintain interdependent happiness.

Importantly, members of both cultures do place importance on their relationships throughout life. However, because interdependent happiness is the outcome of interdependent social life, which is full of opportunities to preserve one's obligatory or normative relationships, it is preserved by maintaining one's expected role and social *face*, which is essentially out of one's personal control (Hamamura & Heine, 2008), as is actively choosing one's relationships. This is the first feature of interdependent relationships predicated on a stable, given, and closed in-group. The primary goal of such relationships is to maintain harmony by being mindful of ones' mistakes and avoid disharmony by being loyal and committed to the group norm, so that one can maintain quiescence and ordinariness that might be abruptly lost when losing social *face*. The second feature of interdependent relationships is that the members share the ideal of emotions as quiescent. Meeting one's norm, or one's obligatory self (Higgins, 2005; Lee, Arker, & Gardner, 2000), is not a mere strategy of effacement for maintaining social evaluations; rather, it is an effective means to achieve the ideal of emotions shared among interdependent cultural members, which is a low arousal, positive emotional state (Tsai, 2007). When cultural members share such an ideal, the ways in which interpersonal relationships are managed can become entirely normative.

If Japanese relationships generally involve such a normative style of management, then interdependent happiness should be comparable between the formally given relationship and the personally chosen friendship. Even in this low-mobility country, university students are relatively open to choosing their close friends (Sato & Yuki, 2014), but they also have formal acquaintances in their seminars or classrooms, about whom they have limited knowledge but with whom they interact formally (Sasaki, Sugawara, & Tannno, 2005). We examined the above hypothesis by sampling 80 Japanese students and asking them first to choose their in-group, defined as the group they belong to and spend the most time with during a typical weekday, from the options: 1: Acquaintance in their seminar or classroom, 2: Personally close friends, and 3: other. Of the 80, 30 students chose the first option, while 46 students chose the second, and four chose the third. They then responded to the IHS by referring to the self in the respective in-group context. Comparison of the first two groups showed negligible difference in the average IHS score ($t(74) = .14$, $p = .89$). This result may indicate the nature of Japanese interpersonal relationships; personal friendship is as harmony, quiescence, and ordinariness nurturing as the normative relationship.

However, exactly what relationships participants imply when responding to the IHS in various cultures is an important question to be addressed in the future. Also, students are limited in terms of interactions to those in the workplace hierarchy or interactions with their marital partner (Japanese university students are rarely married), and the above data did not single out family and romantic relationships, some of the most personal relationships for students (Bugental, 2000). Therefore, com-

parisons would benefit from addressing the detailed differences among possible social relationships, and how they relate to interdependent happiness. We believe, however, that because culture is a collection of interactions that is set into motion by institutions which themselves are informed by collectively held ideas (Markus & Conner, 2013), any relationship may involve some type of interdependent tasks, if it is situated in a collectivistic cultural context. For example, friendship may involve a stronger sense of indebtedness among interdependent cultural members (Hitokoto, 2016), hindering active help-seeking among friends (Taylor et al., 2004), and confining it to very close family members. In this case, cross-cultural investigations of the ways in which cultural tasks are required in various types of social relationships (Lansford et al., 2005) and how people differently maintain/choose such relationships throughout their lives (Fiori, Antonucci, & Akiyama, 2008) will be informative, not only for cultural psychologists, but also for relationship researchers (Reis et al., 2000).

Because interdependent happiness is considered to capture success in interdependent social life, thriving in a non-interdependent life would undermine interdependent happiness. One type of non-interdependent life is be a highly competitive, economically successful life among those of high socio-economic status (SES) (Stephens, Townsend, Markus, & Phillips, 2012). Particularly in an economically developing East Asian cultural context, such as in Thailand, the correlation between objective social status and level of IHS is negative since status pursuit in such a context may require sacrificing one's relationships (Ogihara & Uchida, 2014). In contrast, a well-being measure that does not tap into the success of interdependent life would be free from such a cost. We put this hypothesis to a test using representative Thai adults (Hitokoto, 2014) and the IHS satisfaction with life question (i.e., "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?"). We then examined whether objective SES would negatively correlate with the IHS, whereas satisfaction with life would not. The results supported the hypothesis, and interdependent happiness was negatively correlated with objective SES ($r = -.32$, $p < .01$), while satisfaction with life was not ($r = .03$, $p = .78$). The results indicate that the IHS captures success in interdependent life, while the traditional overall SWB questions may not.

Because knowing that the self is committed to a task is only a part of the felt success in a task, having an interdependent self-construal does not directly imply having interdependent happiness. In fact, the correlation between the two is negligible across Japan and the U.S. ($-.08 < r < .14$). We interpret this result as reasonable, and believe that a larger cultural context such as country or region mediates the IHS-SWB link. However, future studies need to show a clearer link between the two different levels by focusing on the process of how individual interdependent happiness comes about, on the condition that an individual is situated in a collectivistic cultural context, as well as how such a context can be re-created. We believe one possible route to these goals is tightly knit communication among individuals who are mutually related.

2.10 Interdependent Happiness and Health

Kitazawa, Hitokoto, and Yoshimura (n.d.) measured 1200 Japanese university students' level of IHS and examined if this measurement is related to healthy lifestyles. Particularly, it focused on the relationship with sleep quality, since social disintegration is known to hinder sleep (Cacioppo et al., 2006). As was previously discussed, interdependent happiness is a social harmony among one's related others. Therefore, it is plausible to argue that interdependent happiness is positively correlated with good sleep quality. In addition to sleep, social harmony may also accompany healthy social activity, because harmony is achieved through daily interactions with close others. Therefore, chronic, modern, asocial behaviors such as retreating from university life and net-surfing during holidays would negatively correlate with interdependent happiness. The results supported these predictions; interdependent happiness is positively correlated with good and long sleep, more attendance at university, and less internet use during holidays. Although these results were correlational, the survey was one of the first to examine interdependent happiness and health behaviors using an epidemiological approach. We await future replications, especially those investigating whether such pro-health effect is adjusted by a larger cultural context.

Social capital is a social networks of reciprocity, trust, and cooperation (Putnam, 2000). Because of its relational nature, it was hypothesized that the extent to which happiness implied harmony is related, at the group level, with social capital. Our preliminary data (Hitokoto, Fukushima, Takemura, & Uchida, (n.d.)) suggests that this is the case, and even after controlling for individual level variables (e.g., gender, age, individual-level number of face-to-face interacting partners), the impact of interdependent happiness on general happiness was systematically stronger in Japanese local municipalities with larger average numbers of face-to-face interacting partners. The average number of face-to-face interacting partners in a municipality can be interpreted as one local-level feature of the size of a social network. Therefore, we suggest social network as another socio-ecological background component of the IHS-SWB link. The group-level function of IHS, or its community-level pro-health function, is another frontier that could be pursued in future research.

2.11 Frontiers of Cultural Happiness

Delle Fave et al. (2016) demonstrated nation-level dimensions of the content of happiness (i.e., family, friends, health, work, and so on) and lay definitions of happiness (i.e., internal harmony and balance, satisfaction, positive emotions and so on). The gist of these findings, which are derived from asking people "what is happiness for you?", is that the dominant component of happiness is positive and harmonious familial and social relationships, and that the most frequently observed psychological definition was inner harmony (i.e., inner peace, balance, contentment, and

psychophysical well-being). If personal achievement is the dominant component of happiness for the WEIRD culture (Henrich et al., 2010; Uchida & Kitayama, 2009), then a more central implication of human happiness is the interpersonal and quiescent mind that overlaps with the conception of interdependent happiness.

Unfortunately, at this point there is a shortage of truly diverse and representative human data from every corner of the world. Future studies of interdependent happiness need more diverse cultural samples. Importantly, interdependent happiness is only one demonstrative alternative to the personalized happiness that has often been used by positive psychologists, and there are countless possibilities of entirely different cultural well-being measures. Some may not even take the form of self-reports, if the concept of happiness is missing in their local language, or is *hypo-cognized* by the members for cultural reasons. This might be applicable to interdependent cultures, where merely claiming that one is happy can be considered a potential breach of harmony by means of inviting others' envy, which may be often the case when these others idealize ordinariness and not standing out. It is also plausible that the dialectic conceptions of life (Miyamoto et al., 2010) may render any straightforward questions about whether the life is "good" or not meaningless in some cultures. In some cultures, positive feeling itself is less valued, and alternatively, what one did to fulfill one's given duty and obligation is the main point of wellness in life. In these cases, self-reflection about whether one's life is good is rarely practiced in people's minds, that it may almost lose ecological validity in the context. Further, in such contexts, presence of a positive may not be recognized as in other cultures, but something negative such as a loss of a valued target (i.e., death of a close other) would only make the members to reminisce, self-reflect and clarify the conception of what happiness *was*. If happiness is so embedded in the culture, it may go beyond the methodological scope of the self-report measure. Use of simple reports requires a certain degree of self-reflection and de-contextualization. Richer conceptualizations, both incorporating diverse meanings and using careful approaches to these *happiness-ways*, will be needed to answer these very interesting empirical issues.

As culture can spread across historically demarcated boundaries, we also need to be aware of both its unit and change. Specifically, culture seems to be the unit of semiotic space: temporal period and/or spatial zone where a group of people share, via communication, certain meanings about cognition, emotion, and behavior regarding how to live feasibly. Which unit provides the meaning of happiness to its subscribed members is yet to be clearly defined. Also, this unit itself seems to change, usually slowly, but sometimes in a short period of time. The dictionary definition of happiness has dropped the implication of "luck" within the past century in the United States (Oishi, Graham, Kesebir, & Galinha, 2013), and economic stagnation can alter national well-being within a short period of time (Inglehart & Klingemann, 2000), while some cultural aspects of happiness may last for generations (Rice & Steele, 2004). Collective behaviors can radically change in less than half a century (Punam, 2000), while the genes responsible for social learning might have been selected for throughout the past several millennia (Kitayama, King, Hsu, Liberzon, & Yoon, 2016). Out of these different layers/levels of cultural phenomena,

health and happiness emerge as a consequence of survival, group living, and self-actualization of the people sharing semiotic space that offers humans a meaning by which they live. It is yet to be known which units, changes, or the interactions are truly responsible for how we came up with the happiness we recognize today. Therefore, the suggestion is that we continue to develop, monitor, re-construct, and progressively establish the empirical measures of happiness across cultures, keeping in mind that culture interacts with meanings of happiness.

As for a good example to focus on a semiotic space other than the traditional "country" unit, Hitokoto and Uchida (2015) and Hitokoto (2016a) pointed out how regional culture might also be responsible for defining the meaning of happiness. Specifically, state-level individualism-collectivism (i.e., an aggregate of state-level indicators of this cultural value orientation, such as divorce rate or average number of family members, and so on; Vandello & Cohen, 1999) of the original regions where participants spent large parts of their life before becoming 15 years old had significant impacts on the degree to which their general happiness was explained by either interdependent happiness or self-esteem. Specifically, their original regional/state-level collectivism positively mediated the impact of interdependent happiness on SWB, while the impact of self-esteem on SWB was negatively mediated. The results were interpreted as evidence of happiness as a product of cultural learning when humans are developmentally susceptible to their environments. Considering how life-long development may alter the level of interdependent happiness, social experiences or behaviors that people engage in during their life course can be one factor that promotes or decreases interdependent happiness. In fact, a cultural priming study has demonstrated how tentative priming involving thinking about what is different or common with one's families and friends may able to alter modes of happiness (i.e., the degree to which life satisfaction is explained by either one's positive emotions or social appraisal) across Americans and Koreans (Suh et al., 2008). If this is not limited to tentative phenomena, then cultural happiness might be open to learning.

2.12   Conclusion

Culture can offer tremendous diversity to our shared meaning of happiness. Current reliance on personalized happiness (i.e., whether I am happy) is one special version of cultural happiness in independent contexts. Interdependent happiness, which is predicated on harmony (i.e., whether I and others around me are happy), is another version that we offer from interdependent cultural contexts where *face* maintenance and ordinariness are the art of social life. As demonstrated here, culture, or the semiotic space where people share certain meanings regarding how to live, can be a significant context for individuals to feel happy on their own terms. Future research is encouraged to explore culture's positive functions in both society and individuals, and to further demonstrate how happiness is a joint product of cultural meaning and the self as an agent of social life.

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Chapter 3
Parent-Child Relationships and Happiness Across Cultures

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Abstract A key component of parents' and children's happiness is the parent-child relationship. Children's happiness is generally associated with their parents' happiness and parenting skills, and parents' happiness can be influenced by their children's characteristics, and further, their own parental status. Given the variability in parenting practices across cultures and the way country-level factors contribute to parents' and children's well-being, it is critical to consider this research from a cross-cultural perspective. This chapter provides an overview of literature on parent-child relationships and happiness across cultures and identifies important gaps to address in the future.

The study of parents' and children's happiness across cultures is a massive and complicated endeavor. It necessarily involves the study of parent-child relationships and how they are associated with both parents' and children's happiness. Children's happiness is often related to their parents' happiness (Halberstadt & Eaton, 2002) as well as more general parenting skills and support (Khaleque & Rohner, 2002). Regarding parents' happiness, children's characteristics (e.g., age, problematic behavior; Karraker & Coleman, 2006; Luthar & Cuciollo, 2016) matter. One commonly studied and debated question is whether people with children are happier than those without children (Margolis & Myrskylä, 2011; Nelson, Kushlev, & Lyubomirsky, 2014). Furthermore, it is critical to consider this research from a cross-cultural perspective. Parenting practices vary considerably across cultures (e.g., Bornstein, 2012), and country-level economic factors and welfare policies contribute substantially to parents' and children's happiness and emotional well-being (e.g., Aassve, Mencarini, & Sironi, 2014). This chapter provides an overview of this research and identifies important gaps to address in the future.

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Early research on parent-child relationships across cultures included ethnographic research on remote cultures (see review by Trommsdorff & Kornadt, 2003) and early attachment-related research (e.g., Ainsworth, 1967). Although many of these early studies examined parent-child emotions and emotional exchanges, research focused explicitly on happiness or life satisfaction did not appear until later. More current research on parent and child happiness across cultures often addresses cultural variations in mean-levels of parent and child happiness. However, the most current research has advanced by investigating mediators (e.g., parenting beliefs, goals; Trommsdorff & Kornadt, 2003) and moderators (e.g., acceptance of cultural values; Trommsdorff, Mayer, & Albert, 2004) of cultural variations in parent and child happiness.

Across these historical trends, various theoretical perspectives have been relevant. The evolutionary perspective proposes that different parenting styles developed in response to problems our ancestors faced and that these parenting styles produce different socialization experiences (Keller, 2000). Relatedly, attachment theory identifies the attachment system as an adaptive, evolutionary-based framework in which infants maintain proximity to caretakers for care and protection (Bowlby, 1969/1982). In the first year, infants learn how much they can depend on caretakers and adapt their behaviors and mental representations accordingly (Bowlby, 1969/1982), resulting in secure or insecure attachment (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). Maslow's hierarchy and its more recent reformulation (Kenrick, Griskevicius, Neuberg, & Schaller, 2010; Maslow, 1943) consider the role that children may fulfill in adults' lives. Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986) is also relevant given that parent-child processes are affected by myriad multi-level influences at the individual, family, neighborhood, and cultural levels.

Other conceptual considerations in the study of parent-child relationships and happiness across cultures are bidirectionality and cultural classification systems. Regarding bidirectionality, early work recognized child effects on parents (Bell, 1968). For instance, toddlers and young children increasingly initiate positive interactions with their mothers as they get older rather than their mothers initiating the exchanges (Grolnick, Cosgrove, & Bridges, 1996). Regarding cultural classification systems, classifications may be based on cultures' individualism (focus on caring for the self and immediate family) versus collectivism (focus on others), independence versus interdependence, or the current economic utility of children.

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the literature on parent and child relationships and happiness from a cross-cultural perspective. We focus specifically on emotional well-being including happiness, positive affect, and life satisfaction, but not on broader indices of well-being (health, educational achievement) or negative outcomes (depression). The following sections focus on how parents impact children's happiness within and across cultures and across child age, as well as how having children impacts parents' happiness within and across cultures. In these sections, we collapse cultures into higher-order categories of individualistic and collectivistic given the variation of countries included. The chapter concludes with implications and future directions of this research.

3.1 Parents' Influence on Children's Happiness

Parents can influence their children's happiness in many ways. A major aspect of parent-child relationships is attachment. As shown in some of the earliest attachment research (Ainsworth, 1967), attachment security promoted by responsive caregiving is ideal and provides a foundation for optimal development and emotional well-being (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Bowlby, 1969/1982). Parents also play a large role in socializing their children's (Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998) and adolescents' emotions (Morris, Silk, Steinberg, Myers, & Robinson, 2007), which further impacts their children's happiness. Additionally, a wealth of literature indicates that certain parenting styles, particularly warm, supportive, authoritative, and autonomy-granting styles, are associated with children's (Khaleque & Rohner, 2002) and adolescents' (Steinberg, 2001) happiness. However, it is important to consider if parents impact children's happiness differently depending on cultural context or child age.

3.2 Parenting and Child Happiness in Individualistic Cultures

Infancy and Childhood Early in life, research often focuses on attachment and uses observational methods to assess children's happiness. Studies conducted in the U.S. indicate that infants who are securely attached to their parents express greater happiness through smiling and joyful expressions compared to insecure infants (Diener, Mangelsdorf, McHale, & Frosch, 2002; Kochanska, 2001; Matas, Arend, & Sroufe, 1978; Waters, Wippman, & Sroufe, 1979). Another study found that most infants smile when playing with their parents (Dickson, Walker, & Fogel, 1997). In early childhood, securely attached children express greater happiness when discussing positive events with their mothers (Laible, 2010), and in later childhood, securely attached children report more happiness and positive emotions (Borelli et al., 2010; Kerns, Abraham, Schlegelmilch, & Morgan, 2007). Parents who cultivate warm and cohesive family environments also tend to have happier children (Laible, 2010). Although all of these studies were conducted in the U.S., warm and responsive parenting is consistently associated with infant and child happiness in this individualistic country.

Adolescence and Adulthood Much research has been done across individualistic countries on how parenting styles and relationships with parents are associated with adolescents' happiness and life satisfaction. Studies from the U.S. (Saha, Huebner, Suldo, & Valois, 2010; Weinstein, Mermelstein, Hedeker, Hankin, & Flay, 2006), Italy (Caprara, Steca, Gerbino, Paciello, & Vecchio, 2006), and Spain (Casas et al., 2007) indicate that greater support from parents is associated with adolescents' life satisfaction. In Finland, a qualitative study showed that adolescents perceive that

having parents who communicate openly and are emotionally warm and involved contributes to their life satisfaction (Joronen & Åstedt-Kurki, 2005). Additionally, secure attachment to parents continues to be associated with life satisfaction and happiness in adolescents in both the U.S. (Ma & Huebner, 2008) and Canada (Ducharme, Doyle, & Markiewicz, 2002). Adolescents who perceive high quality relationships with their parents, including a sense of connection and greater involvement, also report greater happiness in studies from Israel (Ben-Zur, 2003), Finland (Rask, Åstedt-Kurki, Paavilainen, & Laippala, 2003), and Britain (Flouri & Buchanan, 2002). Moreover, several U.S. studies indicate that these positive associations continue into adulthood. Adults who report more satisfying, trusting, and supportive relationships with their parents retrospectively (An & Cooney, 2006), concurrently (Cooper, Okamura, & Gurka, 1992), and prospectively (Bell, 2015) report greater happiness. In sum, positive parenting experiences are associated with adolescents' and adults' happiness across a number of individualistic countries.

3.3   Parenting and Child Happiness in Collectivist Cultures

Infancy and Childhood   Little research has been conducted early in life on parenting practices and infants' or children's displays of positive emotions. However, one study in Portugal indicates that infants smile more when playing with their mothers compared to when they play alone (Roque & Veríssimo, 2011). Van IJzendoorn and Sagi-Schwartz (2008) have also indicated that the attachment profiles of collectivist cultures are very similar to that of individualistic cultures, and secure attachment has positive implications for children across cultural contexts. Despite the lack of research in this area, findings are in line with research conducted in individualistic cultures.

Adolescence and Adulthood   Similar to studies conducted in individualistic cultures, studies of adolescents in China (Leung, McBride-Chang, & Lai, 2004; Leung, Wong, Wong, & McBride-Chang, 2010; Wong, Chang, He, & Wu, 2010; Yang, Wang, Li, Teng, & Ren, 2008) and Turkey (Kocayörük, Altıntas, & İçbay, 2015) indicate that adolescents who perceive greater parental support and emotional warmth report greater life satisfaction. Chinese adolescents also report higher levels of life satisfaction when their parents use less punitive or unsupportive parenting styles (Yang et al., 2008). Less research in this area has been conducted with adults in collectivist cultures, but one longitudinal study in Japan shows that adults report greater life satisfaction when they experienced warm and supportive family environments as adolescents (Bell, 2015). Another study conducted with college students in Iran and Jordan indicates that, similar to students in the U.S., young adults in Middle Eastern cultures who have greater perceived family support report greater positive affect and life satisfaction (Brannan, Biswas-Diener, Mohr, Mortazavi, & Stein, 2013). Together, these studies highlight that positive parenting practices are associated with child, adolescent, and adult happiness in collectivist cultures.

3.4 Comparison of Parenting and Child Happiness Across Cultures

Although many studies focus on a single country or only compare two countries when examining parents' influence on their children's happiness, several studies have examined this using large cross-cultural samples. For instance, a meta-analysis of 43 studies worldwide indicates that perceived parental acceptance is associated with greater well-being for adolescents across the globe, including North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa (Khaleque & Rohner, 2002). Another study across 11 countries has found that intimacy with parents and parental warmth and support are associated with adolescents' life satisfaction across cultural groups (Schwarz et al., 2012). Finally, a study involving college students from over 30 countries indicates that in almost all countries, being satisfied with family relationships is strongly associated with life satisfaction (Diener & Diener, 2009). These cross-cultural comparisons build on single-country studies by highlighting the similarities across cultures regarding associations between parenting and child happiness.

In sum, the association between positive parenting practices and youth happiness is robust across cultures. This conclusion is in line with other cross-cultural studies and reviews, which have suggested that authoritative parenting styles, parental warmth and support, and related parenting practices are associated with well-being for children and adolescents across many different cultures (e.g., Schwarz et al., 2012; Suldo, 2009). However, much of this literature is cross-sectional nature, so the path from parenting practices to child happiness is likely not unidirectional. As suggested by Suldo and Fefer (2013), based on a study by Saha et al. (2010) that demonstrated that children's life satisfaction predicted parental support 1 year later, happier children may elicit more positive parenting experiences. More longitudinal work is needed to elucidate developmental trends and changes in the parenting-child happiness link and to determine how children might prompt more warmth and support from their parents. It is also less clear why these strong associations between positive parenting and child emotional well-being exist. One study of adolescents in Turkey and the U.S. indicates that adolescents' personal sense of uniqueness partially mediates the association between parental support and adolescent happiness (Şimşek & Demir, 2014). Although cross-cultural similarities exist regarding parenting and child happiness, it is also possible that the mediating factors connecting parenting and child happiness vary across cultures. For example, it could be that for children in individualistic cultures, positive parenting is associated with child happiness in larger part due to children's autonomy development, while in collectivist cultures, positive parenting could be associated with child happiness in larger part because children with positive parental experiences have more positive friendships. However, these questions have not yet been tested, and it will be important for future research to further examine cross-cultural differences in the mediators and moderators of the associations between parenting practices and child emotional well-being.

3.5   How Children Influence Parents' Happiness

While parents play a significant role in their children's happiness, children also play a big role in their parents' happiness. However, the question that researchers have primarily asked in this domain for the last 50 years is relatively simple: are parents more or less happy than non-parents? Although some people pursue happiness by starting a family, the literature is mixed on whether or not having children begets greater emotional well-being. Findings are much more complex than initially anticipated given the complicating roles of a number of demographic, psychological, and contextual factors. Conceptually, procreation has been viewed as an instinctual behavior or innate desire that all animals possess (Benedek, 1959; Kephart, 1966) and fulfills primary motives (Kenrick et al., 2010). However, research shows that millions of individuals voluntarily choose not to have children (Somers, 1993; Veenhoven, 1975). Conceptually, parenthood could be expected to produce gains in happiness considering theories such as Erikson's generativity vs. stagnation. Specifically, having children is one way that may provide parents with a sense of generativity and a feeling of leaving their mark on the world (Slater, 2003). Additionally, some researchers have proposed that having children is a way of enhancing solidarity in marriage (Friedman, Hechter, & Kanazawa, 1994), warding off loneliness, and providing companionship and affection (Hoffman & Manis, 1979). However, children are a great financial burden and arguments have also been made against having children, as outlined by Rachels (2014). As we examine whether or not these non-parents are foregoing happiness, we must complicate the matter further by questioning how this might vary by culture.

3.6   Parenthood and Happiness in Individualistic Cultures

A number of early U.S. studies concluded that parents had lower levels of life satisfaction, happiness, and emotional well-being compared to individuals who voluntarily elected not to have children (Mclanahan & Adams, 1989; Umberson & Grove, 1989; Veenhoven, 1975). However, more recent research shows that, although parents do experience more stress and negative emotions compared to non-parents, parents also experience more positive emotions, evaluate their lives more favorably, and report more meaning in life than non-parents (Deaton & Stone, 2014; Nelson et al., 2014; Umberson & Grove, 1989). This work also indicates that demographic factors such as marital status, income, and child age play an important role when examining group differences in parent versus non-parent happiness (Nelson et al., 2014; Somers, 1993; Umberson & Grove, 1989). For instance, married parents report higher or similar levels of well-being than married non-parents; whereas, single parents report lower well-being than single non-parents (Aassve, Goisis, & Sironi, 2012; Nelson et al., 2014). Other research conducted in Germany and Poland indicates that adults are more likely to report being "very happy" after having

children, and that having a child is associated with a slightly larger increase in females' happiness compared to males (Baranowska & Matysiak, 2011).

Cross-cultural research conducted in countries across Europe has examined the role of country-level characteristics (e.g., norms, institutional change) in determining parent happiness (Aassve et al., 2012; Aassve et al., 2014; Stavrova & Fetchenhauer, 2015). This research indicates that, when individual and country-level characteristics are controlled, parents are happier than non-parents (Aassve et al., 2012). Later research indicates that this is particularly the case for mothers, as fathers are found to always be happier than non-fathers regardless of country characteristics (Aassve et al., 2014). Specifically, women are happier and fertility is higher in countries that have institutionally adapted to women's career and family-related aspirations and preferences (e.g., better child care provisions, more women in parliament; Aassve et al., 2014).

Additionally, recent longitudinal research suggests that U.S. parents are becoming happier over historical time compared to non-parents who are experiencing a decline in happiness. This robust historical trend from 1985 to 2005 holds after controlling for parent gender, employment status, number of children, and age of youngest child (Herbst & Ifcher, 2015). Moreover, since the U.S. has experienced declines in happiness across this time frame, but parents have not experienced this decline, it is suggested that having children and the family environment may be protective (Herbst, 2011). Parents may exhibit greater boosts in well-being perhaps due to the trend that children have greater emotional or psychological value as they lose economic value for the parents (Kagitcibasi & Ataca, 2005).

Another study conducted in Canada emphasized decision-making processes individuals use when choosing to have children or not and how their choices impact them. In the study, over one-third of parents did not plan the birth of their child, and of those parents, one-third regretted having children because of the loss of personal freedom and the expenses that came with parenthood (Ramu & Tavuchis, 1986). Couples who did plan to have children tended to emphasize the pleasure and satisfaction that came with parenthood. Conversely, non-parent couples emphasized couple-centered, relationship-related factors and personal freedom as playing major roles in their decision to not have children (Ramu & Tavuchis, 1986). Although this research indicates that some parents regret their choice to have children, other research suggests that some non-parents regret their choice to remain childless (Hattiangadi, Medvec, & Gilovich, 1995; Nelson et al., 2014).

3.7 Parenthood and Happiness in Collectivist Cultures

Research examining the associations between parenthood and happiness in more collectivist cultures is extremely limited. However, a meta-analysis examining the link between having children and marital satisfaction found that, similar to individualistic cultures, having children was associated with lower marital satisfaction in collectivist cultures (Dillon & Beechler, 2010). Despite this, the effect size for

this association was significantly smaller than similar findings with individualistic cultures. It is possible that in collectivist cultures, parents sharing childcare duties with extended family may have additional support, which serves as a buffer against the stress and marital strain that often occurs with parenthood (Dillon & Beechler, 2010). In addition, consistent with other parts of the world, the trend in the last few decades for children to have lower economic or utilitarian value but greater psychological or emotional value has been found in collectivistic cultures including China, Japan, and Turkey (Kagitcibasi & Ataca, 2005; Trommsdorff & Kornadt, 2003; Trommsdorff, Zheng, & Tardif, 2002). This trend may increase the joy that parents report relating to their children and parenting. Thus, limited research indicates that parent status may have some negative implications for parent happiness in collectivist cultures, but similar to individualistic cultures, emotional benefits from children may be increasing and overall are likely dependent on moderating factors.

3.8 Comparisons of Parenthood and Happiness Across Cultures

To better determine the role of culture in the association between parent status and happiness, several studies have examined this link using large cross-cultural samples. However, these findings are still mixed. Some studies indicate that parents across cultures are happier and more satisfied with their lives than non-parents (Deaton & Stone, 2014; Margolis & Myrskylä, 2011). Conversely, other cross-cultural studies indicate that parenthood is associated with less happiness across cultures (e.g., Stanca, 2012). However, some researchers highlight that these associations vary depending on which demographic variables are statistically controlled. For example, when characteristics such as marital status and income are accounted for, the positive association between parent status and happiness becomes negative such that parent status is then associated with less happiness (e.g., Margolis & Myrskylä, 2011).

Additionally, some researchers have made distinctions by comparing global data and data collected solely in the U.S., indicating that data from the U.S. are not widely generalizable to other nations. Specifically, results found in the U.S. only replicate in wealthy, English-speaking countries (Deaton & Stone, 2014). Other research has examined differences between individualistic and collectivist cultures. This research indicated that, when examining differences between single and partnered parents, single parents living in collectivist cultures experience lower positive affect, life satisfaction, and emotional well-being compared to single parents in individualistic cultures, whereas partnered parents are similarly happy across individualistic and collectivist cultures (Stavrova & Fetchenhauer, 2015). It is possible that there are costs to being unmarried, and that these costs may be amplified for parents in collectivist cultures (e.g., Diener, Gohm, Suh, & Oishi, 2000) due to cultural expectations and focus on family, relationships, and interdependence. These

studies demonstrate that associations between parenthood and happiness are dependent on cultural norms.

Overall, the literature on parent status and parent happiness is mixed. Findings have varied across time and culture. More recent literature suggests that having children is generally positive, and although most parents believe that children are worth it despite some of the negative effects and costs they bring (Martinez, Chandra, Abma, Jones, & Mosher, 2006; Nelson et al., 2014), a number of individual-level and country-level factors play a significant role in these group differences.

3.9   Conclusion

Overall, the literature on parent-child relationships and happiness is substantial and stretches across many cultures. Regarding parents' influences on their children, this body of work indicates very similar results across cultures. Positive parenting behaviors, including providing warmth and support, are associated with children's happiness across all countries and all ages. Although some have hypothesized that family satisfaction should be more strongly associated with life satisfaction in more collectivist cultures (Diener & Diener, 2009), the literature does not support this. This is somewhat surprising, as parenting beliefs, styles, and practices vary widely across cultures and cultural context plays an important role in how parenting impacts child outcomes (Trommsdorff, 2006).

Regarding differences in parents' and non-parents' happiness, the literature is mixed and complicated. While some research shows that parents are happier than non-parents, other work indicates the opposite. However, researchers have identified both mediators and moderators of parent status and happiness. For instance, parents' level of happiness depends on parents' age and gender (Margolis & Myrskylä, 2011; Nelson et al., 2014), children's age (Luthar & Cuciollo, 2016) and functioning (Karraker & Coleman, 2006), family-level socioeconomic resources, and broader country-level resources, policies (e.g., family leave), and norms (Aassve et al., 2012). Specifically, regarding parent age, middle-aged and older parents are either as happy or happier than their childless peers, whereas young parents are less happy than their childless peers (Nelson et al., 2014). Regarding parent gender, findings are mixed. Some research indicates that fatherhood is more consistently associated with well-being compared to motherhood (Nelson et al., 2014), while other studies indicate that the effect size of the benefits of motherhood is larger (Baranowska & Matysiak, 2011). Regarding children's age, research shows that parents' well-being increases as their children get older (Crnic & Greenberg, 1990). Finally, regarding broader country-level factors, studies find that women are happier and fertility is higher in countries that have adapted to women's aspirations and preferences. That is, countries that possess institutional settings (e.g., child care provisions, more women in parliament) that allow women to have both careers and children have happier mothers in comparison to countries that have not established such institutional structure (Aassve et al., 2014).

3.10   Implications

The robust associations between positive parenting and child happiness have important implications for family interventions. Interventions to enhance warm and supportive parenting practices, such as interventions targeting mindful parenting (Duncan, Coatsworth, & Greenberg, 2009), could be extremely beneficial for children of all ages and across all cultures. Additionally, a parenting intervention tested in Hong Kong actually improved parents' own satisfaction with their children (Fabrizio, Stewart, Ip, & Lam, 2014). Thus, parenting interventions may have positive effects for both parents and children (e.g., Bakermans-Kranenburg, Van IJzendoorn, & Juffer, 2003). However, it is vital that parenting interventions are culturally adaptive (Fabrizio et al., 2014), taking into account factors such as cultural definitions of "proper" parenting, access to resources within that culture, and broad country-level policies that may support or hinder parents' participation in parenting interventions.

3.11   Limitations and Future Directions

Despite the breadth of this body of work, this literature has several limitations. For example, researchers have cautioned researchers about the use of large cross-national datasets. Specifically, models of parental happiness have shown high rank instability and vary considerably across multiple levels of analysis (e.g., country, survey, dataset). It is suggested that research focusing on developed countries using these datasets may be overstating between-country differences by not taking into account data choice. Furthermore, researchers should examine the robustness of their findings by utilizing multiple cross-sections of individual datasets and replicating findings across multiple datasets (Andersson, Glass, & Simon, 2014). Another limitation is lack of replicability from parenting and happiness data collected in the U.S. to non-English speaking and less wealthy countries (Deaton & Stone, 2014). Similarly, participants of reviewed studies from the U.S. were mostly White (e.g., Herbst & Ifcher, 2015; Somers, 1993), limiting the generalizability of these results to U.S. minority groups and those from other nations. An additional limitation involves measurement, as this research predominantly relies on interviews and surveys. Inherent in cross-cultural research are language concerns, where meanings of words may vary slightly across cultures, which can then muddy comparisons. Other considerations are also important for future research in this area, including the roles of global immigration, acculturation, and mixed-culture families. It is currently unclear how these cultural factors influence the associations between parent-child relationships and happiness, and future research must focus on answering these questions.

   Despite these limitations, a number of future directions for this work have been highlighted throughout. In sum, strong evidence exists for the importance of studying parent-child relationships and happiness across cultures, and future research will continue to further clarify these relationships.

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Chapter 4
Intimate Relationships and Happiness in Asia: A Critical Review

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Abstract In this chapter, Asian literature on the association between intimate relationships and happiness is reviewed. In particular, marital status and relationship quality is focused upon. In general, both marital status and relationship quality are positively related to happiness in Asian context, but there is no clear indication that such relationships differed between men and women. On the whole, the association between intimate relationship and happiness in Asian studies is similar to that found in Western literature. However, indigenous constructs such as role obligations, enqing, and responsibility are important in furthering our understanding of the nature of close relationships in Asia. Recommendations for future studies are also discussed.

4.1 Introduction

It is a basic human need to form close relationships with others (Deci & Ryan, 2002). Close partners, whether they are family members or friends, are major sources of social support, although the support functions played by family members and friends may be different by virtue of role expectations, proximity, and contact frequency (see Li & Cheng, 2015 for a review). Thus, there is a burgeoning field of literature showing the impact of close relationships on people's happiness in Western cultures (e.g., Demir, 2010; Gallagher & Vella-Brodrick, 2008; Saphier-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013; Walen & Lachman, 2000). Whereas the association between close relationships and happiness in Western cultures has been reviewed in detail elsewhere (e.g., Lucas & Dyrenforth, 2006; Lucas, Dyrenforth, & Diener, 2008;

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Pinquart & Sorensen, 2000; Saphier-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013), a similar review is lacking in Asian contexts (see Li & Cheng, 2015 for an exception). There are at least two reasons for performing a review of the association between close relationships and happiness in Asian cultures. First, cross-cultural psychologists suggest that the association between close relationships and happiness might be more salient in collectivistic than in individualistic cultures because the former places a stronger emphasis on interpersonal connectedness and relationship harmony. Kwan, Bond, and Singelis (1997) find that the relative importance of relationships in life satisfaction is greater among younger adults in Hong Kong than their counterparts in the United States. The ideas and data from cross-cultural psychologists suggest that the findings of the Western literature may not be totally applicable to Asian contexts (Bond, 2010). Second, indigenous psychologists suggest that a review may enrich mainstream psychology conceptually and methodologically (Ho, Peng, Lai, & Chan, 2001). Asian indigenous perspectives emphasize the relationship context for social behavior and encourage studying social relationships from a dyadic point of view. Although such an emphasis may have originated from the relational orientation in Asian cultures, its relevance to the study of interpersonal behavior and relationship is by no means restricted to this region only. Moreover, given the increasing likelihood of close relationships being formed by people from different ethnic backgrounds, there is a need to introduce more cultural perspectives into mainstream psychology (e.g., Ho et al., 2001). Therefore, this review attempts to summarize the studies conducted in Asian populations to examine the role of close relationships in happiness.

In preparation for this review, a series of PsycInfo searches were done with "close relationship", happiness", "life satisfaction", positive affect", "negative affect", "couple", "marriage", "dyadic", "social support", "Asia", "Chinese", Japanese", Singaporean", Korean", and "Taiwanese" etc. as keywords. The review focuses on global happiness; therefore, studies on domain-specific happiness, such as work satisfaction or marital satisfaction, were excluded. However, many Asian studies are published in non-English language mediums and are thus inaccessible to the present authors. Thus, we focus only on peer-reviewed journals or books published in the English language. We begin our discussion with the definitions of happiness and close relationships. This explanation will be followed by a focused review on how intimate relationships are related to happiness in Asian people.

4.2   Definition of Happiness

Before we review the literature on close relationship and happiness, a discussion of the way happiness is conceptually and operationally defined is needed. Psychologists have developed a number of ways to define and assess happiness (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999)—for instance, an absence of depression, presence of life satisfaction, and the experience of subjective positive mood are often used as measures of happiness. Perhaps one of the most frequently used definitions of happiness

in psychology is "the cognitive and affective evaluations of one's own life" (Demir, Özdemir, & Marum, 2011, p. 538). The cognitive dimension of happiness focuses on how content one is with one's life, whereas the affective one focuses on how frequently one experiences positive mood relative to negative mood (Diener et al., 1999). In this chapter, we mainly focus on studies using this definition of happiness for three reasons. First, it provides a systematic theoretical framework for organizing research studies. Second, this conceptual framework is useful for interpreting the different patterns of findings observed in the literature. Third, there are similar reviews using the same definition of happiness in the West (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2013; Lakey, 2013), and so adhering to this definition enables a direct comparison of Asian findings with those in the West.

