

Running Head: Culture and Capitalization

Do happy events love company?

Cultural variations in sharing positive events with others

Hyewon Choi

Department of Psychology

University of Virginia

Author Note

Hyewon Choi, Department of Psychology, University of Virginia.

This research was conducted with Shigehiro Oishi, Department of Psychology, University of Virginia.

Abstract

This study examined cultural differences in the act of sharing positive events with others, called capitalization attempts. The first three studies tested whether the frequency of capitalization attempts differs between cultures using various methods: Self-reports (Study 1), children's storybooks (Study 2), and Facebook (Study 3). With the exception of Study 2, we found that East Asians are less likely to share their positive events with others than European Americans. Study 4 further examined the antecedents and consequences of capitalization attempts. We replicated the earlier findings that East Asians are hesitant to tell about their positive events and this is because they are more concerned about negatively affecting their social relationships. Moreover, we found the cultural differences in the frequency of capitalization attempts account for mean-level differences in well-being between cultures. Implications for capitalization, culture, and well-being are discussed.

Introduction

Positive events happen to us. Those events can be either life-changing ones such as marriage, childbirth, and graduation, or daily ones such as enjoying delicious food at a fancy restaurant. Although researchers have mainly focused on how people cope with negative events, recent research on positive emotion regulation shows that people also engage in various activities to deal with positive events (Quoidbach, Berry, Hansenne & Mikolajczak, 2010; Tugade & Fredrickson, 2007).

Among many ways of reacting to positive events, the act of sharing the events with others has been systematically investigated as a key process in relational contexts (see Gable & Reis, 2010, for a review). The social sharing of positive events has several implications: It not only increases disclosers' personal well-being, but also enhances relational well-being between disclosers and listeners (Gable, Reis, Impett, & Asher, 2004; Langston, 1994; Reis et al., 2010). It is important to note that the increased personal and relational well-being that results from social sharing is above and beyond the positivity of the event itself. That is, sharing the event with others is an effective way for an individual to maximize or capitalize on their positive events. This is why researchers refer to the social sharing of positive events as *capitalization*.

Although previous research has drawn a big picture of capitalization processes in terms of mechanisms and consequences, several pieces are still missing. One of the pieces is whether and how cultural factors influence the capitalization attempts. In fact, as research on capitalization processes has been mostly conducted in the U.S., there is virtually no study of cultural differences in capitalization attempts. As discussed later in detail, culture differently governs relationships between the self and others and situational scripts regarding emotion transactions in interpersonal contexts (Kitayama & Markus, 2000; Markus & Kitayama, 1994).

Some of these cultural differences may facilitate or hinder capitalization processes. Thus, it is worth exploring potential variations in the capitalization processes across cultures.

To this end, in four studies we examined cultural differences in capitalization attempts by comparing European Americans and East Asians. Specifically, we aimed to address three research questions: (a) Are there cultural differences in the frequency of capitalization attempts? (b) What is the process underlying these cultural differences? (c) Do these differences in capitalization attempts explain the different levels of subjective well-being across cultures?

Capitalization process

Sharing positive events with others seems to be a common strategy in the context of positive events. Rimé and his colleagues conducted a series of studies on the social sharing of emotion in European countries (Rimé, Finkenauer, Luminet, Zech, & Philippot, 1998, for a review). By using recall, immediate contact after an event, and diary methods, they found that 60% of positive events on average were shared with others. This pattern occurred regardless of age and gender. Similarly, Gable et al. (2004) found in a diary study that people disclose their good news at least 60% of the time during the day. This suggests that capitalization attempts frequently happen in everyday life at least in European and North American countries.

Another important nature of capitalization attempts is that they are linked to personal and relational well-being. Langston (1994) initially found that individuals who expressively reacted to positive events such as seeking social contacts and marking positive events reported higher life satisfaction and positive affect above and beyond the impact of the positive event. Gable et al. (2004) and Gable, Gonzaga, and Strachman (2006) replicated and extended Langston's (1994) work in several ways. First, they revealed through diary studies that people reported higher life satisfaction on the days they told others about their positive events than on the days they did not.

This pattern remains even after controlling for various confounding variables such as the importance of the event, the number of positive and negative events that happened during that day, and personality traits. Second, Gable et al. (2004; 2006) found the benefits of capitalization attempts were not limited to the intrapersonal realm; capitalization attempts also promote interpersonal benefits such as higher relationship satisfaction, commitment, and intimacy.

Finally, they demonstrated that the success of capitalization attempts depends on the perceived responses. Indeed, personal and relational well-being were amplified only if the discloser perceived that the listener responded to his or her positive event actively and constructively (Gable et al., 2004; 2006). Similarly, Reis et al. (2010) showed in an experimental design that capitalization attempts followed by other's enthusiastic response led to increased significance of the event and trust toward others. These findings resonate with Reis, Clark, and Holmes (2004), which claims that feeling understood, validated, and cared about the central aspects of the self is critical to psychological and relational functioning.

More important, these findings suggest that the perceived responses to capitalization attempts may be a determinant of whether to engage in capitalization attempts in the future. That is, if people perceive supportive response from others, they will be more likely to recount their positive events later, whereas if people expect disapproving responses from others, they will be less likely to relate their positive event to others (Reis & Patrick, 1996). In short, capitalization attempts come about prevalently and have beneficial outcomes for building personal and social resources as long as the discloser perceives to receive active, constructive responses from others.

What has been overlooked, however, is that the capitalization process does not take place in cultural vacuum, but in distinct cultural landscapes. These cultural landscapes are structured in a way that particular meanings and practices are maintained and reinforced (Fiske, Kitayama,

Markus, & Nisbett, 1998; Markus, Mullally, & Kitayama, 1997). The cultural meanings and practices prescribe how an individual is defined in relation to others and what the primary goal of an individual is (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Moreover, those culture-laden meanings and practices affect seemingly ordinary activities such as exchanging a person's own good fortunes. In this respect, it is needed to examine the capitalization process in the cultural framework. Specifically, by contrasting European Americans and East Asians, our research focuses on whether it is a pan-cultural phenomenon that capitalization attempts are frequent and are linked to well-being.

Culture and capitalization attempts

Culture may shape capitalization attempts at multiple levels of analysis from self-views to social ecologies to emotion transactions in social interactions. First, the divergent views about the relationship between self and social relations are observed in the two cultures. In North American cultures, a model of the self is assumed to be an autonomous and independent entity that is separated from others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). To become an independent person that uniquely stands out from others that they loosely belong to, people try to identify their idiosyncratic attributes and express them in private and in public. Thus, disclosing and enhancing their personal attributes and accomplishments is encouraged and validated in this cultural context (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999). In East Asian cultures, on the other hand, a model of the self is assumed to be an interdependent entity that is deeply connected from others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). To ensure a sense of belongingness to others, East Asians constantly pay attention to thoughts and feelings of others and try to be like others. As a loyal part of the collective, East Asians are expected to fulfill their obligations, duties, and social expectations and improve their own deficits (Heine et al., 1999). Thus,

bringing up or enhancing personal attributes is often discouraged in this cultural context because doing so could potentially threaten interpersonal harmony and alienate them from others.