4.3 Definition of Close Relationship

Close relationships are a very broad construct and take different forms. The literature on the social convoy model suggests that the inner circle of one's social network (i.e., people so important that one cannot imagine living without them) is represented mostly by immediate family members, regardless of culture (Antonucci, Akiyama, & Takahashi, 2004; Cheng, Li, Leung, & Chan, 2011). However, such a pattern may vary according to age, with adolescents and younger adults more likely to place close friends in the inner circle (Li & Cheng, 2015). Additionally, when the immediate family is not available, extended family members may become major components of an individual's inner circle (Cheng et al., 2011). Thus, a variety of relationship types may be considered close relationships, including romantic relationships, marital relationships, friendships, parent-child relationships, and relationships with extended kin.

Although early research investigates the connection between various forms of close relationships and happiness (e.g., Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976; Okun, Stock, Haring, & Witter, 1984), this review will mainly focus on intimate relationships (i.e., the relationship between marital or romantic partners). This focus is because intimate relationships have received relatively more research attention in the Asian literature and there are clear definitions and reliable measures for them (Demir, Orthel, & Andelin, 2013; Saphier-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013). Moreover, the literature on parent-child relationships, although important, often center around children's filial obligations to their parents due to the influence of Confucianism (Cheng & Chan, 2006a; Cheng, Chi, Fung, Li & Woo, 2015), and thus is not relevant to the kinds of close relationship issues discussed in the rest of this chapter. Moreover, the importance of intimate relationships applies to all age groups.

For the present review, an intimate relationship is defined as an interpersonal relationship that involves physical or emotional intimacy over a period of time (Miller & Perlman, 2009). Social scientists have used various ways to operationalize different aspects of intimate relationship, including relationship status, trust, warmth, social support, conflicts, love, commitment, and obligation (Graham &

Christiansen, 2009; Graham, Diebels, & Barnow, 2011; Graham, Liu, & Jeziorski, 2006; Pasch & Bradbury, 1998; Saphire-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013). These different aspects are covered in this review as far as studies on them are available. Moreover, as studies on same-sex relationship or marriage are extremely lacking in Asian societies, we are focused on heterosexual relationships only.

4.4 Intimate Relationships and Happiness in the Asian Context

Compared with mainstream psychology, there are far fewer empirical studies in Asian communities on the association between intimate relationships and happiness, especially in the period before the 1990s (Shek, 1995). More than two decades ago, Ho, Spinks and Yeung (1989) found less than 30 studies on interpersonal relationship issues among the Chinese, and most of them used undergraduate students as the sole participants. This body of literature has grown more recently, partially due to the efforts of cross-cultural psychologists, who have observed cross-cultural differences in marital or dating experiences and started to ask whether such differences might have an impact on happiness (Bond, 2010; Diener, Gohm, Suh, & Oishi, 2000; Shek, 1995). As one may have expected, plenty of studies focus on the relationship between marital status and happiness. For instance, Diener et al. (2000) speculate that the association between marital status and happiness might vary by culture because of the culturally influenced ways by which spouses relate to and support each other. Their study finds that married people had higher life satisfaction than cohabited counterpart, and that such a difference is greater in collectivist than in individualist nations.

Li, Li, and Peng (2009) analyze the way marital status and social support is associated with psychological well-being in bachelors (i.e., never married men who were aged 28 or above) and married men in a suburban and rural areas (Anhui province) in Mainland China. They find that the bachelors had lower socioeconomic status, weaker social support, and worse psychological well-being than the married men. Therefore, they believe that marital status is important for the psychological well-being of men living in rural areas because of the traditional cultural emphasis on continuing the family line. Although such cultural values have become weakened in many parts of China (and Asia) due to modernization and urbanization (Cheng & Chen, 2006a; Cheng, Chi, Fung, Li & Woo, 2015), such a traditional value has remained strong in rural areas like Anhui.

While Li et al. (2009) study was based on just one particular region in China, another study reported data on the general population in China. Based on the Chinese General Social Survey (an annual or biannual survey of urban and rural households with a sampling frame from the fifth census of China and a staged probability proportionate to size (PPS) designed to gather data on social trends and quality of life in China), Liu, Li, and Feldman (2013) find that the percentage of married

people with good life satisfaction is far greater than that among singles. These findings point to the importance of having a close partner by way of marriage in contemporary China. It is noteworthy that Liu et al.'s (2013) study only covered 28 cities and towns in 28 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions; thus, its findings cannot be generalized to rural areas in Mainland China. However, taken together with the study by Li and colleagues in a rural area in China, the importance of marriage for the happiness of Chinese people still seems to be a rather universal phenomenon in contemporary China.

Such a pattern may be more robust for men than for women. The decades of having a one-child policy and the common preference for sons over daughters have contributed to a surplus of men who need to compete for opposite-sex partners. As the wife is often the most intimate, if not the only, confidante for men (Cheng & Chan, 2006b), the failure to find a marital partner may be more detrimental to men's well-being than to women's.

In Taiwan, scholars also find an association between marital status and happiness (e.g., Tsou & Liu, 2001; Peiro, 2006). Tsou and Liu (2001) investigate sociodemographic characteristics as determinants of subjective happiness and the satisfaction with different life domains, while controlling for relevant values, attitudes and other factors. They find that married people report a higher degree of global happiness and satisfaction than those who are not married.

An association between marriage and happiness has also been reported elsewhere in Asia. Inaba et al. (2005) use the two-stage stratified random sampling method to collect data from 6985 Japanese adults. Their study finds that unmarried persons are more likely to experience depressive mood than married persons. Similarly, Oshio and Kobayashi (2010) analyze data from the Japanese General Social Survey (JGSS) and find married people to be happier when compared to those who are unmarried or divorced/widowed. In a secondary analysis of the population data of the 2005 South Korean Census, Kye and Park (2014) find that participants who are part of a married couple are happier than people who are not.

The data reported by Inaba and colleagues about Japanese adults suggests that the relationship between marriage and depressive mood exists in men only. Likewise, Liu et al. (2013) assert in their study of Mainland Chinese adults that the relationship between marital status and life satisfaction is stronger for men than for women. However, the gender difference is not directly tested (regression analyses were conducted for men and women separately) and our reading of the regression coefficients suggests that the association is the same for men and women. In general, few gender differences are reported in the studies reviewed above. This trend is in accordance with what is found in the literature at large. Hence, the overall data support the importance of marriage for adult happiness, regardless of gender, in Asian societies.

Nevertheless, the above studies are country-specific and do not directly test whether the association between close relationship and happiness is different across cultural groups. In a study of 42 countries including China, South Korea, Japan, Great Britain and US, Diener et al. (2000) find that married people have higher life satisfaction than their cohabiting counterparts and such a pattern is more prominent

in collectivistic than in individualistic nations (Diener et al., 2000). Although several mechanisms are proposed by these researchers to explain why marriage enhances happiness—such as the fulfillment of basic and universal human needs, or the availability of social and emotional support in the face of stress—they do not address the cross-cultural variation in the association between marital status and happiness.

Other scholars have offered a tentative answer on why marital status might be more important for happiness in collectivist, Asian cultures. Gove, Style and Hughes (1990) hypothesize that getting married is an expected duty for Asians. Fulfilling this duty brings social respect, a positive sense of self, enhanced self-esteem, and increased self-worth (Gove, Style, & Hughes, 1990). In contrast, those unmarried are likely to be subjected to stigmatization and discrimination because they are perceived as failing a basic social role (DePaulo, 2006, 2014; DePaulo & Morris, 2005; DePaulo & Morris, 2006). There are at least some qualitative data supporting the stigmatization of single people in Asia (Ramdas, 2012). The stigma arising from being single may isolate the person from the community and result in socioeconomic disadvantages because of a lack of social capital (Chang, 2009). Together, these factors can contribute to lower levels of life satisfaction in unmarried individuals. Note, however, that stigma has not been directly measured in this literature, and even if it were, causality could not be inferred from the cross-sectional correlational design that is used in most of these studies.

However, not all cross-cultural studies confirm the relative importance of marital status for happiness in Asian societies. For instance, Peios (2006), through the use of the data of the 1995–96 World Values Survey, finds that married people are happier than unmarried people, and that this difference is larger in developed than in developing countries. However, the patterns do not vary between Asian and Western countries.

Whereas marital status is the focus of analysis in the aforementioned studies, simply having a partner is not indicative of the quality of the relationship. As a matter of fact, marriage can be a source of conflict as well as intimacy and support. As well as marital status itself, the quality of the relationship as a determinant of happiness has been studied by Asian researchers. In most of these studies, relationship quality is mainly operationalized as relationship satisfaction, social support, and trust. Consistent with the Western literature, researchers find significant correlations between marital relationship quality and happiness (e.g., Chen & Tian, 2010; Liu et al., 2013). For instance, using multistage cluster sampling, Shek (1995) collects data from 1501 married adults from lower-middle to middle income in Hong Kong. He finds that marital relationship quality as it is measured by the Chinese Dyadic Adjustment Scale and the Chinese Kanas Marital Satisfaction Scale is positively correlated with life satisfaction and purpose in life, with average correlations at around 0.30. As a comparison, Proulx, Helms and Buehler (2007) report average correlations between marital quality and measures of happiness being 0.37 in Western studies. Although a meta-analysis has not been attempted to directly compare the size of the correlations between East and West, it appears that the relationship between marital relationship quality and happiness is similar across cultures.

Note, however, that most Asian studies employ measures of marital quality that are imported from the West. If certain key dimensions of the Asian relationship context are missed in these measurements, then the true association between marital quality and happiness may be obscured in previous studies.

In Mainland China, Chen and Tian (2010) find that rural women report higher global happiness if they are happy with their marital relationships (Chen & Tian, 2010). Similarly, Liu et al. (2013) report a positive association between marital relationship quality and life satisfaction, after variables such as socioeconomic status, practical support, and emotional support are statistically controlled for. In terms of non-married couples, relationship quality with romantic partners is also positively related to life satisfaction in a sample of Chinese undergraduate students (Zhao et al., 2011).

In Japan, Asano (2011) reports that a higher level of relationship quality, as measured by relationship efficacy, is related to more positive emotions in heterosexual dating couples. Similarly, Park and Fritz (2015) use structural equation modeling to analyze data from 318 full-time employed married individuals from South Korea, and find that partner support is positively related to the participants' life satisfaction. After collecting data from 1601 employed Singaporeans, Sandberg, Yorgason, Miller, and Hill (2012) find marital distress to be positively correlated with depressive mood. No gender difference is reported or found in the above studies. The correlations between measures of relationship quality and measures of happiness in these studies are roughly in the range of 0.3 to 0.5. It is suggested that positive relationship quality is related to happiness because it buffers the effects of life stress on psychological distress. This improvement is attributed to the higher level of social support in a high quality relationship.

There is some evidence to suggest that marital status continues to predict happiness or life satisfaction even after controlling for marital relationship quality (Liu et al., 2013). There are at least three possible reasons for this. First, marital status is a social status, as being married (and producing offspring) is a norm in Asian societies. If one is not married, he or she may be regarded as failing his or her filial responsibility (e.g., Liu et al., 2013). Second, marital status is associated with institutional benefits, such as tax reduction and social services. These tangible benefits might be associated with happiness. Finally, through marriage, one may enlarge one's social circle through the spouse's network. This expansion of one's social network may be associated with happiness (Chang, 2006). Yet, it is questionable whether the effect of marital relationship quality has been fully assessed in studies due to inadequate measurements. Although it is widely recognized that the interaction between couples is a complex and multidimensional process (Kiecolt-Glaser & Newton, 2001), most of the existing studies employ only a single index of relationship quality, such as social support, trust, or marital satisfaction. However, a single index cannot represent or "unpack" all the complex relational dimensions within marriage. Future studies should use multiple relationship quality indexes to capture the different aspects of relationship quality more comprehensively and their effects on happiness.

An interesting question is whether there are gender differences in the influence of marital quality on happiness. Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor (2013) suggest that the quality of a marital relationship might be more important to happiness for women than for men because they are more involved in providing care for offspring, which requires resources, protection, and commitment from their male partners. As such, females may have developed to be more sensitive to relationship quality. We are aware of only one study that has examined this question in Asian samples—namely, the study of Chinese adults by Liu et al. (2013). However, we found ourselves in disagreement with the original interpretation of the data. Whereas the authors allege that marital quality is more strongly associated with life satisfaction in women than in men, we found the regression coefficients obtained for the two genders to be basically the same. More research is needed to assess whether Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor's observation also applies to Asian samples. At the present, there are too few studies to draw any sensible conclusion.

It is noteworthy that the studies mentioned so far have failed to inform cross-cultural issues by incorporating cultural constructs into their hypotheses. Researchers have often relied upon measures imported from the West rather than enriching the literature with emic constructs and measurements. For instance, Ng, Loy, Gudmunson, and Cheong (2009) measure relationship quality using a translated version the Kansas Marital Satisfaction Scale. Although by doing so the findings are directly comparable with those using these measures in the mainstream literature, the substantive contribution of these studies to the cross-cultural literature is marginal.

Some researchers have incorporated stronger cultural perspectives into their research. For instance, the basis for close relationships may vary across cultures. While relationship closeness in Western culture mainly involves self-disclosure and the sharing of personal views and experiences (Chen & Li, 2007; Miller & Perlman, 2009), such attributes may not be equally emphasized in traditional Asian cultures (e.g., Dion & Dion, 1993). Besides intimate self-disclosure, responsibility and role obligation within a close relationship, reciprocity and harmony are also given an equal, if not a greater, value in Asian societies. Some cross-cultural psychologists argue that these indigenous constructs are theoretically important for understanding close relationships in Asian cultures.

Along these lines, cross-cultural psychologists propose several constructs relevant for the study of close relationships. For instance, Wang, Wong, and Yeh (2016) collect data from students enrolled in undergraduate or graduate-level courses in psychology from five universities in Taiwan in their study. They find that relationship harmony, a concept referring to conflict avoidance in relationships, is related positively to meaning in life and happiness. Chen and Li (2007) focus on "enqing"—the expression of feelings of gratitude and admiration. Enqing goes beyond the emotional and cognitive dimensions of love and liking, and encompasses a moral dimension suggesting two persons' mutual responsibilities and obligations in marriage, as well as the appropriate feelings for the other when one's partner honors the obligations. With the data collected from 455 married persons living in northern Taiwan, they find that spousal contributions and sacrifices are positively correlated

with "enqing". Ng, Peluso and Smith (2010) argue that the feeling of enqing should contribute to marital satisfaction, but this argument was not tested empirically.

In their 2008 study, Ho, Cheung and Cheung collect data from 1961 adolescents in 21 secondary schools in Hong Kong stratified on the basis of school characteristics such as geographic location and scholastic standing (Ho, Cheung & Cheung 2008). Two indigenously developed personality constructs, namely, family orientation (i.e., the degree to which an individual values the family) and harmony (i.e., the degree to which an individual values harmony in social relationships), are found to account for 7% of the variance of life satisfaction, after demographic variables and the universal personality constructs (i.e., emotionality and extraversion) were statistically controlled for. Moreover, among Hong Kong Chinese adults, in older adults who grew up under the traditional value of familism (i.e., the emphasis on mutual obligation to family members), neither emotional nor instrumental support from friends is related to life satisfaction. Although emotional support from family members is associated with higher life satisfaction, family instrumental support is not associated with life satisfaction unless the older adults endorse moderate to high levels of familism. (Yeung & Fung, 2007). Even though these studies were not concerned with intimate relationships, they nonetheless suggest potential cross-cultural differences in the way close relationships are regulated and evaluated. However, studies examining these indigenous constructs are few in number and more studies are needed to explore cultural aspects of close relationships in Asian societies.

Although responsibility and role obligation are valued in Asian cultures, we are not aware of any study that directly measures these constructs and examines their relationships to happiness. Nevertheless, the literature on social support suggests that having family members who honor their responsibilities and obligations, which ensures the stability of support exchanges within the family, is important for happiness in Asian people (Li & Cheng, 2015). Studies have documented that Chinese people would sever ties with next of kin, even biological children, if the latter withdrew support (e.g., Cheng, Lam, Kwok, Ng, & Fung, 2013), suggesting that duty and obligation is crucial to defining a positive, close relationship among Chinese/Asian people. Sometimes one's duty to their fellow individuals is defined by cultural norms, such as the husband's role in providing economic security and the wife's in managing the household and being submissive to the husband. Such role expectations help to regulate interpersonal behaviors in a relationship, but when one party fails to honor the obligations, the damage to the happiness of the other party can be quite substantial, as failed obligations are a source of interpersonal tension in close relationships (Li & Cheng, 2015). Although empirical studies are lacking so far, we speculate that in addition to prevailing assumptions about intimacy and self-disclosure, close relationships in the Asian cultural context need to be understood in terms of indigenous constructs such as "enqing," responsibility, and role obligation.

4.5 Conclusions and Future Research Directions

This chapter provides a review of the definition of intimate relationships. It also summarizes the extant literature on the connection between intimate relationships and happiness in Asian populations. We find that both marital status and relationship quality are related to happiness in Asia, which is more or less equally true for men and women. In addition, it is noted that indigenous constructs may broaden our perspectives about the regulation of expectations and behaviors in close relationships in the Asian context.

However, most of the extant studies in this literature employ a cross-sectional research design (e.g., Inaba et al., 2005). Longitudinal data are urgently needed. There are two advantages of longitudinal designs over cross-sectional designs (Fok & Shek, 2011). The first advantage is that longitudinal studies can enable a stronger inference about causality. The second advantage is that longitudinal data can show the stability and change of relationship over time, as well as the possible impacts on happiness. With longitudinal studies, researchers can build developmental models for close relationship and happiness.

Furthermore, future studies should recruit couples and use multilevel models to analyze data from a dyadic point of view. The resources and support that an individual enjoys in a relationship can also be regarded as a cost for the other partner, straining the relationship if the imbalance of resource exchange is allowed to continue in the long term. There are two advantages of collecting data from both parties in a close relationship. First, the partners may have different perceptions and evaluations of their relationship. Researchers can compare and contrast these perceptions to yield a more comprehensive perspective about how Asian people evaluate their relationships with close others. Second, with data from multiple informants, researchers can use actor-partner model to analyze the unique relational component of intimate relationships on happiness (Fok & Shek, 2011). In the future, dyadic data from both partners should be collected to investigate the association between close relationships and happiness.

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Chapter 5
Close Relationships and Happiness in South America

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Abstract The Latin American population presents a challenge to the scientific investigation of happiness. To study happiness in Latin America, factors such as an overall presence of economic hardship and other economically relevant factors must be considered. This chapter discusses how close relationships and happiness in South American populations are related by reviewing recent studies. Happiness in South America has been associated with many variables, especially close relationships, which are defined within the literature as romantic or marital relationships, family relationships, and friendships. Social-relational factors, including close relationships, are mentioned as relevant determinants of happiness in the region. In future research, sociological, economic, and psychological approaches, including diverse theoretical frameworks and methodological procedures, could contribute to a better understanding of how close relationships and happiness are connected.

Happiness in Latin American countries is often difficult to study. According to Helliwell, Layard, and Sachs (2016), explanatory models based on international data are problematic when applied in Latin America; specifically, national average life evaluations differ in these countries when compared to global data. The authors recognize that Latin American countries have average life evaluations that are higher than predicted. This finding is present in several earlier works and is attributed to systematic personality differences, the unique features of family and social life in the region, and other cultural variations. The equation to calculate national average life evaluations is formed using six key variables: GDP per capita, social support, healthy life expectancy, freedom to make life choices, generosity, and freedom from corruption. These six variables explain almost three-quarters of the variation in national average life evaluation scores among countries (Helliwell, Huang, & Wang, 2016).

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The Gallup Happiness Survey 2015 found that the countries that ranked in the top ten for the experience of positive emotions were all in Latin America (Paraguay, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Venezuela, Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Nicaragua). This result is generally surprising, as income and other traditional social indicators do not predict high levels of happiness in the region. However, Rojas (2016) argues that the prevalence of relatively high levels of happiness in Latin America despite economic difficulties should not be considered a paradox. The author states that extant theories about happiness should be reviewed as they could be considered incomplete in their predictions about the Latin American population. The author considers that Latin American happiness could come from factors beyond their income, such as social capital (Morcillo & Díaz, 2016), which will be discussed in the following section. The above examples highlight at least two points concerning the investigation of happiness in Latin America: (a) the challenge for developing scientific explanatory models for happiness in the region; (b) the need to include factors beyond income and other economic indexes in explanations of the high levels of happiness.

Happiness has been associated with a wide assortment of variables in several areas of study. For instance, Dolan, Peasgood, and White (2008) reviewed the economic literature and found that factors associated with happiness include income, personal characteristics (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity, and personality), socially developed characteristics (e.g. education, health, type of work, and unemployment), and time expended on various activities (e.g. hours worked, commuting, caring for others, community involvement and volunteering, exercise, and religious activities). Other factors associated with happiness are attitudes and beliefs towards the self, others, and one's life (attitudes towards our circumstances, trust, political persuasion, religion, etc.), and the nature and quality of relationships. Finally, these variables include an individual's wider economic, social, and political environment (e.g. income inequality, unemployment rates, inflation, welfare system and public insurance, degree of democracy, climate and the natural environment, safety, deprivation present in the area, and urbanization). Thus, the literature on happiness and its determinants merges economic, demographic, and relational factors.

More specifically, happiness in South American countries has been associated with several factors, including close relationships. Although some authors (e.g. Ferrer & Giarrizzo, 2016; Guardiola & Rojas, 2016) have explored economic factors affecting happiness in Latin America, this chapter is focused on the literature on close relationships and happiness in these countries. This chapter reviews several studies, including those not reviewed in Garcia, Pereira, and de Macedo (2015). Some of the included studies specifically explore the association of social-relational factors and happiness (e.g. Golgher, 2014a, 2014b; Morcillo & Díaz, 2016), while others investigate this relationship while taking economic factors into account (e.g., Campetti & Alves, 2015; Corbi & Menezes-Filho, 2006). Even though economic factors are included in these studies, they did not aim to compare the relative weight of relational and economic factors on happiness. When discussing the role of close relationships in happiness, the literature refers to romantic or marital relationships, family relationships (with parents and children) and friendships. Some studies also analyze these associations and how they change throughout different stages of the life cycle. Details about the studies in this chapter can be found in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Summary of empirical studies investigating the association between close relationships and happiness in Latin America

	Variables	Sample	Brief findings
Alarcón (2001/2012)	Happiness and gender, age and marital status	163 males & females, 20–60 yo, Peru	Married people happier than single ones No significant differences by sex
Camargo, Abaid, and Giacomoni (2011)	The concept of happiness (qualitative, exploratory)	95 adolescents, between 12 and 20, Brazil	Adolescents tend to mention abstract feelings and concrete necessities related to happiness
Campetti and Alves (2015)	Levels of happiness and financial situation, family relationships, work, community and friends, health, personal freedom and personal values	World values survey 2009 for the countries Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay. 7.562 participants	The results indicated that these factors can explain the happiness of individuals.
Corbi and Menezes-Filho (2006)	Happiness and economic variables	World values survey 1995–1997 1100 participants from Brazil	Positive correlation between happiness and income. Unemployment is a large source of unhappiness.
Giacomoni, Souza, and Hutz (2014)	Meaning of being happy and how a happy person looks like (qualitative, exploratory).	200 children 5–12, Brazil	Concerning the experience of being happy, children mentioned more positive feelings and a sense of positive self
Golgher (2014a)	Levels of happiness and age, sex, health levels, civil status, ethnic groups, income, education attainment, and employment status.	World values survey, Brazilian participants 1782, 1149 and 1500 survey waves, in the years of 1991, 1997 and 2006	Married individuals were happier and more satisfied than any other group.
Golgher (2014b).	Levels of happiness and satisfaction, such as family relationships, friends and community, trust in general and confidence in institutions, religiosity, freedom and self-determination, and self-evaluated financial situation	World values survey, Brazilian participants 1782, 1149 and 1500 Survey waves, in the years of 1991, 1997 and 2006	Individuals tend to be happier and more satisfied if they value family relationships more highly, trust others more, judge that they have a better financial situation, and feel they have more freedom and self-determination.

Table 5.1 (continued)

	Variables	Sample	Brief findings
Golgher (2014c).	Levels of happiness and town size, regions of residence, job type, sense of belonging, tolerance, specific actions, number of children the individuals had, opinions about equality, government and personal fate, trust in more specific ways, and savings	World values survey (WVS), Brazilian participants 1782, 1149 and 1500 Survey waves, in the years of 1991, 1997 and 2006	Individuals who considered they were members of the world, Latin America, Brazil and/or the community tended to be happier. Married individuals tended to be happier
González-Quiñones and Restrepo-Chavarriaga (2010)	Perception of current mood and received support	7335 participants, Colombia	A strong relationship between happiness and social support networks
Guardiola and Rojas (2016)	Life satisfaction, life evaluation, affective state questions	12,000 from Gallup world poll 2007	Hunger tends to reduce people's well-being
Herrera and Kornfeld (2008)	Quality of family relationships and level of well-being	1600 elders, Chile	Good quality of family relationships positively impacts their level of well-being
Lima, Barros, and Alves (2012)	Happiness and socio-demographics variables, health behaviors, and health conditions	1431 elderly Brazil	Happiness was strongly related to health indicators
Luz and Amatuzzi (2008)	Emotional and cognitive aspects and experiences of happiness (qualitative)	3 elders, Brazil	Moments of happiness are related to family and social contact, to being independent and having the capacity to work
Mella et al. (2004)	Subjective well-being, age, depression, perceived health, perceived social support and socio-economic status.	15,576 participants from Talcahuano, Chile	Subjective well-being is affected by perceived social support, gender and absence of depression.
Morcillo and Díaz (2016)	Happiness and social capital	209,292 individuals from 18 countries, Latinobarometro	The different variables of social capital play a role to explain happiness in Latin America
Paschoal, Torres, and Porto (2010)	Happiness and social support	403 employees of a public organization, Brazil	Organizational and social support directly affected happiness.
Ramíres-Gallegos (2011)	Level of satisfaction of basic needs, income, ethnicity and quality of work	18,933 households, Ecuador	Happiness in Ecuador is related to objective or material aspects and subjective aspects

Table 5.1 (continued)

	Variables	Sample	Brief findings
Ribeiro (2015)	Happiness and sociodemographic factors	8048 households, Brazil	Happiness depends on material factors - income and education, and relational factors - networks of friendship and intimate relationships
Rodrigues and Silva (2010)	Happiness and gender, marital status, ethnicity, education, religious practice, the presence of some types of diseases, practice or absence of smoking and practice of physical activities.	467 trade workers in São Paulo state, Brazil	Differences in levels of BES for some of the mentioned features.
Scalco, Araújo, and Bastos (2011)	Self-perceived happiness and social economic factors	2942 individuals aged 20 years old and over, Brazil	High prevalence of self-perceived happiness. Distinct factors are also associated with happiness, according to gender.
Velásquez (2016)	Relational goods: Relationships within the immediate family, other social relationships, social support, interaction at work, relational leisure, and social and political participation.	6000 households, Colombia	Relational goods play a central role in people's daily life, and, as evidenced in the case of Manizales's urban population, also in their subjective well-being.
Vivaldi and Barra (2012)	Psychological well-being, perceived social support and health perception	250 males and females with mean age of 71 years, from Concepción, Chile	Psychological well-being had a higher relationship with perceived social support than with health perception, married participants reported higher psychological wellbeing and higher perceived social support

5.1 Close Relationships and Determinants of Happiness in South America

The investigation of determinants of happiness in South America has been conducted mainly based on economic, sociological, and psychological approaches. The papers analyzed for this chapter include those focusing on several South American

countries, as well as those focusing on a specific country such as Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, or Ecuador. Most of the studies involved are based on national or international surveys. In this section, analyses of multiple South American countries will be discussed first, followed by those focusing on individual countries.

The concept of social capital is important in studies examining human relationships because social capital directly results from the social relationships that people maintain. Morcillo and Díaz (2016) examined the role that social capital plays in the happiness of Latin Americans by using data from 2000 to 2010. The data source used was the Latinobarometro, a survey conducted in Latin American and Caribbean countries to assess the opinions of the population regarding political and socioeconomic issues. In total, the sample was composed of 209,292 individuals, with about 1000–1200 interviews for each country per year. The 18 countries considered were Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay and Venezuela. Based on these data, the authors concluded that happiness could be explained by several socio-relational variables which compose social capital. The authors used three empirical indicators of social capital to asses these variables: social networks, social trust, and social norms. To analyze social networks, they built an index using questions related to informal sociability with friends and family. To measure social trust, they used questions about interpersonal trust, institutional trust, and dishonesty. To assess social norms, they analyzed two aspects: civics and the uncivil behavior of individuals (for further details, please see Morcillo & Díaz, 2016).

The authors report that relationships within and between friends and families as well as participation in voluntary organizations are associated with higher levels of happiness. These findings emphasize the importance of relational ties and social capital in studying happiness in Latin America. They highlight the relational dimension of happiness in the continent as well as the limitations of the traditional focus on economic factors. According to the authors, happiness depends to a great extent on the quantity and quality of the relationships one has with others. Unfortunately, these data are not analyzed based on individual country or relationship type. The authors conclude that the different variables of social capital play a role in explaining happiness in Latin America. However, they do not present data about how different relationships types (such as family or friends) contribute to happiness, or the relative importance of said relationship types. The variance explained in happiness was not provided.

In another investigation based on an international survey, Haller and Hadler (2006) examined happiness from a sociological-comparative point of view. In this case, the World Values Survey containing data from 1995 to 1997 was utilized. This nationally representative survey started in 1981 and is conducted in almost 100 countries using a common questionnaire. It is a large, cross-national, time series investigation of human beliefs and values, covering a wide range of global variations, from very poor to very rich countries, in all major cultural zones. The paper reports the results of a comparative multilevel regression analysis of happiness based on available data for some Latin American countries included in the survey.

The specific countries included are Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela, in addition to the Dominican Republic and Mexico. The authors concluded that persons involved in close relationships in these countries, specifically married individuals and those with children, were significantly happier than those not involved in such relations. Those individuals participating actively in social and religious groups were also found to have increased levels of happiness when compared to the population at large.

Haller and Hadler (2006) have noted some paradoxical particularities about Latin American countries that should be stressed here. The contradiction is that while Latin American countries are marked by high degrees of income inequality, the population is among the happiest around the world. The authors propose three possible explanations for this apparent paradox. First, they consider the perception of personal life context and the perception of social situations to be separate experiences. Satisfaction with one's life context is more strongly associated with happiness than is social context. Second, the authors conjecture that the quality of social relations in Latin America must be very high to compensate for adverse macrosocial conditions. Lastly, the authors propose that economic development from the 1990s contributed to better macrosocial conditions in these countries. Haller and Hadler (2006) consider family life to be a buffer against unhappiness. Many studies have reported that married people are happier than singles, especially divorced, separated and widowed persons. These findings are consistent with existing literature which compares the happiness of single, married, and divorced individuals across cultures (e.g. Diener, Gohm, Suh, & Oishi, 2000; Mastekaasa, 1994).

The World Values Survey was also used by Campetti and Alves (2015) as the basis for an investigation of the determinants of happiness in Latin America. The authors analyzed data from the World Values Survey for Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay using the method of regression analysis by ordinary least squares. Seven factors were empirically evaluated as determinants of happiness: financial situation, family relationships, work, community and friends, health, personal freedom and personal values. The sample used was the World Values Survey for the period 2005–2008, which included a sample of 77,000 individuals from 54 countries. Narrowing the focus to countries in Latin America resulted in a sample of 7562 people. The results regarding close relationships include data about family relationships, friendship and community relationships. The authors found that cohabiting couples, as well as divorced, separated, widowed and single individuals possess lower levels of happiness when compared to married people. Thus, marital status presents a significant positive influence on happiness. When compared with worldwide data, these findings follow similar trends; in all surveyed countries, married people were happier than people in other civil states. Community relationships and friendships (together, without any distinction) also have a positive influence on happiness. Overall, people who trust in each other are happier than those who do not. The authors predicted that those with trust for others are more likely to establish social relationships and make friends. Further details of the econometric model proposed are supplied by the authors.

Despite this, the link between trust and happiness has not been confirmed across cultures. Although some authors (e.g. Layard, 2005; Kuroki, 2011) have found a connection between the two, this has not been observed in Latin America (Campetti & Alves, 2015) or Asia (Tokuda, Fujii, & Inoguchi, 2010). However, an association that these studies did report involves with community involvement and happiness. It was found that not participating in community activities had a negative effect on a person's overall happiness. People participating in some community activities were, on average, 0.4 points happier than those who did not participate. Based on these results, it can be concluded that social involvement has a positive influence on happiness in the countries analyzed. These factors indicate that, for these countries, happiness does not depend exclusively on economic factors or income. Family relationships, community, and friendship can also have an impact. Nevertheless, it is important to note that these findings have not been analyzed by country, so it is not possible to state whether they are generalizable to every Latin American country.

In a third investigation based on data from the World Values Survey, Corbi and Menezes-Filho (2006) examined the empirical determinants of happiness in Brazil by developing an econometric model. In economic terms, the authors reported that there is a positive and significant correlation between happiness and income, while unemployment is a large source of unhappiness. Concerning close relationships, happiness appears to be positively correlated to being married in most cases.

Other investigations in South America were based on national surveys or data from international surveys about a particular country. These investigations were conducted in Ecuador, Brazil, Colombia, and Peru. Studies using these sources of data have identified close relationships as determinants of happiness in South America. For instance, Ramíres-Gallegos (2011) investigated the factors affecting happiness in Ecuador. The analysis was based on a national survey conducted in 2006 and 2007 which contained questions aimed at assessing how satisfied Ecuadorians felt about different areas of life. Participants rated each domain on scale ranging from 0 (totally unhappy) to 10 (totally happy). The questions were distributed as a part of the National Survey of Employment, Unemployment and Underdevelopment. The data examined corresponded to 18.933 participants. When analyzing the results, the authors considered happiness and satisfaction to be synonymous terms. It was found that the most important life areas promoting happiness were related to marital status, social relationships, health status, and participation in community activities, although authors did not report the specific impact of each item. In contrast, life areas which produced the lowest levels of satisfaction were financial situation, government action, education, and work. Thus, as observed in other investigations, close relationships were found to be relevant elements associated with happiness.

In another study based on the World Values Survey, Golgher (2014a) examined how marital status affects happiness in Brazil. The data on marital status included people who were married, cohabiting, divorced, separated, widowed and single/never married. The clearest tendency found was that married individuals were happier and differences were statistically significant between unmarried and married people. All other marital statuses showed lower levels of happiness. Marital status

has been frequently studied in investigations about happiness in South America; other investigations have also indicated that being married is positively associated with happiness (e.g. Diener et al., 2000; Mastekaasa, 1994). However, there is no further information on the specific dynamics of being married that could contribute to the knowledge about how these relationships affect happiness.

In summary, the effect of marital status on happiness is diverse in Latin American investigations. In Brazil, married individuals were happier (Golgher, 2014a), as well as those assigning greater importance to marriage (Golgher, 2014b). Marriage also helps to explain the variations present in degree of happiness (Ribeiro, 2015). Additionally, a high prevalence of happiness was associated with marital status in Brazilian elderly (Lima et al., 2012). Married people were also found to be happier in Peru (Alarcón, 2001). Although data usually follow international trends, a few investigations in a few countries are not enough to completely describe general Latin American, as they do not take into account the different cultures present within the continent.

Lima et al. (2012) identified factors associated with happiness in the elderly in Brazil based on a cross-sectional, population-based study with 1431 elders. The prevalence of happiness was measured according to socio-demographic variables, health behaviors, and health conditions. Among other factors, high levels of happiness were associated with marital status; married people reported higher levels of happiness than those who were not married. In Peru, Alarcón (2001) examined the relationships between happiness and the variables of gender, age, and marital status in a sample of 163 males and females, between 20 and 60 years of age. He used the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985), which includes an item to measure degree of happiness. The participants were split into two groups based on their marital status: single and married. Overall, married people were determined to be happier than single ones. Alarcón (2001) also found no significant difference in mean happiness between sexes in the married group. Scalco et al. (2011) investigated self-reported happiness and associated factors in a Southern Brazilian city. This study used a sample of 2942 individuals aged 20 years old and over. Among women, being separated/divorced or widowed related to a lower prevalence of happiness. According to the authors, this association has not been observed in men, possibly due to the small number of separated/divorced or widowed men included in the sample.

In Brazil, Rodrigues and Silva (2010) also included marital status in an investigation of happiness involving 467 trade workers in three Brazilian cities. The study also investigated the association between happiness and gender, ethnicity, education, religious practice, and other variables. The authors used the Subjective Happiness Scale, containing four items, as well as a single item scale designed to assess general level of happiness. The sample included 203 married participants (43.5%), 215 single participants (46.0%), 22 divorced participants (4.7%), 10 widowers (2.10%) and 17 participants in other situations (3.5%). Regarding marital status, widowhood had the highest negative impact on happiness, followed by divorce. Curiously, being married was not associated with happiness in this investi-

gation. The authors did not provide any additional information about the married participants, which makes it difficult to suggest possible explanations.

Another investigation based on the World Values Survey of 2006 was published by Golgher (2014b). This study focused exclusively on Brazil, and reported that those who assign more importance to family, marriage, and raising children in a dual parent household tend to be happier than others. Individuals who regard friends as important also tend to be happier than others, and the contrary is observed for those who do not value their friendships. Based on data from the Brazilian population from the World Values Survey of 2006, Golgher (2014c) examined several factors as possible determinants of happiness in Brazil, including sense of belonging, number of children, and trust, among others. These determinants of happiness were analyzed and discussed using ordered logistic models. The main findings were that individuals who considered themselves to be autonomous were unhappier than those who do not. The concept of autonomy is operationalized as the answer to the expression "I see myself as an autonomous individual". In terms of autonomy, no references to collectivist aspects are discussed in the article. Although married individuals tend to be happier, individuals with no children tend to be happier than those with children. Furthermore, married individuals with two children are happier than those with three or more children. Additionally, happiness was more strongly associated with trust in friends/acquaintances than with general trust. The author concluded that community and friends are strongly associated with happiness because of the sense of belonging that these relationships create. Individuals who have sense of belonging as a member of their community tend to be happier than those who do not.

In Brazil, Ribeiro (2015) investigated the predictors of happiness based on data from the survey "Social Dimensions of Inequalities". This data included a representative sample of urban and rural Brazilian population, except for the rural area of the northern region, which includes only 3.3% of the population. Data were collected in 2008 from interviews conducted on the heads and spouses of 8048 households. The data analysis showed that beyond material conditions (income, education and place of residence), factors related to personal relationships (marriage, friendship or social capital and religiosity) and perceptions about income and health help to explain the variation in degree of happiness. However, how much of this variance is explained by relationships has not been analyzed, nor has the relative importance of friendship and marriage when it comes to happiness. According to the author, happiness in this group of people is dependent not only on material conditions, but also whether or not they belong to a community. The results suggest that in Brazil, people with lasting relationships or with a more extensive network of friends and acquaintances tend to be happier. For example, being married increases chances of happiness for men by 67% and women by 58%. Men with wider friendship networks also tend to be happier. The author concluded that affective and friendly relations, positive perceptions of health and income, and religion are fundamental aspects that explain happiness levels in Brazil. The importance of "relational goods" is stressed. Having friends and intimate relationships as well as participating in the

community are aspects of life that depend on social relations. Therefore, happiness depends in part on the social relations that people have.