Also, the socio-ecological constructions of social relationships differ between cultures. European Americans are in a favorable condition to disclose their personal information from the socio-ecological perspective. The social environment where Americans live is characterized by high relational mobility, whereby people have wide latitude in choosing and leaving a partner whom they would interact with (Yuki & Schug, 2012). Thus, even though people happen to meet an unresponsive partner to their self-disclosure, they can easily dissolve the relationship with that partner and move to a new one who is more responsive. By contrast, for East Asians, disclosing their personal information may be risky. The social environment where East Asians reside is represented as low relational mobility, whereby people are hard to form new relationships and leave old ones (Yuki & Schug, 2012). Thus, East Asians are more likely to behave cautiously in interpersonal contexts not to lose their existing social network. Given that self-enhancement and self-disclosure may elicit negative reputation in East Asian cultures, it can be expected that East Asians are reluctant to tell others about their personal issues. Indeed, previous research on social support seeking, one form of revealing personal information, demonstrated that Koreans tend to seek social support from others in the face of negative events less than European Americans, and this is because Koreans are more concerned about detrimental consequences of social support seeking for their social relationships (Kim, Sherman, Ko, & Taylor, 2006; Taylor et al., 2004).

In addition to the construal and ecologies of the relationship between the self and others, situational scripts and norms in emotion transactions vary between cultures. The conventionalized situational scripts in interpersonal contexts play a role in upholding and reinforcing the respective practices and meanings in each cultural context (Kitamaya & Markus,

2000). The cultural scripts for emotion exchanges that European Americans have historically accrued are that a discloser conveys his or her positive attributes, and a listener shows praise and admiration (Kitayama & Markus, 2000; Wierzbicka, 1994). By doing so, European Americans reproduce and strengthen the independent self-system that promotes an independent person with positive and unique attributes and enhances mutual prosocial influences between dyads. In this cultural atmosphere, the act of sharing positive events with others (i.e., capitalization attempts) is in line with the culturally conventionalized scripts, and is more likely to be affirmed by others. These cultural scripts are operated so strongly that suppressing or hiding emotions is viewed negatively by others (Butler, Lee, & Gross, 2007; Mauss et al., 2011).

In contrast, East Asians have historically accumulated the cultural scripts for emotion exchanges in which a discloser conveys his or her negative attributes, and a listener displays sympathy or provides advice (Kitayama & Markus, 2000). By doing so, East Asians may bolster the interdependent self-system that promotes an interdependent person with self-improving motives and boosts mutual adjustment between dyads. In this cultural atmosphere, capitalization attempts may not be elaborated in culturally conventionalized scripts, and thus are less likely to be answered by others meaningfully. Furthermore, capitalization attempts could backfire in East Asian cultures in light of the findings that the experience and expression of positive emotions, especially pride, are seen as inappropriate and undesirable (Diener, Suh, Smith, & Shao, 1995; Eid & Diener, 2001), and the person doing so is depicted as immature and shallow (Sung, 2007).

Taken together, the tendency to capitalize on one's positive events may vary between cultures in the sense that culture defines self-views, social ecologies, and situational scripts and norms in emotion exchanges in interpersonal contexts. Due to differential cultural circumstances, capitalization attempts may be beneficial and often imperative for social functioning among

European Americans, whereas it may be sometimes costly for social functioning among East Asians. Specifically, we predicted that East Asians would be less likely to share their positive events with others than European Americans, and one of the reasons is that East Asians think that it is detrimental to their social standing.

Capitalization and well-being

As mentioned earlier, capitalization attempts are found to be associated with personal and relational well-being among North Americans (Gable et al., 2004; 2006, Reis et al., 2010).

However, it is unclear whether capitalization attempts are also linked to well-being for East Asians. One possibility is that capitalization attempts have nothing to do with well-being among East Asians. ‘Good feelings’ are felt when individuals behave in accordance with culturally scripted, sanctioned ways (Markus & Kitayama, 1994). And the act of disclosing and enhancing oneself is not emphasized in East Asians’ cultural scripts. Also, several studies found that expressive suppression brings about higher negative emotions and lower life satisfaction only for European Americans, but not for East Asians (Butler et al., 2007; Soto, Perez, Kim, Lee, & Minnick, 2011). If some consider that suppression and capitalization are the two sides of the same coin, capitalization attempts might not be associated with well-being for East Asians.

Another possibility, however, is that capitalization attempts may be tied to well-being even for East Asians. First, as mentioned earlier, the capitalization process consists of reactions as well as disclosure. Also, being understood, validated, and cared by others is a central element of interdependent selves (Markus & Kitayama, 1994). In this connection, although capitalization process is not elaborated in East Asians’ situational scripts for emotion exchanges, supportive reactions matter for East Asians. For example, the more East Asians perceive emotional support from others, the more they report greater well-being and health (Uchida, Kitayama, Mesquita,

Reyes, & Morling, 2008). In this respect, it is plausible that capitalization attempts might give East Asians additional well-being as long as it does not disrupt interpersonal harmony, and others understand, validate, and care them. Second, the significant effects of expressive suppression on well-being are mostly observed among European Americans, whereas the findings for East Asians are often mixed. Third, the effect of expressive suppression on well-being may not always equate with the effect of capitalization attempts on well-being. As such, the indirect evidence presented above suggests capitalization attempts may be conducive to well-being.

If the latter case is true, which means that capitalization attempts make a difference to well-being for both North Americans and East Asians, it can be speculated that the frequency of capitalization attempts may play a mediating role in cultural differences in subjective well-being. That is, we argue that if capitalization attempts are beneficial for well-being in both cultural members, but East Asians tend to withhold personal positive events, they are less likely to be happy because they may lose an opportunity to make the most out of the positive events. Although the influence of behaviors in interpersonal contexts on subjective well-being has been relatively understudied (Oishi, Krochik, & Akimoto, 2010), it is possible that seemingly ordinary and routine, but iterative and accumulated interpersonal behaviors could have a powerful impact on cross-national differences in well-being. Thus, as one of interpersonal behaviors, we examined whether the degree of capitalization attempts would explain the mean-level differences in well-being between the two cultures.

Overview of the Present Research

The present study was aimed to examine whether the frequency of sharing positive events with others differs between cultures, if so, why it occurs, and, whether this difference in

capitalization attempts could explain the cultural differences in well-being. Of note, following prior research, in the present study we also focus on a personal positive event that “primarily affects himself or herself” rather than a collective positive event that involves all members (Gable & Reis, 2010, p. 203).

In Studies 1 through 3, we first sought to establish whether there are cultural differences in the frequency of capitalization attempts using various methods: Self-report, children’s storybooks, and posting on Facebook. In Study 1, we used a longitudinal survey in which North Americans and Koreans described a positive event and indicated the number of people they told about it. In Studies 2 and 3, we sought to replicate and generalize the findings of Study 1 to children’s storybooks and Facebook posting, respectively.

In Study 4, we attempted to replicate the findings from Studies 1 through 3. Also, we further examined the other two research questions. First, we tested one possible reason for the cultural differences, relational concerns, could explain why people in different cultures make capitalization attempts to varying degrees. Finally, we examined whether the link between capitalization and subjective well-being is universal. If this is the case, we predicted that these cultural differences in capitalization attempts due to relational concerns could account for mean-level differences in subjective well-being between cultures.