In Colombia, Velásquez (2016) investigated relational goods and their association with happiness in the urban population of Manizales. These relational goods included family relationships, other social relationships, social support, interaction at work, relational leisure, and social and political participation. The Quality of Life Survey in the urban area of Manizales was conducted in 2009 with a sample of over 6000 households of all social strata. It was comprised of questions about perceptions of life conditions, happiness, satisfaction with individual and contextual domains, and socio-demographic characteristics of family members. Regarding family relationships, level of happiness was positively associated with the quality of familial relationships, expression of affection in the family, and satisfaction one has with their family. The author also found a positive association between levels of happiness and social relationships developed by heads of households (husbands or wives) and their partners. The data analysis also shows an association between the ability to establish relationships and happiness; the greater one's ability to integrate with others, the greater their happiness. High levels of happiness were also associated with family support and with working in companies or businesses with several people. In sum, relational goods, including close relationships, play a central role in happiness. A detailed quantitative analysis of the impact of relational goods on subjective well-being is provided by the authors.

In Colombia, some studies have indicated that happiness is related to social networks in different stages of the life cycle. González-Quiñones and Restrepo-Chavarriaga (2010) assessed the relationship between happiness and social support networks in Colombia using a cross-sectional, observational study. The sample consisted of 7335 people living in an urban area (Bogotá) and a rural area (Ubaté), with average age of 30.7 years (SD 21,6). A questionnaire investigating the perception of current mood and support received from family and friends was distributed to the sample. In sum, 31% perceived that they were happy. God was considered the main source of support (91%), followed by oneself (77%), a friend (60%), one's mother (57%) and a sibling (50%). Overall, the authors found a positive relationship between happiness and social support networks (OR 2.95 and 6.6 respectively).

5.2   Close Relationships and Happiness in the Life Cycle

Recent studies conducted in South America have investigated factors affecting happiness while focusing on different stages of the life cycle. These studies are usually related to health and development from a psychological perspective. They also tend to involve smaller samples and investigation procedures, mainly interviews.

Giacomoni et al. (2014) aimed to investigate how children in Brazil describe the experience of being happy and the appearance of a happy person. 200 children from the ages of 5 to 12 were recruited from public and private schools in Porto Alegre, Brazil to take part in the study. The children were interviewed individually about the

meaning of happiness and what a happy person looks like. Children described the experience of being happy as having more positive feelings and a positive sense of self. The responses were organized into ten thematic groups, including family and friends. This means that family and friends, among other elements, were cited to describe the experience of being happy. However, they were not the most important themes, as positive emotions, a positive self, leisure, and the fulfillment of basic needs and desires (what the children longed for) were cited more frequently than family and friends.

Another study conducted in Brazil investigated the meaning of happiness for adolescents. Camargo et al. (2011) interviewed 95 participants from 12 to 20 years old who responded to the question "what comes to your mind when you think about being happy?" The content of the responses was organized into nine groups: family, feelings, friendship, self-references (when the participant refers to him/herself), activities, relationship, satisfaction of material needs, school, and other. The category of friendship included members, events, relationships, behavior, and feelings connected to friendship specifically, while the relationships category included different forms of relations with people. The most common category cited was positive emotions related to happiness, followed by family, satisfying material needs and desires, friendship, and relationships.

The relationship between happiness and friendship has also been identified in young adults in Brazil. DeSousa and Cerqueira-Santos (2012), investigated the intimate friendships of 98 young adults aged between 18 and 30 based on three self-report questionnaires. According to the authors, companionship emerged as the most distinct aspect of friendships. The first three words that came to mind when the participants thought of friendship were 'confidence' (44.9%), 'sincerity' (29.6%), 'respect' (24.5%), followed by 'loyalty/commitment' (22.4%), and 'joy/fun/happiness' (19.4%). In these three papers, close relationships are relevant to happiness. In the last paper, friendship was found to be related to happiness as well. Further investigations may help to establish if this connection between happiness and friendship is also found in other situations or groups. Unfortunately, the relationship between friendship and happiness has not been further discussed in these papers. However, the studies suggest that a variety of relationships are related to happiness in Latin American culture.

Elderly adults represent another age group which has attracted the attention of health science scholars, including those who study psychology. Most investigations involving older adults have been conducted in Chile and Brazil. In Chile, Herrera and Kornfeld (2008) investigated the happiness and familial relationships of elders, particularly with between older adults and their children. The paper is based on the First National Survey of Quality of Life in Old Age, which was conducted in 2007 with 1600 participants taken from cities of over 30,000 inhabitants and representing 75% of the national population. The findings of this study confirm that good quality family relationships positively impact the happiness of elderly adults. Also in Chile, Vivaldi and Barra (2012), examined the relationship between happiness and perceived social support in 250 elders from Concepción. The results showed that happiness was positively associated with perceived social support. Additionally, married

participants reported higher psychological well-being and higher levels of perceived social support. A third investigation in Chile concluded that social networks, including family members and friends, positively affected the happiness of elders in the city of Talcahuano (Mella et al., 2004).

Finally, Luz and Amatuzzi (2008) concluded that their moments of happiness were related to family and social context based on a phenomenological investigation of five elders in Brazil. Another investigation associated happiness and close relationships in the workplace, particularly with supportive social relations. In Brazil, Paschoal et al. (2010) conducted an investigation using a sample of 403 people employed at a public organization. The authors concluded that organizational and social support directly affect happiness. Further details and statistical analyses are supplied within the publication.

Personal relationships as a factor associated with happiness is common to all studies considered, regardless of which age group they assess. However, the investigations focusing on different age groups usually have a small number of participants compared to the papers considered in the previous section. Additionally, there are few existing studies in this area. Therefore, it would be premature to point out specific developmental trends regarding the sources of happiness in Latin American countries. Because age-specific studies on close relationships and happiness have been conducted mainly in Brazil and Chile, further investigations are necessary if results are to be applicable to other Latin American countries.

5.3   Conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to review recent advancements in studies on close relationships and happiness in South America, especially those published in the twenty-first century. These investigations involve a variety of methodologies, samples, and countries. Consistent with studies conducted in Western cultures (e.g. Diener et al., 2000), happiness is associated with family relationships, marital status, and friendship in South America. These results lend support to the theoretical arguments that close relationships are important correlates of happiness (e.g Baumeister, Argyle, etc.). The association between happiness and close relationships has been investigated using surveys with large samples, as well as case studies involving a small number of participants. It has mainly been studied using methodology based on the fields of economics, psychology, and health.

Some points concerning close relationships and happiness in South America should be highlighted. First, social-relational factors, including close relationships, play an important role in levels of happiness in the region. This makes the continent an important arena for investigating how close relationships and happiness are associated. Secondly, the available data suggest that sociological, economic, and psychological approaches could contribute to a wider and deeper understanding of how close relationships and happiness are connected; for instance, these findings could be relevant to studies relating social capital and happiness. The importance of social

relationships for happiness in Latin American culture is not fully understood, and thus necessitates further study. However, it is possible to speculate that relationships at least partially compensate for the negative effects of lower income or other economic/social disadvantages on happiness.

Further investigations on how close relationships and happiness affect each other are necessary to gain a more complete understanding of the association. For instance, while available data may indicate that married people or people with a large circle of friends usually report to be happier than unmarried people or those with fewer friends, the mechanisms and the dynamics behind this phenomenon should be further investigated with additional studies. Another example of a topic which deserves further investigation is how these relationships change over time and between regions in the same country. The joint analysis of macro and micro dimensions could potentially increase the comprehension of why and how close relationships are so important for happiness in South America. The interdisciplinary interest in happiness and its determinants could also give rise to important cooperation efforts between different fields, as well among different countries in the region. Finally, future studies could investigate how different relationships explain the variance in happiness levels, which would enable potential comparisons across studies.

Recent international surveys on happiness within Latin America are consistent with the recent empirical studies, as both indicate that happiness is high in these countries. What makes the Latin American studies unique is that participants are considered happy even when facing low income rates. This suggests that social-relational factors are important for Latin American happiness. Qualitative studies on the subject are few in number and utilize a small number of participants, which makes them difficult to compare across cultures.

The relative importance of close relationships when compared to one another is also relevant to the Latin American population. Most studies suggest that family is considered more important than friends when it comes to individual happiness (e.g. Garcia & Díaz-Loving, 2013). Beytía (2016) observed that most Latin Americans report having family relations marked by closeness and mutual support. In the region, families tend to be larger, the divorce rate is lower, and many adults live with their parents. These trends in close relationships help to explain the high levels of happiness in the continent. Nonetheless, friendship also affects happiness. Garcia et al. (2015) concluded that in Latin America, having friends and friendship experiences are related to happiness across age and social-cultural groups. In an additional study, Garcia, Lucas, and Rodrigues (2014) investigated relations with family and friends in the context of internal immigration in Brazil, and found that family is usually considered the most important relationship, although friends are also cited as being vital to one's happiness. It is important to note that the comparison of the impact of family members and friends on the lives of Latin Americans is still a new area of study with few published articles. Therefore, large-scale conclusions cannot be accurately drawn based solely on the existing literature.

Cultural specifics may have an impact on the trends and findings of these studies. For instance, in Latin America, close friends usually are integrated into families. They are often involved in religious events, such as baptisms and weddings, to

establish their role as a member of an individual's family (e.g. Garcia, Bucher-Maluschke, Pérez-Angarita, & Pereira, 2016). This effectively blurs the line between familial and friendly relationships. The importance of family may also be affected by historical and cultural influences (e.g. Garcia-Mendez, Rivera-Aragón, & Reyes-Lagunes, 2014; Campos & Seidl-de-Moura, 2014).

In a recent analysis of friendship in Latin American social comparative studies, Garcia et al. (2016) highlighted the importance of social capital as the theoretical basis for several studies (e.g. Filgueira, 2001; Rosas, 2015) on the subject. Filgueira (2001) pointed out the participation in an informal network of reciprocal relationships as the basis of social capital. This concept was considered in place of the common focus on income and poverty suppression. However, these two concepts are not mutually exclusive. Several papers, such as the one authored by Rosas (2015), discussed the role of social networks, including friends, in overcoming problems related to poverty in Latin America, thus integrating social capital and economic issues as factors in the population's overall happiness.

How relationships and happiness affect each other is poorly investigated in Latin America. One of the most unique aspects of the studies is the recurrent importance of social-relational factors on happiness. However, the studies that do exist use different methods and instruments, which makes it difficult to integrate these investigations. It is also important to note that although Latin American countries share some cultural aspects (e.g. most speak Spanish), cultural differences inside Latin America should also be addressed.

There are several points which could be further explored regarding happiness and relationships in Latin America. For instance, gender differences have not been investigated as well as other demographic factors, such as age, income, and relationships with other relatives (siblings, aunts, uncles, etc.). Another possibility for further study could be to conduct theory driven studies. The existing literature on the subject, although scarce, nonetheless provides ample framework to build upon in further research.

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Chapter 6
The Transition to Grandparenthood: A Chance to Promote Well-Being and Personal Growth in Later Life

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Abstract The transition to grandparenthood is considered one of the most meaningful and significant events in late life, which carries with it a shift in status, roles, and identities. This chapter focuses on grandparents' psychological well-being and life satisfaction while taking into account the multiple stresses and demands which come with their newfound role. It also highlights the process of personal growth, a positive psychological change that includes shifts in self-perception, interpersonal relationships, and priorities, and may be triggered by becoming a grandparent. The chapter reviews recent literature from around the world and concludes by describing both theoretical and practical implications, including future directions which need to be investigated, and recommendations for practitioners.

The transition to grandparenthood is a unique experience, second in significance only to the transition to parenthood. While this change typically brings joy and excitement, it also symbolizes aging, and therefore may be accompanied by existential anxieties and distress as well. The literature on grandparenthood in general is relatively limited, and it is even scarcer in respect to the transition to this role. The scarcity of research on this subject is especially salient in light of the fact that the grandparental role has developed and become more meaningful in recent years. Among the reasons for the growing importance of grandparents are increased longevity, changes in family relations (Bengtson & Mangen, 1988; Szinovacz, 1998), and changes in society, such as more mothers working full-time, divorce rates rising, single-parent families becoming more common, and a greater emphasis being placed on women's education and career development. All of these factors have led to a higher reliance on the assistance of grandparents worldwide (Lumby, 2010). An extended lifespan and new roles that are adopted in later stages of adult life in modern society mean that people often become grandparents when they are still working and active in a variety of other domains. In some cases, they are obliged to take an

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active part in caring for their grandchildren while they may still be caring for their own aging parents. This added demand may lead to greater stress in the multigenerational family and subsequently result in a decrease in grandparents' well-being. At the same time, the need to cope with this stress may present an opportunity for expansion, development, and personal growth. Nevertheless, for a long time, the transition to grandparenthood was portrayed solely as a happy event requiring no coping or adaptation of any sort (Ben Shlomo & Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2016b).

Research into adult development is relatively new (Elder, Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003; Kallio & Pirttilä-Backman, 2003), with Erik Erikson being the first eminent theoretician to study developmental stages throughout the lifespan. His psychosocial model, consisting of eight stages from infancy to late adulthood (Erikson, 1985), posits that in each stage, the individual has to cope with a "developmental crisis", and the manner in which this crisis is resolved influences the way they cope with the next stage. In middle adulthood, the central developmental challenge is the conflict between investing in oneself and contributing to family and society, which Erikson labels "generativity". Those who resolve this conflict by expressing care and concern for others will be able to better cope with old age. In fact, Erikson contended that the fear of death is lower when a person has a sense of continuity and immortality expressed through their children. Subsequent scholars built upon these ideas by proposing that each developmental stage is formed by interactions between the various transitions that individuals have experienced over the course of time (Perrig-Chiello & Perren, 2005). Thus, from this perspective, it may be assumed that the way a person experiences the transition to grandparenthood and his or her readiness for the new role depends on the resolution of previous developmental crises and conflicts (Noy & Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2016).

Although every transition involves change and requires adaptation as the individual's roles in life are redefined or discarded in favor of newer ones (Perrig-Chiello & Perren, 2005), the nature of different transitions may vary. They may be normative or non-normative, anticipated by social expectations or unexpected, controllable or uncontrollable. Normative transitions are generally positive, such as the transitions to first grade and to parenthood, whereas non-normative transitions tend to be undesired and perceived as negative, such as unemployment or divorce (Cowan, 1991). Here, we are focusing on natural stages in life that are viewed as a normative life event. Still, while many normative life transitions take place at a certain age, such as entering college or joining the workforce, the transition to grandparenthood occurs within a wider and more flexible age range. This highlights the sociocultural element that is present in this life transition (Perrig-Chiello & Perren, 2005), referred to as "social time." "Social time" denotes the length and sequence of roles, as well as the expectations and beliefs about each age and role (Elder, 1994). The transition to grandparenthood may occur at an age that meets or deviates from social expectations, and this too may affect the new grandparent's well-being. In addition, the individual has no control over the age at which they become a grandparent, as it is dependent upon a decision made by their children. Thus, not only is there an uncontrollable element inherent to this life transition, but it also involves intergenerational dependency. Both of these features are atypical of the experience of adult life in modern times. Consequently, becoming a grandparent, although

usually viewed as a positive event, is essentially "forced" upon the individual, regardless of whether or not they desire the role or feel ready for it (Noy & Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2016). These aspects of the grandparenting role may affect the way individuals experience the transition and influence their state of mind and mental health.

6.1   Grandparents' Well-being and Life Satisfaction

For many years, grandparents' mental health and life satisfaction received little attention in research, mainly because the concepts of well-being, distress, and satisfaction with life were usually examined in the context of stress. By definition, one of the outcomes of coping with stress is a change in mental health, either a negative one brought on by distress, a loss of control, and depression, or a positive one characterized by well-being and adaptation (Pavot & Diener, 2004; Veit & Ware, 1983). As mental health relates to internal experiences and the cognitive evaluation of these experiences rather than to any objective measure, it is often labeled "subjective well-being" or conversely, "psychological distress" (Diener, 1994). Subjective well-being includes three components: life satisfaction, positive affect, and negative affect (Diener, 1984). Life satisfaction is defined as a cognitive and global evaluation of the quality of one's life as a whole (Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2003). Positive affect (PA) refers to the extent to which a person feels enthusiastic, active, and alert, and is characterized by a state of high energy, full concentration, and pleasurable engagement. In contrast, negative affect (NA) refers to non-pleasurable engagement that includes a variety of aversive mood states, including anger, guilt, fear, and nervousness. All of these aspects have been studied in relation to grandparents.

Over the years, research in the field of grandparenthood has tended to idealize the role, essentially ignoring any of its stressful elements. Early research was primarily based on interviews, and focused specifically on one's satisfaction with the role of grandparent (e.g., Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Thomas, 1989). Thomas (1989), for example, asks grandparents about their relationship with one of their grandchildren, and finds positive associations between life satisfaction and various components of grandparenthood, such as indulging the grandchild and gaining a feeling of immortality through the child. Whereas most studies depict a general trend of pleasure and satisfaction with the role of grandparent, several find that a small percentage of participants instead express difficulty and discomfort (e.g., Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Peterson, 1999; Robertson, 1977).

Despite these indications of possible stress among grandparents, virtually no studies have been undertaken to examine the connection between stress and positive outcomes, such as life satisfaction, in this population. Recent years have witnessed a certain shift in this attitude, sparked, among other things, by the emergence of Positive Psychology, which highlights the individual's capacity to grow and develop in the wake of major life events, whether traumatic or normative (Tedeschi, Calhoun, & Cann, 2007).

The majority of initial studies examining the connection between perceived stress and life satisfaction focus on custodial grandparents (e.g., Davidhizar, Bechtel, & Woodring, 2000; Waldrop & Weber, 2001), who serve as the main care-givers for their grandchildren when the parents cannot perform this role. Such inves-tigations related to the physical and financial burden on the one hand and the satisfaction gained by shaping the next generation on the other (Davidhizar et al., 2000). Operating on the assumption that stress is an integral part of the parenting role that custodial grandparents play in their grandchildren's lives, several studies assessed the level of grandparents' perceived stress by using instruments originally designed to measure parental stress (e.g., Harrison, Richman, & Vittimberga, 2000; Kelley, 1993; Ross & Aday, 2006).

A series of studies conducted starting in 2010 adopt the same approach to exam-ining non-custodial first-time grandparents (e.g., Ben Shlomo, Taubman – Ben-Ari, Findler, Sivan, & Dolizki, 2010; Ben Shlomo & Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2012). Although such individuals may not have to contend with the same degree of stress as custodial grandparents, the fact that they serve as a source of support and assis-tance for their adult children in order to enable them to combine career and family responsibilities (Mann & Leeson, 2010) while at the same time continuing to fulfill their own roles as parents, spouses, and professionals (Findler, Taubman – Ben-Ari, Nuttman-Shwartz, & Lazar, 2013) requires them to cope with multiple stressors. In addition, first-time grandparents are faced with the stress of forming a relationship with their new grandchild (Fingerman, 1998). They may also struggle with the need to bridge the gap between their expectations for a future grandchild and grandpar-enthood and the reality that they encounter (Somary & Stricker, 1998).

Studies conducted worldwide report the positive consequences of the transition to grandparenthood, some even claiming that becoming a grandparent has the most positive overall emotional valence of all transitions, followed by becoming a parent (Perrig-Chiello & Perren, 2005). Italian grandmothers report that the relationship with their grandchild affords them emotional expression, which they had never experienced before. They also claim that the relationship enables them to relive their role as mothers and correct the mistakes they made with their children years earlier, and that they are free of the time pressures that characterize motherhood (Gattai & Musatti, 1999). Similarly, in studies from Great Britain, grandfathers state that they spent more time with their grandchildren than they did with their children, have more patience with them, and are more involved than they had been as fathers. Additionally, the grandfathers feel that their grandchildren provide an emotional relationship and intimacy they have seldom experienced before (Cunningham-Burley, 2001; Sorensen & Cooper, 2010). A study from Japan corroborates these findings, showing that grandparenting contributes to the psychological well-being of Japanese grandparents independently of their health status. The transmission of values and traditions, the shared leisure activities, and the centrality of grandparent-hood all contribute to a sense of well-being among them (Inatani & Maehara, 2005). A study of Vietnamese-Australian grandparents similarly concludes that grandpar-ents' most important roles are the maintenance of good emotional relationships and support, leading to a sense of harmony and continuity in their extended families and

enabling a sense of happiness, quality of life and fulfilment among them (Thanh-Xuan & Liamputtong- Rice, 2000).

Nevertheless, the transition to grandparenthood should not only be portrayed in bright colors. A study conducted among Israeli grandparents (Findler et al., 2013) indicates that positive and negative features of the grandparent experience may exist side by side. In other words, becoming a grandparent also entails costs, including the loss of previous identities and roles. As many people become grandparents (oftentimes between the ages of fifty and sixty) the burdens on them are considerable. Some are still working, and may be at the peak of their professional careers. Additionally, other children may still be living at home, and the new grandparents may still have well-established social relationships and responsibilities, as well as leisure time activities. The expectation that, in addition to all of these responsibilities, they help care for a grandchild may come at a cost. Indeed, another Israeli study found that higher active involvement with the grandchild was found to be related not only to better mental health among grandmothers, but also to a higher perception of the costs involved (Ben Shlomo, Taubman – Ben-Ari, Findler, Sivan, & Dolizki, 2010).

Negative emotions might also be aroused in new grandparents because regardless of the chronological age of the individual or their level of vitality and activity, grandparenthood is symbolically associated with older age (Gauthier, 2002). As Western society tends to hold negative attitudes toward aging and to view it as a threat (Perrig-Chiello & Perren, 2005), acknowledging this process may be painful. With it comes an awareness of unfulfilled hopes and expectations, as well as limitations on future opportunities (Issroff, 1994). These feelings may also influence the way a person perceives the transition to grandparenthood.

In a review of multiple studies, Noy and Taubman – Ben-Ari (2016) identify several factors, including sociodemographic, personality, and environmental features, which are associated with the mental health of individuals who became grandparents in the preceding two years. Physical health was found to be particularly important since better physical health is associated with both better mental health (Ben Shlomo et al., 2010; Ben Shlomo & Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2012), and greater life satisfaction (Ben Shlomo, 2014). This finding is corroborated in an Australian study that shows that health is a key predictor of grandmothers' satisfaction. Here, older age is actually associated with greater life satisfaction in general, and greater satisfaction from the grandparent role in particular (Moore & Rosenthal, 2015). However, these benefits remained true only as long as the grandmother was healthy. This is not surprising, as older age brings with it more health problems, and those who are currently healthy are aware that good health cannot be taken for granted. Better education was also found to contribute to a higher level of life satisfaction (Moore & Rosenthal, 2015). The authors suggest that whereas grandmothers from all educational groups may enjoy their role, better educated ones may be more resourceful in integrating it with their other interests and pursuits, and may use this role to expand their self-complexity. Finally, economic status is also a relevant factor–the higher grandparents' economic status, the better their mental health (Ben Shlomo, 2014; Ben Shlomo & Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2012).

With respect to personality traits, studies indicate the particular importance of self-esteem, defined as an individual's global perception of self, whether it is positive or negative. This perception includes constructs such as self-worth, pride, and self-acceptance (Rosenberg, 1979). Israeli studies found that higher self-esteem is related to better mental health and a lower perception of the costs involved in the transition to grandparenthood among first-time grandmothers (e.g., Ben Shlomo et al., 2010). Higher self-esteem provides an individual with a sense of security, thereby protecting them from the feelings of anxiety and upheaval that may be aroused by their new role (Noy & Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2016).

Sense of mastery was also shown to be related to new grandparents' mental health so that the higher the sense of mastery, the better their mental health (Ben Shlomo et al., 2010; Ben Shlomo & Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2012). Finally, greater optimism is associated with better mental health among grandparents, similar to the association that exists between optimism and adaptation to other life transitions (Ben Shlomo & Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2012).

Regarding environmental features, it is important to note that the empirical literature generally views grandparents as the providers of support, ignoring the fact that they too need a support system in order to maintain their mental health. Indeed, studies have found that the perception of receiving more support is related to better mental health among new grandparents (Ben Shlomo & Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2012). Furthermore, new grandparents who perceive better family ties report higher life satisfaction (Ben Shlomo & Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2016a). Interestingly, people who enjoy the experience of grandparenthood report feeling younger, a belief that aging occurs at a later age, and the desire for a longer life when compared to those who do not enjoy the role (Kaufman & Elder, 2003). Finally, having a current partner–that is, someone to share the grandparenting role with–was found to increase grandmothers' satisfaction from their role and their life satisfaction in general (Moore & Rosenthal, 2015).

6.2   Well-Being as a Function of Multiple Roles and Multiple Generations

The studies reviewed thus far indicate that one of the most challenging periods for grandparents' mental health and life satisfaction is the transition to their new role, which is often characterized by stress. Early findings that custodial grandparents experience higher distress than their non-custodial peers are often explained in terms of the multiple roles that these individuals take on (Blustein, Chan, & Guanais, 2004). However, it is not necessarily caring for a grandchild as an added role that is responsible for hindering grandparents' well-being. It is also possible that a predisposition to develop distress symptoms, unrelated to this additional task, is strengthened during the transition to this role (Hughes, Waite, LaPierre, & Luo, 2007).

Baker and Silverstein ([2008]) examine how other external roles, such as work, volunteering, or caring for children or dependent parents, accelerate or limit grandparents' well-being in the transition to caring for a grandchild. The authors use existing data from a study on health and retirement, which analyzed a sample of 8468 participants. Findings indicate that grandparents raising grandchildren suffer more mental distress than other grandparents, regardless of their other roles. However, over time, external roles prove to be an adaptive resource, enabling grandparents to reinstate an internal and external balance in their lives. The contribution of these roles is reduced when the grandparents cease to care for the grandchild, at which time a decline is observed in their well-being.

A further explanation for the way that multiple roles shape grandparents' well-being was suggested by Goodfellow ([2003]) in an Australian qualitative study that drew on Choice Theory (Glasser, [1998]) to examine the element of choice as a contributor to well-being. According to Goodfellow, the satisfaction that grandparents derive from caring for their grandchildren is related to the nature of their choice. Some, for example, choose e to care for their grandchildren out of concern for the wellbeing of the entire family, while disregarding their own well-being. They may take on this role to enable their children to get better jobs, or as a consequence of an unexpected pregnancy. Most importantly, this responsibility is assumed without any negotiation with their children. In such cases, Goodfellow contends, it is not the additional role that affects the grandparents' well-being, but rather their lack of choice.

In a study conducted in China (Xu & Chi, [2011]), where it is customary for grandparents to care for their grandchildren, it was found that grandparents report higher life satisfaction not only as a function of their economic and health status, but most particularly when intergenerational family ties are good. Similarly, a study from Hong Kong indicates that life satisfaction of grandparents benefits significantly from their young grandchildrens' social support. This benefit goes above and beyond several sociodemographic and cultural aspects, including demographic characteristics, general social support, attitude towards Chinese tradition, self-rated health, and financial adequacy (Lou, [2010]).

In the same vein, a recent Israeli study conducted among pairs of new grandfathers and their sons shows that higher levels of life satisfaction are associated with good family relations. Furthermore, the frequency of meetings with the grandchild was found to moderate the association between the father's narcissism and the grandfather's life satisfaction (Ben Shlomo & Taubman – Ben Ari, [2016a]). The authors suggest that spending a relatively large amount of time with the grandchild and experiencing the whole range of emotions in this relationship enables a sense of satisfaction in life, regardless of the son's personality traits. Conversely, infrequent meetings with the grandchild might be colored by the son's narcissistic personality. In other words, if he is concerned only with himself and is therefore incapable of showing regard for the needs and emotions of his father, the grandfather is less likely to have a sense of satisfaction.

In line with this finding, a study conducted in Finland inquires as to whether grandparenthood is associated with higher levels of happiness among older Finns.

Daniels-Backa and Tanskanen (2016) find that just being a grandparent does not seem to have a unique effect on happiness, rather, it was being an active grandparent that mattered. Higher contact frequency with grandchildren (several times per week vs. lower frequencies or nonexistent contact), is associated with greater happiness for grandparents. However, when contact with children is added to the same model, the overall association between happiness and grandchild contact is non-significant. The authors explain that this finding implies that the contact between grandparent and grandchild often goes through the parents, which may be the case especially with young grandchildren.

A good intergenerational family relationship was also found to be important in a study by Goodman (2007a), who examined 459 custodial grandmothers. Such families constitute an intergenerational triad and display a variety of relationship patterns based on emotional closeness or distance. The quality of intergenerational family ties ranged from being strongly triple-bonded to not-bonded through the three generations. Whereas the grandmothers' well-being is high in the good triple-bonded families, it is low in the non-bonded families. In another study by the same author, it was found in a sample of 376 grandmothers that in child-linked families where the intergenerational connections are good, grandmothers tend to report less depression and higher satisfaction with life, and the grandchild tends to have fewer behavioral problems (Goodman, 2007b).

We believe that in coming years, the rise in the number of roles that grandparents fulfill and the rise in the number of intergenerational family ties will become central components of grandparents' mental health. Indeed, Wellard (2012) stresses the significance of the role of grandparent in family life in view of the rapid demographic change in longevity, which means that people today are grandparents for a longer period of time. This role has the potential not only to be rewarding and contribute to the well-being of older people, but also to alleviate their loneliness.

6.3   Personal Growth in the Transition to Grandparenthood

The positive changes and transformations reported by many grandparents have led scholars to the understanding that these new emotions and insights are part of a process called personal growth, which has recently gained recognition. The term "personal growth" refers to positive psychological change that is experienced as a result of coping with challenging and demanding life events (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1996). The concept was originally introduced to describe the response to traumatic events that threaten the individual's predominant worldviews and comprehension of their place in the world. However, in recent years it has also been applied to the changes that occur following normative, but stress-eliciting, life events and life transitions (Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2012).

In a series of studies conducted in Israel on personal growth following the transition to grandparenthood, new grandparents report feelings and thoughts that indicate a process of growth, including changes in self-perception, improved

interpersonal relationships, and new priorities (Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2012; Taubman – Ben-Ari & Ben Shlomo, 2014). These studies suggest that personal growth may occur not only in negative life events and crises, but also in positive and normative transitions. Like traumatic events, transitions of this kind call basic worldviews into question and pave the way for rethinking predispositions. When this leads to a process in which one's perceptions of life, of self, and of relations with others are reassessed and reconstructed in a more adaptive manner, enhancing the ability to cope efficiently with adversity and challenges, it is evidence of the experience of personal growth (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). This growth then enables the individual to expand their previous conceptions and thrive. Changes of this sort are also reported by new grandparents (Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2012; Taubman – Ben-Ari & Ben Shlomo, 2014).

Changes in self-perception are reflected in a grandparent's discovery of traits and abilities of which they were unaware prior to the birth of their grandchild. Grandparents also feel that they have been given an opportunity to correct mistakes that they made as parents. In addition, they report an *improvement in personal and familial relationships* following the transition to grandparenthood, referring to the strengthening of their relationship with their children and their grandchildren and the satisfaction and meaning that these relationships afford them. Furthermore, they feel that they have become part of "the community of grandparents", and some also note the cementing of their relationship with their spouse. Finally, grandparents describe a *change in priorities, new goals in life, and a new outlook on life*. They talk about a new sense of pride derived from knowing that they can help shape the younger generation and serve as a role model for their grandchild (Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2012; Taubman – Ben-Ari & Ben Shlomo, 2014).

Such evidence of grandparents' potential to experience growth raises the question of what it is that enables this experience. Studies have examined several possibilities, including grandparents' sociodemographic characteristics, internal resources such as personality traits, and external resources such as social support or marital relations.

Among the sociodemographic variables, gender was found to be associated with personal growth following the transition to grandparenthood, with grandmothers reporting higher growth than grandfathers (Taubman – Ben-Ari, Findler, & Ben Shlomo, 2013; Taubman – Ben-Ari, Ben Shlomo, & Findler, 2014). This may result from the difference in role perception and satisfaction between men and women, as women are generally more connected to their role in the family and more likely to view it as a means of self-fulfillment (Reitzes & Mutran, 2004; Silverstein & Marenceo, 2001).

Age was also found to be related to personal growth, but only among grandmothers, with older grandmothers reporting higher growth (Taubman – Ben-Ari, Ben Shlomo, & Findler, 2012; Taubman – Ben-Ari, Findler, & Ben Shlomo, 2013). In addition, an association was found between lower health status and higher growth among grandmothers (Taubman – Ben-Ari et al., 2013). Lastly, fewer years of education is associated with higher growth in both grandparents (Taubman – Ben-Ari et al., 2013). All of these sociodemographic characteristics represent less favorable

circumstances which lead to greater tension and anxiety and therefore may facilitate growth. As explained above, personal growth is a positive change that occurs as a consequence of coping with stressful circumstances. It may be assumed that the more difficult an individual's situation, the harder they expect it to be to cope with the added burdens entailed in the transition to grandparenthood. Because the challenge is greater, the sense of pride, accomplishment, and satisfaction derived from successfully managing it is also greater. In other words, despite the stresses, their critical role in the raising of grandchildren also provides grandparents with a sense of vitality, contribution to the family, closeness to their children and grandchildren, and new meaning in life, which are all signs of personal growth.

An interesting picture emerges from studies investigating the contribution of internal resources to personal growth. Lower self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1979) was found to be related to higher personal growth among grandmothers, suggesting that those with lower self-esteem who successfully cope with the challenge of becoming a grandparent might discover new qualities or abilities in themselves, leading to a sense of growth (Taubman – Ben-Ari, Ben Shlomo, & Findler, 2012; Taubman – Ben-Ari, Ben Shlomo, & Findler, 2014). In addition, Taubman – Ben-Ari and her colleagues (2013) found an association between lower attachment anxiety and higher growth for both grandparents. Lower attachment anxiety is considered to be a positive quality, indicating a more secure perception of the world and one's relationships with others, as well as a greater ability to regulate emotions (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). Thus, the ability to regulate emotions might facilitate new grandparents' positive perception of the experience of grandparenthood and enable them to learn new things about themselves, affording them a sense of personal growth. Moreover, people with lower attachment anxiety may be better able to handle the anxieties aroused by the transition to grandparenthood. This ability allows them to be free to develop and grow as a result of their new role (Taubman – Ben-Ari et al., 2013).

Another internal resource that has been examined in respect to the growth of new grandparents is self-differentiation (Bowen, 1990). It was found that self-differentiation correlates positively with growth among less educated grandmothers. Therefore, this would seem to be an important resource for women with a lower level of education, who tend to be more committed to family roles. It is possible that such women can only experience growth in the wake of the transition to grandmotherhood if their level of self-differentiation is high enough to prevent them from "losing themselves" in their new role (Taubman – Ben-Ari et al., 2013).

With respect to external resources, it was found that a grandparent's personal growth is associated with the growth experienced by his/her spouse (Taubman – Ben-Ari et al., 2013). This suggests that the spousal relationship may reciprocally enhance the possibility of a positive change by enabling the individual to share the meaningful experience of grandparenthood. Another factor found to be associated with growth among grandmothers is the frequency of meetings with the daughter who has recently become a mother (Taubman – Ben-Ari, Ben Shlomo, & Findler, 2012). This finding indicates either a good mother-daughter relationship to begin with, or the opportunity that the birth of a grandchild offers for the two women to

strengthen their relationship. In addition, a higher frequency of meetings most likely reflects a greater involvement and commitment on the part of the grandmother, as well as a closer relationship with the grandchild. Similarly, among grandfathers, the frequency of meetings with the grandchild is positively associated with personal growth (Ben Shlomo & Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2016a). This suggests that the more significant a man's relationship with his grandchild, the more committed he is to the role of grandfather. This commitment increases his obligation to cope with the circumstances, thereby increasing his chances of personal growth.

External resources–that is, the support system available to individuals–allow them to share feelings, receive emotional and instrumental support, and feel secure. This, in turn, makes it possible to develop a more adaptive perception of the new challenges they are facing (Cryder, Kilmer, Tedeschi, & Calhoun, 2006; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). Learning that during challenging periods in life, which demand a reorganization and reconstruction of reality, there are significant others who will be at your side and share the difficulties is an essential and crucial part of the growth experienced in the transition to grandparenthood.

As noted earlier, according to Erikson (1950), generativity is a key task in the psychological growth and maturation of individuals in the mid-life and early senior years. In a recent study in which personal growth was defined as a "sense of generativity," Moore and Rosenthal (2015) found it to be high among grandmothers. Grandmothers see themselves as making significant contributions to family, work, friendships, and other domains. Although health declines somewhat with age, generativity does not. The more women enjoy the role of grandmother, the more it strengthens their sense of self. Interestingly, engagement, operationalized as activities with their grandchildren, predicted grandmothers' generativity. That is, it is not the length of time that they spend with their grandchildren, but rather the level of involvement and participation in activities with them that grandmothers find fulfilling and rewarding.

Personal growth has also been examined among grandparents in unique circumstances, such as when the child has an illness or disability. In a series of studies, grandparents of children with an intellectual disability were found to have similar personal growth to grandparents of children without a disability (Findler, 2014). Additionally, personal growth is even higher among grandparents of children who survived cancer than among grandparents of healthy children (Findler, Dayan-Sharabi, & Yaniv, 2014). The authors suggest that along with the difficulties and threats facing the grandparents of children with a serious illness, there may be positive personal consequences derived from the sense of fulfillment and pride they feel as a result of the role they play when the child was ill. The experience of a grandchild's traumatic illness and grandparents' critical role during this time may allow them the opportunity to acknowledge their strengths, evaluate their surroundings more positively, feel closer to the child and his or her parents and siblings, and find new meaning in life, all of which are vital components of personal growth.

Similar to previous studies (Taubman – Ben-Ari, Ben Shlomo, & Findler, 2012; Taubman – Ben-Ari et al., 2014), lower levels of personal resources–namely, sense of coherence–and higher levels of external resources, i.e., social support from

friends and partner, contribute to higher levels of growth among these grandparents. In addition, in line with studies of grandparents in general,, better health was associated with greater personal growth among grandparents of children with intellectual disabilities, with women displaying more growth than men, and less education and more family cohesiveness being associated with higher levels of growth.

The results of these studies indicate that even when grandparenthood is accompanied by increased apprehension and distress, the experience of helping to raise a grandchild and watching him or her develop and the associated sense of vitality, love, and joy can significantly contribute to personal growth. Irrespective of unique circumstances, the grandparenting role and the intergenerational connections it may involve can be invigorating, and can lead to positive outcomes in older age.

As we have seen, research shows that the experience of growth among new grandparents is promoted both by higher external resources and by lower personal resources (Taubman – Ben-Ari, 2012). The latter finding is particularly interesting, as it may appear counterintuitive. However, it is possible that people with greater internal resources perceive difficulties and challenges as less threatening, and therefore have more confidence in their ability to deal with them. Consequently, they may cope better and maintain stability, adaptability, and quality of life, even in unique situations. Conversely, individuals who lack sufficient inner strength and resilience may experience life challenges more intensely and therefore have a greater sense of personal growth upon handling them successfully.

Following the same line of thought, grandfathers with lower self-esteem report high levels of personal growth. As the transition to grandfatherhood offers older men the opportunity to receive positive feedback about their essential role in the family and their ability to be supportive of others, the experience may lead to growth, particularly among men in need of a boost to their self-esteem (Taubman – Ben-Ari, Findler & Ben Shlomo, 2012).

Above all, the findings of studies examining growth among grandparents demonstrate the considerable significance of this role as a trigger for a change in perception of the self, interpersonal relationships, and life in general. Moreover, they indicate that this life transition, although positive in nature, also generates stress and necessitates coping. The positive change that may ensue as a result of the need to reexamine one's life–that is, personal growth–actually occurs because of the complex challenges posed by this unique, new and multifaceted role.

6.4   Theoretical and Practical Implications

Not that long ago, grandparents were viewed through the lens of developmental theories such as Erikson's, which presents older adulthood as a prolonged life phase informed by impending death. Recent changes in longevity, family structure, and women's engagement in the workforce, however, have necessitated a change in this perception, as nowadays grandparents, whether custodial or otherwise, are expected to be involved in caring for their grandchildren. In our opinion, due to the increased

duration of this role and the many sub-roles it entails, this developmental stage requires urgent redefinition, including, in Erikson's terms, the central conflict and its positive resolution.

Drawing on Erikson's model, we can speak of grandparents' need to resolve the developmental conflict between satisfying the needs of the self, such as work, leisure, and social life, and satisfying familial-environmental demands, such as the expectation that they assist in child care along with the care of their elderly parents or dependent younger children. A positive resolution of the conflict would be characterized by the ability to balance their own needs, which are more mature in this stage in life, and the needs of the family, whose other members are in different developmental stages (e.g., children who have just become parents and are building their careers and elderly parents in need of nursing care). This positive resolution would maintain grandparents' well-being and at the same time enable a sense of personal growth.

Moreover, there is growing empirical evidence regarding personal and environmental resources that may contribute to grandparents' well-being and even lead to their thriving and personal development. This evidence highlights the fact that grandparents are not only part of the support systems of others in the family and the community, but they also require their own support systems to assist them in coping with their role. Such sources of support must be able to recognize that alongside the joys of grandparenthood, the transition to this stage in life also arouses stress. The level of stress is related in part to whether grandparents perceive their new role as a threat or a challenge, and the extent to which they feel they can cope with its demands. In addition, it is related to how they conceive of their engagement with the grandchild in this phase in life–that is, whether they feel they are undertaking this responsibility for their own benefit or in response to the needs of their family. Moreover, the degree of stress aroused by the transition to grandparenthood is undoubtedly a function of their personal resources, as well as their health and economic status.

Finally, the rigorous findings regarding the contribution of the intergenerational relationship between grandparents, parents, and grandchildren to the well-being and personal growth of grandparents clearly indicate the importance of examining the whole family as a unit. Change in one generation unquestionably affects the other generations as well. Accordingly, interventions for new grandparents should be oriented toward the family as a system, and should view grandmothers and grandfathers as a vital link in the intergenerational chain.

Whereas previous research tends to regard grandparents solely as a source of support for their children and grandchildren, we have sought throughout our studies over the years, as well as in this chapter, to highlight the fact that grandparenthood is a role in and of itself, and that grandparents themselves experience well-being, happiness, and personal growth, alongside frustration and distress. As we have attempted to show here, there is a pressing need to focus on this experience and the sources that can enhance grandparents' well-being and personal growth, as well as to understand cultural influences, a subject which has not yet received attention.

In order to help grandparents enjoy their role and get the most out of it, professionals should approach and provide support to them from the very beginning of the transition to grandparenthood, similar to the guidance offered to those preparing for parenthood. Much like becoming a parent, becoming a grandparent is a complex experience. Such preparatory interventions can be much more effective than intervening after difficulties between the generations have already emerged. Continuing support for grandparents, whether in normative or custodial roles and in families experiencing special or "ordinary" stresses, can provide invaluable advice and tools corroborates regardless of the nature of their past familial relationships. Whether or not their own grandparents were in their lives and no matter how close or strained their relations with the younger generations in their family are, all new grandparents can benefit from professional support that will help them flourish in their new role.

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Chapter 7
My Relationships Are My Estate: Relationships with Kin and Voluntary Bonds as Predictors of Happiness Among Emerging Adults

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Abstract Emerging adults maintain relationships not only with their primary kin (mother and father) and collateral kin (siblings, aunts, and uncles) but also establish and enjoy voluntary bonds (same-sex and cross-sex friendships and romantic relationships). The current study investigated whether the qualities of voluntary bonds are predictive of happiness when primary and collateral kin relationships are taken into account. This association was investigated separately for men and women among single and dating emerging adults. The quality of voluntary bonds explained unique variance in happiness above and beyond kin relationships among single (n = 543) and dating emerging adults (n = 409). In the single group, relationships explained more variance in happiness among women when compared to men. However, this pattern was flipped in the dating group. While women benefited from multiple relationships in both groups, same-sex friendship was the most important relationship predicting happiness among single and dating men. Although close relationships are reliable correlates of happiness, the conferred benefits of relationships for men and women might depend on relationship status.

Other people matter (Peterson, 2006). Individuals maintain relationships with multiple figures in their lives (Antonucci, Ajrouch, & Birditt, 2014) and the quality of these relationships has been shown to be a reliable correlate of happiness across different methods and cultures (Demir, Orthel, & Andelin, 2013; Li & Cheng, 2015; Saphire-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013). Attesting to their importance, even daydreaming about significant others increases happiness (Poerio, Totterdell, Emerson, & Miles, 2015). Some of these relationships, such as relationships with parents and collateral

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kin (e.g., siblings and aunts), are involuntary in nature (Dykstra, 2009). Individuals also establish and maintain voluntary social bonds with others, which are referred to as achieved relationships (Broderick, 1993). Friendships and romantic relationships, two cherished bonds of emerging adults, are preeminent examples of voluntary social bonds that have received substantial attention in the literature. In this study, we investigate whether the quality of voluntary relationships uniquely contributes to individual happiness among emerging adults while taking relationship experiences with primary (parents) and collateral kin (siblings, aunts, and uncles) into account. Although there is abundant research documenting a positive association between relationship quality and happiness across multiple bonds, the story becomes more complicated when multiple relationships are studied simultaneously and romantic relationship status is taken into account. Specifically, past theoretical and empirical work has shown that the importance of friendships for well-being is less pronounced among those who are involved in a romantic relationship compared to those who are single (Demir, 2010; Walen & Lachman, 2000). Adding to this complexity is the argument that the benefits of close relationships might be different among men and women (Demir & Davidson, 2013; Saphire-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013). The current study addresses these issues by investigating whether voluntary relationships make a difference in happiness above and beyond the influence of relationships with members of primary and collateral kin. It also takes into account the influence of voluntary social bonds across the two genders among both those who are single and those who are involved in a romantic relationship.

7.1   Organization of Close Relationships

Close relationships have been defined in ways that highlight the dyadic nature of the continuous social exchanges that characterize the bond and create varying levels of interdependence (Hinde, 1997). Empirical research guided by the social convoy model (Antonucci, Ajrouch, & Birditt, 2014) suggests that individuals maintain various close relationships. These significant bonds can be broadly classified as kin and nonkin relationships. Kinship is traditionally defined as the genetic link between persons (Neyer & Lang, 2003), and can be further differentiated as lineal generational (e.g., parents), collateral (siblings, aunt, uncles), and in-laws. Nonkin relationships include social ties that one develops, such as those with friends and romantic partners. One way to differentiate the two types of relationships concerns the construct of permanence that highlights the voluntary and stable nature of the bond (Laursen & Bukowski, 1997). Relationships with kin are given, ascribed, involuntary, and stable, whereas nonkin relationships are made, achieved, and voluntary (Dykstra, 2009).

Although kinship entails a multitude of relationships, our focus in this study is on relationships with mothers and fathers, representing the lineal generational bond, and on siblings, aunts, and uncles, which are examples of the collateral bonds. Relationships with parents are important throughout the life course and are com-

monly investigated in studies on happiness (e.g., Headey, Muffels, & Wagner, 2014). Although most emerging American adults have a sibling (Milevsky, 2011) and maintain relationships with their aunts and uncles (Milardo, 2010), the roles of these relationships in individual happiness have not received much empirical attention. Thus, we focused on these important bonds with collateral kin in order to address an important gap in the literature.

As for nonkin relationships, our focus was on friendships (i.e., same-sex and cross-sex) and romantic relationships. A significant body of theoretical and empirical work highlights the importance of friendships and romantic bonds in the lives and happiness of emerging adults (Collins & van Dulmen, 2006; Demir, 2010). Yet, we do not know if the voluntary bonds that emerging adults maintain in their lives contribute to their happiness when taking relationships with kin into account. From a theoretical perspective, these "achieved" relationships might be expected to make additional contributions to happiness because of their centrality in the lives of emerging adults who are in the process of developing and refining their identities (Barry, Madsen, Nelson, Carroll, & Badger, 2009). However, there is empirical evidence suggesting that the role that friends play in well-being might be less pronounced when multiple relationships are studied simultaneously (Bertera, 2005; Demir, Orthel, & Andelin, 2013). The current study, with its focus on multiple kin relationships, provides a unique opportunity to examine the relative importance of voluntary bonds in happiness beyond the influence of lineal, generational, and collateral kin.

7.2   Lineal Generational and Collateral Kin and Happiness

Relationships with parents constitute an individual's primary kin interactions, and decades of theoretical and empirical work have convincingly demonstrated that parents make meaningful contributions to the lives of emerging adults (see Fingerman & Yahurin, 2015 for a review). Although some studies suggest that relationships with mothers are more salient for well-being (e.g., Demir, 2010), there is research documenting the importance of relationship quality with fathers for well-being as well (Rohner & Veneziano, 2001). Collectively, a significant body of empirical work has shown that the quality of relationships with both parents is a reliable correlate of psychological adjustment and happiness (Crocetti & Meeus, 2014; Demir, 2010; Ramsey & Gentzler, 2015).

Relationships with siblings constitute a collateral bond. About 79% of Americans have at least one sibling (Kreider, 2007). Although it is an involuntary bond, most individuals maintain their relationships with their siblings across the lifespan (Bedford, 1998; Cicirelli, 1995). Research has shown that siblings are loyal confidants with regular contact (Voorpostel & Blieszner, 2008) who become an important source of support and intimacy during emerging adulthood and later in life (Cicirelli, 1995). Not surprisingly, decades of empirical research have shown that contact with and proximity to siblings, positive appraisals of problems with siblings,

sibling closeness, and sibling support and availability are negatively related to various indices of well-being such as loneliness and depressed mood (Guan & Fuligni, 2015; Sherman, Lansford, & Volling, 2006). Although having a sibling is not related to life-satisfaction (Chui & Wong, 2016), sibling support and relationship quality are related to happiness among emerging adults (Saphire-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013) and predict happiness above and beyond personality (Boyd, 2014).

Of the bonds that individuals maintain in their social networks, relationships with aunts and uncles have received the least empirical attention and have been referred to as the forgotten kin (Milardo, 2010). Fortunately, this trend in the literature has been changing. For instance, research has shown that aunts and uncles provide instrumental and emotional support regarding various issues ranging from school to career to peer relationships. They also serve as intergenerational buffers between parents and children (Hamilton, 2005; Langer & Ribarich, 2007; Milardo, 2010). As for well-being, the limited research has shown that having aunts and uncles present in the same household is related to less deviant behavior (Hamilton, 2005), and perceived support from them is associated with higher self-esteem (Beale, Wilkes, Power, & Beale, 2008).

7.3   Voluntary Bonds and Happiness

Friendships and romantic relationships represent the first voluntary bonds formed outside the family and kin circles, are central in the lives of emerging adults, and serve important developmental functions (Arnett, 2015; Barry, Madsen, Nelson, Carroll, & Badger, 2009; Shulman & Connolly, 2013). More importantly, these cherished relationships are theorized to make meaningful contributions to well-being (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). In line with theoretical expectations, decades of empirical research have shown that friendship experiences, regardless of the way they are assessed, are reliable correlates of happiness among emerging adults (Brannan, Biswas-Diener, Mohr, Mortazavi, & Stein, 2013; see Demir, Orthel-Clark, Özdemir, & Özdemir, 2015 for a review). Although same-sex friendships have received most of the attention in the literature (Demir, Orthel, & Andelin, 2013), it is essential to also investigate cross-sex friendships. This is because individuals develop and maintain platonic friendships with members of the opposite sex, especially during emerging adulthood (Collins & Van Dulmen, 2006; Monsour, 2002). Importantly, these friendships are positively associated with various indices of well-being and happiness (Bi, Ma, Yuan, & Zhang, 2016; Demir & Dogan, 2013).

Romantic relationships are central to the lives of emerging adults and represent an important developmental task during the transition to adulthood, the success of which has been proposed to be a positive predictor of psychosocial adjustment (Arnett, 2015; Montgomery, 2005). Emerging adults consider their romantic relationships to be the closest social bond they have (Berscheid & Reis, 1998). They often modify their social networks as they start spending more time with their partners (Collins & van Dulmen, 2006), and simply thinking about a romantic partner

increases happiness (Stanton, Campbell, & Loving, 2014). Not surprisingly, a significant body of literature has shown that intimacy, support, and overall relationship quality are positively related to happiness (see Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor (2013) and Ramsey and Gentzler (2015) for recent reviews). Overall, there is substantial empirical evidence showing that positive relationship experiences within voluntary bonds are related to happiness.

7.4 Relationships and Happiness among Single and Dating Emerging Adults

When researchers gather information about relationship quality or support from multiple figures (kin and non-kin), voluntary bonds either do not contribute to well-being (Cheng, Li, Leung, & Chan, 2011; Davis, Morris & Kraus, 1998; Dressler, 1985), are less important of a predictor (Walen & Lachman, 2000; Warren-Findlow, Laditka, Laditka, & Thompson, 2011), or make the highest contribution to well-being (Pinquart & Sorense, 2000). That is, the findings for the role of voluntary bonds in well-being are mixed. As for studies specifically focusing on friendships within the broader network of social relationships, the inconsistent mixed pattern persisted such that the role of friends in well-being was either less pronounced (Bertera, 2005; Fiori & Denckla, 2015; Taylor, Chatters, Hardison, & Riley, 2001), more important (Brannan, Biswas-Diener, Mohr, Mortazavi, & Stein, 2013; Fiori, Antonucci, & Cortina, 2006), or not observed at all (Crocetti & Meeus, 2014; Li & Cheng, 2015; Whisman, 2000). These varying trends across the studies could be explained by differences in the types of samples (e.g., convenience vs. representative), the age group studied (e.g., emerging, young, and older adults), the dimension of relationship experiences assessed (e.g., frequency of contact, support, closeness, overall quality), and the particular aspect of well-being investigated (e.g., depressed mood, happiness, loneliness).

Scholars studying emerging adulthood would agree with the idea that establishing a romantic relationship is a salient milestone in the lives of many emerging adults and marks one's entry into adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1982). Having a romantic partner brings about changes to the various relationships individuals maintain. Consistent with role theory (Duvall, 1971) and social convoy model (Levitt, 1991), research has shown that romantic relationships replace friendships and other relationships by receiving the top place in one's hierarchy of social network, and are likely to become the main contributor to one's well-being (Clark & Graham, 2005; Meeus, Branje, van der Valk, & de Wied 2007; Ruehlman & Wolchik, 1988). Consistent with this idea, research guided by social convoy model shows that among young adults, one's inner circle of close relationships consists of parents, partners, and children, while siblings and friends are in the middle or outer circle (Antonucci, Akiyama, & Takahashi, 2004). This major life change takes a toll on friendships. Specifically, research consistent with the withdrawal hypothesis

(Johnson & Milardo, 1984) has shown that individuals with a romantic partner report decreases in their friendship network (Kalmijn, 2003), spend less time with friends (Fischer, Sollie, Sorell, & Green, 1989), and transfer attachment needs and functions from peers (but not parents) to romantic partners (Markiewicz, Lawford, Doyle, & Haggart, 2006). Consistent with these changes, Demir (2010) has shown that friendship experiences are related to happiness among single emerging adults, but do not contribute to happiness among those involved in a romantic relationship. Moreover, romantic relationship quality buffered the impact of conflict with a best friend on happiness, but friendship quality did not buffer the influence of conflict experienced with a romantic partner. These patterns suggest that friendships might lose their significance when emerging adults focus on resolving a salient developmental task.

It is also important to highlight that not every emerging adult is in a romantic relationship (Barry et al., 2009; Demir, 2010), and that some individuals prefer to be single (DePaulo, 2014) or delay deep relational commitments (Shulman & Connolly, 2013). This clear trend among emerging adults inevitably necessitates the investigation of close relationships (voluntary or otherwise) in happiness among those who are single as well as those who are involved in a romantic relationship. In light of the theories and research reviewed above, we expected that friendship quality would predict happiness above and beyond relationships with kin in singles and that romantic relationship quality would be the sole predictor of happiness among those with a romantic partner. Since previous research does not provide any guidance regarding the salience of same- and cross-sex friendships in happiness within the broader network of social relationships, we did not have a prediction regarding which type of friendship would make a contribution to happiness among single emerging adults. That is, although the quality of same- and cross-sex friendships is related to happiness when individually studied, it is not known if both friendships would predict happiness when examined simultaneously.

7.5   Gender Differences

Men and women might differ in terms of the intensity of emotional experiences (Fischer & Manstead, 2000; Pavot & Diener, 2013); however, there are no meaningful gender differences regarding happiness (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith 1999). Thus, we predicted that men and women would report similar levels of happiness.

The tend-and-befriend model suggests that addressing the adaptation issues in our evolutionary past might have promoted a higher level of awareness of social relationships for women than men (Taylor, 2002). Empirical studies are consistent with this reasoning such that women not only maintain relationships greater in number and diversity, but also provide and receive more support in these close bonds when compared to men (Fiori & Denckla, 2015; Saphire-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013). Gender differences in close relationships have led to theoretical predictions that

since women are more invested in relationships and experience various features of relationships more strongly than men, the benefits associated with relationships might be more important for the happiness of women when compared to men (Saphire-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013). Empirical research focusing on marital quality, friendship support, and social networks in middle and old adulthood is consistent with this expectation (Fiori & Denckla, 2012; Pinquart & Sörensen, 2000; Patrick, Cottrell, & Barnes, 2001; Proulx, Helms, & Buehler, 2007; Saphire-Bernstein &Taylor, 2013). For instance, Patrick, Cottrell, and Barnes (2001) have reported that support from family and friends explains 13% and 33% of the variance in the happiness of men and women, respectively. Yet, there are findings inconsistent with the theoretical predictions (Kamp Dush & Amato, 2005). Also, research on friendship suggests that friendship experiences confer similar benefits for men and women (Demir & Davidson, 2013). These inconsistent findings could be explained by factors that are different across studies, such as types of samples, measures of support, and indices of well-being (Fiori & Denckla, 2015).

Are relationships more important for the happiness of women than men? Since there is not a clear pattern across studies and we could not identify a study that addressed this issue among single and dating individuals while simultaneously focusing on multiple close bonds, we did not have any predictions. Thus, this is the research question of the current study.

7.6 Overview of Research, Hypotheses and Research Questions

In light of theory and empirical research, the following hypotheses (H) and research questions (RQ) were developed.

H1a: Women and men would report similar levels of happiness.

H1b: Women, compared to men, would report higher levels of relationship quality in every relationship in both groups.

H2:   The quality of every relationship would be positively associated with happiness in both groups.

H3:   Friendship would emerge as a significant predictor of happiness above and beyond relationships with kin for both genders among singles.

RQ1:   Do both types of friendship, same- or cross-sex, or just one of them predict happiness in the single group?

H4:   Romantic relationship quality would be a significant correlate of happiness even when relationships with kin are taken into account in the dating group for both men and women.

RQ2:   Are relationships more important for the happiness of women than men in singles and among those involved in a romantic relationship?

7.7 Method

7.7.1 Participants

The original sample consisted of 984 emerging adults between the ages of 18 to 25 attending a medium size southwestern state university in the United States. Thirty-two participants were removed because they were either engaged/married (n = 15) or did not complete the entire survey (n = 17). Thus, the final sample consisted of 952 participants, 43% of whom were involved in a dating relationship.

The sample for single emerging adults consisted of 543 (140 men, 403 women) participants (M_{age} = 18.7, SD = 1.1). The average duration of same- and cross-sex friendships were 77.11 (SD = 50.89; range 2 to 245) and 52.30 (SD = 43.59; range 1 to 228) months, which did not differ between men and women. The sample for the dating emerging adults included 409 (99 men, 310 women) participants (M_{age} = 18.8, SD = 1.5).

The duration of same- and cross-sex friendships were 84.9 (SD = 56.73; range 3 to 270) and 53.23 (SD = 39.18; range 1 to 216) months, respectively. The average length of the romantic relationships was 18.81 months (SD = 16.34) with a range from 1 to 85 months.[1] There were no significant differences between men and women in relationship duration. The majority of the participants in both groups were freshmen (76% and 71%) and Caucasian (61% and 64%).

7.7.2 Procedure

Psychology students who were interested in the study made an appointment to complete the study in person at our lab. They were required to be between the ages of 18 to 25 and to be maintaining a relationship with their mothers (or a mother-like figure), fathers (or a father-like figure), siblings, aunts, uncles, same-sex friends, and cross-sex friends. The survey packet included a consent form, a basic demographic information sheet, and a battery of questionnaires. The order of the questionnaires was counterbalanced after every 100 participants. Completion of the survey lasted approximately thirty minutes, and participants earned extra credit in their psychology classes for their participation.

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[1] Relationship duration was not controlled for the in the analyses because it was not related to happiness across relationships in the single and dating groups.

7.7.3   Measures

Assessment of Close Relationships   In an attempt to differentiate friendships from other relationships, participants were provided with definitions of a same- and cross-sex friendships that highlighted the nonsexual and nonkin aspects of these bonds before assessing the presence of these relationships in their lives (Demir, Orthel-Clark, Özdemir, & Özdemir, 2015). Since having a romantic relationship was not an eligibility requirement, only those with a romantic partner completed the scale assessing their romantic bond. Participants were asked to indicate how old each relationship figure was (see Table 7.1).

Relationship Quality   An 18-item version of the McGill Friendship Questionnaire-Friend's Functions (Mendelson & Aboud, 1999) was used to assess relationship quality in this study. This commonly used scale measures six theoretically identified features of relationship experiences, such as help and intimacy (Mendelson & Aboud, 1999). The use of this scale was appropriate for this study because individuals across relationships strive to satisfy similar provisions (Weiss, 1974) and the quality of different relationships can be assessed with the same scale, which is a common practice in the literature (e.g., Bagwell, Bender, Andreassi, Kinoshita, Montarello, & Muller, 2005; Demir, 2010). The study modified the stem of the items in order to assess the quality of each participant's relationship with his or her mother (mother-like figure), father (father-like figure), sibling, aunt, uncle, same-sex friend, cross-sex friend, and romantic partner. Participants provided ratings for three relationships at a time on the same page, the order of which was counterbalanced. Respondents were asked to rate how often each aspect occurred in the relationship on a 9-point scale ranging from 0 (*never)* to 8 (*always)*. The mean of the 18 items was taken to form a relationship quality composite score for each relationship, where higher scores indicate higher levels of relationship quality (see Tables 7.2 and 7.4 for the internal consistency of the scale across relationships for men and women).

Happiness   Happiness was assessed in the present study using the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) and the Positive and

Table 7.1 Mean ages for the participants' relationship figures

	Single	Dating
Mother	47.46 (6.51)	47.49 (7.80)
Father	49.57 (6.74)	49.54 (6.28)
Sibling	18.94 (5.19)	19.09 (5.43)
Uncle	47.30 (9.33)	47.10 (8.85)
Aunt	46.47 (9.19)	45.73 (8.73)
Same-sex friend	18.85 (2.22)	18.72 (1.61)
Cross-sex friend	19.12 (2.38)	19.06 (1.62)
Romantic partner		19.37 (2.17)

Note. Values in parentheses are standard deviations

Table 7.2 Descriptive statistics and correlations between relationship quality and happiness for single men and women

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Men	Women	t (541)
1. Mother	.91/.92	.63**	.66**	.33**	.30**	.37**	.37**	.38**	6.76 (.93)	6.97 (.96)	2.33*
2. Father	.41**	.90/.92	.52**	.33**	.27**	.38**	.38**	.29**	6.45 (1.10)	6.47 (1.29)	.12
3. Sibling	.42**	.33**	.90/.91	.35**	.30**	.35**	.35**	.28**	6.15 (1.25)	6.62 (1.03)	4.42**
4. Aunt	.35**	.29**	.32**	.92/.93	.82**	.39**	.41**	.18*	5.60 (1.21)	6.22 (1.30)	5.03**
5. Uncle	.34**	.28**	.29**	.72**	.91/.92	.41**	.33**	.15	5.81 (1.27)	5.89 (1.29)	.66
6. Same-sex friend	.40**	.32**	.32**	.37**	.36**	.91/.92	.64**	.38**	6.72 (.85)	7.08 (.77)	4.65**
7. Cross-sex friend	.34**	.29**	.27**	.36**	.36**	.55**	.92/.93	.36**	6.41 (.93)	6.71 (.94)	3.39**
8. Happiness	.39**	.37**	.28**	.22**	.21**	.36**	.31**	–	–.32 (2.16)	.08 (2.28)	1.81

Note. Correlations for men ($n = 140$) are reported above the diagonal, women ($n = 403$) below the diagonal. Values in the diagonals are the Cronbach's alphas for men and women. Information about the reliability of the happiness measures is presented in the text. Values in parentheses are standard deviations

$*p < .05.$ $**p < .01$

Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). These two scales are commonly used in the literature to assess happiness (Pavot & Diener, 2013). The mean scores for the five items were used to obtain a satisfaction with life composite score (αs were .82 and .86 for men and women in the single group and .79 and .82 in the dating group, respectively) where higher scores indicate greater life satisfaction.

The PANAS was used to assess general positive affect (PA) and negative affect (NA) in the present study. Respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they experienced each mood in general on a 1 (*very slightly or not all*) to 5 (*extremely*) scale. The mean scores for the 10 positive and 10 negative affect questions were used to create a composite score for PA (αs = .83/.84 & .86/.85) and NA (αs = .85/.84 & .86/.84).

A composite happiness score was created to simplify the presentation of happiness and make comparisons with past research possible. The SWLS, PA, and NA scores were standardized, and NA was subtracted from the sum of those scores (Demir, 2010; Kasser & Sheldon, 2002). This procedure resulted in scores that ranged from −4.78 to 5.07 in the entire sample and were comparable to what was reported in past studies (e.g., Demir, Özdemir, & Weitekamp, 2007).

7.8   Results

7.8.1   Single Emerging Adults

Comparison of the mean scores across the study variables revealed support for the hypotheses 1a and 1b. Men and women did not differ on happiness (see Table 7.2). As for relationship quality, women had higher scores in every relationship but father and uncle when compared to men. The effect sizes associated with these differences were small to medium (mean d = .38; see Fig. 7.1).

The correlations between the study variables are reported in Table 7.2. Consistent with our prediction (H2), the quality of every relationship was positively related to happiness among men and women. The only exception to this pattern was the non-significant association of the quality of the uncle/nephew relationship with happiness among men. Comparisons of the correlations revealed that the relationship quality-happiness associations did not significantly differ between men and women.

Two multiple regression analyses were conducted. Since it was not associated with happiness, relationship duration was not controlled for in these analyses. Among men, the first step of the interaction, including parental and collateral kin variables, was significant (F (5, 135) = 5.6, p < .001) and accounted for 15% of the variance in happiness (see Table 7.3). Supporting our prediction (H3), the second step, including the friendship variables, was also significant (F (7, 133) = 6.17, p < .001) and explained an additional 7% of the variance. As reported in Table 7.3,
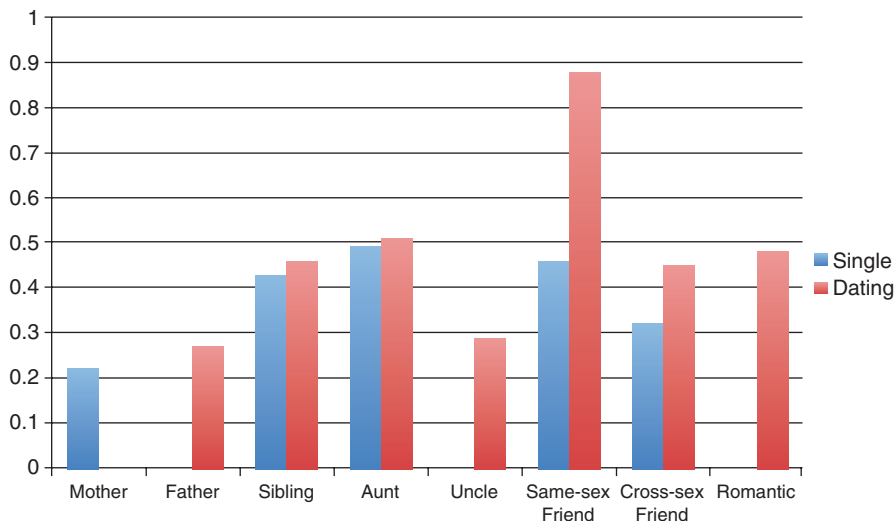
Fig. 7.1 Effect sizes for gender differences across relationships in the single and dating groups

Table 7.3 Hierarchical multiple regression analysis predicting happiness from relationship quality variables for single emerging adults

		Men				Women			
	Predictor	B	ß	R^2	ΔR^2	B	ß	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1:	Mother relationship quality	.61	.26*	.15***		.48	.20***	.22***	
	Father relationship quality	.00	.00			.35	.20***		
	Sibling relationship quality	.00	.00			.15	.07		
	Aunt relationship quality	.08	.04			.02	.01		
	Uncle relationship quality	.01	.01			.01	.01		
Step 2:	Same-sex friendship quality	.55	.22*	.22**	.07	.45	.15**	.25***	.03
	Cross-sex friendship quality	.32	.14			.21	.09		

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

mother and same-sex friendship quality were the only significant predictors of happiness among men.

The first step of the regression among women explained 22% of the variance in happiness (F (5, 397) = 21.83, $p < .001$). The second step was also significant and explained an additional 3% of the variance (F (7, 395) = 18.64, $p < .001$); a finding supporting H3. As seen in Table 7.3, mother relationship quality, father relationship quality, and same-sex friendship quality emerged as significant predictors of happiness among women.

The analyses addressing the first RQ1 revealed that only same-sex friendship quality emerged as a significant predictor of happiness. As for RQ2, relationships with kin and friends collectively explained more variance in happiness among women than men. Yet, the second step, which included friendships, accounted for more variance among men than women.

7.8.2 Dating Emerging Adults

The mean scores for the variables and the correlations between them are reported in Table 7.4. Consistent with the pattern obtained in the single group, men and women did not differ from each other on happiness. Women, when compared to men, reported higher levels of relationship quality across every relationship but that with the mother. Overall, these findings are line with our predictions (H1a and H1b). As reported in Fig. 7.1, the effect sizes associated with these differences were small to large (mean $d = .48$).

The correlations of relationship quality variables with happiness supported our prediction (H2). Specifically, the quality of every bond was positively associated with happiness to varying degrees. Importantly, the magnitude of the correlations did not differ significantly between men and women (Table 7.4).

Among men, the first step of the regression (which included parental and collateral relationships) was significant ($F (5, 93) = 2.84$, $p < .05$) and accounted for 13% of the variance in happiness (Table 7.5). The second step ($F (8, 90) = 3.24$, $p < .01$), which included the friendship variables and romantic relationship quality, was also significant and explained an additional 9% of the variance in happiness. As seen in Table 7.5, mother and same-sex friendship quality were significant predictor of happiness, a finding not consistent with our prediction (H4).

Among women, the first step of the regression was significant and explained 13% of the variance ($F (5, 304) = 9.46$, $p < .001$). The second step was also significant ($F (8, 301) = 7.35$, $p < .001$), and explained an additional 3% of the variance in happiness. The findings in the final step of the regression showed that the quality of relationships with mothers, fathers, siblings, and romantic relationships were significant predictors of happiness. The results for women supported our prediction (H4).

Additional analyses were conducted to investigate the unique predictive ability of friendships and romantic relationships in happiness. In these analyses, relationships with kin were entered in the first step and friendships and romantic relationship quality were entered in the second and third steps, respectively. Among men, the second step including the friendship variables was significant and explained an additional 9% of the variance ($F (7, 91) = 2.72$, $p < .05$) and only same-sex friendship quality was significant (ß $= .29$, $p < .01$). The third step, which included romantic relationship quality, did not add anything to the prediction of happiness ($F (8, 90) = .51$, $p = .48$). Among women, while the second step was not significant ($F (7, 302) = 1.02$, $p = .36$), the third step explained an additional 3% of the variance ($F (8, 301) = 7.33$, $p < .001$). The additional analyses were in line with the main analyses reported above in that romantic relationship quality uniquely predicted happiness only among women.

The analyses pertaining to R2 revealed that collectively, relationships are more important for the happiness of men than women. Specifically, relationships explained 22% of the variance in men, while they accounted for only 16% of the variance in happiness in women. Of the voluntary bonds, same-sex friendship was the only significant predictor of happiness among men, while romantic relationships emerged as significant among women.

Table 7.4 Descriptive statistics and correlations between relationship quality and happiness for dating emerging adults

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Men	Women	t (407)
1. Mother	.91/.92	.57**	.39**	.36**	.38**	.22*	.30**	.34**	.34**	6.70 (.88)	6.90 (1.02)	1.69
2. Father	.48**	.91/.91	.36**	.22*	.34**	.21*	.14	.36**	.23*	6.23(1.20)	6.54 (1.12)	2.42*
3. Sibling	.40**	.36**	.92/.92	.27**	.28**	.21*	.30**	.35**	.19*	6.00(1.30)	6.52 (1.09)	3.89***
4. Aunt	.21**	.26**	.37**	.91/.92	.62**	.36**	.48**	.16	.24*	5.41(1.48)	6.07 (1.23)	7.58***
5. Uncle	.35**	.38**	.46**	.68**	.93/.94	.50**	.37**	.13	.22*	5.51(1.43)	5.89 (1.28)	3.97***
6. Same-sex friend	.16**	.26**	.31**	.23**	.22**	.92/.93	.36**	.13	.35**	6.37 (.97)	7.07 (.73)	4.43**
7. Cross-sex friend	.21**	.24**	.31**	.23**	.29**	.44**	.94/.92	.13	.31**	6.16(1.20)	6.62 (.95)	2.52*
8. Romantic	.24**	.27**	.32**	.24**	.31**	.33**	.36**	.90/.92	.22*	7.14 (.83)	7.44 (.58)	4.13**
9. Happiness	.28**	.28**	.28**	.11*	.12*	.20**	.19**	.26**	–	-.13 (2.47)	.21 (2.21)	1.28

Note. Correlations for men (*n* = 99) are reported above the diagonal, women (*n* = 310) below the diagonal. Values in the diagonals are the Cronbach's alphas for men and women. Information about the reliability of the happiness measures is presented in the text. Values in parentheses are standard deviations
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$

Table 7.5 Hierarchical multiple regression analysis predicting happiness from relationship quality variables for dating emerging adults

	Predictor	Men				Women			
		B	ß	R^2	ΔR^2	B	ß	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1:	Mother relationship quality	.61	.22*	.13*		.32	.15*	.13**	
	Father relationship quality	.04	.20			.27	.14*		
	Sibling relationship quality	.04	.02			.29	.14*		
	Aunt relationship quality	.05	.03			.05	.03		
	Uncle relationship quality	.16	.09			.23	.13		
Step 2:	Same-sex friendship quality	.67	.26*	.22*	.09	.16	.05	.16*	.03
	Cross-sex friendship quality	.33	.16			.08	.04		
	Romantic relationship quality	.30	.10			.57	.15*		

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$

7.9   Discussion

The current study investigated the roles of voluntary bonds in happiness among single and dating emerging adults of men and women while taking relationships with primary and collateral kin into account. The findings largely supported our predictions regarding gender differences across relationships and the associations of relationships with happiness in both groups. The results also revealed interesting patterns regarding the benefits of relationships for men and women. Collectively, our findings highlight the importance of same-sex friendships in the happiness of single and dating emerging adults.

Our prediction that the relationships of women would be higher in quality when compared to men in both the single and dating groups was supported with a few exceptions (i.e., relationships with fathers and uncles in the single group). The effect sizes associated with these differences ranged from small (mother relationship quality) to medium (aunt relationship quality) across relationships. Overall, these findings are consistent with the literature (Demir, 2010) and expand upon it by documenting gender differences in collateral relationships. This pattern could be explained by the stronger relationship orientation of women and their concern with maintaining relationships with multiple figures when compared to men (Antonucci & Akiyama, 1987; Taylor, 2002).

The robust gender differences in relationship experiences have resulted in arguments suggesting that relationships might play a more important role in the happiness of women when compared to men (e.g., Sapphire-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013). This idea assumes that having more quality relationships might translate into more happiness. Our findings support this idea among single emerging adults for relationships with kin. However, results yield support for the gender similarity argument among dating emerging adults. To start with, there were no differential benefits of relationship quality at the bivariate level across the two groups. That is, the correlations of relationship quality with happiness were similar for men and women.

A different pattern emerged, however, when relationships competed for variance in the happiness of men and women. In the single group, relationships with kin accounted for 22% of the variance in happiness among women compared to 15% in men. Although voluntary bonds explained more additional variance in men than in women, relationships were more important for the happiness of women overall. In contrast, relationships with kin explained the same amounts of variance in the happiness of both genders in the dating group. Combined with the contribution of voluntary bonds, relationships were more important for the happiness of men. Although replications of these findings with different assessments of relationship quality and happiness in different age groups and cultures are needed, it is safe to propose that the benefits of relationships for men and women might depend on relationship status. Thus, it is appropriate to revise the arguments by Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor (2013) and others (e.g., Walen & Lachman, 2000) such that among emerging adults the gender benefits of relationships for happiness might be influenced by one's dating status.

The findings of the current study revealed that single and dating women, compared to men, benefit from multiple relationships, a pattern that is consistent with past research (Saphire-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013; Yum, Canary, & Baptist, 2015). In both groups, the quality of one's relationship with his or her mother emerged as a predictor of happiness for both men and women. This is also in line with past research (Demir, 2010) and emphasizes the everlasting importance of the maternal bond. Relationships with fathers were another equally important predictor of happiness among single women, and relationships with fathers and siblings made unique contributions to the prediction of happiness among dating women. As for sibling relationships, their salience might be especially pronounced once one is involved in a romantic relationship. Relationships with fathers consistently emerged as a predictor of happiness among women in both groups. Although mothers might know their daughters and become involved in their lives to a greater extent than is reported for fathers (Nielsen, 2007), daughters desire the same level of closeness with their fathers. Consistent with this relationship ideal, Nielsen (2012) has convincingly shown that fathers play key roles in the social, intellectual, and emotional development of their daughters. Nielsen (2012) also argued that this is especially salient during emerging adulthood years when the various life transitions require making important social and emotional decisions for which fathers provide valuable support. Thus, it is clear that the father-daughter relationship is not simply "there" (Nielsen, 2012; p. xi), but confers meaningful benefits to happiness regardless of dating status. It might be a good idea to keep relationships with fathers on the agenda of future research to develop a better understanding of their roles in the lives and well-being of emerging adults.