Study 1: Survey

Study 1 initially examined whether there are cultural differences in capitalization attempts. Specifically, we looked into concrete as well as global reports on capitalization attempts. It has been pointed out that cross-cultural research has almost relied on global reports, but these global reports could be systematically biased by general positivity (Diener, Scollon, Oishi, Dzokoto, & Suh, 2000; Kim, Schimmack, & Oishi, 2012). Thus, we analyzed not only

global capitalization tendency in general, but also concrete reports with a specific personal positive event.

Building on the previous research, we predicted that Koreans would report sharing their positive event with others less than Americans. Moreover, several studies found that extraversion, neuroticism and gender substantially regulate behavior in social interactions (Gable, Reis, & Elliot, 2003; Kring & Gordon, 1998). Thus, we controlled those personality and demographic factors and further predicted that the cultural impact would remain significant even controlling for them.

Method

Participants. The data came from a cross-cultural longitudinal project investigating antecedents and consequences of flourishing in the United States and Korea. Three waves of data collection were carried out each year from 2012 to 2014. Seven hundred fourteen individuals (299 Koreans, 415 Americans) originally participated in the project.

For the present research, we used the first and third waves that contain global and concrete reports on capitalization attempts, respectively. Specifically, for the global reports, 299 Koreans (147 women, 152 men; $M_{\text{age}} = 18.77$ years, $SD = 0.90$, age range: 17-24 years) and 413 Americans (256 women, 149 men, 8 did not specify; 278 European Americans, 99 Asians, 11 Hispanic Americans, 8 African Americans, 1 American Indian/Alaska Native, 13 Other, 3 unspecified; $M_{\text{age}} = 19.22$ years, $SD = 3.76$, age range: 17-67 years), who completed the pertinent items in the first wave, were analyzed.

For the concrete reports, although 379 participants participated in the third wave, three participants were additionally removed because they reported experiencing no positive event recently. This resulted in 187 Koreans (123 women, 64 men; $M_{\text{age}} = 18.75$ years, $SD = 0.95$, age

range: 17-24 years) and 189 Americans (130 women, 57 men, 2 did not specify; 124 European Americans, 52 Asians, 6 Hispanic Americans, 2 African Americans, 5 Other; $M_{\text{age}} = 19.06$ years, $SD = 3.13$, age range: 17-58 years). For both global and concrete reports, even when only European Americans out of the American sample were compared with Koreans, the results were almost identical.¹

Measures. For the global reports on capitalization attempts, there was a single item (“I let others know about my positive events and celebrate with them”) in the first wave. Participants were asked to report the item using a 7-point scale (1 = *Not at all true* to 7 = *Very true*).

For the concrete reports on capitalization attempts, there were two items in the third wave. First, participants were asked to describe a personal positive event that occurred within the past month. They then were asked to indicate the number of people they told about the event. The number of others was used as a dependent variable for the concrete reports. Participants were noted that the capitalization attempts only included in-person conversation, text messaging, online messenger, and so forth, but not public posts such as Facebook in order to avoid a possibility that participants would simply report the number of friends on social media (e.g., Facebook friends) after posting an event publicly.

Gender and age measured in the first wave were used as control variables. In addition, extraversion and neuroticism assessed with NEO Five-Factor Inventory (NEO-FFI; Costa & McCrae, 1992) were utilized as control variables. Participants responded to each 12 statement reflecting extraversion and neuroticism on a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 (*Not at all true*) to 7 (*Very true*). The Cronbach's alpha for extraversion was .821 for Americans, and .853 for Koreans. The Cronbach's alpha for neuroticism was .850 for Americans, and .885 for Koreans. Thus, we took the mean of the 12 items for extraversion and neuroticism, respectively. All

questionnaires were first created in Korean and then translated into English. Bilingual professor and graduate students back-translated the English version of the questionnaires to ensure equivalence. Any disagreements in translation were resolved through discussions.

Results

Global reports on capitalization attempts

Descriptive statistics are presented in Table 1. We conducted a 2 (Culture: Koreans vs. Americans) x 2 (Gender: Men vs. Women) ANOVA to see if there are cultural differences in global reports on capitalization attempts. The main effect of Gender was significant, $F(1, 700) = 19.71, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .027$, which means women ($M = 5.60, SD = 1.20$) tend to tell about their positive events more than men ($M = 5.11, SD = 1.38$). The interaction effect between Culture and Gender was not significant, $F(1, 700) = 0.096, p = .757, \eta_p^2 = .000$. More important, the main effect of Culture was significant, $F(1, 700) = 13.76, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .019$. As shown in Table 1, this shows Koreans tend to recount their positive event with others less often than Americans.

It is possible, however, that demographic and dispositional factors rather than cultural factors would drive these effects. Thus, we examined whether cultural differences would emerge after controlling gender, age, neuroticism, and extraversion. Even controlling for those factors, the effect of culture on capitalization attempts remained significant, $F(1, 368) = 4.33, p = .038, \eta_p^2 = .01$.

Concrete reports on capitalization attempts

Type of events. Two coders for each country, who were blind to the hypothesis, were asked to categorize the domain of positive events written by participants. The following domains were given to the coders: social relationships (family, friends, romantic partner), schoolwork/achievement, health/body, job, finance, and other. For the American sample, 52.38%

of the events were categorized as social relationships (16.40% concerned family, 25.40% concerned friends, and 10.58% concerned romantic partner), 15.87% were about schoolwork/achievement, 14.81% about job, 1.10% about health/body, 0% about finance, and 16.40% about other. The reliability between the two American coders was high, $\kappa = .827$, $p < .001$ (Landis & Koch, 1977). For the Korean sample, 57.75% were categorized as social relationships (8.02% concerned family, 27.27% concerned friends, and 22.46% concerned romantic partner), 20.86% were about schoolwork/achievement, and the remaining 21.39% were about health/body (0.53%), job (1.07%), finance (1.07%), and other (18.72%). The reliability between the two Korean coders was substantial, $\kappa = .782$, $p < .001$ (Landis & Koch, 1977).

Capitalization attempts. The number of capitalization attempts was severely skewed ranging from 0 to 1150 ($M = 11.05$, $SD = 60.48$; Skewness = 18.00, Kurtosis = 338.15). Thus, we recorded responses of more than 11 to 11, and this transformation reduced the impact of outliers ($M = 5.62$, $SD = 3.68$; Skewness = 0.16, Kurtosis = -1.25).