One unique aspect of the current investigation was its focus on the associations between aunt and uncle relationship quality and happiness. Although these relationships were related to happiness among men and women in both groups (with the exception of uncle relationships among single men), the strength of the associations were weaker compared to other relationships and did not emerge as significant predictors in either group. It is important to note that the influence of relationships

with collateral kin on happiness might "reside in the symbolic realm rather than in the face-to-face relationship" (Bedford, 1998, p. 369). Originally proposed to address the symbolic nature of sibling relationships during adulthood (e.g., Bedford, 1998; Cicirelli, 1995), this idea could be extended to relationships with aunts and uncles as well. Although it is possible that advances in technology could afford more frequent contact in these relationships, emerging adults in college still might not frequently interact with their collateral kin. However, they could continue these bonds and entertain various relationship provisions during specific times, such as family reunions and gatherings. Certainly, this pattern could influence the degree to which these relationships are related to happiness. The findings do not suggest that aunts and uncles are not important in the lives of emerging adults. As Milardo (2010) and others (Ellingson & Sotirin, 2010) have shown, these relationships serve important roles and contribute to the development and well-being of individuals. It should be noted, however, that the current study was conducted in an individualistic culture. Since relationships with extended family members are emphasized to a greater extent in collectivistic cultures (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990), it could be that culture influences the degree to which aunts and uncles make unique contributions to the happiness of emerging adults. Thus, it remains to be seen when and how these collateral bonds contribute to the happiness of emerging adults.

An alternative explanation for the finding that relationships with siblings among singles and aunts and uncles in both groups did not emerge as significant predictors (despite having significant association at the bivariate level) could be that these relationships were entered in a block with other relationships that had a stronger association with happiness. This practice might have limited their predictive ability.

Our hypothesis that relationships with friends would uniquely add to the prediction of happiness above and beyond the influence of bonds with kin in the single group was supported for both men and women. Since this was the first study to simultaneously assess and test the predictive ability of same- and cross-sex friendships, we did not have a specific prediction regarding their contribution to happiness. Although both friendships were positively associated with happiness at the bivariate level, same-sex friendship emerged as the winner when the two competed for variance in happiness. This could be explained by the idea that same-sex best friends hold a special value in one's hierarchy of voluntary bonds (Richey & Richey, 1980; Demir et al., 2013). Despite the fact that emerging adults maintain platonic cross-sex friendships (Monsour, 2002) and the quality of this bond is related happiness (Procsal, Demir, Dogan, Ozen, & Sümer, 2015), there is empirical evidence suggesting that cross-sex friendships are confounded by romantic and sexual interests and overtures (Halatsis & Christakis, 2009; O'Meara, 1989). As Lewis, Al-Shawaf and Buss (2015) have convincingly argued, both men and women have a tendency to view their cross-sex friends as potential mates. Thus, considering the difficulties reported in the literature when maintaining cross-sex friendships, it should not come as a surprise that same-sex friendship quality emerged as the main voluntary bond predicting happiness among single emerging adults.

Our prediction regarding the unique contribution of romantic relationship quality to happiness above and beyond kin relationships was supported only for women. Surprisingly, of the voluntary bonds, same-sex friendship quality emerged as the only significant predictor of happiness among men. This puzzling finding could be explained by the gender differences that exist in commitment to intimate relationships among emerging adults. Specifically, research conducted among emerging and young adults with varying levels of romantic involvement reports that men are less committed to and invested in their partners and spend less time thinking about maintaining their romantic relationship when compared to women (Yum, Canary, & Baptist, 2015). As Gagne and Lydon (2003) have shown, these relationship properties represent the general approach of women while men might display all of these features and develop an interdependent partnership once they strongly identify with their partners and commit to the relationship. These gender differences regarding romantic relationship orientation might explain why the quality of this bond uniquely added to the happiness of women but not men. It could be that emerging adult men, consistent with the premise of this age group (Arnett, 2000), are still exploring their options before heavily investing in their romantic partners and thus benefit more from their same-sex friends as their journey in this exploration continues. Yet, it seems plausible to argue that romantic relationships might become a main source of happiness for men in long-term and committed relationships, resulting in their same-sex friendships' contribution to their happiness becoming less transparent. Future research has the potential to address these possibilities by taking relationship duration and commitment into account.

Same-sex friendship as a voluntary bond accounted for more variance in happiness among men when compared to women in both groups. Perhaps same-sex friendships are the main source of support for men, especially during the volatile period when one is facing the task of important developmental changes and making stronger commitments in other relationships. This could also be explained by the idea that women maintain and benefit from a wider range of relationships (e.g., Saphire-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013), which in turn minimizes the potential contribution of same-sex friends in their happiness. Collectively, one could confidently claim that same-sex friendships matter for the happiness of both genders, but to a greater extent for men.

7.10   Limitations

The findings of the current study should be interpreted in light of several caveats. To start with, the study relied on a convenience sample of students taking psychology courses who self-selected into the study. Therefore, it is possible that participants who had more positive relationships signed up for the study (Demir, Haynes, Orthel-Clark, & Özen, 2017). Also, there were more women than men in our sample. This could be explained by the tendency of women to participate more in studies focusing on relationships (Demir et al., 2017). The second limitation concerns the

practice of assessing relationship quality. As explained earlier, participants were asked to rate three relationships at a time on the same page. Despite the fact that this practice might be useful in making finer distinctions across relationships, it is possible that it might inflate the correlations between relationships. Although this practice was counterbalanced, future research might randomly present the individual relationships to establish more confidence in the findings reported. Third, the current study did not focus on emerging adults who are not pursuing higher education, referred to as the "forgotten half" (Halperin, 1998). Despite this, we would predict that a similar pattern would be observed in this group since recent research has shown that the relationships experiences of student and working emerging adults are similar (Crocetti & Meeus, 2014). Fourth, the sample mainly consisted of Caucasian emerging adults; and therefore, the findings may not generalize to other age and ethnic groups. Related to this is the inevitable limitation of research conducted with American samples (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). To what extent could the findings be replicated in different cultures? This question becomes especially relevant in light of recent empirical research suggesting that emerging adults' relationships with members of kin might be more important than voluntary bonds for well-being in cultures that are more collectivistic when compared to United States (Crocetti & Meeus, 2014; Dogan, Yüzbası, & Demir 2016; Li & Cheng, 2015). Finally, the cross-sectional nature of our study precludes the inference of a causal relationship. Consistent with theoretical arguments (e.g., Bersheid & Reis, 1998; Sapphire-Berstein & Taylor, 2013), we considered relationship experiences as ontologically prior to happiness. However, it is possible that happy individuals experience better relationships (Lyubomirsky, Sheldon, & Schkade, 2005) and the associations of relationships and happiness are bidirectional. Future research has the potential to shed light on this issue by studying relationships and individual well-being longitudinally.

7.11 Conclusion

Close relationships are important, for they serve a variety of important functions in the lives and happiness of emerging adults. However, this well-accepted notion presents a colorful picture when multiple relationships are studied simultaneously and other factors such as relationship status and gender are taken into account. Although the internal constitution of relationships might be different for men and women, the voluntary bonds they maintain make a difference in their happiness above and beyond relationships with kin. Yet, women benefit from a more diverse set of relationships, while same-sex friendship is the most salient bond related to happiness among men. Although relationships were collectively more important for the happiness of single women when compared to men, the pattern was reversed for dating emerging adults. It would be useful for future research to take relationship status and commitment to intimate partners into account in order to enhance our understanding of when and how close relationships make a difference in the happiness of emerging adults.

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Chapter 8
Number of Close Friends and Their Links to Life Satisfaction Over the Great Recession in Germany

Monique Landberg and Claudia Recksiedler

Abstract The present study tested if worries about the economy was associated with life satisfaction and if this association was mediated by individuals' self-reported number of close friends. A longitudinal mediation model was employed across three time points with data from the beginning of the recession in 2008, the midst of the recession in 2011, and the recovery phase in 2013. A diverse sample of German emerging adults aged 18 to 29 (*M* (*SD*) age = 23.28 (3.53); 52.3% females at baseline) was selected. Results partly supported the hypotheses. More worries about the economy were associated with fewer close friends and having fewer friends was related to lower levels of life satisfaction. However, after considering the impact of covariates (e.g., gender, age, employment status), the study yielded slightly different results. Implications and practical applications for emerging adults' well-being in light of economic strain are discussed.

Social ties are crucial for individuals' happiness and well-being throughout the life span (Antonucci, Ajrouch, & Birditt, 2013; Demir, 2013). However, due to increased insecurities arising from an unstable job market and high geographical mobility, social ties are in great flux in today's world (Blossfeld & Mills, 2010). This is especially true for emerging adults, who are in the process of exploration, identity development, career development, and family formation (Settersten, 2007). Although parents often shoulder the burden of supporting their emerging adult children financially and emotionally (Arnett, 2015; Fingerman, Miller, Birditt, & Zarit, 2009), the importance and salience of non-kin support networks increases steadily from adolescence into adulthood (Brown & Larson, 2009). For instance, there are circumstances when emerging adults need to rely on peers, mentors, or other non-kin adults for critical information and formal or informal support (Settersten & Ray,

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2010). Because of the novelty of an extended transition to adulthood, research examining the relevance of non-kin social ties during this life period is lacking.

The Great Recession of 2008 greatly affected emerging adults in Germany and other nations by exposing them to unemployment and creating uncertainty in other life domains such as work, family formation, and leisure (Jenkins, Brandolini, Micklewright, Nolan, & Basso, 2013). Economic strain has been shown to have detrimental effects on individuals' life satisfaction (Reeskens & Vandecasteele, 2016). Having a larger social network, however, may buffer the negative effects of the recession because social ties can assist with difficult tasks such as finding new employment in a competitive economic climate (Hellerstein, McInerney, & Neumark, 2008; Oesch & von Ow, 2015).

Therefore, the present study examines the mediating role of individuals' network size on the association between worries about the economy during recession years and life satisfaction among German emerging adults aged 18 to 29. Germany and many other countries were affected by the Great Recession, which has been claimed to have loosened the social fabric of societies (Day, 2014) on the one hand and lowered individuals' life satisfaction on the other hand (Reeskens & Vandecasteele, 2016). In Germany however, the recovery phase started much earlier than in other countries (Grabwka & Frick, 2013). Hence, we are already able to test for associations between pronounced economic strain on life satisfaction and number of close friends. Although the overall impact of the recession on Germany was not as severe as it was in other countries (Bargain, Immervoll, Peichl, & Siegloch, 2012; Jenkins et al., 2013), young, male, and less educated workers were still greatly affected by the economic downturn (Jenkins et al., 2013). Hence, we test if heightened perceptions of economic pressure could lead to the mentioning of fewer close friends, which in turn could have detrimental effects on individuals' life satisfaction.

8.1   Friendship Networks in Emerging Adulthood

Friendships are an important source of happiness, meaning, and well-being throughout peoples' lives (Demir, 2015; Fehr, 2000). Larger and more diverse social networks are further beneficial for overcoming challenges in various life domains (Settersten, 2007), such as coping with unemployment (Oesch & von Ow, 2015), and improving health (Holt-Lunstad, Smith, & Layton, 2010; Martire & Franks, 2014). During important transitions in emerging adulthood (EA), such as from school into post-secondary training or work, networks tend to grow due to an increase in the acquisition of non-kin network members (Wagner, Lüdtke, Roberts, & Trautwein, 2014). Emerging adults hereby actively craft and develop networks based on their personality, interests, and frequently revisited contexts (Wagner et al., 2014). Until approximately the age of 25, network size increases steadily and subsequently plateaus (Wrzus, Hänel, Wagner, & Neyer, 2013). Friendships and connections formed during these years contribute to emerging adults' social convoys, which often continue to accompany them throughout their lives (Antonucci

et al., 2013). Thus, friends become the prime source of social support, advice, and enjoyment during EA (Carbery & Buhrmester, 1998), particularly because family formation tends to occur at later ages in recent generations (Shulman & Connolly, 2013).

Besides age, a major influence on network size is the attainment of education (Settersten & Ray, 2010). Individuals with lower socioeconomic status tend to focus on family ties and have fewer, weaker ties to non-kin individuals of similar status, which reduces their pool of accessible resources (e.g., when searching for work; Granovetter, 1973; Settersten & Ray, 2010). Those friendships often provide crucial and practical support for low-income youth, while also hindering them from moving to more prosperous regions with better employment prospects by anchoring them more deeply into their local communities (MacDonald, 2005).

Furthermore, in the German context, potential regional differences between the former East and West have to be taken into account. For example, network size has shown to be smaller in East Germany (Bernardi, Keim, & Lippe, 2007). This may be due to historical reasons, because it was important to maintain high trustworthiness within networks to lessen the risk of denunciation in the GDR (former German Democratic Republic; Völker & Flap, 1995). Even after the reunification in 1989, family ties were of higher importance in the East (Uhlendorff, 2004). Network size may also be affected by the trend of many emerging adults, particularly highly-educated females, leaving the East (which is shaken by higher unemployment and few prosperous economic centers) to seek employment elsewhere (Bernardi et al., 2007; Brücker & Trübswetter, 2007; Kröhnert & Vollmer, 2012). This could, in turn, lead to potential gender differences in the availability of individuals with which to form close bonds in those regions.

8.2   Life Satisfaction, Friendship Networks, and the Recession

Somewhat surprisingly, Germany's economy experienced only a relatively mild recession compared to other countries. Companies in economically strong regions were hit especially hard due to their dependency on exports (Bargain et al., 2012; Jenkins et al., 2013). Even though the overall effects of the recession were not as severe compared to in other European nations and the United States, certain sub-populations were more strongly affected than others (Bargain et al., 2012; Grabwka & Frick, 2013). Namely, the Great Recession primarily affected young, male, full-time workers with low levels of education (Grabwka & Frick, 2013). German young adults share some similarities with their same-aged peers in the United States and other European countries, such as the delayed entry into parenthood, prolonged times spent in higher education, and a later entrance into the workforce (Seiffge-Krenke, 2016). However, German young adults also differ strongly in terms of transition timing and occupational opportunities depending on their employment status (e.g., students enrolled in higher education vs. apprentices in vocational training vs.

unskilled workers). For instance, the skillsets and qualifications acquired in vocational training are no longer applicable for the increased share of service-oriented jobs (Cook & Furstenberg, 2002), which leaves less educated individuals in particular exposed to downswings in the labor market (Buchholz & Kurz, 2008). Thus, effects of the Great Recession on life satisfaction may be particularly aggravated for this subgroup.

Nevertheless, economic strain is generally associated with lower levels of life satisfaction (Reeskens & Vandecasteele, 2016). This strain may lead to a reduction in number of close friendships that one tries to maintain, because resources to invest in friendship maintenance are limited and focused on selected key relationships during times of economic stress (Carstensen, Isaacowitz, & Charles, 1999). Hence, it might be that only selected friendships are maintained, and it is quite likely that these are only among those who function well when it comes to communication who are deemed irreplaceable (Tooby & Cosmides, 1996). However, because social networks are of high relevance for individuals and influence happiness and well-being, retaining larger networks may buffer the negative effect of the recession on life satisfaction (Argyle, 1987; Demir, 2015; Fehr, 2000; Saphire-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013). Even though friendship quality has been shown to matter more than the sheer quantity of friends (Demir, 2015), larger networks may be particularly relevant in times of economic strain because they provide a more diverse set of skills, knowledge, and resources to shoulder the impact of the economic downturn (Hellerstein et al., 2008; Settersten & Ray, 2010). Consequently, a reduced number of friends could lead to decreases in life satisfaction.

8.3   The Present Study

Previous studies have indicated that life satisfaction, the cognitive aspect of well-being (Diener, 1984), increases throughout EA (e.g., Schulenberg & Zarrett, 2006). Some studies report that larger friendship networks are related with higher levels of well-being (Nabi, Prestin, & So, 2013). However, contextual aspects, such as the economic situation, have often been neglected in the study of social ties (Elder & Shanahan, 2006). Precarious economic conditions could reduce friendship networks due to the withdrawal from personal investments into friendship maintenance. For example, it was found that economic strain affects parental practices negatively (Simons, Lorenz, Wu, & Conger, 1993). Obviously, when economic hard times lead to unemployment, social networks are negatively affected as well (Price, Friedland, & Vinokur, 1998). However, this could have detrimental effects for life satisfaction because non-kin social ties are particularly beneficial to shoulder the impact of economic strain (Hellerstein et al., 2008; Settersten & Ray, 2010). When times get more prosperous again, networks may expand in turn. On the contrary, maintaining large networks could be beneficial for dealing with economic strain, and thus for maintaining or increasing life satisfaction. We therefore assume that, in the

beginning of and during the recession, worries about the economy are associated with having smaller networks. During the recovery phase, this association should be weaker as networks expand again. Throughout the recession and the recovery phase, larger networks should be related with greater life satisfaction. Based on the social convoy model, the recession could alter the function of social convoys because less aid and support are exchanged due to economic strain. This may likewise have implications for well-being (Antonucci et al., 2013).

Therefore, we are examining the interplay between perceptions of the economy, number of close friends, and life satisfaction during recession years. Our research aims are threefold: First, we aim to examine differences in emerging adults' network size with regard to age, gender, educational attainment, region, partnership, and unemployment status. We predict that being younger, female (e.g., Jones, Bloys, & Wood, 1990; Saphire-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013), more educated (Settersten & Ray, 2010), located in West Germany (Bernardi et al., 2007), single (Collins & Madsen, 2006; Barry, Madsen, & DeGrace, 2016), and employed (Granovetter, 1973) is associated with larger networks. Second, we will test whether worries about the economy in the beginning of the recession are associated with life satisfaction in the recovery phase and if this association is mediated by the number of close friends (Holt-Lunstad et al., 2010; Reeskens & Vandecasteele, 2016; Tooby & Cosmides, 1996). Thirdly, we will test if relationships remain the same when key socio-demographic characteristics (i.e., age, gender, region, educational attainment, partnership, and unemployment status) are taken into account in the model estimation.

8.4   Method

8.4.1   Data

This data stems from the German Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP, v30), a nationally representative household panel conducted annually since 1984 (for details see Wagner, Frick & Schupp, 2007). Every year, more than 25,000 persons within nearly 15,000 households are sampled to measure data on stability and change in living conditions. The sample consists of several subsamples such as West Germans, East Germans, immigrants, and high-income earners. In this study, the latter two groups were oversampled. Refreshment samples are also added to the main sample periodically (e.g., in 2011 and 2012). The survey repeats a core set of questions each year, but also includes special topic modules such as health, time use, or social participation, which are repeated periodically. The key constructs of our study (e.g., number of close friends) stem from such periodic topic modules and were therefore not available annually. The data for the present study stems from three waves of the German Socio-Economic Panel, where all our key variables were available. The selected years cover the recession years with data from the beginning

Table 8.1 Descriptive statistics of key study variables ($N = 3224$)

	2008	2011	2013
Number of close friends[a], M (SD)	4.90 (3.34) [62]	5.02 (3.36) [1135]	4.53 (2.80) [1647]
Worries about economy, M (SD)	1.91 (0.53) [7]	1.86 (0.52) [1109]	1.83 (0.52) [1634]
Life satisfaction, M (SD)	7.23 (1.60) [7]	7.18 (1.56) [1104]	7.20 (1.60) [1631]
Age[b], M (SD)	23.28 (3.53) [0]	26.35 (3.57) [0]	28.51 (3.60) [0]
Females, n (%)	1686 (52.3%) [0]	1108 (52.2%) [0]	843 (52.8%) [0]
Educational attainment[b], M (SD)	12.00 (2.26) [815]	12.79 (2.53) [1434]	13.06 (2.63) [1849]
West Germany, n (%)	2395 (74.3%) [0]	1646 (74%) [1001]	1231 (73.6%) [1552]
Single, n (%)	1455 (50.8%) [362]	746 (43.4%) [1507]	498 (43%) [2066]
Registered unemployed, n (%)	257 (8%) [0]	155 (7.3%) [1102]	111 (7%) [1628]

Notes. Square brackets contain the number of missing values for the respective variable in the respective year

[a]The range of number of close friends was reduced in order to limit the impact of outliers

[b]Reported in full years

of the recession in 2008, from the midst of the recession in 2011, and its recovery phase in 2013. Our sample consists of 3224 young adults aged 18–29 years at baseline in 2008 (*M* (*SD*) age = 23.28 (3.53); 52.3% females at baseline; see Table 8.1).

8.4.2   Measures

Number of Close Friends The participants' number of close friends was assessed with a single indicator asking "How many close friends would you say you have?" Respondents stated the amount of close friends in full numbers and answers ranged from 0 to 80 in 2008, from 0 to 60 in 2011, and 0 to 30 in the 2013 assessment. To reduce the impact of outlier values, we recoded all responses which were equal or higher than 3 standard deviations from the mean reducing the maximum to 18 close friends in 2008, 18 in 2011 and 14 in 2013. This alteration is common practice, to ensure that the results are not biased by the presence of a few unusual values (Beaumont & Rivest, 2009; Field, Miles, & Field, 2012). At all three measurement occasions, some young adults reported having no friends (2008: *N* = 54 (1.7%; 2011: *N* = 44 (2.1%); 2013: *N* = 38 (2.4%)).

Life Satisfaction Life satisfaction was assessed by a single question "How satisfied are you with your life, all things considered?" The response format is an 11-point scale ranging from 0 "completely dissatisfied" to 10 "completely dissatisfied". This scale is considered to be reliable and valid (e.g.; Schimmack, 2009). In 2008, the mean was 7.23 ($SD = 1.60$), in 2011, the mean was 7.18 ($SD = 1.56$) and in 2013, the mean was 7.20 ($SD = 1.60$).

Worries About the Economy Participants were asked how concerned they were about "the economy in general" and their "own economic situation". Additionally, employed individuals were asked to rate how concerned they were about their "job security". Responses were rated on a scale from 1 (not concerned at all) to 3 (very concerned) and a mean-composite score was formed based on those three items ($\alpha_{08} = .62$; $\alpha_{11} = .63$; $\alpha_{13} = .62$).

Demographic Information Information about study region (0 = East Germany; 1 = West Germany), age (in full years), gender (0 = female; 1 = male), educational attainment (in full years), partnership status (0 = single; 1 = partnered), and registered unemployment (0 = employed; 1 = unemployed) were available in all three survey years. A descriptive overview of all relevant variables mentioned above is given in Table 8.1.

8.4.3 Analytic Strategy

We used SPSS (IBM, 2013) to conduct Poisson regressions for count data; all other inferential analyses were conducted in R. For Aim 1, Poisson regression models were employed to examine whether age, gender, educational attainment, region, partnership status and unemployment status predict the number of close friends in EA. For the core research aim, we fitted a full longitudinal mediation model (according to the procedure suggested by Little (2013)) which tests whether the association between perceived worries about the economy in 2008 and life satisfaction in 2013 is mediated by the number of close friends in 2011. Here, we propose that higher worries about the economy in the beginning of the recession are associated with lower levels of life satisfaction in the recovery phase and that this association is mediated by a smaller number of close friends in the middle of the recession. Finally, we include the covariates age, gender, educational attainment, region, partnership status, and unemployment status in the model.

Missing data was addressed by employing a full-information maximum likelihood approach, following the assumption of missing at random (MAR; Acock, 2005) with the lavaan package (Rosseel, 2012), the SemTools package (Pornprasertmanit et al., 2016), and the Stats package for R (R Core Team, 2014). This approach does not impute missing values as in multiple imputation models;

rather, it uses all available variances and covariances in its maximum likelihood estimation. Thus, cases with missing data will be included in the maximum likelihood computations. This method stands in contrast to traditional listwise or pairwise deletion approaches in handling missing data (Little, Jorgensen, Lang, & Moore, 2013) and reduces the chance of biased results and parameter estimates from analyzing only complete information, ensuring statistical power (Acock, 2005). A sample description on the key study variables and the amounts of missing data by study year is summarized in Table 8.1.

8.5   Results

8.5.1   Differences in the Number of Close Friends

First, we report Poisson regression results, in which the number of close friends at Time 1 was predicted by age, gender, educational attainment, study region, partnership status, and employment status. In 2008, networks tended to be larger when educational attainment was higher (OR = 1.04; p < .001) and respondents were employed (OR = 1.17, p < .001). Age was negatively related with the number of close friends (OR = 0.98; p < .001). Respondents from East Germany reported more close friends than respondents from West Germany (OR = 1.12, p < .001), which was contrary to our expectations. Another unexpected result was that females reported fewer friends compared to their male counterparts (OR = .82, p <. 001). Similar patterns emerged for 2011 and 2013, even though not all associations were significant in all waves.[1]

8.5.2   Full Mediation Model

The full longitudinal mediation model was tested following the recommended steps by Little (Little, 2013), which aim at fitting the final model with all necessary, significant paths. The final model is displayed in Fig. 8.1. Little proposes to test various assumptions such as measurement invariance across time points. However, all assumptions which he deems as non-essential have not been reported due to space constraints. Because the number of close friends and life satisfaction were assessed

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[1] In 2011, the number of friends was higher when educational attainment was higher (OR = 1.04; p < .001) and the respondent was employed (OR = 1.24, p < .001). Older participants reported fewer close friends (OR = 0.98; p < .001). Respondents from East Germany reported more close friends (OR = 1.14, p < .001). Females reported fewer friends (OR = .86, p <. 001). The same was found in 2013, where networks were larger when educational attainment was higher (OR = 1.03; p < .001) and respondents were employed (OR = 1.16, p < .05). Again, older and female participants reported to have fewer close friends (OR = 0.99; p < .01, and OR = .86, p <. 001, respectively).
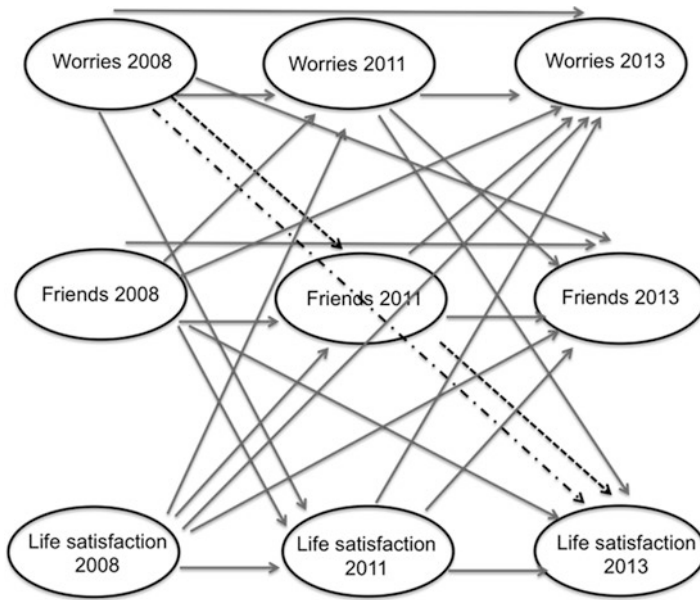
Fig. 8.1 Conceptual representation of the first model tested with all possible paths. Direct and indirect mediation paths are represented by dashed lines

Table 8.2 Fit measures – Measurement invariance

	Df	AIC	BIC	Chi Square	Chi Square diff	DF diff	p	CFI	Delta CFI	RMSEA	Delta RMSEA
Fit. configural	21	10,325	10,474	77.647	–	–	–	.958	–	.063	–
Fit. loadings	25	10,333	10,464	93.832	16.185	4	.0028	.949	.009	.064	.001
Fit. thresholds	29	10,351	10,464	119.782	25.950	4	.0000	.933	.016	.068	.004
Fit.means	31	10,366	10,470	138.330	18.548	2	.0000	.920	.012	.072	.004

Notes. Delta refers to change in either CFI or RMSEA between two models

with a single-item indicator, it is not possible to test measurement invariance for them. Therefore, measurement invariance was tested for worries about the economy over the three measurement occasions fitting four nested models, which ranged from the least to the most restricted. These models were configural invariance (same factor structure), weak invariance (equal factor loadings across units), strong invariance (factor loadings and intercepts are constrained to be equal across units), and mean structure (factor loadings, intercepts and means are constrained to be equal). The fit of each model was compared to the previous model (Table 8.2). We used a total of four model fit indices: (1) the comparative fit index (CFI), (2) the root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA), (3) the Aiken information criterion
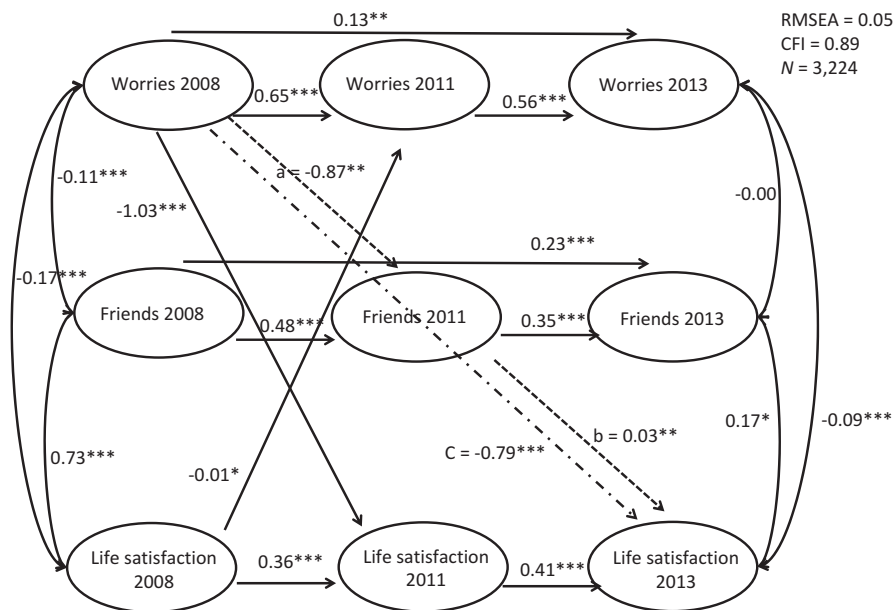
Fig. 8.2 Final mediation model. Direct and indirect mediation paths are dashed lines. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$
($\chi^2 = 768.95$, df = 77, $p < .001$)

(AIC), and (4) the Bayesian information criterion. For the CFI, values closer to 1 (at least 0.90) signal adequate fit. For the RMSEA, values closer to 0.05 (at least less than 0.80) are acceptable (Acock, 2013). AIC and BIC compare nested models for which smaller values across nested models indicate better model fit. For worries about the economy, strong invariance can be assumed based on all model fit measures.

In the next step, the hypothesized model was tested. We tested one with all possible paths predicting various outcomes (Fig. 8.1). In a subsequent step, we deleted non-significant paths (e.g., from worries in 2011 to life satisfaction in 2013 and from worries in 2011 to number of close friends in 2013) to finalize the model (Fig. 8.2). Lastly, we used bootstrapping to test for significant indirect effects, which imputed missing data. Bootstrapping cannot be combined with full-information maximum likelihood. Hence, to avoid bias due to selective drop-outs we imputed missing values by using all available information from our study also during other waves of data collection (e.g., partnership status from 2007–2013).

After including only significant autoregressive and cross-time paths (besides the mediation paths), the total effect and indirect effect were significant, indicating that more worries in 2008 were associated with fewer close friends in 2011 ($B = −0.87$, $p < .01$). Having fewer friends in 2011 was associated with lower life satisfaction in 2013 ($B = 0.03$, $p < .01$) (Fig. 8.2). The indirect effect was negative ($B = −0.03$, $p < .05$), as was the total effect ($B = −0.82$, $p < .001$). The direct effect between

worries in 2008 and life satisfaction in 2013 was also negative ($B = -0.79$, $p < .001$). To assess the relevance of the indirect effect, one can directly interpret it if the variables X and Y are already on meaningful metrics (Preacher & Kelley, 2011; p. 99). Based on the example in Preacher and Kelley (2011), the indirect effect implies that life satisfaction is expected to decrease by 0.03 units (on the 10-point scale) for every unit increase in worries (on the 3-point scale), which is obviously a small effect.

We found significant autoregressive paths between worries in 2008 and worries in 2011 ($B = 0.65$, $p < .001$), between worries in 2011 and worries in 2013 ($B = 0.56$, $p < .001$) and between worries in 2008 and worries in 2013 ($B = 0.13$, $p < .01$). Furthermore, having more close friends in 2008 was associated with more friends in 2011 ($B = 0.48$, $p < .001$). The same pattern was found for friends in 2011 and friends in 2013 ($B = 0.35$, $p < .001$). Furthermore, having friends in 2008 was associated with having friends in 2013 ($B = 0.23$, $p < .001$). Higher life satisfaction in 2008 predicted higher life satisfaction in 2011 ($B = 0.36$, $p < .001$), which in turn predicted higher life satisfaction in 2013 ($B = 0.41$, $p < .001$). Significant cross-paths were found as well; for instance, higher life satisfaction in 2008 was associated with fewer worries in 2011 ($B = -0.01$, $p < .05$). More worries in 2008 were associated with lower life satisfaction in 2011 ($B = -1.03$, $p < .001$). To test the robustness of the mediation effect, we used 20 imputed datasets to calculate the indirect effect and averaged the values. Here, the indirect effect was not significant ($B = -0.01$, ns), indicating no mediation via number of close friends between worries and life satisfaction. When applying bootstrapping to one of the imputed data sets, the indirect effect was also not significant. This non-significance was indicated by zero being within the confidence interval of the estimate of the indirect effect.

8.5.3   Full Mediation Model with Covariates

The final mediation model (Fig. 8.2) was extended by covariates. All variables were regressed on all time-variant covariates (region, educational attainment, partnership status, and unemployment) and all time-invariant covariates (age and gender) were regressed only on the baseline indicators in a first step. Non-significant paths between key variables and covariates were removed again and a final model was estimated, which converged normally and yielded a non-significant indirect effect ($B = -0.02$, ns). Associations between key variable and covariates were the following:

All covariates except for partnership status were associated with worries in 2008. More worries were associated with being older ($B = 0.02$, $p < .001$), female ($B = -0.06$, $p < .001$), having lower educational attainment ($B = -0.04$, $p < .001$), living in East Germany ($B = -0.11$, $p < .001$), and being unemployed ($B = 0.18$, $p < .001$). More worries in 2011 were associated with lower educational attainment ($B = -0.02$, $p < .001$), having a partner ($B = 0.04$, $p < .01$), living in East Germany

($B = -0.05$, $p < .001$), and being unemployed ($B = 0.16$, $p < .001$). In 2013, more worries were only significantly associated with being unemployed ($B = 0.14$, $p < .001$).

A higher number of close friends in 2008 was associated significantly with all covariates except for partnership status. Having more friends was associated with being younger ($B = -0.16$, $p < .001$), male ($B = 0.92$, $p < .001$), highly educated ($B = 0.20$, $p < .001$), located in East Germany ($B = -0.52$, $p < .001$), and employed ($B = -0.75$, $p < .01$). More friends in 2011 were associated with higher educational attainment ($B = 0.06$, $p < .05$), living in East Germany ($B = -0.33$, $p < .05$), and being employed ($B = -0.57$, $p < .05$). In 2013, no associations between covariates and number of close friends were found.

Life satisfaction in 2008 was associated significantly with all covariates except for gender. Higher life satisfaction was associated with being young ($B = -0.05$, $p < .001$), having higher educational attainment ($B = 0.08$, $p < .001$), being part-nered ($B = 0.41$, $p < .001$), living in West Germany ($B = 0.20$, $p < .01$), and being employed ($B = -0.94$, $p < .001$). In 2011, higher life satisfaction was associated with being partnered ($B = 0.37$, $p < .001$), and being employed ($B = -0.56$, $p < .001$). In 2013, higher life satisfaction was only significantly associated with being partnered ($B = 0.40$, $p < .001$) and employed ($B = -0.88$, $p < .001$).

In sum, our aims were to first examine differences in emerging adults' network size regarding age, gender, educational attainment, region, partnership, and unemployment status. Here we found that being younger, being employed, and having higher educational attainment was associated with larger networks, as were, to our surprise, living in East Germany and being male. Second, we tested if worries about the economy in the beginning of the recession were associated with life satisfaction in the recovery phase and if this link was mediated by the number of close friends. This hypothesis was partially confirmed in the first analyses. Thirdly, we examined if our final model remained stable including various controls. Here, the indirect effect vanished, and our results indicated a complex interplay of associations.

8.6 Discussion

The present study contributes to the literature on the buffering effect of social networks on emerging adults' life satisfaction in times of economic strain (Holt-Lunstad et al., 2010; Martire & Franks, 2014; Reeskens & Vandecasteele, 2016). Using a nationally representative sample of German emerging adults, we first examined differences in network size by key sociodemographic characteristics. Second, a full longitudinal mediation model was fitted to test whether the association between economic worries and life satisfaction exists and if this relationship is mediated via number of close friends. Additionally, it was examined as to whether the results remained stable when covariates were included.

8.6.1 Life Satisfaction, and Friendship Networks, and the Recession

We examined differences in social network size stratified by age, gender, educational attainment, region, partnership status, as well as unemployment status. Our results align with prior research (e.g., Bernardi et al., 2007). Being younger, being male, having higher levels of educational attainment, being single, and being employed were associated with a larger number of close friends. Surprisingly, we found that emerging adults living in East Germany reported more close friends. This might be due to the fact that they reported on close friends and not on network size per se, whereas other studies found that people in West Germany have larger networks (Bernardi et al., 2007; Uhlendorff, 2004). Additionally, our data is quite recent and the differences found in previous studies might not be prevalent anymore. However, more studies are needed, especially within the emerging adult age range. For older respondents, it still might be the case that West Germans have larger networks and more close friends. In addition to interindividual and within-country variability, there may be considerable cross-national differences in network sizes because friendship definitions may vary across specific cultures (Sherrod, 1989; Gummerum & Keller, 2008).

Based on our full longitudinal mediation model, we can draw tentative conclusions that worries about the economy has an indirect effect of on life satisfaction as a result of how it impacts one's number of close friends. However, this effect was not confirmed through the recommended bootstrapping procedure (Little, 2013). Furthermore, more research is needed to disentangle the age-period-cohort confounding (Yang, 2011). Nevertheless, we conclude that fostering social ties may be beneficial for emerging adults, particularly because they live in a rapidly changing and increasingly globalized world (Blossfeld & Mills, 2010). The negative link between economic worries and network size implies that, especially when resources are sparse, individuals tend to focus on key member of their social networks only. Besides the mediational paths in the longitudinal mediation model and the autoregressive ones, two other pathways seem to be relevant: worries in 2008 predicted life satisfaction in 2011 directly, and life satisfaction in 2008 was also directly related to worries in 2011.

Many associations with covariates were not surprising. For example, worries were higher for those with lower educational attainment, for unemployed people, and for those in East Germany. Life satisfaction was also positively associated with having a partner (Diener & Ryan, 2009). In general, the number of singles in our sample decreased between 2008 and 2013. This change could be due to maturation processes; a larger share of our sample transitioned into stable romantic relationships or marital unions over the course of the study, which is an age-normative developmental task for this age group (Settersten, 2007). Unemployment was related to a reduced number of close friends in 2011 compared to 2008, which is in line with other studies (Settersten, 2007; Oesch & von Ow, 2015; Price et al., 1998).

Compared to employed emerging adults or those in post-secondary training, unemployment was associated with lower life satisfaction for all three waves. This association again indicates that the fulfilment of important developmental tasks in EA fosters well-being. Note that the number of registered employed individuals declined over the study years. This decrease may be associated with the so-called "Fachkräftemangel" (shortage of skilled workers) in Germany and underscores that the German economy was mostly recovered from the impact of the recession by 2013 (German "job miracle", Möller, 2010).

The present study underlines the importance of including perception of context in research, an aspect which has often been neglected when examining social ties (Elder & Shanahan, 2006). Furthermore, economic circumstances do not only influence average household income (Jenkins et al., 2013), job security (O'Higgins, 2012), and life satisfaction (Reeskens & Vandecasteele, 2016), but also number of close friends in EA. Further research should examine if these associations are stable. Hence, these findings underline that even in rapidly changing times such as EA (e.g., Arnett, 2015), contextual aspects amplify inequalities and changes.