As in global reports, we next conducted a 2 (Culture: Koreans vs. Americans) \times 2 (Gender: Men vs. Women) ANOVA for concrete reports on capitalization attempts. The main effect of Gender was significant, $F(1, 370) = 5.02$, $p = .026$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, which means women ($M = 5.92$, $SD = 3.56$) told about their positive event more than men ($M = 4.97$, $SD = 3.86$). The interaction effect between Culture and Gender was marginally significant, $F(1, 370) = 2.89$, $p = .090$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. More important, the main effect of Culture was significant, $F(1, 370) = 8.04$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. This shows Koreans told others about their positive event less than Americans (Table 1). Also, consistent with global reports, the effect of culture on capitalization attempts remained significant after controlling for personality and demographic factors, $F(1, 368) = 4.33$, $p = .038$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

Discussion

Study 1 provides initial evidence that East Asians relate their positive events to others less than Americans. The results appear to be strong in that the cultural difference was detected even when ruling out other sources of variations such as personality and demographics in both global and concrete reports on capitalization attempts. However, self-reports that reflect subjective attitudes and values ‘in an individual’s head’ may be half the story. If cultural practices and meanings are constituted through both individuals and sociocultural reality, those cultural meanings and practices should be also manifest ‘out of the head’ such as institutions, artifacts, and cultural products (Adams & Markus, 2004). To test this, in Study 2 we examined cultural differences in capitalization attempts with one of the cultural products, children’s storybooks.

Study 2: Children’s storybooks

In Study 2, we attempted to conceptually replicate the results of Study 1 outside the head by employing children’s storybooks. Children’s storybooks are one of the popular cultural products for socialization (McClelland, 1961). Cultural values are embedded in plots and illustrations of the children’s books, so that children naturally come to learn what they should think, feel, and behave in the social world while reading the books. Indeed, previous studies found that children’s storybooks and folktales reflect cultural differences in values such as achievement motivation (McClelland, 1961) and ideal affect (Tsai, Louie, Chen, & Uchida, 2007). Thus, we tested whether the extent to which children’s storybooks emphasize capitalization attempts would vary between cultures. We predicted Korean children’s books would contain less capitalization contents than American children’s books.

Method

Book selection. In June, 2015, we initially pulled a list of the top 140 books for children aged between three and eight in each country through Amazon (amazon.com) for American books and Kyobo Mungo (kyobobook.co.kr) for Korean books. Amazon and Kyobo Mungo are both popular websites where Americans and Koreans buy books, respectively. Inclusion criteria for books were twofold. One is that the books should be storybooks, and thus other kinds of books such as coloring books, activity books, and books of short poems were removed from the list. The other is books should be less than 75 pages for the sake of time. Because the initial list for American children's books included many too long, repeated, or no storybooks, we added additional 71 books to the list, which amounted to 211. Out of the 211 American best-selling books from the list, 90 books were not storybooks, 19 books were over 75 pages, 7 books were unavailable, and 34 books were repeated. After removing those books, 61 American books were finally analyzed. Out of 140 Korean best-selling books, 44 books were not storybooks, 23 books were over 75 pages, and 9 books were unavailable. After removing those books from the list, 65 Koreans books were finally analyzed. Of the 65 Korean books, 20 books were written by Western authors.

Coding procedure. Three coders in each country read each book and counted how many instances of characters sharing their positive events with others were described in it. Capitalization attempts were defined as the act of telling others about one's own positive event. As such, it was counted as capitalization attempts only when characters (e.g., people, animals, any subject) share their own positive events, not other's. Also, the coders counted the total pages of each book to rule out a possibility that differences observed between cultures may be due to different amount of pages.

For Korean books, the first coder coded all 65 books, but the second coder coded 58 books. Thus, the third coder coded the rest of the books, which were 7 books. After combining the ratings of the last two coders, the intraclass correlation coefficient of the Korean coders was .882. Thus, we took the mean of the two coders' ratings.

For American books, the first coder coded 50 books, the second coder coded 22 books, and the third coder coded 50 books. The first and second coders coded the same 11 books. The first and third coders coded the same 39 books. The second and third coders coded the same 11 books. The intraclass correlation coefficients among the American coders were very low; the coefficient between the first and second coders was .017, the coefficient between the first and third coders was .297, and the coefficient between the second and third coders was -.190. We took the mean of the ratings of the matched books between the two coders.

Results

First, we examined whether there were no cultural difference in the mean of total pages in the books. The results revealed that the total pages of Korean books ($M = 34.58$, $SD = 10.57$) were similar to American books ($M = 35.19$, $SD = 13.13$), $t(120) = -0.28$, $p = .777$. Next, although it is technically impossible to investigate the hypothesis with the coders' ratings that showed low inter-coder reliability, we tested whether Korean best-selling children's books would contain less capitalization contents than American ones. The results did not support our hypothesis. Specifically, American children's books ($M = 0.39$, $SD = 1.00$) had no more capitalization contents than Korean books ($M = 0.21$, $SD = 0.60$), $t(124) = -1.22$, $p = .226$.

Discussion

Study 2 did not support our hypothesis that American and Korean books would differ in the frequency of capitalization attempts described in popular children's storybooks. However,

the null finding in this study seems to stem from methodological issues rather than from theoretical ones. In particular, the inter-coder reliability for the American coders was very low. This might be because instructions were not clearly given to the U.S. coders. Hence, the interpretation of the null finding in Study 2 requires caution, and further research is needed.

Study 3: Facebook

In Study 3, we used Facebook to examine cultural variations in capitalization attempts for the following reasons. First, Facebook is the most successful online social network that boasts 1.65 billion monthly active users as of March 2016 (Facebook, 2016). The online social networks including Facebook have unprecedentedly changed the way people interact with others and share information: The contemporary social life not only happens in face-to-face interactions, but also on the online social networks. More important, utilizing Facebook in research has some advantages over survey in that social interactions unfold in a more naturalistic setting (Wilson, Gosling, & Graham, 2012). ‘Behavioral residues’ displayed on Facebook may provide more observable and tangible snapshots of capitalization process and increase ecological validity of the findings.

It is to note that unlike Study 1 measuring capitalization attempts as the number of others participants told about an event, we changed it in Study 3. On Facebook, the number of others who are told about the event may not be an effective measurement to capture the behavioral patterns of capitalization attempts because posted status updates indiscriminately reach most Facebook friends. For this reason, we assessed the degree of capitalization attempts in terms of how recently participants posted their positive event. Specifically, we asked participants to locate the latest posting on a *personal positive event* on Facebook and indicate the date when they posted it. Also, since each participant may have individual differences in Facebook usage,

participants were asked to find the latest posting on a *general event* and indicate the date when they posted it, so that it can represent the relative ‘recency’ within an individual. In other words, the general event served as each individual’s reference point.

As in the previous studies, we predicted that Koreans would post their positive event less recently than European Americans.

Method

Participants. One hundred and sixty-six European American college students at University of Virginia and 100 Korean college students at Yonsei University in Korea initially participated in this study. The European American participants received course credit for their participation and the Korean participants received either course credit or 5,000 won (U.S. \$6) for their participation. Of 266 participants, 28 participants (10 Americans and 18 Koreans) were removed from the analysis because they either had no Facebook account or failed to report primary dependent variables (i.e., the dates of posting positive and general events). Two American participants were additionally removed, as their responses on the posting dates on Facebook were implausible (i.e., 8/22/1997, 10/16/2001). This resulted in 154 European Americans (84 women, 69 men, 1 did not specify; $M_{\text{age}} = 18.52$ years, $SD = 0.94$, age range: 17-22 years) and 82 Koreans (43 women, 39 men; $M_{\text{age}} = 22.38$ years, $SD = 2.13$, age range: 19-28 years; One Korean participant’s age was excluded because he reported his age as 1).