8.7   Practical Implications

Individuals' life courses are intertwined and entangled with others that are included in their network of close friends (Antonucci et al., 2013; Elder & Shanahan, 2006). However, support from non-kin network members may be particularly influential for emerging adults as they launch trajectories in multiple life domains. Their ever-growing networks tend to become more stable around the age of 25 (Wrzus et al., 2013). Having larger and high-quality social networks is also related to higher levels of life satisfaction (Demir, 2015). Our study demonstrated that economic strain reduces the number of close friends, which subsequently decreases life satisfaction. Although this finding needs to be replicated in future research, it could provide a helpful starting point for interventions in EA. For instance, in times of economic strain (or future recessions), it may be fruitful to work with emerging adults on highlighting the potential and necessity of wide social networks and strategies to develop strong, high-quality networks. For older people, the basic approach is deemed promising (Antonucci et al., 2013). In the described intervention, elderly people were made aware of the community around them and that helping each other is beneficial for all. To target explicitly underprivileged emerging adults might be another strategy; in the case of this recession, the underprivileged might be male workers with lower levels of education. Independently from the recession, these individuals could benefit from this intervention, as it could teach them to overcome the negative impact of economic strain on their well-being. Regardless of the state of economy, this strategy could be used to target populations that have shown to be more likely to be integrated into smaller, and lower-quality network (e.g., individuals with lower levels of educational attainment). Adapting these approaches to target the social integration of underprivileged emerging adults in schools, on campuses,

or training facilities could serve as a mechanism to foster social justice and over-come socioeconomic disadvantage (Oesch & von Ow, 2015).

8.7.1   Limitations

Our study has several limitations. First, even though we focused on the sheer quan-tity of close friends and did not include measures of friendship quality, research indicated that both aspects are highly relevant. However, it is more likely to have high quality friendships when the pool of friends is relatively large (Antonucci et al., 2013). Furthermore, in future assessments participants should be instructed to not consider their partners or family members as close friends. It is possible that people have a tendency to consider their parents and relatives as their friends (Demir, 2015), which may complicate the precise assessment of non-kin network members and friends. Diverse types of friendships (e.g. online friends vs. regular in-person contacts) were not differentiated either.

Secondly, bootstrapping did not support the indirect effect. However, bootstrap-ping and full-information maximum likelihood estimation cannot be combined, which leads to much smaller and more biased samples when bootstrapping is used. Hence, we used multiple imputation to create datasets without any missing values to test the indirect effect with bootstrapping. Obviously, both approaches are not a perfect solution to fulfill the requirements proposed by Little (2013).

Third, although almost all other requirements for testing a full longitudinal medi-ation were met, measurement accuracy may still be improved if life satisfaction and network size were assessed with more than a single-item indicator. However, it is a common procedure to assess those aspects with one item only in large-scale studies, and we are confident that the advantage of using an existing high-quality panel sur-vey outweighs the disadvantage of having to rely on the available measures. Additionally, the mean ratings of life satisfaction were highly stable across the study years. However, this does not necessarily imply that there were no changes for certain subgroups among emerging adults.

8.7.2   Future Directions

More research is needed which expands on different types of friendships—for example same-sex, cross-sex, close, or more casual friendships—and also disen-tangles what types of social and emotional support the friendship offers. Our model could be further examined with data from other countries, especially in countries with weaker social security systems and those that have been greatly affected by the Great Recession (e.g., Finland or Greece; Jenkins et al., 2013). This would allow for the examination of how macro-contextual characteristics influence the relationship between economic strain and life satisfaction and specify if and how close

relationships function as a mediator or buffer the influence of economic strain on individuals' well-being. Hence, further studies could utilize a mediated moderation approach. Furthermore, our sample included a small group of emerging adults who reported to not have any close friends, which is consistent with prior research (e.g., Demir, 2015). Future studies should shed more light on the shared characteristics and potentially compensating strategies for emotional and instrumental support of this particularly isolated group. This focus would allow to create tailored support strategies for all emerging adults based on their concrete social network composition or the lack thereof in a given economic and cultural context (Gummerum & Keller, 2008).

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Chapter 9
The Relationships between Filial Piety, Self-Esteem, and Life Satisfaction Among Emerging Adults in Taiwan

Jinjin Yan and Wei-Wen Chen

Abstract This study investigated the mediating role of self-esteem in the relationship between filial piety and life satisfaction among emerging adults in Taiwan. A total of 481 Taiwanese college students between the ages of 18 and 23 years participated in the study. Structural equation modeling (SEM) was utilized to test the hypothesis, using AMOS 21.0 software and parceling. The results revealed that (a) reciprocal filial piety was positively related to self-esteem, whereas authoritarian filial piety had a negative effect on self-esteem, (b) both reciprocal and authoritarian filial piety had a positive association with life satisfaction, (c) self-esteem as a mediator played an important role in the link between filial piety and life satisfaction among Taiwanese young adults, and (d) there were some gender differences in reciprocal filial piety, with average scores among females being higher than average scores among males. In the future, more studies on the effect of filial piety on happiness should be pursued in this field.

9.1 The Relationships between Filial Piety, Self-Esteem, and Life Satisfaction among Emerging Adults

In Chinese culture, family is an essential part of life and is closely connected with an individual's growth and development. Filial piety, a core moral element of Chinese families, plays a strong regulating role in harmonious intergenerational relationships between parents and children (Chow, 2001; Yang, 1997; Yeh, Yi, Tsao, & Wan, 2013) and creates expectations of certain behaviors from children toward their parents (Yeh & Bedford, 2003). In addition, it has a strong impact on

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individual development (Chao & Tseng, 2002), which determines children's attitude toward and perception of themselves.

Filial piety refers to the emotional and material support that children provide for their parents, obedience to one's parents' will, respect for one's parents, gratitude to parents and other family elders, and the performance of filial duties and obligations (Ho, 1996; Wong, Leung, & McBride-Chang, 2010; Yeh & Bedford, 2003). Previous studies have investigated the important role of filial piety and its interaction with the sociocultural context and psychological outcomes. This research revealed connections with goal orientation and academic achievement (Chen, 2016), life satisfaction (Chen, 2014; Yeh et al., 2013), happiness (Chen, Wu, & Yeh, 2016), family cohesion (Cheung, Lee, & Chan, 1994; Yeh & Bedford, 2004), and self-esteem (Chao, 1994; Stewart et al., 1998) beyond family functioning. However, the mechanism that links filial piety to psychological functions has received little attention from researchers.

Emerging adulthood is a developmental period distinguished by several unique features. Emerging adults have left behind the dependency of childhood and adolescence, but they are not yet prepared to take on the enduring normative responsibilities of adulthood. In the meantime, they have plenty of opportunities to explore their identities in the areas of love, work, and the development of worldviews (Arnett, 2000). Emerging adulthood is not considered a universal period of human development; rather, it is a recently identified phenomenon and thus may occur only in some cultures (Arnett, 2004). Moreover, one study found that the particular emphasis in Chinese culture on obligations to one's family influences the meaning and developmental patterns of emerging adulthood in the context of China (Nelson & Chen, 2007). Therefore, this study approaches the research subject of emerging adulthood by examining the role of self-esteem in the relationship between filial piety and life satisfaction.

9.2 Filial Piety and Psychological Adjustment

The results of previous studies on the functions of filial piety in Chinese society are mixed. Some studies reported that filial piety was positively associated with family cohesion and negatively related to parent-child conflict (Kim, Kim, & Hurh, 1991), whereas others showed filial piety to be connected to coercive and overprotective parenting practices and low cognitive complexity (Ho, 1994). In order to reconcile these apparently contradictory results, Yeh (2003, 2006) proposed the dual filial piety model, which divides the construct of filial piety into two types—reciprocal and authoritarian filial piety. Reciprocal filial piety reflects a healthy, intimate parent-child relationship in which children feel gratitude to their parents for having raised them and a desire to repay their parents for their emotional care and material support. It also includes children's wish to commemorate their parents after their passing. In contrast to reciprocal filial piety, authoritarian filial piety emphasizes children's repression of their own will and their absolute submission to their

parents' requirements. Because of the parents' powerful hierarchical authority, this type of filial piety occurs in order to fulfill parental expectations.

Empirical evidence has consistently shown that filial piety is closely related to individuals' psychological adjustment (Leung, Wong, Wong, & McBride-Chang, 2010). Some studies found that filial piety was positively correlated with life satisfaction among college students in mainland China (Yeh et al., 2013), Hong Kong (Chen, 2014), and Taiwan (Chen et al., 2016). Nevertheless, our understanding of the process through which filial piety affects individuals' life satisfaction is still rudimentary. Life satisfaction—that is, people's judgments and evaluations of their lives in given circumstances—is an essential cognitive component of happiness (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). Filial piety, in turn, is closely related to parent-child relationships in Chinese family life and is thus a vital indicator of individual life satisfaction. Therefore, the interplay between filial piety and life satisfaction is a vital relationship that cannot be ignored.

Despite this importance, no research has examined the potential mediating role of self-esteem between filial piety and life satisfaction, and there is only limited empirical evidence of the negative effects of authoritarian filial piety on self-esteem (Leung et al., 2010). Although few studies investigate the relationship between filial piety and self-esteem, the consistent findings of past research on the broader issue of the connection between parent-child interaction and self-esteem provide some evidence for the link posited in this study between filial piety and self-esteem. Shek (1997a, 1997b, 1998) found that adolescents who reported positive attitudes toward their parents' practices and less parent-child conflict have low self-esteem (Kuhlberg, Pena, & Zayas, 2010). Furthermore, Sillick and Schutte (2006) found that self-esteem plays a mediating role in the relationship between perceived parental love and happiness.

According to Mruk (2013), parents' attitude and behavior foster children's sense of worthiness, which contributes to children's internalization of the attitudes that others hold toward them. Moreover, children's general attitude toward devaluation or negative feedback received from others, including their parents, is crucial to the development of their self-esteem (Coopersmith, 1967). Baumrind (1975) suggests that good parenting, including high parental acceptance, clearly defined limits, high expectations for performance, and respect for individuality, contributes to the development of high self-esteem in children. Other studies reveal that understanding, warmth, care, and support on the part of parents helps to build high self-esteem among adolescents (Parker & Benson, 2004; Plunkett, Henry, Robinson, Behnke, & Falcon III, 2007; Rudy & Grusec, 2006). At the same time, previous work showed that *guan*, or training, as a value in Chinese parenting was positively related to both life satisfaction and self-esteem (Chao, 1994; Stewart et al., 1998), whereas authoritarian parental control was negatively associated with self-esteem and well-being (Stewart et al., 1998). Studies have also shown that self-esteem is correlated with psychological well-being (Rosenberg, Schooler, Schoenbach, & Rosenberg, 1995) and happiness (Baumeister, Campbell, Krueger, & Vohs, 2003). Consequently, it is necessary to explore the interaction of the two distinct aspects of filial piety with

self-esteem and their impact on life satisfaction, which goes beyond parent-child interaction.

The aim of the present study was to evaluate the mediating role of self-esteem in the relationship between filial piety and life satisfaction among Taiwanese college students. In light of previous studies, this study proposed three hypotheses: (a) reciprocal filial piety is positively associated with self-esteem and life satisfaction, (b) authoritarian filial piety is negatively linked to self-esteem and life satisfaction, and (c) both reciprocal and authoritarian filial piety contribute to life satisfaction through the partially mediating role of self-esteem.

9.3 Method

9.3.1 Participants

A total of 600 college students at two intermediate-level Taiwanese universities volunteered to participate in this study. They were provided with the title and the purpose of the study and were asked to sign consent forms during class time if they agreed to participate. The age range of the participants is 18 to 23 years and the mean age was 19.9 years (SD = 1.43). The confidentiality of the responses was assured. Of the 600 volunteers, 481 returned valid questionnaires. Hence, the response rate was 80%, with a final sample of 481 students, consisting of 242 females and 239 males. It took the participants approximately 20 minutes to complete the self-report questionnaire.

9.3.2 Measures

Background Information The background information collected from the participants included their age, their gender, and the education level of their parents.

Filial Piety To assess the participants' filial piety beliefs, we administered Yeh's (2003) Filial Piety Scale, which includes 16 items rated on a six-point Likert scale (from 1 = *extremely unimportant* to 6 = *extremely important*). The 16 items were evenly divided between two dimensions: reciprocal filial piety (RFP) beliefs (eight items) and authoritarian filial piety (AFP) beliefs (eight items). Sum scores were used for each filial piety belief. A sample item for reciprocal filial piety is "Paying more attention to my parents' health". A sample item for authoritarian filial piety is "Listening to my parents' advice on decisions about a future career". A higher score on the scale represents a higher level of filial piety. Yeh and Bedford (2003) investigated the validity of Dual Filial Piety Scale, and showed it to have good construct validity. In this study, Cronbach's alphas for the RFP scale and AFP scale were .88 and .74, respectively.

Self-Esteem We used the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965) to measure college students' self-esteem. The Chinese version consists of 10 items rated on a five-point Likert scale (from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). Sample items are "I wish I could have more respect for myself" and "I take a positive attitude toward myself". The reliability and validity of RSES have been established in the Chinese context (Kong & You, 2011; Zhao, Kong, & Wang, 2012). Cronbach's alpha for this measurement was .87.

Life Satisfaction The participating students' life satisfaction was assessed by the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al., 1985), which is a five-item self-report measure of life satisfaction in which each item is rated on a seven-point scale (from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*). Sachs (2003) found through confirmatory analysis that SWLS measures a unidimensional construct with good validity. The present study adopted the Chinese version used by Wu and Yao (2006). Sample items include "The conditions of my life are excellent" and "In most ways my life is close to my ideal". A higher score indicates greater life satisfaction. In this study, Cronbach's alpha for SWLS was .81.

9.3.3 Data Analysis

The study employed a structural equation model (SEM) via maximum likelihood estimation using the AMOS 21.0 software package to analyze the data (Arbuckle, 2008). Firstly, confirmatory factor analysis with Kline's (2005) two-step modeling procedure was used to investigate the relationships between observed variables and latent constructs. In order to control for the fewer correlated residuals and sampling errors (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002), random item parceling was used to produce aggregate-level observed variables that contained the sum (or average) of multiple items (Bandalos & Finney, 2001). Four latent variables were parceled in the analysis: (a) reciprocal filial piety, (b) authoritarian filial piety, (c) self-esteem, and (d) life satisfaction. With each indicator composed of two original items, the eight items for reciprocal filial piety, the eight items for authoritarian filial piety, and the ten items for self-esteem were randomly assigned to four indicator scales for RFP, four indicator scales for AFP, and five indicator scales for self-esteem, respectively. The five items for life satisfaction were randomly parceled into three indicator scales, with each of two indicators including two of the original items and one containing the remaining original item.

In the next step, χ^2/df, CFI, TLI, RMSEA, and SRMR were selected as goodness-of-fit indicators for the measurement model and the structural model (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Based on previous studies, model fit is acceptable when χ^2/df falls between 2 and 3 (Kline, 2005), CFI and TLI values are greater than .90 (Bentler, 1990; Bentler & Bonett, 1980), and RMSEA and SRMR values are lower than .08 (Byrne, 2010).

Finally, the bootstrapping method was utilized to test the mediating effects. This method provides greater reliability than does Baron and Kenny's (1986) causal-step

method owing to the former's ability to assess the stability of parameter estimates (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). In this analysis, 2000 bootstrap samples were estimated, and a 95% confidence interval was used. The indirect effects were considered significant when the upper (1,950th) and lower (50th) bounds of the interval excluded zero.

9.4 Results

9.4.1 Preliminary Analysis

Initially, we conducted t tests and ANOVAs to establish whether the main variables—reciprocal filial piety, authoritarian filial piety, self-esteem, and life satisfaction—varied as functions of the demographic variables of gender, age, and parental education level. Participants were divided by age into six groups, from 18 to 23, and by parental education level into six groups each for mother and father, respectively. The six education levels were defined as the completion of elementary school, junior high school, senior high school, junior college, university, and postgraduate study. The results revealed that most demographic variables have no effect on the main variables. However, gender had a significant effect on reciprocal filial piety (t (1, 479) = 5.18, p < 0.001). Females (M = 5.35, SE = .55) had higher scores on reciprocal filial piety than do males (M = 5.14, SE = .65). The effect of gender on life satisfaction was also statistically significant (t (1, 479) = .26, p < 0.05). Males (M = 1.96, SE = .50) reported higher life satisfaction than do females (M = 5.35, SE = .55). In addition, educational level of fathers had a significant effect on self-esteem (F (5, 476) = 3.08, p = 0.01), whereas mothers' educational level had no significant effect on the main variables. Post hoc comparisons indicated that emerging adults whose fathers have attained at most elementary or junior high school education (M = 1.43, SE = .49) had lower self-esteem than those whose fathers have attended senior high school (MD = 1.96, SE = .49), junior college (MD = 2.00, SE = .55), university (MD = 1.96, SE = .45), or postgraduate education (MD = 2.02, SE = .48).

Table 9.1 presents the means, standard deviations, and correlation matrix of all variables. The correlations among reciprocal filial piety, authoritarian filial piety, self-esteem, and life satisfaction were in line with the relationships predicted in our hypotheses. Reciprocal filial piety was positively correlated with self-esteem and with life satisfaction, while authoritarian filial piety was positively correlated with life satisfaction only. Self-esteem was also significantly associated with life satisfaction.

Table 9.1 Correlations, means, and standard deviations of the main variables

	1	2	3	4	Mean	SD
1. Reciprocal filial piety belief	–				5.24	0.61
2. Authoritarian filial piety belief	.27**	–			3.13	0.74
3. Self-esteem	.25**	−.09	–		1.97	0.87
4. Life satisfaction	.21**	.14**	.53**	–	4.46	1.22

**p < .01
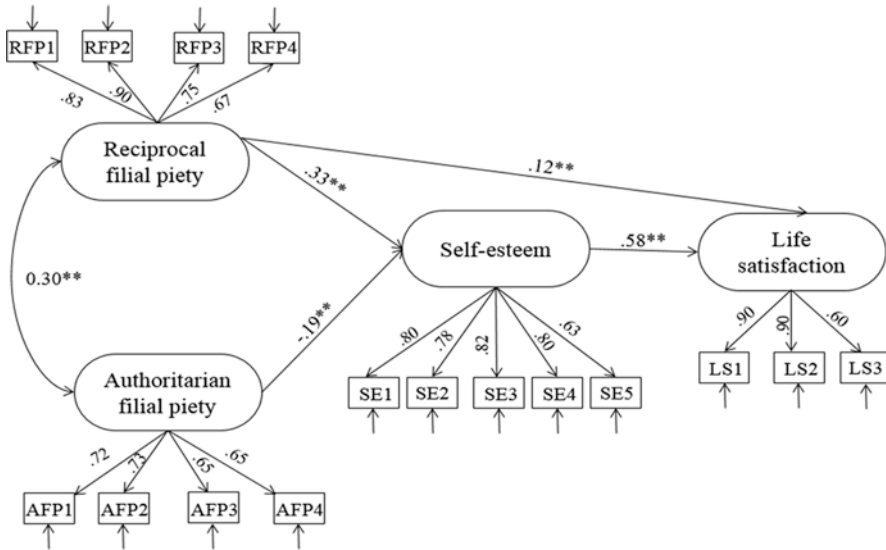
Fig. 9.1 Mediational model of the relationship between filial piety and life satisfaction through the role of self-esteem (**p < .01)

9.4.2 Testing the Measurement Models

The model of reciprocal and authoritarian filial piety beliefs, the model of the relationship between filial piety and life satisfaction, and the model of self-esteem and life satisfaction were all examined by verifying the factorial validity of the latent constructs through confirmatory factor analysis. For the reciprocal and authoritarian filial piety model, the model fit values were $\chi^2 = 50.10$, $df = 18$, $\chi^2/df = 2.78$, CFI = .98, TLI = .97, RMSEA = .06, and SRMR = .05; for the filial piety and life satisfaction model (see Fig. 9.1), the model fit values were $\chi^2 = 109.34$, $df = 40$, $\chi^2/df = 2.73$, CFI = .97, TLI = .96, RMSEA = .06, and SRMR = .053; and for the self-esteem and life satisfaction model, they were $\chi^2 = 63.50$, $df = 18$, $\chi^2/df = 3.53$, CFI = .98, TLI = .97, RMSEA = .07, and SRMR = .037. All of the factor loadings in the three models were significant (*ps* < .01), and all models had acceptable model fits.

9.4.3   Testing the Hypothetical Structural Model

Analysis of the hypothetical structural model with the data showed good fit (χ^2 = 231.76, df = 96, χ^2/df = 2.41, CFI = .96, TLI = .96, RMSEA = .05, and SRMR = .05). A test of the beta path demonstrated that the direct path from authoritarian filial piety to life satisfaction was non-significant. We used standard model-trimming procedures (Kline, 2005) to achieve reasonably good model fit and removed non-significant paths iteratively until only significant paths remained.

The final structural model is presented. Self-esteem partially mediated the associations among reciprocal filial piety, authoritarian filial piety, and life satisfaction. The model fit for the hypothetical structural model was acceptable (χ^2 = 239.92, df = 97, χ^2/df = 2.47, CFI = .96, TLI = .95, RMSEA = .06, and SRMR = .06). All loading estimates of paths in the structural model were significant (ps < .01), indicating that the measurements of these factors are acceptable. The respective effects of RFP and AFP on self-esteem were positively significant (γ = .25, p < .01, and γ = −.14, p < .01). In addition, self-esteem had a significant positive effect on life satisfaction (β = 1.39, p < .01). The structural model accounted for 39% of the variance in life satisfaction.

Finally, the bootstrapping approach was employed to verify the hypothetical mediating effects for more reliable results (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). The indirect effect of RFP on life satisfaction through self-esteem was significant (estimate = 0.19, SE = 0.03, p < .01, 95% CI [0.13, 0.26]), and the indirect effect from AFP to life satisfaction through self-esteem was likewise significant (estimate = −0.11, SE = 0.04, p < .01, 95% CI [−0.18, −0.04]). Collectively, the results indicate that RFP and AFP indirectly contributed to life satisfaction through the mediation of self-esteem.

9.5   Discussion

Although filial piety plays a vital role in modern Chinese societies (Yeh et al., 2013), there is little research on the underlying mechanism between filial piety and developmental outcomes in the context of Chinese culture. This study sought to explore the contribution of filial piety to individuals' life satisfaction through the improvement of self-esteem.

The findings of the present study supported our hypotheses and provide valuable information for an improved understanding of the results of previous research. First, our study provides empirical evidence of the mediating role of self-esteem in the relationship between family factors and psychological outcomes. Second, filial piety, a culture-specific factor in Chinese society, accurately represents the characteristics of Chinese parent-child interactions. Children who hold reciprocal filial piety beliefs respect and attend to their parents and strive for improved academic performance as

a way of repaying them (Chen & Ho, 2012). In addition, they provide greater financial, physical, and emotional support for their parents (Ishii-Kuntz, 1997), especially during illness (Lee, 1998). On the other hand, children with authoritative filial piety beliefs tend to suppress their independence and subordinate their wishes to their parents. They also tend to have lower academic scores because of their parents' strict parenting style. In addition, they often inhibit self-expression in communication with their parents (Ho, 1994). Third, structural equation modeling demonstrates the connections among filial piety, self-esteem, and life satisfaction.

This study also demonstrated the utility of the dual filial piety model by highlighting the distinct implications of the two different types of filial piety on self-esteem and life satisfaction. In accordance with the findings of earlier research in Chinese societies, reciprocal filial piety was found to be positively associated with Taiwanese emerging adults' life satisfaction and self-esteem (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Chen, 2014; Leung et al., 2010; Stewart et al., 1998; Yeh et al., 2013). Children with strong reciprocal filial beliefs have intimate and affectionate relationships with their parents and report more appreciation for their parents' support and care, factors that promote children's satisfaction within the family. In addition, reciprocal filial piety emphasizes psychological fulfillment through autonomy, relatedness, competence, voluntariness, affection, and enhancement of self-regulatory abilities. All of these traits foster children's cognizance of their self-worth and competence, which are instrumental to the development of self-esteem. The strong bond between reciprocal filial piety and self-esteem, in turn, contributed to life satisfaction.

Our findings also suggest that authoritarian filial piety had a negative effect on self-esteem, whereas there was a positive correlation between authoritarian filial piety and self-esteem. In contrast to reciprocal filial piety, authoritarian filial piety emphasizes children's absolute submission to and compliance with parental hierarchical authority and suppression of their own will in favor of fulfilling their family responsibilities. Children with strong authoritarian filial piety beliefs may suffer from the suppression of their autonomy and the imposition of coercive control by their parents, resulting in lower self-worth, feelings of helplessness, and frustration. Furthermore, authoritarian filial piety is harmful to an individual's cognitive skills (Boey, 1976; Ho, 1994). This finding explains why authoritarian filial piety beliefs negatively predict children's self-esteem in the present study, as these beliefs undermine the child's rational perception of themselves. However, it should be noted that since authoritarian filial piety is not significantly correlated with life satisfaction in Fig. 9.1, the positive relation between authoritarian filial piety and life satisfaction in the correlation table may be a product of parceling.

Finally, self-esteem was a mediator of the relationship between authoritarian filial piety and life satisfaction. It is surprising that authoritarian filial piety was found to have no significant predictable effect on life satisfaction in the structural path, but was positively correlated with life satisfaction. This finding is in line with previous research on the potential positive implications of authoritarian filial piety, which

indicate that authoritarian filial piety may benefit children by reducing parent-child conflict in Chinese families (Yeh & Bedford, 2004). Such conflicting results suggest the existence of complicated connections between authoritarian filial piety and life satisfaction due to the suppression effect. Other potential mediators—such as self-concept, self-efficacy, and emotional intelligence—which were not identified in the present study, could also exert a subtle influence on the relationship between authoritarian filial piety and life satisfaction. Thus, the structural path between authoritarian filial piety and life satisfaction was not included in our theory-driven conceptual model. Further investigation should be undertaken to uncover the precise nature of the link between authoritarian filial piety and life satisfaction.

9.5.1　Limitations

Several limitations of the present study should be noted. To begin with, the study was cross-sectional in design, which does not allow for the establishment of causal relationships between the latent variables (Hong & Ho, 2005). Future research could explore the mediating models through longitudinal or experimental studies to attain a better understanding of the relationships between these variables from a developmental perspective. Second, the study's assessments of filial piety, self-esteem, and life satisfaction are based only on self-report measures. Even though previous research has found children's ratings to be similar to their parents' ratings (Pomerantz, 2001; Sessa, Avenevoli, Steinberg, & Morris, 2001), it is unreliable to use children's responses as the sole rating standard and to ignore parental perceptions and behaviors (Leung et al., 2010). Thus, an optimal approach would be to draw on multiple perspectives in order to reduce the influence of subjectivity. Third, this study used convenience sampling at two Taiwanese universities, which limits the generalizability of the study's results across Chinese culture as a whole. In addition, filial piety beliefs could vary according to developmental stage, educational level, or gender. Reciprocal filial piety was positively related to higher levels of education and to the female gender (Yeh et al., 2013). Thus, the findings should be interpreted with more attention to the characteristics of the sample. The results would be more robust if they remained the same regardless of these characteristics. Additionally, life satisfaction is a cognitive component of subjective well-being (Diener & Emmons, 1984; Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999). Therefore, future research should focus on the affective component of happiness.

9.6　Conclusion

According to Nelson and Chen (2007), the culture-specific influence of group orientations—namely obligations to family—can play an important role among emerging adults in China. The findings of the present study add to this argument by

showing that filial piety is the construct that differentiates family obligation into two elements: voluntary giving and unwanted sacrifice. Therefore, filial piety subsequently contributes to Chinese life satisfaction during emerging adulthood. This study demonstrates that filial piety is potentially a multifaceted and empirically testable construct, one that provides insight into the underlying mechanism of life satisfaction among college students. Our findings suggest that Chinese emerging adults with higher reciprocal filial piety achieve greater life satisfaction due to greater self-esteem. Conversely, strong authoritarian filial piety beliefs on the part of Chinese emerging adults are associated with low self-esteem. Intimate, close, democratic parent-child relationships should thus be promoted to improve children's perceptions of themselves and thus to help them attain greater life satisfaction. Given the significance of filial piety for the development of individuals in Chinese societies, future studies on filial piety are strongly encouraged in order to shed light on the various connections between filial piety and the psychological development of the Chinese people.

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Chapter 10
Cultural Aspects of Attachment Anxiety, Avoidance, and Life Satisfaction: Comparing the US and Turkey

Nebi Sümer and Orkun Yetkili

Abstract Attachment insecurity can interfere with the experience, expression, and benefits of positive emotions, including happiness and life satisfaction (LS). However, both the pattern and effects of insecure attachment orientations on LS vary across cultures. Considering that attachment anxiety is higher in collectivist cultures and attachment avoidance is relatively high in individualistic cultures, the present chapter elaborates on the idea that anxious and avoidant attachment would have varying effects on LS in individualistic and collectivistic cultural contexts. Study 1 ($N = 2456$) involved a community sample of married couples in Turkey and demonstrated that attachment avoidance was a stronger predictor of LS than attachment anxiety in Turkish collectivist context. Study 2 tested the hypothesis that the roles of attachment anxiety and avoidance in predicting LS would vary between collectivistic and individualistic cultures. Mothers' adult attachment dimensions and LS in Turkey ($N = 89$) and the United States ($N = 91$) were measured. As expected, results indicated that LS was predicted only by attachment avoidance in Turkey and by attachment anxiety in the United States. These findings are in line with the cultural fit hypothesis, suggesting that culturally incongruent attachment orientations have a stronger negative impact on individuals' LS.

Satisfying close relationships are some of the most potent sources of happiness and well-being across cultures (Berscheid, 1985; Diener & Oishi, 2000, Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999). This is believed to be due to the survival quality of social bonds and the need to belong to valued collectives and a meaningful universe (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Individuals' physical and psychological health is dependent on the presence of close relationships characterized by reciprocal social support (see Cohen, 2004; Holt-Lunstad, Smith & Layton, 2010; Loving & Slatcher,

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2013) with their intimate partners (Selçuk, Günaydın, Ong, & Almeida, 2016). Accumulated work has confirmed that not only the presence but also the quality of close relationships, derived from attachment security, determine how much individuals enjoy and benefit from enduring long-term happiness in their relationships, (see for reviews, Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2013). Across different cultural domains, securely attached individuals tend to experience enhanced positive affect (PA), satisfaction, and happiness in their relationships, whereas those with anxious or avoidant attachment orientations show patterns of dissatisfaction in life, relationships (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2013) and health problems (see Stanton & Campbell, 2014).

The value of 'closeness' in defining relationship quality and happiness has sparked mixed results from research conducted within Western cultural domains (Myers, 1999). On one hand, studies highlight how individuals from these cultural domains cherish love and the presence of significant others in their lives (Berscheid, 1985). On the other hand, as separation and individuation are perceived as the "sole normative" process in optimal human development, the studies prioritize self-fulfillment and autonomy in close relationships over extreme closeness (see Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; Rothbaum, Rosen, Ujiie, & Uchida, 2002). Whereas extreme closeness is perceived as a normative pattern in Japan, particularly between mothers and children, the same level of closeness is identified as symbiotic or "enmeshed" in the United States (Rothbaum, Pott, Azuma, Miyake, & Weisz, 2000). These cultural differences in levels of closeness are associated with patterns of insecure attachment. Extreme closeness, extending to the desire to merge with the loved one, is culturally adaptive in collectivistic Eastern cultures where attachment anxiety is common and can be relatively tolerated. However, attachment avoidance and valuing extreme independence and self-reliance is more prevalent in individualistic Western cultures (Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake, & Morelli, 2000; Schmitt, 2010).

Considering these cultural differences in relationship patterns, we claim that the strength of the association between the two fundamental dimensions of attachment (i.e., attachment anxiety and avoidance) and life dissatisfaction or unhappiness varies between collectivist and individualist cultures. More specifically, considering cultural variation in attachment insecurity, we expect that attachment anxiety in individualistic and attachment avoidance in collectivistic cultures predominantly predict happiness. Therefore, in this chapter, we aim to examine whether the power of fundamental attachment dimensions to predict happiness differs between Turkey and the United States. These two countries were selected to represent relatively collectivist and individualist cultural contexts, respectively.

In this section, we first present an overview of attachment theory and its link with happiness and well-being. We then discuss cultural differences in both attachment and well-being while investigating the predictive power of attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance over happiness in different cultures. Then, we present data from two empirical studies conducted in Turkey and United States in order to elaborate on the cultural fit hypothesis, suggesting that culturally incongruent attachment orientations have a stronger negative impact on individuals' wellbeing. The chapter

concludes with a discussion on how to enhance life satisfaction through attachment security.

10.1 Attachment Theory: Basic Concepts

Attachment theory is built on the idea that human behavior is organized by innate behavioral systems, including attachment, exploration, and caregiving (see Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). According to Bowlby (1982a, 1982b), the biological function of the attachment system is to protect the individual from danger by assuring that he or she maintains proximity to a caring and supportive attachment figure. Using evolutionary reasoning, Bowlby argued that infants who maintain closeness to a supportive caregiver have a greater chance to survive and eventually reproduce.

Although the attachment behavioral system is most evident early in life, Bowlby (1988) assumed that it is active over the entire life span. In other words, people continue to show thoughts and behavioral patterns related to proximity seeking with attachment figures in times of need. He understood that even when autonomous adults are threatened or demoralized, they benefit from seeking and receiving other people's care. He also argued that mature autonomy is partly achieved by being comforted by caring attachment figures earlier in life (see Mikulincer & Shaver, 2004).

Bowlby (1982a, 1982b) viewed proximity to and contact with supportive attachment figures as a functional human phenomenon and maintained that losing such closeness and contact is the main source of distress and psychological dysfunction. In support of this argument, successful attempts of proximity and the attainment of felt security in adulthood have been shown to be the crucial aspects of maintaining and promoting mental health, satisfying close relationships, happiness, and psychological growth (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2015).

Attachment theorists have identified major individual differences in attachment security and various forms of insecurity, which arise as a result of particular caregiving environments (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, and Wall, 1978). Interactions with attachment figures who are available in times of need facilitate the optimal functioning of the attachment system and promote a sense of security across the life span. However, when a person's attachment figures are not reliably available, a sense of security is difficult to attain. As a result, secondary attachment strategies of affect regulation rather than proximity seeking are developed (Main, Kaplan, Cassidy, 1985; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). These secondary attachment strategies are conceptualized and assessed as attachment-related avoidance and anxiety (Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998).

The first dimension, attachment-related avoidance, reflects the extent to which a person distrusts relationship partners' goodwill and strives to maintain behavioral, psychological and emotional distance from their partners (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). Avoidant adults tend to exhibit limited closeness and intimacy, as well as

substantial relationship disharmony and relationship dissatisfaction. They are reluctant to seek emotional support from their partners when they are upset, and are also less likely to provide care for their partners (Simpson, Rholes, & Nelligan, 1992). As a result, this behavioral pattern limits the opportunity to build intimate relationships (Friedman, Rholes, Simpson, Bond, Diaz-Loving & Chan, 2010). Highly avoidant people also appear to be less empathic and less altruistic (Mikulincer, Shaver, Gillath, & Nitzberg, 2005).

Attachment-related anxiety on the other hand, reflects the degree to which a person worries that their attachment figures may abandon them, either physically or emotionally. As a result, they cling to their partners in order to avoid abandonment. Highly anxious individuals view their partners as being unsupportive (Rholes, Simpson, Campbell, & Grich, 2001). They also tend to be less altruistic (Mikulincer, Shaver, Gillath, & Nitzberg, 2005), focusing on meeting their own emotional needs in relationships rather than those of their partners (Rholes, Peatzold, & Friedman, 2008).

Highly anxious individuals differ from avoidant persons in terms of their desire to form close, intimate relationships, and their sensitivity toward being abandoned by their partners (Friedman, Rholes, Simpson, Bond, Diaz-Loving & Chan, 2010). Four attachment styles are produced from the interaction of the dimensions of anxiety and avoidance. These include secure (both low anxiety and avoidance), fearful avoidant (both high anxiety and avoidance), dismissing avoidant (low anxiety but high avoidance), and anxious-ambivalent (high anxiety but low avoidance) (Bartolomew & Horowitz, 1991; Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998).

These two fundamental dimensions of attachment are regulated in relationships by the three-phase model of attachment-system activation and dynamics, especially when partners perceive a threat or feel stressed (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2003). The first phase is responsible for the activation of the attachment system through the monitoring and appraisal of threatening events. The second phase involves the monitoring and appraisal of the availability and responsiveness of attachment figures. Finally, the third phase involves an evaluation of the viability of social proximity seeking as a means of coping with attachment insecurity. This stage is responsible for variations in the use of anxious (hyperactivating) or avoidant (deactivating) coping strategies. If an attachment figure is unavailable or unresponsive, the individual will either intensify efforts to achieve proximity through hyperactivation of the attachment system or deactivate the attachment system by suppressing thoughts of vulnerability and relying firmly on oneself (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). We believe that culture-based relationship mind-sets such as collectivistic relational, communal orientation vs. individualistic, exchange orientation (e.g., Sorensen & Oyserman, 2010), and emotional differences such as engaging and disengaging emotions (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000) are influential in the attachment activation process by giving priority to hyperactivation strategies in collectivistic/interdependent contexts and to the deactivation strategies in individualist/independent relational contexts. In other words, when an attachment figure is perceived as unresponsive and unavailable, members of collectivist relational cultures are more likely to employ a hyperactivating clingy emotional regulation strategy, whereas

members of individualistic cultures are more likely to employ a deactivating strategy leading to self-reliance and counter dependence.

10.2   Happiness and Cultural Emotions

Veenhoven (2012) defines happiness as a subjective state of mind, which represents the overall appreciation of one's life as a whole. This definition fits Bentham's (1789) classic notion of happiness as 'the sum of pleasures and pains'. Happiness in this sense is used synonymously with terms such as 'life satisfaction', which is interchangeably used with the term 'subjective well-being', or SWB (Diener, 1984, 2000). Accordingly, happiness consists of affective and cognitive evaluations of life. The affective dimension pertains to predominance of positive over negative affect, while the cognitive dimension focuses on life satisfaction.

To move beyond the basic definition of "happiness" as the psychological component of SWB, Morris (2012) argues that there are various conditions that a definition of happiness should meet in order to be suitable for the purpose of scientific investigation. First of all, happiness should be something that is desirable. Even though there is cultural variability in the meaning of happiness, people consistently use the term to refer to a state that is, in some sense, desirable. Research has shown happiness to be positively valued in all nations (Diener & Oishi, 2000). Secondly, the notion of happiness should align with the commonsense usage of the term in the culture being studied. Finally, the notion of happiness should address a specific cognitive state that can be identified and quantified with scientific precision (Morris, 2012).

In his hierarchical multi-determinant model of well-being, Sheldon (2004) specifically focuses on the personality-based, social, and cultural determinants of SWB as the top three levels of the hierarchy. Supporting this model, Sheldon and Hoon (2007) have demonstrated that cultural differences explain significant variance in SWB above and beyond its critical determinants such as personality, goal progress, self-esteem, social support, and so on. In their comparison of happiness in the east and the west, Uchida and her associates (2004) discuss how those in individualist western cultures tend to pursue happiness through individual accomplishments, whereas people in collectivist cultures tend to seek happiness by fostering personal relationships and maintaining social harmony. Overall, members of individualist cultures are relatively happier than their collectivistic counterparts.

Kağıtçıbaşı's (2007) family change theory addresses this issue by explaining why certain aspects of parental control may be adaptive in collectivist cultures while being maladaptive in individualistic cultures. According to this theory, the model of independence is prototypical of the individualistic Western culture, which involves self-reliance and autonomy in child rearing to aid the child in developing an autonomous and separate self. In the family model of interdependence, which is prototypical of the collectivist Eastern culture, children provide for their parents' material and economic needs when they grow up. Therefore, intergenerational interdepen-

dence is adaptive for family well-being in collectivist social contexts (Sümer & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010).

It is believed that there is a global modernization towards the Western model of independence through global socioeconomic development and urbanization. However, a growing number of empirical studies show that even though there is a decline in material interdependencies between generations, psychological interdependencies characterized by closely knit interpersonal ties continue to exist in collectivist cultures (see Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005, 2007). In this family model of psychological and emotional interdependence, although complete obedience and loyalty of the child are no longer needed (i.e. material interdependencies diminish), there is still a need for firm parental control to avoid separation from the child. In these cultural contexts, emotional interdependence and connectedness continue to be treasured. Therefore, parents are motivated to apply overprotective child management strategies such as guilt induction to ensure the psychological interdependence of the child. Consistent with these cultural arguments, Sümer and Kağıtçıbaşı (2010) found that mothers' attachment avoidance, rather than attachment anxiety, negatively predicts children's secure attachment to both parents in Turkey. Moreover, recent studies in Turkey have demonstrated that attachment related avoidance, but not attachment anxiety, predicts various outcome variables, including maternal sensitivity (Selçuk, Zayas, & Hazan, 2010), marital satisfaction (Harma & Sümer, 2016), friendship quality in middle childhood (Sümer, 2015), and academic self-efficacy (Sümer & Harma, 2015). Given the stronger predictive power of attachment avoidance compared to attachment anxiety in the Turkish cultural context, we aim to investigate whether attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety have different implications for an individual's life satisfaction across cultures.

10.3 Attachment Patterns, Cultural Emotions and Life Satisfaction Across Cultures

Life satisfaction as the cognitive component of happiness is believed to be an integral part of well-being (Diener, 1984). It promotes the psychological conditions necessary for exploration, personal and social development, and coping efficacy under stress (Diener & Diener, 1996). Therefore, psychologists have been trying to understand the underlying predictors and mechanisms that enhance life satisfaction (see, Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999; Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005).

According to a recent comparative study conducted in 29 countries by UNICEF (the United Nations Children's Fund, 2013), a child's sense of subjective well-being and their sense of life satisfaction go hand in hand. The UNICEF study confirms the basic tenet of attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969, 1973; Cassidy, 2008) by indicating that relationships with parents are the single most important predictor of children's happiness (UNICEF Office of Research, 2013).

In order to understand the implications of poor or absent parenting, Bowlby (1969/1982) proposed an innate motivational system called the "attachment behavioral system", which causes infants to seek comfort or protection from an attachment figure when they are tired, in pain, frightened, or distressed. As indicated by Mikulincer and Shaver (2013), achieving a sense of safety and security is one of life's natural forms of happiness.

The quality of early interactions within the family is believed to affect a child's competence in social and personal domains later in life. Research on attachment theory supports the idea that quality of parent and peer relationships are strongly related, and that both contribute to the prediction of happiness (see Demir, Doğan, & Procsal, 2013; Gilman & Huebner, 2003; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2013). Indeed, this effect is largely attributable to the power of PA. Across the life span, there exist bidirectional associations between the indicators of positive close relationships, including secure attachment and PA. Life satisfaction can be seen as a different assessment of happiness and PA as the fundamental function of a secure attachment (Ramsey & Gentzler, 2015).

As explained earlier, individual differences in attachment orientations can be represented via the two fundamental dimensions (attachment-related anxiety and avoidance) which are believed to be relatively stable from a person's early years into adulthood (Brennan et al., 1998; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). Attachment anxiety reflects a strong need for closeness, which is not uncommon in collectivist relational cultures, whereas attachment avoidance represents an extreme self-reliance and emotional distance from others, which is not uncommon in individualistic contexts (Schmitt, 2010; Sümer, 2015).

Individuals who are anxiously attached to primary caregivers or peers might experience physical and/or emotional abandonment. As a result, they apply hyperactivating emotion and behavior-regulation strategies. Anxiously attached individuals exaggerate their distress by constantly seeking closeness and clinging to their friends and partners to attain safety and avoid feelings of abandonment. As a result, these individuals are continually challenged by their negative emotions, which in turn reduce their happiness (Sümer, 2015).

Conversely, avoidant attachment dimension is organized around the deactivating emotion and behavior-regulation strategy, which consists of defensive attempts to keep the attachment system down-regulated to avoid being further distressed by the unavailability of an attachment figure. This strategy is characterized by extreme self-reliance, denial of attachment needs, and avoidance of emotional involvement, where the individual tries to avoid rejection from attachment figures by maintaining psychological, social, and emotional distance (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). In all cultures, secure people remain relatively calm during times of stress and experience longer periods of positive affectivity, which contribute to sustained emotional well-being and happiness. We believe that when the attachment system is activated under an actual or perceived threat or stressor, individuals in collectivist contexts are more likely to follow hyperactivating strategy, whereas those in individualistic contexts are more likely to divert to a deactivating strategy.

Overall, attachment security is positively linked with almost all the indicators of well-being, while attachment insecurity is negatively associated with the same indicators (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007, 2015). Specifically, while attachment security strongly promotes positive emotions, attachment anxiety was shown to intensify negative emotions through deteriorating feelings of life satisfaction. Also, attachment avoidance leads to defensive suppression of emotions, which once again is associated with a decline in life satisfaction (see Mikulincer & Shaver, 2013;). Consistent results have been obtained in cross-sectional, prospective, longitudinal, and cross-cultural studies (Shaver, Mikulincer, Alonso-Arbiol, & Lavy, 2010).

Even though anxious and avoidant strategies are guided by opposite relational goals such as intensification or inhibition of closeness, both can interfere with positive emotions. Several studies using the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule found that both of these insecure attachment dimensions are associated with lower positive affect scores (e.g., Barry, Lakey, & Orehek, 2007; Wearden, Lamberton, Crook, & Walsh, 2005) as well as lower levels of subjective well-being (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2013).

Mikulincer and Shaver (2013) believe that this variation between attachment security and well-being is to some extent due to secure individuals possessing more effective emotion-regulation techniques compared to insecurely attached, anxious, or avoidant individuals. According to these researchers, people who are securely attached have interactions with available and supportive attachment figures that can reduce distress and enhance positive emotions by creating a sense of safety and security. Through repeated interactions, this sense of attachment security becomes associated with memories of positive experiences and emotions. Therefore, secure individuals possess a positivity-supporting memory network which enables them to maintain emotional balance even when faced with threats or other stressors (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007).

It is plausible to assert that the effect of culture on both attachment patterns and happiness indeed stems from how cultures shape positive emotions to fit cultural expectations. In a seminal study, Kitayama, Marcus, and Kurokawa (2000) have demonstrated that positive emotions are mostly related to interdependence and interpersonal engagement in Japan, but to independence and interpersonal disengagement in the United States. Indeed, individuals try to sustain their SWB by altering their emotions to fit the culturally predominant ones. Therefore, emotional fit not only between intimate partners (e.g., Gonzaga, G. C., Campos, B., & Bradbury, T. 2007) but also at the group, systems (e.g., Solak, Jost, Sümer, & Glore, 2012), and cultural levels is instrumental for happiness and well-being (De Leersnyder, Mesquita, Kim, Eom, & Choi, 2014). In other words, individuals come to see and feel themselves and their external worlds similarly to how others sharing the same group or collective identity do. Disengaging emotions (e.g., pride) are relatively common in individualistic cultures, therefore attachment avoidance is congruent with these cultural contexts. Conversely, because engaging emotions (e.g., sympathy) are common in collectivistic cultures, attachment anxiety is relatively congruent with these contexts.

Attachment security is believed to be the optimal normative pattern in most cultures. However, the pattern and distribution of adult insecure attachment vary greatly across cultures (Schmitt, 2010), probably because of their culturally adaptive values. Rothbaum, Rosen, Ujiie, and Uchida (2002) argued that since extreme dependency is functional among cultures valuing closely-knit relatedness, attachment anxiety should not be perceived as maladaptive in these cultures. However, considering that attachment avoidance may imply a complete independence, this attachment dimension should be perceived more maladaptive in collectivist cultures (Rothbaum et al., 2002).

In order to address cultural variability in attachment theory, Friedman et al. (2010) proposed the "cultural fit hypothesis", suggesting that culturally incongruent attachment orientations would have a stronger impact on relationship quality. Hence, we expect that attachment avoidance in collectivist cultures and attachment anxiety in individualistic cultures predict SWB. In this study specifically, we expect that the power of two fundamental dimensions in predicting LS would vary between Turkey and the United States.

10.4   The Present Study

Previous studies conducted in western cultures have focused mainly on the secure/insecure divisions of attachment theory and have argued that being insecurely attached to one's parents would reduce the quality of relationships and the level of satisfaction with one's life. If this insecurity is not ameliorated, attachment insecurity can interfere with the experience, expression, and benefits of positive emotions, including happiness (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2013). However, these studies don't explain whether the differences in insecure attachment patterns, namely anxious and avoidant attachment, would have varying effects on life satisfaction and well-being in individualistic and collectivist cultural contexts.

In line with the research explained above, Sümer (2015) suggests that, unlike attachment anxiety, attachment avoidance may not be very dysfunctional in individualistic cultures. In such cultural contexts (like the United States), interpersonal boundaries are clear, and relationships are characterized by low levels of emotional interdependence. However, attachment avoidance would be detrimental for life satisfaction and happiness in more collectivistic cultures, where interpersonal boundaries are unclear, and relationships are characterized by emotional closeness and interdependency. In these relational cultures (such as Turkey), attachment avoidance rather than attachment anxiety is expected to be strongly associated with life satisfaction and happiness.

The Turkish cultural context incorporates polyphony in terms of the presence of independent and interdependent values within the culture. These values constitute a phenomenon described by Kağıtçıbaşı (2007) as the psychologically (emotionally) interdependent family model. This model is characterized by closely knit family ties and refers to a dialectical synthesis of both self-reliance and harmony rather than an

independent or interdependent model of the family (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). Particularly in the Turkish urban and middle-class, parents are believed to be using psychological control behaviors to create the circumstances for emotionally interdependent yet autonomous children (Sümer & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010; Sümer, Sakman, Harma & Savaş, 2016). Therefore, as the cultural fit hypothesis suggests, the function of attachment anxiety and avoidance on individuals' well-being in Turkey may diverge from the pattern typically observed in the United States.

Based on the "culture fit" hypothesis (Friedman et al., 2010), we suggest that attachment avoidance is relatively strongly and negatively associated with individuals' happiness in Turkey, whereas attachment anxiety is more strongly and negatively associated with happiness in the United States. We used life satisfaction as a general indicator of happiness and asked participants from the community samples the same single item used in World Values Survey: "Taking all things together, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" We tested our prediction using two data sets from Turkey and the US that includes both measures of adult attachment dimensions and life-satisfaction.

10.5   Study I

Using a very large data set from Turkey as part of a study on attachment, caregiving, and family dynamics in Turkey (Sümer et al., 2009), we tested if attachment avoidance and anxiety predicts life satisfaction differently for married men and women using dyadic analyses. Specifically, consistent with the previous studies in Turkey, we expect that attachment avoidance would be lower than attachment anxiety for both wives and husbands (e.g., Sümer, Sakman, Harma, & Savaş, 2016). We also predicted that attachment avoidance would have a stronger relationship with LS than with attachment anxiety among Turkish people.

10.6   Method

Participants and procedure. Mothers and fathers were recruited via their children attending fourth and fifth grade in four large cities in Turkey. They were asked to complete a survey battery including measures of attachment anxiety, avoidance and life satisfaction. Two separate envelopes containing the set of measures were sent to 2132 couples via their children and they were specifically asked to fill out the survey on their own. Of the participants, 1553 were wives with an average age of 36.39 years (*SD* = 4.83) and 1438 were husbands with an average age of 40.67 years (*SD* = 5.37). To run Actor-Partner Interdependence Model (APIM) analyses, we included only intact families, and thus 325 wives and 210 husbands were excluded from the data set. This left 1228 married couples in the final sample. The mean duration of

marriage was 14.54 years (SD = 4.38). Detailed information about the sample is available in Harma and Sümer (2016).

10.7   Measures

Attachment dimensions. The attachment dimensions of anxiety and avoidance were measured using the Turkish translation (Selçuk, Günaydın, Sümer, & Uysal, 2005) of Experiences in Close Relationships-Revised (ECR-R) developed by Fraley et al., (2000). The ECR-R consists of two 18-item scales, one measuring attachment related anxiety and the other measuring attachment related avoidance. The avoidance subscale assesses individual's discomfort with closeness, dependence, and self- disclosure (e.g., 'I am nervous when my partner gets too close to me'). The anxiety subscale reflects individuals' strong need for closeness, fear of rejection, and abandonment (e.g., 'I often worry that my partner doesn't really love me'). Participants responded to each item on a 5-point Likert scale. Both dimensions had satisfactory internal consistencies for women and men, with Cronbach's alpha scores varying between .83 to .88.

Life satisfaction. Life satisfaction was measured using a single item: "Taking all things together, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" This item is commonly used in international studies of happiness such as World Values Survey (2008). The respondents provided their ratings on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = not satisfied, 6 = very satisfied).

10.8   Results

Descriptive statistics are presented separately for both spouses in Table 10.1. There were significant gender differences on attachment dimensions. As expected, wives' attachment anxiety (M = 2.24, SD = 0.61) was significantly higher than that of husbands (M = 2.12, SD = 0.55) (*Paired t* (1227) = 5.90*, p* < .001). We also tested our hypothesis that attachment avoidance would be lower than attachment anxiety in this Turkish community sample. Consistent with our expectation, results demonstrated that attachment avoidance (M = 1.69, SD = 0.61) was lower than attachment anxiety (M = 2.18, SD = 0.58) with a large effect size (Cohen's *d* = .82), (t (2455) = 38.05, p < .001).

We tested our main hypotheses by employing the APIM analysis for distinguishable partners with SEM following the guidelines of Kenny, Kashy, and Cook (2006). First, the saturated model was tested by adding the correlations between all predictors (i.e., couples' attachment dimensions) and correlated errors between husbands and wives' life satisfaction. As illustrated in Fig. 10.1, the saturated model yielded a significant effect (χ^2 (9); the baseline model = 497.69, p < .001). As seen in Fig. 10.1, actor effects on life satisfaction for attachment avoidance and attachment

Table 10.1 Means, standard deviations, and correlations for variables in Study 1

	Attachment anxiety	Attachment avoidance	Life satisfaction
Attachment anxiety	.26**	.44**	−.27**
Attachment avoidance	.42**	.38**	−.43**
Life satisfaction	−.17**	−.26**	.35**
Wives			
M	2.24	1.69	4.95
SD	.61	.63	.95
Husbands			
M	2.12	1.69	4.94
SD	.55	.58	.89

Note. Correlations on the diagonal are cross-partner correlations. Correlations below the diagonal are for husbands and above the diagonal are for wives
**$p < .01$
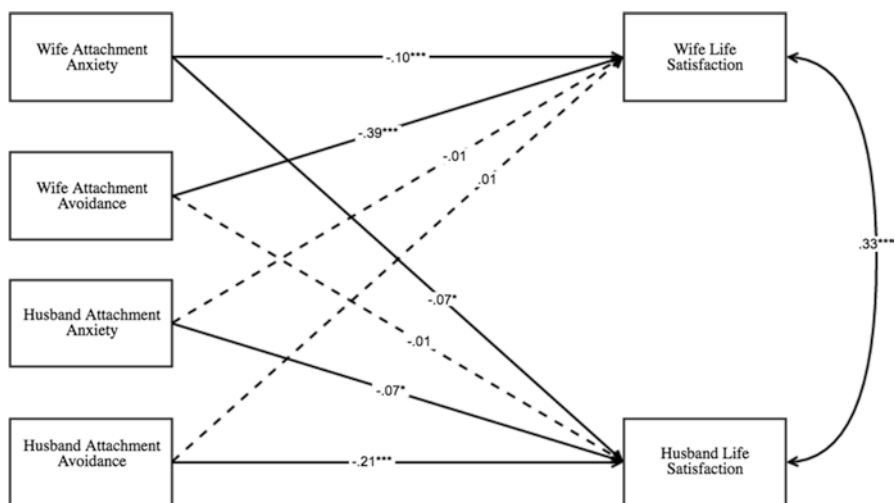
Fig. 10.1 APIM analyses in predicting life satisfaction from couples' attachment dimensions. *Note.* Dashed lines indicate non-significant associations (N = 1228)*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

anxiety were significant for both men and women. However, the effect size for attachment avoidance was much stronger than attachment anxiety for both wives (Beta = −.39 vs. −.10) and husbands (Beta = −. 21 vs. −.07).

To specifically answer the question of whether a wife's attachment avoidance predicts her life satisfaction more strongly than attachment anxiety, the link from wife anxiety to wife's life satisfaction and the link from wife avoidance to wife's life satisfaction were set to be equal. The Wald test suggested that attachment avoidance

(−.39) had higher predictive power than attachment anxiety for wives (−.10); Wald (1) = 33, 30, p < .001. Similarly, the link from husband anxiety to husband's life satisfaction and the link from husband avoidance to husband's life satisfaction were set as equal to see whether their predictive power would be equal or not. Wald test showed that attachment avoidance (−.21) had higher predictive power than attachment anxiety for husbands as well (−.07); Wald (1) = 6, 91, p < .05. Overall, these findings are consistent with our prediction. Besides the actor effects, wives' attachment anxiety had also a weak but significant partner effect (*Beta* = −.07, *p* < .05) on husbands' life satisfaction.

10.9   Discussion

Study 1, involving a large community sample of married couples from Turkey, confirmed that attachment avoidance is less prevalent than attachment anxiety in this collectivist culture. In dyadic analyses, both attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety predicted life satisfaction among men and women. However, in line with the proposed hypothesis, attachment avoidance was found to be a stronger predictor of life satisfaction in Turkey. Surprisingly, attachment avoidance had only significant actor effects, but not significant partner effects. In other words, one's attachment avoidance does not impact his/her spouse's LS. Using the same data set, Harma and Sümer (2016) found that both wife's and husband's attachment avoidance have significant partner effects on marital satisfaction. Therefore, it seems that although attachment avoidance had more detrimental effect in relationships satisfaction, it only negatively influences one's own life satisfaction. It is also plausible that as with one's cognitive evaluation of SWB, LS does spill over its effects in intimate relationships. This issue should be examined further.

Moreover, unlike Harma and Sümer's (2016) findings on marital satisfaction, attachment anxiety had a weak but significant actor effect on life satisfaction and the wives' attachment anxiety had a significant partner effect. These findings suggest that in addition to the predominant effect of attachment avoidance, attachment anxiety also aggravates life satisfaction. This suggestion is in line with the argument that insecurely attached individuals mostly experience negative emotions rather than positive ones, especially in response to a partner's happiness (see Mikulincer & Shaver, 2013). It seems that negative emotionality leading to life dissatisfaction is not uncommon among anxiously attached people, although its detrimental effects would be more intense in individualist cultures.

10.10   Study II

Study I examined the association between the attachment dimensions and life satisfaction in Turkey only and supported our expectation that attachment avoidance, but not attachment anxiety, strongly predicts life satisfaction. To test our cultural claim, this should be confirmed by comparing collectivistic and individualistic cultures. Consistent with the culture-fit hypothesis, we predicted that attachment avoidance in Turkey and attachment anxiety in the United States will be predominant predictors of LS. Moreover, we predicted that attachment anxiety will be higher than attachment avoidance in Turkey and that the reverse will be true in the United States.

10.11   Participants and Procedure

In the framework of a cross-cultural study, mothers from the United States (N = 91) and Turkey (N = 89) who had children in middle childhood were recruited using convenience sampling in two major universities in Ithaca, New York and Ankara, Turkey. The mean age of participants in the United States was 40.95 (SD = 4.03) and in Turkey the mean age was 30.75 (SD = 7.12). Mothers in both samples were from middle SES families and the majority were university graduates (the US 70.3%, Turkey 80.7.%).

Mothers' adult attachment dimensions and LS in both countries were assessed using the same measures as in Study I. Cronbach's alpha values for attachment anxiety were .81 and .93, and for attachment avoidance they were .91 and .95 for the United States and Turkey, respectively.

10.12   Results

As seen in Table 10.2, attachment avoidance (Mean = 2.12, SD = 0.58) was higher than attachment anxiety (Mean = 1.80, SD = 0.70) in the United States (*Paired t* (91) = 4.92 *p*<. 001), whereas these two attachment dimensions were not significantly different from each other in Turkey (*Paired t* (89) = −.52, ns). As expected, attachment anxiety was higher in Turkey compared to the United States (*F* (179) = 4.11, *p* < .05). However, there was no significant difference in attachment avoidance between the two countries (*F* (179) = 2.20, ns). Finally, United States mothers reported marginally higher level of life satisfaction (Mean = 4.97, SD = 0.78) than Turkish mothers (Mean = 4.74, SD = 0.96) (*F* (179) = 2.71, *p* < .10) (See Table 10.2).

Attachment anxiety and avoidance were significantly correlated with life satisfaction both in the United States (*r* = −.49, *p* < .001 and *r* = −.31, *p* < .01, respectively) and Turkey (*r* = −.51, *p* < .001 and *r* = −.60, *p* < .001, respectively). Next,

Table 10.2 Means, Standard deviations, and correlations for the major variables in Turkey and the US

	Attachment anxiety	Attachment avoidance	Life satisfaction
Attachment anxiety	–	.55**	−.49**
Attachment avoidance	.71**	–	−.31**
Life satisfaction	−.51**	−.60*	–
The USA			
M	1.80	2.12	4.97
SD	.58	.69	.78
Turkey			
M	2.01	1.97	4.75
SD	.66	.69	.95

Note. Correlations below the diagonal are for Turkish mothers and above the diagonal are for the US mothers
**$p < .01$

we ran regression analyses on two samples separately to predict life satisfaction from attachment anxiety and avoidance. In line with the proposed hypothesis, life satisfaction was predicted by attachment avoidance only in Turkey (Beta = −.49, $p < .001$), and by attachment anxiety only in the USA (Beta = −.45, $p < .001$).

10.13   Discussion

Study 2 pursued the question of cultural variability in attachment dimensions by comparing data from collectivistic and individualistic cultural domains. This study measured mothers' adult attachment dimensions and life satisfaction in Turkey and the United States. Once again, in line with the proposed hypothesis, attachment avoidance was found to be higher than attachment anxiety in the individualistic context of United States. Furthermore, attachment anxiety was found to be relatively higher in Turkey. Both insecure attachment dimensions, anxious and avoidant, were correlated with life satisfaction in the United States and Turkey. However, life satisfaction was predicted only by attachment avoidance in Turkey and by attachment anxiety in the United States.

10.14   General Discussion

"Feeling good"—namely, positive emotions, are the essence of SWB, though what one feels good about is mostly culturally constructed. The focus in the current investigation was on LS, representing the cognitive dimension of happiness. We argued

that the link between the two fundamental dimensions of attachment and LS should be examined considering the fit between cultural emotional patterns and attachment orientations.

Attachment as the fundamental emotional bond is influenced by cultural construals. We believe that because attachment avoidance is characteristically a disengaging feeling, it fits the independent, individualist relational style. Likewise, attachment anxiety is characteristically an extremely engaging feeling, and fits with the interdependent, collectivistic relational style. In this framework, we proposed that differences in insecure attachment patterns, namely anxious and avoidant attachment, would have varying effects on life satisfaction in different cultural domains. In particular, we hypothesized and found that attachment avoidance is strongly and negatively associated with individuals' happiness in Turkey, whereas attachment anxiety is strongly and negatively associated with happiness in the US.

Overall, the findings from both studies are in line with the cultural fit hypothesis (Friedman et al., 2010), suggesting that culturally incongruent attachment orientations would have a stronger impact on relationship quality where attachment avoidance in collectivist cultures and attachment anxiety in individualistic cultures predicts relationship functioning and subjective well-being (Sümer, 2015). The studies reported in this chapter extend the findings supporting cultural fit hypothesis on relationship functioning to LS.

The evidence presented in this chapter opens up possibilities for using a novel strategy to promote well-being through attachment security. This strategy would not only identify and focus on insecure attachment as a potential threat to the quality of relationships and life satisfaction, but should also consider culturally relevant approaches, especially considering the prevalence of anxious and avoidant attachment patterns in a given culture (see Sümer & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010).

Further research should explore the interplay between culturally shaped emotions (especially engaging and disengaging ones) and attachment dimensions to see how this interplay explains "emotional fit" and leads to happiness in varying cultural contexts. Considering positive engaging emotions are the common factor for both attachment security and happiness, future research should investigate the cultural aspects of "broaden-and-build consequences" (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2015), of attachment security, and of positive emotions in order to enhance happiness globally.

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Chapter 11
Reconciliation Sentiment, Forgiveness, and Mental Health Among Genocide Victims

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Abstract In this chapter, a set of studies conducted by the authors in post-genocide Rwanda and post-civil war Angola is reported. These studies (a) examine the conceptualizations people living in these countries have regarding reconciliation sentiment, (b) quantitatively assess the relationship between reconciliation sentiment and mental health in a group of victims and in a group of perpetrators of the genocide in Rwanda, and, (c) assess the link between forgivingness – the disposition to forgive on a daily basis – and the reconciliation process. They show that the people in Rwanda and Angola have articulated conceptualizations regarding the nature of reconciliation sentiment, and that these conceptualizations are consistent with the way victims personally experience reconciliation. Only one type of reconciliation sentiment, the one corresponding to a renewed capacity to live together, hear each other, work together, and to forge compromises on a daily basis, is associated with mental health. Unconditional forgivingness appears to be a strong promoter of this reconciliation sentiment.

Positive relationships between people living in the same area are the basis of productive collaboration, and intra-group as well as inter-group collaboration is vital to attain goals that cannot be attained by working in isolation. People living in collaborative groups are less exposed to external threats and are cared for in case of illness or injury. They benefit from common resources such as drink, food, information regarding the immediate environment, and, more generally, education. People living in these groups also participate in collective rituals and have fun in local festivals. In summary, they are bound to live longer, to have more children, and to enjoy a

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better life than people living in isolation or people living in groups where interpersonal relationships are severed. This chapter focuses on the relationship between victims and perpetrators in the framework of reconciliation.

After a period of political violence, a country must rebuild its material infrastructure– roads, schools, hospitals, farms, and factories, for instance. It must also rebuild trust and cooperation between people–that is, its psychological infrastructure. Ravaged countries usually lack vital resources such as money, raw materials, and technicians. Thus, the rebuilding of material infrastructure is inevitably a challenging task. The rebuilding of psychological infrastructure is no less daunting. After genocide, rebuilding trust and cooperation between killers, passerby, and survivors seems to be an unattainable objective.

Rebuilding trust and cooperation is, however, a necessary objective (Kaufman, 2006). Enduring dissension, lasting resentment, and the spirit of revenge can only generate diminished well-being and happiness. A series of studies conducted in the United States and Western Europe using young university students have shown that forgiveness is associated with enhanced wellbeing but that this association is primarily found among students who were closely related before the offense (Karremans, Van Lange, Ouwerkerk, & Kluwer, 2003). In other words, forgiveness would enhance well-being based on the fact that reconciliation can occur between former partners. Longitudinal studies suggest that the link between forgiving and well-being may be a causal one (Bono, McCullough, & Root, 2008). Damaged psychological infrastructure may also be a serious impediment to the rebuilding of material infrastructure; in an atmosphere of suspicion, a country cannot quickly redevelop and prosperity is delayed as a result. It is, for these reasons, necessary to examine how former opponents in countries that have experienced bloody internal conflicts are able to reconcile and to feel reconciled.

This chapter reviews a set of studies conducted in Rwanda and Angola, which (a) examine the conceptualizations people have regarding reconciliation sentiment, (b) quantitatively assess the relationship between the reconciliation sentiment and mental health in a group of victims and in a group of perpetrators of the genocide, and, finally (c) assess the role of forgivingness – the disposition to forgive on a daily basis – in the reconciliation process.

11.1   From European-Style Justice to Reconciliation

During the years following the genocide, the government of Rwanda prioritized putting an end to the culture of impunity that reigned during most of the preceding period. The government and the international community implemented two types of jurisdictions: The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the National Tribunals for Judging Genocide Acts. The Truth and Reconciliation model was not considered as an option. For the survivors of the genocide and for the combatants who put an end to it, reconciliation was an unthinkable concept, and thus the term was never publicly mentioned. Appropriate punishment was considered to be the precondition for national peace. Although the justice system was quickly rebuilt, by

2001 less than 4% of the people who were imprisoned had been judged. It was evident that it would take decades to bring all of the accused to trial.

To deal with this intractable challenge, senior Rwandans began considering other forms of justice. They suggested that a traditional Rwandan community based conflict resolution device called *gacaca* be officially reinstated. They stated that this kind of local jurisdiction, once its precise aims and missions had been redefined, could judge those accused of participation in the massacres. In 2001, the law instituting the *gacaca* courts was finally issued. An important societal feature of the *modernized gacaca* program was that it was launched in the name of reconciliation and national unity.

The traditional *gacaca* courts were an early example of what is now called restorative justice. Their main function was to restore social harmony in the community as much as possible by paying close attention to the claims and needs of both the victims as well as the offenders. Although the restorative approach is not a strictly legalistic one, it nevertheless puts value upon telling the truth and demonstrating some measure of remorse and contrition. Therefore, the *modernized gacaca* process showed an inclination on the part of the Rwandese government to distance itself from European-style punitive justice philosophy and to find inspiration from traditional, African approaches in order to promote reconciliation and healing in the country.

11.2   Reconciliation

The precise meaning of the term "reconciliation" depends on the degree to which trust and cooperation have been restored between former opponents. Four levels can be distinguished. At the lowest level, reconciliation does not mean more than acquiescence and submission, because these are the only options available. Reconciliation of this kind may sometimes go hand in hand with impunity for the perpetrators (Opotow, 2001).

At the second level, reconciliation can mean non-lethal coexistence. In these circumstances, civil strife has been stopped, the fury between the parties has subsided, and a *modus vivendi* has been agreed on. Although fighting has been put to rest, the issues that led to the fighting have not been fully resolved. Reconciliation of this kind can be viewed as the "thinner form of reconciliation; that is, refraining one's impulses at insulting or killing the person guilty of severe offences" (Crocker, 2003, p. 54).

At a third, more demanding level, reconciliation can mean democratic reciprocity. In this form of reconciliation, former enemies resume the capability to interact socially and have at least minimal cooperation; that is, they have the capacity to live together, to hear each other, to work together, and to forge compromises on a daily basis. The parties involved agree to commit themselves to reciprocal civility, tolerance, and respect. Political views and grievances are, at least temporarily, put aside so that a process of trying to honestly reconstruct the past may be initiated. This third level of reconciliation has been called trust-building reconciliation (Nadler & Liviatan, 2006).

At a fourth, still more demanding level, reconciliation can mean the complete termination of enmity, the restoration of friendship, and widespread collaboration for the attainment of mutually defined goals. This level implies mutual apologies, mutual forgiveness, and deep changes and adjustments in everyone's cultural values and political attitudes. Reconciliation of this kind can be viewed as the "thicker form of reconciliation" which "implies forgiveness, mercy, mutual healing, and a restored sense of common humanity" (Crocker, 2003, p. 54). It has also been termed socio-emotional reconciliation (Nadler & Liviatan, 2006).

Table 11.1 shows a sample of studies assessing the relationship between reconciliation and well-being in the victims of conflicts. These studies, which involve lay people who have suffered from local conflicts as well as veterans from two bloody wars, show that levels of post-traumatic stress disorder among these groups are positively associated with lasting resentment, non-openness to reconciliation and a desire for revenge, even when the effect of personality traits such as empathy are controlled for.

Table 11.1 Sample of studies that assessed the relationship between reconciliation measurements and well-being measurements among victims of conflicts

Authors	Participants	Main findings
Lopes Cardoso, Kaiser, Gottway, and Agani (Lopes Cardozo, Kaiser, Gotway, & Agani, 2003)	Kosovar Albanians	Participants demonstrating feelings of hatred and/or desire for revenge were about two times more likely than other people to suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder.
Witvliet, Phipps, Feldman, and Beckman (2004)	Help-seeking US Veterans	Dispositional forgiveness was found to be negatively correlated with post-traumatic stress symptoms severity, and with depression and trauma but not with anxiety.
Bayer, Klasen, and Adam (2007)	Former child soldiers in Uganda and Congo	Openness to reconciliation and absence of feelings of revenge were negatively associated with post-traumatic stress symptoms severity.
Hamana-Raz, Solomon, Cohen, and Laufer (Hamama-Raz, Solomon, Cohen, & Laufer, 2008)	Palestinians and Jewish adolescents	Lasting resentment was positively associated with post-traumatic stress symptoms severity. Mental distress was higher among Israeli Palestinians than among their Jewish counterparts.
Myers, Hewstone, and Cairns (2009)	Northern Irish adults	Intergroup forgiveness was weakly associated with mental health. Forgiveness and guilt possibly acted as mediators in the relationship between impact of conflict and mental health.
Natheghian, Shirinzadeh Dastgiri, and Mullet (2015).	Iranian Veteran from the 1980–88 Iran-Irak war	Lasting resentment and post-traumatic stress symptoms severity were positively associated, even once empathy and hope levels were controlled for.

11.3 Reconciliation Sentiment

The term *reconciliation sentiment* was introduced by Shamir and Shikaki (2002). It refers to the personal, intimate feeling of being reconciled, at least to a certain level, with the people who have severely harmed you. Considering reconciliation at a personal level is essential. Reconciliation can only be attained in a country if a large majority of people (both former victims and former perpetrators) personally feel that they are reconciled with their opponents (as groups or individuals) (Azar, Mullet, & Vinsonneau, 1999).

Hayner (2002) clearly distinguishes individual from national/political reconciliation. The goal of political entities is to promote reconciliation at a national level. Attainment of this goal implies careful public analysis of past conflicts and public acknowledgement by both parties of abuses and atrocities. Individual reconciliation is loosely linked to the national/political process. Healing and reconciliation are, by nature, deeply individual processes that depend in large part on personal and local circumstances. There is no reason why becoming aware of the whole truth would immediately lead an individual victim to reconcile with his or her individual perpetrator. According to a Tutsi survivor, "reconciliation should be between the victim and the person responsible" (Lambourne, 2001, p. 315).

11.4 Conceptualization and Measurement of Reconciliation Sentiment

Longman, Pham and Weinstein (2004) have examined the way that the Rwandese conceptualize reconciliation. According to these authors, reconciliation is thought of as the "process whereby individuals, social groups, and institutions develop a shared vision and sense of collective future (community); establish mutual ties and obligations across lines of social demarcation (interdependence); accept and actively promote individual rights, rule of law, tolerance and social diversity, and equality of opportunity (social justice); and adopt non-violent alternatives to conflict management (non-violence)" (p. 207). These authors developed a 29 item-questionnaire based on their conceptualizations of people living in Rwanda and found four factors: (a) social justice (e.g., if my neighbor were in trouble, I would assist him, no matter what his ethnicity is), (b) non-violence (e.g., it is inappropriate for government authorities to ask civilians to use arms to promote a political party), (c) community (e.g., trust among neighbors has improved since 1994), and (d) interdependence (e.g., have you shared a drink with a member of another ethnicity during the past month?).

Mukashema and Mullet (2010a, 2010b) explored the way that Rwandese people conceptualize the reconciliation sentiment as a intimate construct. They were fully aware of the risk of introducing into the study their personal, Western-style conceptualizations about reconciliation and the reconciliation sentiment. Therefore, they

Table 11.2 Results of the confirmatory factor analysis on the data from the conceptualizations of reconciliation sentiment questionnaire applied to a sample of Angolan participants

	Factors	
Feeling reconciled with the people who harmed you means that…	Intra	Inter
… you can now be in control of yourself when you are in their presence.	.64	
… you can now tolerate that the people who harmed you have opinions that differ from yours.	.51	
… you can put up with the fact that that the people who harmed you disagree with you.	.39	
… you can keep calm when you are in the presence of the people who harmed you.	.46	
… you can control yourself when the people who harmed you are evoked in a discussion.	.57	
… you can keep being yourself in the presence of the people who harmed you.	.91	
… you are willing to share pleasurable activities again with the people who harmed you.		.61
… you can now try to be liked by the people who harmed you.		.53
… you feel now that you and the people who harmed you are part of the same community of destiny		.42
… you are now on good terms with the people who harmed you.		.49
… you now wish the best for the people who harmed you.		.38
… you are now in agreement with the people who harmed you on a certain number of issues concerning the past.		.54

decided to systematically explore the psychological structure of this sentiment using the Rwandese people's own terms and definitions.

They first interviewed a small sample of victims who helped create a preliminary set of items. This set was then shown to a focus group that suggested additional items based on people's personal experience. Items that were judged as ambiguous were reformulated. The augmented list was presented to another group of people and the process was repeated until no additional items were suggested. The final questionnaire, written in Kinyarwanda, comprised 47 items (see examples in Table 11.2) that were presented to 262 participants aged 18–70.

Of these participants, 160 declared having directly or indirectly suffered from the genocide. They were either primary victims (widows or children of killed people) or secondary victims (from families that have lost one or several of their members during the genocide). The other participants were tertiary victims–that is, they suffered from the chaotic situation that the country was plunged into during the genocide and in its aftermath. Special efforts were made to contact people from different villages, boroughs, and towns, as well as from different educational levels. This effort was made in order to maximize the representativeness of the sample as much as possible.

An exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the raw data and a two-factor solution was retained. The first factor explained 26% of the observed variance in ratings. It was called *Interpersonal Component of Reconciliation Sentiment*, since it loaded on items that expressed the resumption of trust and collaboration (e.g.,

Feeling reconciled with the people who harmed you means that you feel that you are now willing to share pleasurable activities again with these people; … means that you feel that you can now leave it to the judgment of these people). This factor is similar to what Nadler and Liviatan (2006) termed trust-building reconciliation or, as is is called here, trust-building reconciliation sentiment.

The second factor explained 14% of the variance. It is called *Intra-personal Component of Reconciliation Sentiment,* since it loaded on items that only expressed the capacity to control oneself when in the presence of the offenders (e.g., Feeling reconciled with the people who harmed you means that you don't harbor violent feelings towards the people who harmed you; … means that you can control yourself when the people who harmed you are mentioned in a conversation). This factor corresponded to what Crocker (2003) termed the thinner form of reconciliation, or in this case the thinner form of reconciliation sentiment.

Due to the situation in Rwanda at the time of the study (2008) it was unlikely that many items expressing the first level of reconciliation defined above – acquiescence and submission – would be suggested by the focus groups. Thus, it was difficult to find a factor expressing this view. For the same reason, it was unlikely that a factor expressing the fourth level of reconciliation defined above (i.e., mutual apologies, mutual forgiveness) would surface. Despite efforts made by the government to promote reconciliation at a deeper level than mere coexistence through the *gacaca* courts, it was probably too early to find strong evidence for a factor expressing the development of an apology-forgiveness cycle on a large scale.

Two scores were computed by averaging the values of the six items with the highest loadings on each of the two factors, and no loading higher than .30 on the other factor (alpha values of .78 and .81). Not surprisingly, the interpersonal component of reconciliation sentiment (M = 12.27) was rated as more typical of reconciliation than the intra-personal component (M = 9.99). The correlation between these factors was .25.