Procedure and materials. Participants were asked to log into Facebook and find two most recent status updates on a positive event and a general event each. The *positive event* was defined as “something that is happening now, something that happened in the past that made you happy, or something you anticipate happening in the future” (adapted from Gable et al., 2004). Participants were informed that positive event should be one’s own event that they experienced

and posted by themselves. Thus, the posts that they just shared, liked, or left a comment on were not allowed to count as a positive event. The *general event* was defined as anything other than a positive event, which includes posting about a negative event and sharing a friend's posting.

As a measure of capitalization attempts, participants indicated the respective dates when they posted the positive event and general event on Facebook (i.e., YY/MM/DD). They then reported how important and positive the events were, respectively using a 7-point scale (1 = *Not at all positive*, 7 = *Very positive*; 1 = *Not very important*, 7 = *Very important*). As mentioned earlier, capitalization attempts were measured as how recently participants posted their positive event relative to general event. Thus, it was calculated by subtracting the date of positive event posting from the date of general event posting. Higher numbers reflect more recent posting of positive event.

Finally, participants reported on the number of Facebook friends, Facebook use per day (1 = *10 min* to 6 = *more than 3 hours*), gender, age, extraversion, and neuroticism. Extraversion and neuroticism were measured with the 5-item two subscales from the Brody and Ehrlichman's (1997) Big Five scale. The Cronbach's alpha for extraversion was .882 for Koreans and .783 for European Americans. The Cronbach's alpha for neuroticism was .861 for Koreans and .833 for European Americans. Hence, the respective 5 items were averaged to create extraversion and neuroticism.

Results

Descriptive statistics of key variables are shown in Table 2. First, we investigated the main effect of culture on capitalization attempts. We predicted that Koreans would post their positive event less recently relative to general event, compared to European Americans. We conducted a 2 (Culture: Koreans vs. Americans) x 2 (Gender: Men vs. Women) ANOVA. The

main effect of Gender was not significant, $F(1, 229) = 0.08, p = .773, \eta_p^2 = .01$. As expected, the main effect of Culture was marginally significant, $F(1, 229) = 3.55, p = .061, \eta_p^2 = .015$. This suggests that Koreans post their positive event less frequently than Americans (Table 2). The interaction effect between Culture and Gender was also significant, $F(1, 229) = 5.57, p = .019, \eta_p^2 = .02$. Pairwise comparisons using Fisher's least significant difference (LSD) showed that Korean females ($M = 60.91, SD = 281.56$) posted their positive event more frequently than Korean males ($M = -38.11, SD = 223.81$), although it is not significant, $F(1, 229) = 2.69, p = .102$. By contrast, American males ($M = 120.57, SD = 375.78$) posted their positive event more frequently than American females ($M = 43.11, SD = 157.83$) and it is marginally significant, $F(1, 229) = 3.08, p = .081$.

We went on to rule out a possibility that these results arose from other relevant variables that might influence capitalization attempts, rather than cultural factors. We conducted a one-way ANCOVA predicting capitalization attempts from culture, controlling for gender, Facebook friends, Facebook use, extraversion, neuroticism, and the positivity and importance of positive and general events, respectively. Age was excluded because the correlation between culture and age was high, $r(231) = -.78, p < .001$. Even controlling for the confounding variables, the effect of culture on capitalization attempts on Facebook was still marginally significant, $F(1, 221) = 3.53, p = .061, \eta_p^2 = .02$.

Discussion

Study 3 showed that Koreans share their personal positive event less recently than European Americans on Facebook. Also, cultural influence seems a robust predictor of capitalization attempts above and beyond various individual differences. It is noteworthy that Study 3 provided further support for the findings from Study 1 by demonstrating that the patterns

of capitalization attempts across cultures are detected not only in self-reports, but also in behavioral residue on Facebook.

Study 4: Lab survey

The purpose of Study 4 was to address the three research questions we raised. That is, we sought to replicate the findings from Studies 1 and 3, examine relational concerns would mediate cultural differences in capitalization attempts, and examine those cultural differences in capitalization attempts at least partly explain mean-level differences in subjective well-being between cultures. We predicted that Koreans would report conveying their positive events to others less than European Americans and this is because they are more concerned about potential pitfalls for social relationships. Moreover, we hypothesized that the suppression of capitalization attempts would be one of the reasons why Koreans score lower well-being than European Americans.

Method

Participants. One hundred and eighty-one European American college students (99 women, 79 men, 3 did not specify; $M_{\text{age}} = 19.19$ years, $SD = 1.19$, age range: 17-29 years) at University of Virginia and 183 Korean college students at Yonsei University in Korea (52 women, 117 men, 14 did not specify; $M_{\text{age}} = 22.45$ years, $SD = 2.56$, age range: 18-33 years) participated in this study for partial course credit. Four Korean participants were not included in the final analysis because they failed to complete the dependent measures assessing capitalization attempts.

Procedure and materials. As in Study 1, participants described a specific, personal positive event that they experienced within a month. However, as Study 1 had some outliers in capitalization attempts, a couple of changes were made to collect more accurate responses for the

frequency of capitalization attempts. First, we specified the recipients of the capitalization attempts into five groups: romantic partner/spouse, family, friends, acquaintance, and strangers. Second, participants reported how many people in each group they had told about their event in a close-ended format: They used a yes or no format (1 or 0) for romantic partner/spouse and an 11-point scale (from 0 to more than 10) for the other four groups. The five items by group were summed to yield a single score of capitalization attempts. Participants then rated how positive and important the event was using a 7-point scale (1 = *Not at all positive* to 7 = *Very positive*; 1 = *Not very important* to 7 = *Very important*).

Next, as a mediator, relational concerns were assessed with 11 statements describing potential reasons why people are reluctant to tell others about their positive events (See the Appendix). The 11 items were created or adapted from prior studies examining cultural differences in the use of seeking social support from others (Kim et al., 2006; Taylor et al., 2004). As social support seeking usually occurs in the face of stressful events, the original items were modified to fit the context of telling about positive events. Participants responded to the following prompt:

Some people disclose their personal, positive events to others when something good happens, while others choose not to share these events with others. Please rate how true or important each of the following concerns would be for you in deciding whether or not to tell others about your personal positive event.

Participants completed the items on a 7-point scale (1 = *Not at all true*, 7 = *Very true*). As the Cronbach's alpha for the 11 items was .789 for Koreans and .826 for European Americans, the items were collapsed into a composite of relational concerns.

Finally, participants completed three components of subjective well-being, namely life satisfaction, positive affect, and negative affect. Life satisfaction was assessed with the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) using a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*). Cronbach's alpha for SWLS was .860 for the Korean sample and .864 for the U.S. sample. Positive affect (PA) and negative affect (NA) were assessed with the Scale of Positive and Negative Experience (SPANE; Diener et al., 2010). The SPANE consists of six positive feelings (i.e., positive, good, pleasant, happy, joyful, contented) and six negative feelings (i.e., negative, bad, unpleasant, sad, afraid, angry). Participants indicated how they have been experiencing over the past four weeks on a scale from 1 (*Very rarely or Never*) to 5 (*Very often or Always*). The Cronbach's alpha for PA was .904 for the Korean sample and .875 for the U.S. sample. The Cronbach's alpha for NA was .789 for the Korean sample and .815 for the U.S. sample.

Results

Type of events

As in Study 1, two coders for each country coded the domain of positive events. For the American sample, 57.46% of the events were categorized as social relationships (14.36% concerned family, 33.70% concerned friends, and 9.39% concerned romantic partner), 26.52% were about schoolwork/achievement, and the remaining 16.02% were about health/body (1.10%), job (4.42%), finance (0%), and other (10.50%). The reliability between the two American coders was high, $\kappa = .814$, $p < .001$ (Landis & Koch, 1977). For the Korean sample, 65.36% were categorized as social relationships (6.70% concerned family, 27.93% concerned friends, and 30.73% concerned romantic partner), 22.91% were about schoolwork/achievement, and the remaining 11.73% were about health/body (0.56%), job (1.12%), finance (1.12%), and other

(8.94%). The reliability between the two Korean coders was almost perfect, $\kappa = .949$, $p < .001$ (Landis & Koch, 1977).

Main effect of culture on capitalization attempts

Descriptive statistics and correlations between key variables are presented in Table 3. We conducted a 2 (Culture: Koreans vs. Americans) x 2 (Gender: Men vs. Women) ANOVA on capitalization attempts to see if there are cultural differences in capitalization attempts. The main effect of Gender was not significant, $F(1, 343) = 0.28$, $p = .595$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. The interaction effect between Culture and Gender was not significant, $F(1, 343) = 0.42$, $p = .515$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. Consistent with our hypothesis, however, the main effect of Culture was significant, $F(1, 343) = 4.70$, $p = .031$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$. This shows that Koreans ($M = 8.89$, $SD = 6.99$) shared their positive event with others less than Americans ($M = 10.69$, $SD = 7.39$).

We next performed a one-way ANCOVA predicting capitalization attempts from culture, controlling for age, gender, the positivity and importance of the event that might underlie these effects. As can be seen in Table 3, the mean age significantly differ between cultures, $t(344) = 15.37$, $p < .001$, which suggests Korean participants were older than American participants. The proportion of gender was significantly different between cultures, $\chi^2(1, N = 347) = 21.78$, $p < .001$. Thus, age and gender were included as covariates. The positivity of the event, $t(358) = -1.63$, $p = .104$, and the importance of the event, $t(357) = -1.25$, $p = .213$, did not differ between cultures. Despite no significant cultural differences in positivity and importance of the event, as European Americans scored higher on them, those two indicators were included as covariates. The results showed that when controlling for age, gender, the positivity and importance of the event, culture still significantly predicted capitalization attempts, $F(1, 339) = 5.73$, $p = .017$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$.

Although culture predicted capitalization attempts above and beyond the demographic factors and the characteristics of events, it was still possible that these results might come from dispositional differences such as personality traits. We tested a one-way ANCOVA, with additionally controlling extraversion and neuroticism. Adding extraversion and neuroticism as covariates to existing control variables, culture's effect on capitalization attempts remained marginally significant, $F(1, 337) = 3.42, p = .065, \eta_p^2 = .01$.

Relational concerns as a mechanism

We next tested whether the link between culture and capitalization attempts could be mediated by relational concerns. As expected, Koreans were more relationally concerned about telling others about their positive event than European Americans, $t(349) = 6.54, p < .001$ (see Table 3). Next, to test whether relational concerns may explain cultural differences in capitalization attempts, we conducted a mediation analysis using Mplus 7.31 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2015) bias-corrected bootstrapping method with 10,000 resampling. The results showed that the direct effect of culture on capitalization was mediated by relational concerns, Indirect Effect = 0.996, 95% C.I. = [0.456, 1.715], $z = 3.14, p = .002$. Once relational concern was entered as a mediator, the direct effect of culture on capitalization disappeared (see Figure 1). Even when age, sex, positivity and importance of the event, extraversion, and neuroticism were entered as control variables, the direct effect of culture on capitalization was mediated by relational concerns, Indirect Effect = 0.636, 95% C.I. = [0.140, 1.379], $z = 2.04, p = .042$. Once relational concern was entered as a mediator, the direct effect of culture on capitalization disappeared, $b = 1.194, \beta = 0.082, z = 1.13, p = .258$.

Path to happiness

As shown in Table 3, capitalization attempts were associated with all three components of well-being for both Koreans and European Americans. Although correlational, this result implies that the patterns about capitalization attempts and well-being are identical at least in the two cultures. Based on the significant link between capitalization and well-being between cultures, we next examined whether cultural differences in capitalization attempts might explain mean-level differences in subjective well-being. Consistent with previous research, Koreans reported significantly lower life satisfaction and positive affect than European Americans, but not negative affect (Table 3). Thus, we created a latent well-being variable with life satisfaction, positive affect and negative affect. Next, we conducted a median analysis with 10,000 bootstrap samples by using Mplus 7.31 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2015) to explore whether capitalization attempts mediate the relationship between culture and subjective well-being. The model fit was acceptable, $\chi^2(4, N = 359) = 9.93$, CFI = .982, RMSEA = .064, SRMR = .029. The mediation analysis revealed that the direct effect of culture on subjective well-being was partially mediated by capitalization attempts, Indirect Effect = 0.066, 95% C.I. = [0.013, 0.143], $z = 2.04$, $p = .041$.

Finally, we tested a path model using Mplus 7.31 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2015) in which we included relational concern and capitalization attempts as mediators linking culture and subjective well-being. The model fit was acceptable, $\chi^2(6, N = 359) = 15.385$, CFI = .976, RMSEA = .066, SRMR = .027. As can be seen in the path model (Figure 2), Koreans were higher than European Americans on relational concerns, which led to less capitalization attempts, which in turn were tied to lower well-being, Indirect Effect = 0.034, 95% C.I. = [0.014, 0.068], $z = 2.51$, $p = .012$. These results showed that cultural differences in subjective well-being were partially explained by cultural differences in relational concerns.

Discussion

In Study 4, we replicated the findings from Studies 1 and 3, showing that Koreans told others about their positive event less often than European Americans. Also, we demonstrated the mechanism and consequence of cultural differences in capitalization attempts. Specifically, we found that relational concerns are one of the mechanisms underlying cultural differences in capitalization attempts. Compared to European Americans, Koreans are less likely to engage in capitalization attempts because they are more worried about negative relational outcomes. Moreover, we found that although capitalization attempts are positively tied to well-being even for Koreans, the relational concerns about social relationships keep Koreans from sharing their positive events with others, which in turn leads to lower well-being.

General discussion

In four studies, we examined whether the frequency and consequences of capitalization attempts depend on cultural contexts. Overall, we found converging evidence on cultural differences in the frequency of capitalization attempts across various methods. Studies 1 and 4 showed that Koreans are less likely to tell others about their positive events with others in self-reports. In Study 2, we turned to children's storybooks and examined cultural variations in the instances of capitalization attempts in the storybooks, but our hypothesis was not supported. In Study 3, we tracked behavioral residues on Facebook and demonstrated that Koreans tend to post their positive event relative to general one less frequently than European Americans. In addition, in Study 4 we further examined one potential reason why Koreans are hesitant to tell about their positive events. The results revealed that Koreans are more worried about potential repercussions of sharing the events than European Americans, and this mediated the effect of culture on capitalization attempts. We also went on to investigate whether capitalization attempts are linked to well-being for both Koreans and European Americans. Although both cultural members

benefited from capitalization attempts, because capitalization attempts are more suppressed among Koreans due to relational concerns, this in turn gives rise to their lower well-being than European Americans.