The robustness of this two-factor model was subsequently assessed using another sample that also experienced bloody conflicts (Neto, Pinto, Mukashema, & Mullet, 2010). The participants in this confirmatory study were 167 young adults aged 18–28 who lived in Luanda, Angola, and who directly or indirectly suffered from the country's civil war. They were presented with the two sets of six items (written in Portuguese, the official language in Angola) that were selected on the basis of the results from the exploratory analysis reported above.

The model tested by confirmatory factor analysis is shown in Table 11.2. All path coefficients are significant, and the fit is good according to the usual criteria ($Chi^2/df = 2.19$, GFI = .90, RMSEA = .08 [.06–.10], RMR = .08). Therefore, the two-factor model of reconciliation sentiment, extracted from the data gathered on the Rwandese sample, appears to be a robust and meaningfully reactive one. The difference between the score observed for the interpersonal component in the Angolan sample (M = 9.73) was significantly lower than the corresponding score observed in the Rwandese sample (M = 12.27). This difference may be attributed to the fact that in Rwanda, many victims and perpetrators who lived in close vicinity before the genocide kept living in the same places after the genocide. In Angola, by contrast,

victims and perpetrators are not locally intermixed to such a degree, and thus daily interaction can be more easily avoided.

11.5   Reconciliation Sentiment and Mental Health

Longman et al., (2004) correlated the measurements of reconciliation derived from their four-factor model with measures of post-traumatic stress disorders. They show a negative association between trauma level/disorder severity and three of the four factors. The less the participants agreed with the content of the interdependence items, the community items, and the violence items, the more they showed symptom of trauma. Odd ratios were in the .70–.80 range.

By rewording the twelve items of conceptualizations that were previously selected and tested, Mukashema and Mullet (2010a, 2010b) created their Reconciliation Sentiment Questionnaire (RSQ). They assessed the association between reconciliation sentiment and mental health among victims of the genocide using the 30-item version of the General Health Questionnaire (Goldberg & Williams, 1988). This questionnaire measures recurring troubles that are negatively associated with well-being and happiness, such as sleeping problems, anxiety, and perceptions of personal difficulties.

A total of 194 victims of the genocide living in the southern province in Rwanda were presented with both questionnaires. The sample contained individuals between the ages of 18 and 69. Ninety-five percent of these participants declared that they had directly suffered from the genocide, while the remaining participants were secondary victims.

A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted on the 12-item RSQ. The model used was the correlated two-factor model that is shown in Table 11.2. The fit of the model was good according to the usual criteria (GFI = .93, RMSEA = .06[.04–.08]). The correlation between the two factors was .27. The intra-personal score was significantly higher ($M = 6.66$ on a 0–10 scale) than the interpersonal score ($M = 4.90$). Most participants (75% with a score higher than the median) agreed with the view that they can live in close contact with their perpetrators without experiencing strong desires of violence, but a plurality (43%) expressed a strong renewed trust-type reconciliation sentiment. These values were consistent with findings reported by Gibson (2004), who assessed levels of inter-racial reconciliation between blacks and whites in South Africa, as well as with Shamir and Shikaki's (2002) findings regarding Palestinians and Israelis.

The overall mental health score of the sample is about 2 (out of 4), and 8% have a mean score higher than 3. In other words, with regard to daily life concerns, most participants express some level of unease and less than 1 in 10% express medium to strong levels of unease. Age and educational levels are associated with daily life

concerns (r = .30 and − .24, respectively), and female participants are in generally poorer mental health (M = 2.13) than male participants (M = 1.87). These values are, however, only slightly higher than those reported by Mäkikangas et al. (2006) who conducted a survey on a large European sample using the same tool and reported a mean score of 1.98. Fifteen years after the end of the genocide, survivors have largely recovered. These values are in contrast to findings by Carney (1994), who, in a study carried out just months after the events in Rwanda, showed that 90% of all survivors of the genocide showed clinical signs of psychological trauma.

The interpersonal component of the reconciliation sentiment (but not the intra-personal component) is significantly correlated with the mental health score (r = −.38). A stepwise regression analysis was conducted with mental health as the criterion and age, gender, educational level, and the scores of the interpersonal component of reconciliation sentiment as the predictors. When the demographic characteristics were entered first, they explained 12% of the variance. When the interpersonal score was entered second, it explained an additional 15% of the variance (R = .52). These findings support the view that, among victims of the genocide, an association exists between reconciliation sentiment and mental health (Bayer et al., 2007). It is, however, the renewed capacity to interact again on a daily basis with former opponents that is associated with increases in mental health.

Mukashema and Mullet (2010b) assessed the robustness of these findings by analyzing a sample of perpetrators of the genocide. Ninety-three males (aged 29–65) who confessed that they had directly taken part in the genocide were presented with a version of the RSQ that was slightly altered. The expression 'the people who have harmed you' was replaced by the expression 'the people who you have harmed'). At the time of the study, the participants were building houses for the widows of the genocide.

A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted on the data from the RSQ. The fit of the model was good according to the usual criteria (GFI = .95, RMSEA = .03[.00–.08]). The intra-personal score is reasonably high (M = 6.51 out of 10) and the interpersonal score is still higher (M = 9.00). This finding, although quite surprising, is consistent with what was found in previous studies. For example, in Gibson's (2004) study where levels of inter-racial reconciliation between blacks and whites in South Africa were assessed, white participants systematically expressed more reconciled views than did black participants (see also Shamir & Shikaki, 2002).

The mental health score in this sample is about 2, and 9% of participants express medium to strong level of unease. Most participants, therefore, express levels of unease that are practically identical to those found among the victims. The interpersonal component (but not the intra-personal component) is significantly correlated with the mental health score (r = −.40). Age and educational level has no effect on mental health score. Therefore, as with the victims, it is essentially the renewed capacity to interact again on a daily basis with former opponents that is associated with mental health.

11.6 Forgivingness, Reconciliation Sentiment and Mental Health

Mukashema and Mullet (2013) further explored the association between reconciliation sentiment and mental health by examining the role of forgivingness–that is, the disposition to forgive in daily life. When conducting their study on the impact of reconciliation sentiment on mental health, the authors realized that some of the victims have shown a remarkably high level of reconciliation sentiment even though very few perpetrators have directly apologized to them (Kanyangara, Rimé, Philippot, & Yzerbyt, 2007).

Forgiveness has been defined as the "forswearing of negative affect and judgment by viewing the wrongdoer with compassion and love in the face of a wrongdoer's considerable injustice" (Enright et al., 1991, p. 123). Using a dispositional approach, Roberts (1995) defined forgiveness as "the disposition to abort one's anger (or altogether to miss getting angry) at persons one takes to have wronged one culpably, by seeing them in the benevolent terms provided by reasons characteristic of forgiving" (p. 290). Forgivingness is thus not a personality trait that manifests itself in most circumstances in life. Forgiveness – a change of heart – only applies to particular circumstances (and particular offenses).

Forgivingness is a psychological construct that comprises three empirically separable aspects: lasting resentment, sensitivity to the circumstances of the offense, and unconditional forgiveness (Ballester, Muñoz Sastre, & Mullet, 2009). Lasting resentment is the tendency to persist in negative emotions and negative cognitions and to exhibit avoidance behaviors towards offenders even in the presence of positive circumstances. Sensitivity to circumstances encompasses the ability to analyze the pros and cons of harmful situations, and to build on the many circumstances of these situations in deciding whether to forgive or not to forgive. Unconditional forgiveness is the tendency to harbor positive attitudes towards the offender even in the absence of positive circumstances (e.g., As far as I am concerned, I can easily forgive even if the offender has not begged for forgiveness). Unconditional forgiveness has been shown to be essentially a reflection of one's conceptualization of ideal forgiveness or divine forgiveness (Akl & Mullet, 2010), and can be viewed as the product of a type of personal, spiritual growth that is relatively independent of external influences. This ternary structure has been shown to be cross-culturally robust (Bugay & Mullet, 2013; Mullet & Neto, 2016).

A total of 101 primary victims living in the southern province, aged 18–70, were presented with the Lasting Resentment, the Sensitivity to the Circumstances of the Offense, and the Unconditional Forgiveness scales of the Forgivingness Questionnaire alongside the RSQ and six items taken from the General Health Questionnaire (Goldberg & Williams, 1988). The participants expressed an elevated level of lasting resentment ($M = 5.17$ out of 10). By comparison, in studies conducted in Western Europe, scores comprised between 1.5 and 2.5 are usually reported (Akl & Mullet, 2010). However, this mean score is quite similar to the one reported in a study on incarcerated people (Menezes Fonseca & Mullet, 2012).

Participants express a level of sensitivity to circumstances (M = 6.62) that is similar to the one reported in other studies, and a high level of unconditional forgiveness (M = 6.60).

As expected, the correlation coefficient between mental health and the interpersonal score was quite high ($r = -.47$). Additionally, the correlation was .48 between the interpersonal score and unconditional forgiveness. All other coefficients were somewhat lower, for instance, between the intrapersonal score and lasting resentment it was .31, and between mental health and unconditional forgiveness it was .20.

A first forced stepwise regression analysis was conducted in order to assess the impact of unconditional forgiveness on the interpersonal component of reconciliation sentiment once the other variables are controlled for. As a result, this analysis involved the interpersonal component of reconciliation sentiment as the criteria and age, gender and the three forgivingness measurements as predictors. In the first step, all the predictors were included, except for unconditional forgiveness. The part of variance explained was low (7% of the variance), and non-significant. In the second step, unconditional forgiveness was introduced. The explained part of variance increased from 7% to 31%, and this increase was significant.

A second forced stepwise regression analysis was conducted in order to assess the impact of interpersonal component of reconciliation sentiment on mental health once the other variables are controlled for. This analysis involved mental health as the criteria and age, gender, the three forgivingness measurements, and the two reconciliation sentiment measurements as predictors. In the first step, all the predictors were included except for the interpersonal reconciliation score. The portion of variance that was explained (11%) was not significant. In the second step, the interpersonal reconciliation score was introduced. The explained part of variance increased from 11% to 25%, and this increase (14%) was significant.

A strong, positive association was found between the interpersonal component of reconciliation sentiment and unconditional forgiveness, whereas no significant associations were found involving lasting resentment or sensitivity to circumstances. This pattern of associations is consistent with the view already expressed that, as very few perpetrators have directly apologized, the only way for the victims to achieve a state of forgiveness is through unconditionally forgiving them. The association that was found in the previous study between the interpersonal component of reconciliation sentiment and mental health was replicated, and the association that was found between unconditional forgiveness and mental health, although significant, was weak. In the particular case of Rwanda, therefore, forgivingness is associated with mental health only to the extent that forgivingness can fuel interpersonal reconciliation sentiment.

The unexpected positive association between lasting resentment and the intrapersonal component of reconciliation sentiment may help explain the nature of this sentiment. Lasting resentment is felt mostly among the resentful people. Intrapersonal reconciliation sentiment (non-lethal coexistence) probably has nothing to do with simple indifference and cannot, as a result, be conducive to good mental health.

11.7 Implications

The main messages conveyed in this set of studies are that: (a) Rwandan and Angolan people have articulated conceptualizations regarding the nature of reconciliation sentiment, (b) these conceptualizations are consistent with the way the victims personally experience reconciliation, (c) only one type of reconciliation sentiment – the renewed capacity to live together, hear each other, work together, and to forge compromises on a daily basis – is associated with mental health and thus with well-being, and (d) unconditional forgivingness – the capacity to forgive on a daily basis even in the absence of positive attitudes or behavior from the offender – is a strong promoter of this reconciliation sentiment. Forgivingness, reconciliation sentiment, and mental health are probably circularly interrelated, and determining the causal links between them is possibly illusory.

When intergroup violence has attained the level of genocide, laboratory-based programs that have been developed to improve social relations are bound to have only limited effects (Cairns, 2005). When a mother sees the man who murdered her daughter each week at the market, what disorder should be identified? Is it meaningful, even ethical, to apply psychological therapy in the hope of helping victims to cope with their problem and adjust to their environment when social relationships and daily life have been so severely distorted (Theidon, 2006)?

Mukashema and Mullet (2010a, 2010b; 2013) suggest that more effective ways to promote reconciliation sentiment and associated mental health would be to rely on diverse, spontaneous expressions of the Rwandese civil society–namely, the many local peacebuilding organizations. Among the many non-governmental peacebuilding organizations working in Rwanda (Insight on conflict, 2016), one can cite (a) the Association of Genocide Widows Agahozo (AVEGA AGAHOZO, 2013), (b) the Association Modeste et Innocent (AMI, 2014), and (c) Never Again Rwanda (2016) as some notable examples.

Some of these organizations were created as local associations quite immediately after the end of the genocide. For example, Agahozo was established in 1995 in order to facilitate the reintegration of traumatized widows back into Rwandan society. Since the beginning, one of the stated objectives of the association is to contribute to national reconstruction through peacebuilding and reconciliation processes. Other organizations are of more recent origin. Modeste et Innocent was established in 2000. It is well known for bringing together former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors in view of facilitating reconciliation through verbal exchanges and direct contact. Never Again Rwanda is a peacebuilding and social justice organization aimed at empowering Rwandans with the opportunity to become active citizens.

Through the efforts of these organizations and many others, citizens have been sensitized to the challenge of reconciliation and led to the understanding that trust-building reconciliation is, in addition to the acceptance of coexistence, absolutely necessary if one desires to individually heal and collectively break the circle of violence that has plagued the country for the last half-century. These organizations

have grouped many Rwandese people together from the cities as well as the countryside who present different levels of education. In Mukashema and Mullet's (2010a, 2010b; 2013) view, the organizations have represented and continue to represent powerful tools as a result of their diversity, through the information they convey, through the interpersonal sharing of emotion they allow (Rimé, 2007), and through the concrete help they provide. For decades, these local movements have made every effort to attain the ambitious objective of reconciliation among the people. In view of the notable link between mental health and reconciliation sentiment evidenced in the present set of studies, they have also silently but powerfully contributed to the healing of the psychological wounds of many.

More research should be conducted on these numerous associations in order to understand their role in the forgiveness-reconciliation process and to assess their effect not only on people's mental health, but also on people's general well-being and happiness. Who created these associations at the local level? What were these people's objectives? Who attends the meetings? What is the emotional climate of these meetings? What kind of information is provided through the exchanges between members? What kind of material help do these associations provide to their members? To what extent do members feel better than non-members? Are some forms of association more effective than others?

Although these grass-root associations have usually a very limited budget, they are certainly able, nevertheless, to provide the most valuable good possible to their members–social relationships in a relatively secure environment. As a result, they represent a model of intervention that is likely to be more effective for restoring victims' mental health, well-being, and happiness than Western style psychotherapies or top-down governmental actions.

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Chapter 12
Cultural Orientations and Well-Being in Greece: Dyad-Level Processes

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Konstantinos Kafetsios

Abstract In this chapter I explore the ways that an individual's independent and interdependent self-construal is related to well-being in dyadic interactions in Greece. Previous research on well-being in Greece, a collectivistic culture, found that peoples' independent self-construal uniquely predicted higher well-being. Yet there is also evidence that those associations are moderated by relationship context, such that higher independent self-construal often results in lower relational well-being in dyadic interactions, especially interactions taking place in close relationships. A study examined links between spouses' own and partners' independent and interdependent self-construal and life satisfaction in Greece. Results from actor-partner interdependence models analyses demonstrated that one's spouse's life satisfaction was positively associated with one's own interdependent self-construal, but was negatively associated with the partner's independent self-construal. Marital satisfaction did not mediate the relationship between chronic interdependence and life satisfaction, but was negatively related to the spouse's interdependent self-construal. These results suggest that being married can promote evaluations of life satisfaction and well-being for persons with higher interdependent self-construal. This finding is in line with the central cultural mandate (collectivism) in Greece. The present chapter discusses the likely dyad-level processes from a socio-cognitive perspective, linking individuals' cultural orientations to individual and cultural level processes.

Across different cultures, social bonds are fundamental human constituents (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) and maintaining satisfying relationships is a basic human need (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Social bonds and relationships are important determinants of peoples' well-being and happiness (Demir & Özdemir, 2010; Saphire-Bernstein & Taylor, 2013). Impaired social and personal relationships are associated with poorer well-being, quality of life, and mental and physical health (House, Landis, & Umberson, 1988). More importantly, the quality of relationships

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accounts for a large proportion of daily variation in subjective and affective aspects of well-being (Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz, & Stone, 2004).

While relationships are important for well-being across cultures, cultural differences in how people relate to one another can partially account for variations in happiness and well-being in different countries (Diener & Suh, 2000). Members of many East Asian cultures consistently report lower levels of well-being compared to members of Western cultures (Diener, Diener, & Diener, 1995). These cultural differences in well-being have been explained with reference to cultural constructions of the self—*independence and interdependence* in particular—that are prevalent in Western versus Eastern cultures, respectively (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Associated with cultural self-construals are differences in the ways that social and personal relationships are experienced (Oishi, Akimoto, Richards, & Suh, 2013).

In this chapter, I explore the links between cultural constructions of the self, relationship contexts, and subjective well-being. This analysis is based on research that has taken place mainly in Greece. Well-being has typically been conceptualized as encompassing global evaluations of life satisfaction and affective assessments of positive and negative emotions (Busseri & Sadava, 2011). The analysis in this chapter focuses on life satisfaction, which is the cognitive/evaluative component of the tri-partite model of well-being (Diener, 2000). Generally, subjective or evaluative aspects of well-being, such as satisfaction with life, are more amenable to socio-cultural influences than affective facets of well-being (e.g., Schimmack, Schupp, & Wagner, 2008).

Despite changes taking place as a result of individuation forces (Georgas, 1989; Giddens, 1991), mean country-level indicators (Hofstede, 2001) and recent studies focusing on social behavior (e.g., Hess, Kafetsios, Mauersberger, Blaison, & Kessler, 2016) suggest that Greece is still characterized by higher collectivistic norms and values than many other countries, including several European countries. One would then expect that, in line with the overarching cultural mandate, higher interdependent self-construal would be a potent predictor of higher well-being in Greece, as it is in other collectivistic cultures (e.g., Uchida, Norasakkunkit, & Kitayama, 2004). This, however, is not so. As a number of studies demonstrate, compared to chronic interdependence, chronic independent self-construal is associated with well-being facets in Greece, such as higher positive affect, lower distress (Kafetsios, 2011), and higher satisfaction with life (Kafetsios & Karaolanis, 2016).

Nevertheless, this trend may be reversed in dyadic social interactions in Greece. In dyadic interactions, higher independence is associated with lower social well-being. This association stands in contrast with how people report experiencing interactions in other, more independent cultures (Nezlek, Kafetsios, & Smith, 2008; Kafetsios & Nezlek, 2012). It is likely that dyadic contexts modulate persons' cultural orientations and culture-level norms regarding social encounters and social interactions. In dyadic interactions, relational values and norms relating to interdependence can be primed (Fitzimons & Bargh, 2003; Oyserman, 2011), thus rendering persons higher on interdependent or independent tendencies in or out of tune with overarching expectations, behaviors and emotions in the associated interactions.

To further explore the moderating role that relationship contexts can play in the link between chronic independence/interdependence and well-being, I present and discuss results from a study on the independent and interdependent self-construal and life-satisfaction of married couples. These measurments are components of subjective well-being. The overarching argument is that dyadic social interactions may constitute a separate level of analysis for understanding facets of well-being in relation to persons' cultural orientations and culture-level norms and values.

12.1 Cultural Orientations and Well-being Facets in Greece: The Individual Level

Self-construal is a central psychological construct (Cross, Hardin, & Gercek-Swing, 2011; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) that is pertinent to peoples' social and personal relationships. It concerns individuals' culturally contingent thoughts, feelings, and actions regarding the self and its connection with others (interdependence) as well as its distance from others (independence). These central representations of the self in relation to others are derived from observations that individualistic— and typically Western—cultures favor an independent self-construal that emphasizes personal autonomy, individual needs, and self-fulfillment. Conversely, collectivistic (usually Eastern) cultures favor an interdependent self-construal which emphasizes relationships with others, obligations, and especially obligations to in-group members (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Several studies that examine the relationship of self-construal and well-being at a person level in Greece suggest that higher independent self-construal is associated with positive emotions and well-being. A study using a community sample finds that higher independence is strongly positively related to positive affect and lower distress (measured with the General Health Questionnaire, Goldberg, 1978) and lower negative affect, whereas higher interdependent self-construal only mildly contributes to lower negative affect (Kafetsios, 2011). Another study with a younger sample finds that chronic independent self-construal is a more potent predictor of certain facets of well-being (higher positive emotion, lower trait and social anxiety, higher self-esteem) than interdependent self-construal (Kafetsios & Karagianopoulos, 2011).

Taken together, the above results suggest that, although at the national level Greece is characterized by higher collectivistic cultural norms and values (Hofstede, 2001), individuals' chronic independent cultural orientations are more strongly and consistently related to aspects of well-being, especially emotional facets, than are chronic interdependence orientations. This consistent finding reflects a partial transition from collectivism to individualism in Greece (see Georgas, 1989). However, these results are also indicative of socio-cognitive processes regarding how individual evaluations or relational contexts may modulate cultural mind-sets and their

propensities for personal and social psychological outcomes (Oishi et al., 2013). This argument is further articulated in the following sections.

12.2 Culture, Relationships and Well-being: Dyadic Interaction Level Processes as Moderators

The above findings regarding individual differences in independent self-construal and well-being suggest that these effects could also extend to relational well-being outcomes in Greece. However, results from several studies on facets of well-being in dyadic social interactions actually contradict this expectation. For example, Nezlek et al. (2008) examine how persons in Greece and in the United Kingdom with chronic independent and interdependent self-construal experience social and personal relationships in dyadic interactions. A multilevel interaction between culture-level norms, persons' chronic self-construal, and affective experience in dyadic interactions was observed. In Greece, participants with higher independent self-construal reported experiencing social interactions in less positive ways (feeling less enthusiastic, happy, active, attentive, and relaxed), compared to independent participants in the United Kingdom, who experienced their dyadic interactions as more emotionally engaging in the same dimensions. These results are consistent with the notion that people whose individual-level values are closer to the cultural norm are happier than individuals whose values are less normative (e.g., Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000). The findings from these studies support a growing body of research that considers emotional well-being to be a product of conformity with culture (e.g., De Leersnyder, Mesquita, & Kim, 2011).

Results from another study comparing emotional and social support in dyadic social interactions in Greece and the United Kingdom provide further support for the assumption that peoples' evaluations of relationship outcomes differ in interdependent and in independent cultures. In their day to day social interactions, university students in Greece reported experiencing positive emotions less intensely and negative emotions more intensely, as well as perceiving that others provided less social support in social interactions, when compared to a sample of university students in the United Kingdom (Kafetsios & Nezlek, 2012[1]). Interestingly, individual self-reports of social support perceptions (collected using the same questions as in the diary study) did not differ between the samples from United Kingdom and Greece. This result provides support for the validity of event sampling research designs. Additionally, chronic interdependence differs in the two samples, with Greek individuals scoring significantly higher on interdependence than participants from the United Kingdom. Finally, a more recent unpublished study found that persons with higher independence in Greece experience less positive emotions in social

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[1] The study took place in 2005.

interactions stemming from more intimate versus less intimate relationships (Kafetsios & Karagiannopoulos, 2011).

In sum, when looking at individual-level well-being indicators in Greece, independent self-construal tends to foster strong relationships with well-being outcomes; yet when one examines the relational aspects, of higher interdependence (or lower independence) are associated with social well-being, such as positive emotions and perceived social support.

One explanation for this apparent divergence between facets of personal and relational well-being that are associated with independent and interdependent cultural orientations may rest with the psychological processes when one is alone as well as those that are activated when one is with another person, especially a close other. In dyadic social interactions, the relational context within which interactions take place is salient and can prime peoples' thoughts and emotional reactions in different ways depending on central cultural mandates (Baldwin, Bagust, Docherty, Browman, & Jackson, 2014; Oyserman, 2011). The premise of this research is that individuals hold both independent and interdependent views of the self (Singelis, 1994) and that these can vary between as well as *within* cultures when primed with appropriate situational circumstances (e.g., relationships, groups, obligations). These primed self-construals can give rise to interdependent or independent mindsets which consequently influence related cognitions, emotion, and behavior (e.g., Oyserman, 2011).

In more interdependent cultures like Greece, social and personal relationships are important for peoples' evaluations. Thus, this cultural circumstance forms a strong prime for relational cognitions, emotions and behavior. For example, in a study where people were asked to evaluate the emotions of targets in groups (Kafetsios & Hess, 2013), participants were found to be more influenced by contextual characteristics of the perceptual task when they were reminded of their close friends and families. From the "culture as situated cognition" perspective (Oyserman & Lee, 2008), the between-culture variation in self-construal is reflected in the within-culture variation that gives rise to independent or interdependent related cognitions and emotions, such as being in relationships or in a group. Therefore, given central cultural norms and values that lean towards interdependence, being in a close intimate relationship can trigger a more interdependent sense of the self, which is associated with more positive social well-being. This assumption is further explored in the following sections. First, the ideas are outlined theoretically, and then they are described empirically on the basis of a study that investigates the relationships of long-term spouses' chronic self-construal orientations and their life satisfaction.

Another likely process has to do with the understanding and rapport experienced in dyadic interactions. How we relate to others and the quality of our social relationships are important aspects of our everyday life that also help to determine our well-being (Gable, Reis, Impett, & Asher, 2004). Individuals who differ in their self-construal also differ in the ways that they experience understanding and rapport, which are critical aspects of well-being (Reis, Clark, & Holmes, 2004). Individuals with independent or interdependent cultural orientations report lower or

higher happiness depending on whether they feel affirmed by the other person in an interaction, whether this affirmation occurs in their personal self (independents) or in their collective self (interdependents; Oishi, Koo, & Akimoto, 2008).

12.3   Cultural Orientations, Relationships and Well-being: Levels of Analysis

When looking at the influence that cultural orientations have on well-being, one should be wary of the differences that exist in various levels of analysis (Pettigrew, 2006). Usually, when issues of levels of analysis are encountered, they revolve around aggregation or dissaggregation at the individual and cultural levels (Van de Vijver & Poortinga, 2002). Indeed, mistaking culture-level with individual-level processes or the vice versa is not uncommon. The evidence on the relationship between individual-level self-construal and facets of well-being in Greece is in accordance with this point. Yet what has seldom been considered in cross-cultural research is what is occuring at the level of dyadic interactions. Interpersonal interactions have rarely been considered to be an intermediate level that lies between individual cultural orientations and culture-level norms.

For relationship scholars, however, social interaction is an essential subject matter (e.g., Hinde, 1995; Reis, Collins, & Berscheid, 2000). Relationships are, by definition, built on the basis of repeated interactions—for example between friends, partners, or co-workers—that put forward patterns of interdependence (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). Patterns of interaction depend on the actions and reactions of both partners, and their actions and reactions influence and are influenced by each individual's perceptions and interpretations of the other's behavior.

At least one seminal theoretical framework (Hinde, 1995) considers interpersonal interaction to be both a building block of relationships and a key part of a broader dialectical "bras-de-fer" between and among levels of social complexity, including socio-cultural structures, relationships, social interactions, and individual differences in psychological constructs. From this perspective, what is taking place at one level of analysis, in interactions between partners for example, can be affected by psychological and social processes at proximal or distal levels such as individual values, and group and culture-level orientations. In line with Hinde's (1995) framework, an analysis of psychological effects in dyadic interaction holds particular promise in understanding the cultural orientation/relationships/well-being interaction (Reis, 2008) from both a top-down and a bottom-up perspective.

12.4 Dyadic Effects on Well-being Through the Lens of Culture: A Study on Spouses' Independent and Interdependent Self-Construal and Life Satisfaction

So far, the analysis in this chapter is concerned with identifying how the theoretically super-ordinate levels of cultural mandates/norms interact with individual-level chronic cultural orientations to predict life satisfaction. Important to this idea is the quality and property of interactions that take place in dyads, especially in close relationships. Previous research on chronic independent and interdependent self-construal in dyadic interactions in Greece found that independence is associated with lower social well-being, whereas interdependence is associated with higher well-being. Accordingly, the present study explores the influence of spouses' independent and interdependent self-construal on their own and their partners' satisfaction with life.

For individuals with an independent self-construal, subjective well-being and life satisfaction tend to be associated with the possibility to set and achieve goals which are important to them, whereas for persons with an interdependent self-construal, relationships, and especially relationships with in-group members, are of importance (Cross, Morris, & Gore, 2002). Long-term marital interactions may moderate such self-construal tendencies and their relationship with life satisfaction given overarching cultural mandates towards independence or interdependence. For example, being in a relationship can function as a natural chronic prime for interdependence cognitions and social motivations, thus further influencing life satisfaction (i.e., independents feeling less 'themselves' in close relationship and interdependents feeling more satisfied in a relationship). Also, the levels of perceived understanding and rapport in dyadic interactions may differ depending on independent and interdependent orientations; persons who are habitually independent may stress more personal aspects of the self, whereas persons who are more interdependent may put focus on social aspects of the self (Oishi et al., 2008).

Therefore, a study was conducted looking at long-term partners' chronic self-construal and satisfaction with life. Given the above evidence and Greece's overarching cultural mandate for higher collectivism, I expected that spouses' chronic interdependent self-construal would have a positive effect on life satisfaction. Conversely, the evidence demonstrates that higher independence is associated with lower life satisfaction in long term marital relationships in Greece. In order to control for the contribution of the quality of marital relationship to life satisfaction (Michalos, 1986), I also measured spouses' marital satisfaction.

12.5 Method

Questionnaires[2] were distributed to members of one hundred and thirty five married couples in the area of Athens, Greece, and data were collected from both members of one hundred and eleven couples (82.2% response rate). Couples were approached through friend networks, at work, or through the networks of co-workers who distributed the questionnaires to both members of couples using sealed envelopes. Participants' age range was 23 to 60 years old (average age of 39.01 years of age) with an average marriage length of of 8.05 years ($SD = 5.16$, range = 1–21 years).

We measured individual differences in cultural **self-construal** with the 24 item version of the Singelis (1994) Self-Construal Scale (SCS). This scale consists of two orthogonal dimensions that measure the strength of independent and interdependent self-construal. Responses were provided on a seven point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). Several studies link culture-level differences in individualism and collectivism with person-level independent or interdependent self construal using the SCS. In accordance with this, several studies show that the SCS distinguishes between independent and interdependent self-construal at the individual level (Singelis, 1994).

Subjective well-being was assessed with the five item Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin (1985) satisfaction with life scale. The scale is widely used as a measure of subjective well-being (e.g., Diener, 2000). Life satisfaction taps into the cognitive aspects of subjective well-being. Basic descriptive statistics on the two scales are presented in Table 12.1.

We also measured **marital satisfaction** using Norton's Marital Quality Index (Norton, 1983), a 5-item self-report scale that assesses spouses' marital satisfaction ($\alpha_{males} = .91$, $\alpha_{females} = .93$).

Table 12.1 Correlations between the study variables

	1	2	3	4	M (SD)	α
1. Life satisfaction	**.44****	.41**	.08	.25*	4.71 (1.22)	.88
2. Marital satisfaction	.31**	**.55****	−.09	−.06	3.46 (.53)	.91
3. Independent	−.01	.09	**.35***	.18	4.76 (.69)	.62
4. Interdependent	.13	−.13	.10	**.31****	4.83 (.76)	.68
M (SD)	4.51 (1.30)	3.43 (.58)	4.67 (.74)	4.82 (.83)		
α	.91	.94	.62	.71		

Note. Correlations for men appear below the diagonal, correlations for women above the diagonal; correlations between partners appear along the diagonal. *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

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[2] The data were collected in 2012 in the context of Ms. Margarita Chalkia's Thesis for the MA in Management of Health Units for the Hellenic Open University. I would like to thank Ms. Chalkia for the data collection and data entry for this study.

12.6   Results

Bivariate correlations were computed separately for males and females and between partners (see Table 12.1). Moderate correlations are present between spouses' chronic self-construal and life satisfaction, suggesting that the data were not independent. There were no gender differences in either life satisfaction or independent and interdependent self construal. However, life satisfaction and interdependent self-construal were significantly correlated for women but not for men.

I conducted analyses utilizing the Actor-Partner Interdependence Model (APIM; Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006) using Hierarchical Linear Modeling (Campbell & Kashy, 2002). As it is applied in a dyadic context, APIM appropriately accounts for mutual interdependence, as it frames bidirectional influences in terms of individual outcomes (see Ledermann & Kenny, 2012). In Multilevel dyadic analyses, data from each partner are nested within a group of two. Gender was effect coded (-1 for males and 1 for females) and all predictor variables were grand mean centered. Table 12.2 presents the results from the APIM analyses.

The results suggest that spouses' interdependence is associated with ones' own (actors') higher satisfaction with life. Conversely, partner effects were observed: partners' higher independent self-construal was associated with actors' lower satisfaction with life. In order to control for possible gender effects, the above equation included main effects for actor and partner, gender, and also interaction terms between gender and the actor as well as partner independence and interdependence. No statistically significant gender interaction effects were found. Thus, all of the results for the models are presented and interpreted as pooled across gender. Also length of marriage did not affect the results.

In order to test whether marital satisfaction may be responsible for the observed relationships between spouses' self-construal and life satisfaction, I conducted a second APIM analysis where I regressed actors' marital satisfaction on both actors' and partners' independent and interdependent self-construal (testing also for gender effects). Actors' interdependent self-construal was associated with their own (actors') lower marital satisfaction ($\gamma = -.098$, t $= -1.99$, $p < .05$) but neither actors'

Table 12.2 Multilevel regression analyses: Estimates of fixed effects of actors' and partners' individual score in Independent and Interdependent self construal on actor's Life Satisfaction

		Actor life satisfaction
Predictor		B (SE)
	Intercept	3.76*** (.91)
Actor		
	Independent	.15 (.14)
	Interdependent	.24* (.09)
Partner		
	Independent	$-.33*$ (.15)
	Interdependent	.12 (.12)

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

or partners' marital satisfaction influenced the relationship between chronic self-construal and life satisfaction in the actor or the partner.

12.7   Discussion

The study presented in this chapter tests the relationship between Greek spouses' independent and interdependent self-construal and their life satisfaction (the evaluative or cognitive element of subjective well-being). The results from the present study are in accordance with previous findings that lower independence and higher interdependence are associated with higher relationship-specific well-being in dyadic interactions (Kafetsios & Karagianopoulos, 2011; Nezlek et al., 2008). People with higher interdependent self-construal hold cultural values that emphasize the importance of relationships. Hence, being married can actually promote the subjective evaluations of one's life and, subsequently, the well-being of persons with higher interdependent self-construal in a collectivistic country such as Greece. It is likely that the marital context may have acted as a prime (Fitzimons & Bargh, 2003) of collectivistic cultural cognitions and higher-order values and expectations. These expectations are in line with Greece's central cultural mandate (collectivism). Conversely, spouses' higher independent self-construal was associated with actors' lower life satisfaction, a finding that is also supportive of the conjecture made regarding spouses' cultural orientation, the marital context, and general evaluation of life satisfaction. These partner effects on their spouses' life satisfaction are suggestive of social interaction level processes. In previous studies in Greece, higher independence was associated with lower emotional well-being within social interactions (Nezlek et al., 2008). It is possible then that persons with higher independence may adopt culture-incongruent ways of behaving in close relationships, be perceived to behave by their partners in culture-incongruent ways, or both, thus impacting their partners' life satisfaction.

Interestingly, levels of marital satisfaction did not account for the observed relationship between the spouses' self-construal and life satisfaction. In fact, marital satisfaction was inversely related to spouses' (actors') interdependent orientation. Hence, married participants who identified with Greek culture's collectivism cultural mandate reported higher satisfaction with life, but lower marital satisfaction. This seemingly counterintuitive finding is indicative of the multifaceted processes involved in subjective evaluations of life (Diener, Inglehart, & Tay, 2013). For example, income resonates with general evaluations of life satisfaction, but not with happiness per se (Diener, Kahneman, Tov, & Arora, 2010). In the case of the present study, it is likely that interdependent spouses' life satisfaction reflects cultural value-related beliefs and expectations. In contrast, interdependent spouses' evaluations of marital satisfaction may reflect more proximal facets of emotions and behaviors in the relationship, which contrast with culturally-guided expectations of what relationships should be. Thus, for interdependent spouses, being married could act as a prime of 'higher-order' cultural expectations and norms, resulting in higher

personal life satisfaction in line with the culturally-contingent expectations and norms while also leading to lower evaluations of the marital relationships themselves.

Results from the present study should be understood while considering potential limitations. For one, given the correlational nature of the research, there may be other, more proximal psychological factors that may have influenced the observed results. Another limitation concerns the fact that the sample was drawn from a major urban area, and might not be representative of married couples in all geographic areas of Greece.

12.8 Concluding Comments, Theoretical and Practical Implications

The results from the present study suggest that the cultural identity of spouses in Greece is important for their life satisfaction. The role of social identity in well-being has long been recognized (e.g., Thoits, 1992) and the present study further attests to its importance. These analyses bring forward the importance of cultural identity within dyadic interactions and the likely cognitive, emotional and behavioral processes in spouses' interactions that have implications for their well-being. In Greece, a more collectivistic culture, spouses in established, longstanding relationships who hold more interdependent views of the self report higher life satisfaction, whereas partners' independent self-construal exerts a negative influence on their spouses' life satisfaction. These findings bring a number of questions to mind regarding the processes that could be responsible.

Firstly, what is the implication of the partners' self-construal for models that consider both cognitive-representational and behavioral processes? What is the implication of such processes for the quality of marital interaction? The analyses regarding the likely role of marital satisfaction for well-being suggests that evaluations of marital satisfaction are not responsible for the links between spouses' self-construal and life satisfaction. In that case, can those relationships be due to value match or mis-match between perceived individual and dominant societal values and norms (e.g., Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000)? Perhaps for spouses higher on interdependence in a collectivist culture like Greece, being married affirms an important part of their social self. The marital context may also function as a further prime of interdependent values and norms, thus moderating the life satisfaction of independent and interdependent participants.

Explaining the negative effects partners' higher independence may have for spouses' life satisfaction could also involve a behavioral mis-match between individual and culture-level values and norms. Part of these findings may be due to the interpersonal rapport and validation that takes place in dyadic interactions. In dyadic interactions in Greece, partners higher on independence experience lower rapport than persons higher on interdependence (Kafetsios, Hess, & Nezlek, in press).

These results also resonate with findings that persons from individualistic cultures find more satisfaction and happiness in their social interactions when individual aspects of the self are stressed (Oishi et al., 2008). The focus on these particular aspects may not be the norm in committed relationships in Greece. Further research is warranted in order to shed light on these processes.

The results from the study presented in this chapter also have implications about the relationship between cultural orientation and well-being. Much of the burgeoning research and theory on culture and well-being has neglected to consider dyadic processes. The present chapter brings forward evidence in support of the idea that relationships and dyadic interactions constitute a separate and important level of analysis linking individual (e.g., self-construal) and culture-level (e.g., norms) constructions of cultural orientations. This concept falls in line with broader theories of relating (Hinde, 1995) and cultural theory (Oyserman, 2011).

Overall, the results from this study bring forward more nuanced notions about how a person's cultural orientation may moderate the link between relationships and life satisfaction. Previous research has suggested that the link is universal (e.g., Diener, Gohm, Suh, & Oishi, 2000); however, much of the research on the topic has failed to consider divergent levels of analysis, most notably interactions between individual and relational levels across and within cultures. These tasks are also a formidable avenues to be taken by future research.

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