The present study has several implications for research on capitalization process, culture, and subjective well-being. First, although previous studies have shed light on capitalization processes, little attention had been paid to when and under what conditions people relay their positive events to others. This is perhaps due to the fact that even without considering others' responses, capitalization attempts are usually successful in the U.S. contexts, where capitalization attempts are cultivated. Only a handful of studies showed that capitalization attempts and perceived responsiveness are influenced by individual differences such as self-esteem (Smith & Reis, 2012) and attachment (Shallcross, Howland, Bemis, Simpson, & Frazier, 2011). Apart from individual differences, the present findings showed that cultural factors are another source of variation in constructing capitalization process. Specifically, we demonstrated that the decision on whether people share their positive event or not is heavily influenced by where they are rooted. The cultural landscapes are constructed with disparate self-views, social ecologies, and emotion norms in interpersonal contexts, whereby capitalization attempts can be interpreted as either relational rewards or concerns. In short, our research helps better understand the capitalization process by looking it through cultural lens.

Second, theory and empirical research has advanced the notion of cultural shaping of emotion regulations over the past 20 years (Markus & Kitayama, 1994; Mesquita & Leu, 2007). However, the research focus has been tilted to regulate negative emotions (e.g., social support seeking, expressive suppression) or even when dealing with a positive event, it has only drawn general sketch about whether people across cultures differ in up-regulating or down-regulating

their positive emotions from the event (Miyamoto & Ma, 2011). The present study targeted capitalization attempts in response to a positive event as an emotion regulation strategy and initiated the investigation. Much effort should be exerted on delineating cultural variations in the use of positive emotion regulation strategies.

Third, cross-national well-being research has attempted to explain the mean-level difference in subjective well-being across cultures and unveiled predictors that affect this phenomenon (Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2003; Diener & Suh, 2000). However, those predictors tend to be either at the national level (e.g., GDP per capita, individualism-collectivism) or at the individual level (e.g., self-esteem), but not so much at the interpersonal level. The present study fills this gap by documenting that the degree of capitalization process happening in the interpersonal level is one of the reasons why well-being scores diverge for European Americans and East Asians. Such evidence contributes to revealing that repeated, routine interactions in daily interpersonal contexts can influence subjective well-being.

Intriguingly, we found in Study 4 that Koreans' capitalization attempts are also significantly associated with well-being, even controlling for the original positivity of positive events. This suggests that capitalization attempts can contribute to East Asians' "upward spiral". In this respect, hesitation to tell about their positive events makes East Asians lose opportunities to multiply their well-being in upward spiral. Some might argue that this is because Koreans' capitalization attempts are also a socially rewarded and validated action. However, this is less likely because East Asians are still more afraid that they would be criticized from others or viewed as immature by displaying their good fortunes than European Americans (Study 4). Still, there is a possibility is that Koreans choose a target who tend to respond actively and constructively. Thus, additional research should be conducted to clarify the relations between

capitalization attempts and well-being across cultures, in terms of whether East Asians are picky to select a listener and how positive the partner's actual response is.

Limitations & Future directions

The present study has also some limitations. First, we used a convenient sample, undergraduates at large universities. Also, we only compared European Americans and East Asians. Thus, to increase generalizability, it is important to recruit participants in other populations within a culture and in other cultures (e.g., South Asia, South America, Africa).

Second, although we tried to demonstrate the findings across plural methods (i.e., self-reports, contents in children's storybooks, behavior residue on Facebook), the study methods we used were correlational by nature and restricted to a particular moment in one setting. Thus, experimental designs should be employed to ensure causality by manipulating or priming relational concerns as in Kim et al. (2006). Also, given that capitalization process involves recursive and mutual features (Gable & Reis, 2010), it is fruitful to examine our hypotheses using daily diary study or agent-based modeling to explore the dynamic nature of capitalization process across cultures.

Third, it is important to note that the results do not necessarily mean that East Asians do not communicate with others for personal issues at all. People in different cultures may differ in *how* they share their positive events. It has been shown that people in collectivistic cultures tend to communicate in a more implicit, indirect, nonverbal way, whereas people in individualistic cultures tend to communicate in a more explicit, direct, verbal way (Gudykunst, Matsumoto, Ting-Toomey, Nishida, Kim, & Heyman, 1996). Building on this idea, previous cross-cultural research on social support seeking demonstrated that Koreans used implicit social support seeking more than explicit one, whereas the reverse was true for European Americans (Kim,

Sherman, & Taylor, 2008). Given that capitalization attempts technically belong to verbal communication, we speculate that East Asians may prefer to share their positive events in implicit and subtle ways because explicitly disclosing positive events to others may be costly for them. Thus, it would be interesting to test whether East Asians are more likely to choose implicit, nonverbal form of capitalization than explicit, verbal one, which might entail interpersonal uneasiness. Relatedly, this subtle communication style prevalent in East Asian cultures may explain why East Asians express themselves in more visible forms such as brand name versus generic products (Kim & Drolet, 2009). In so doing, they may not have to explicitly “speak” about their personal accomplishment or social standing. Also, researchers have found with the U.S. participants that only active-constructive (enthusiastic) response to capitalization attempts was a predictor of personal and relational well-being (Gable et al., 2004). If nonverbal form is preferred among East Asians, it is possible that passive-constructive (implicit, mute support) responses may also be beneficial to well-being for them.

Fourth, we focused on personal well-being in the present study, but future research should also examine the outcomes of capitalization attempts for relational well-being such as relational satisfaction, felt understanding, and intimacy. We reason that even for East Asians, there might be relational costs from not fully taking advantage of positive events because it may deprive them of being connected to others. For example, East Asians report feeling understood by others less than European Americans (Oishi, Akimoto, Richards, & Suh, 2013). This might be due to the fact that if someone should suppress their inner feelings and thoughts in interpersonal contexts, others have difficulty in fully reading and understanding the person’s needs, which may lead to lower relational well-being. Future research will elucidate this possibility.

Conclusion

As Schachter (1959) showed misery loves company, capitalization research has demonstrated positive events also seek company to share. However, our findings pinpoint that even the act of telling about and responding to positive events in social life is saturated with cultural practices and meanings, rendering the likelihood of positive events being shared different across cultures. Also, our findings indicate that this different likelihood is one of the predictors that explain different mean-levels in subjective well-being across cultures. It will be a promising future direction to delineate how culture and relationships interact to produce daily social interactions and how this interaction predicts well-being.

References

- Adams, G., & Markus, H. R. (2004). Toward a conception of culture suitable for a social psychology of culture. In C. S. Crandall & M. Schaller (Eds.), *The psychological foundations of culture* (pp. 335-360). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Brody, N., & Ehrlichman, H. (1997). *Personality psychology: The science of individuality*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Butler, E. A., Lee, T. L., & Gross, J. J. (2007). Emotion regulation and culture: are the social consequences of emotion suppression culture-specific?. *Emotion*, 7, 30-48.
- Costa, P. T., & McCrae, R. R. (1992). *Revised NEO Personality Inventory (NEO PI-R) and NEO Five-Factor Inventory professional manual*. Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 49, 71–75.
- Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Lucas, R. E. (2003). Personality, culture, and subjective well-being. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 54, 403–425.
- Diener, E., Scollon, C. K., Oishi, S., Dzokoto, V., & Suh, E. M. (2000). Positivity and the construction of life satisfaction judgments: Global happiness is not the sum of its parts. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 1, 159–176.
- Diener, E., & Suh, E. M. (2000). *Culture and subjective well-being*. Cambridge, MA: MIT press.
- Diener, E., Suh, E. M., Smith, H., & Shao, L. (1995). National differences in reported subjective well-being: Why do they occur?. *Social Indicators Research*, 34, 7-32.

- Diener, E., Wirtz, D., Tov, W., Kim-Prieto, C., Choi, D. W., Oishi, S., & Biswas-Diener, R. (2010). New well-being measures: Short scales to assess flourishing and positive and negative feelings. *Social Indicators Research*, 97, 143-156.
- Eid, M., & Diener, E. (2001). Norms for experiencing emotions in different cultures: inter-and intranational differences. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 81, 869-885.
- Facebook. (2016). *Statistics of Facebook*. Palo Alto, CA: Facebook. Retrieved from <http://newsroom.fb.com/company-info/>
- Fiske, A. P., Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., & Nisbett, R. E. (1998). The cultural matrix of social psychology. In D. T. Gilbert, S. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Ed.), *Handbook of social psychology* (4th ed., pp. 915-981). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Gable, S., Gonzaga, G., & Strachman, A. (2006). Will you be there for me when things go right? Supportive responses to positive event disclosures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91, 904–917.
- Gable, S. L., & Reis, H. T. (2010). Good news! Capitalizing on positive events in an interpersonal context. *Advances in experimental social psychology*, 42, 195-257.
- Gable, S. L., Reis, H. T., & Elliot, A. J. (2003). Evidence for bivariate systems: An empirical test of appetite and aversion across domains. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 37, 349–372.
- Gable, S. L., Reis, H. T., Impett, E. A., & Asher, E. R. (2004). What do you do when things go right? The intrapersonal and interpersonal benefits of sharing positive events. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 87, 228-245.
- Gudykunst, W. B., Matsumoto, Y., Ting-Toomey, S. T. E. L. L. A., Nishida, T., Kim, K., & Heyman, S. (1996). The influence of cultural individualism-collectivism, self construals,

- and individual values on communication styles across cultures. *Human communication research*, 22, 510-543.
- Heine, S. J., Lehman, D. R., Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1999). Is there a universal need for positive self-regard?. *Psychological review*, 106, 766-794.
- Kim, H. S., & Drolet, A. (2009). Express your social self: Cultural differences in choice of brand-name versus generic products. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 35, 1555-1566.
- Kim, H., Schimmack, U., & Oishi, S. (2012). Cultural differences in self-and other-evaluations and well-being: a study of European and Asian Canadians. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 102, 856-873.
- Kim, H. S., Sherman, D. K., Ko, D., & Taylor, S. E. (2006). Pursuit of happiness and pursuit of harmony: Culture, relationships, and social support seeking. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32, 1595–1607.
- Kim, H. S., Sherman, D. K., & Taylor, S. E. (2008). Culture and social support. *American Psychologist*, 63, 518-526.
- Kitayama, S., & Markus, H. R. (2000). The pursuit of happiness and the realization of sympathy: Cultural patterns of self, social relations, and well-being. In E. Diener & E. M. Suh (Eds.), *Culture and subjective well-being* (pp. 113–161). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kring, A. M., & Gordon, A. H. (1998). Sex differences in emotion: expression, experience, and physiology. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 74, 686-703.
- Landis, J. R., & Koch, G. G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *biometrics*, 33, 159-174.

- Langston, C. A. (1994). Capitalizing on and coping with daily-life events: Expressive responses to positive events. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 1112-1125.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1994). The cultural construction of self and emotion: Implications for social behavior. In S. Kitayama & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Emotion and culture: Empirical studies of mutual influence* (pp. 89-130). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224-253.
- Markus, H. R., Mullally, P., & Kitayama, S. (1997). Selfways: Diversity in modes of cultural participation. In U. Neisser & D. Jopling (Eds.), *The conceptual self in context: Culture, experience, self-understanding* (pp. 13-61). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Mauss, I. B., Shallcross, A. J., Troy, A. S., John, O. P., Ferrer, E., Wilhelm, F. H., & Gross, J. J. (2011). Don't hide your happiness! Positive emotion dissociation, social connectedness, and psychological functioning. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 100, 738-748.
- McClelland, D. C. (1961). *The achieving society*. Princeton, NJ: Van Nostrand.
- Mesquita, B., & Leu, J. (2007) The cultural psychology of emotions. In S. Kitayama & D. Cohen (Eds.), *Handbook for cultural psychology* (pp. 734–759). New York: Guilford Press.
- Miyamoto, Y., & Ma, X. (2011). Dampening or savoring positive emotions: a dialectical cultural script guides emotion regulation. *Emotion*, 11(6), 1346.
- Muthén, L.K. and Muthén, B.O. (1998-2015). *Mplus User's Guide*. Seventh Edition. Los Angeles, CA: Muthén & Muthén.

- Oishi, S., Akimoto, S. A., Richards, J. R. K., & Suh, E. M. (2013). Feeling understood as a key to cultural differences in life satisfaction. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 47, 488-491.
- Oishi, S., Krochik, M., & Akimoto, S. (2010). Felt Understanding as a Bridge between Close Relationships and Subjective Well-Being: Antecedents and Consequences Across Individuals and Cultures. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 4, 403-416.
- Quoidbach, J., Berry, E. V., Hansenne, M., & Mikolajczak, M. (2010). Positive emotion regulation and well-being: Comparing the impact of eight savoring and dampening strategies. *Personality and individual differences*, 49, 368-373.
- Reis, H. T., Clark, M. S., & Holmes, J. G. (2004). Perceived partner responsiveness as an organizing construct in the study of intimacy and closeness. In D. J. Mashek & A. Aron (Eds.), *Handbook of closeness and intimacy* (pp. 201–225). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Reis, H. T., & Patrick, B. C. (1996). Attachment and intimacy: Component processes. In A. Kruglanski & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles* (pp. 523–563). New York, NY: Guilford.
- Reis, H. T., Smith, S. M., Carmichael, C. L., Caprariello, P. A., Tsai, F. F., Rodrigues, A., & Maniaci, M. R. (2010). Are you happy for me? How sharing positive events with others provides personal and interpersonal benefits. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 99, 311-329.
- Rimé, B., Finkenauer, C., Luminet, O., Zech, E., & Philippot, P. (1998). Social sharing of emotion: New evidence and new questions. *European review of social psychology*, 9, 145-189.
- Schachter, S. (1959). *The psychology of affiliation*. Stanford University Press.

- Shallcross, S. L., Howland, M., Bemis, J., Simpson, J. A., & Frazier, P. (2011). Not “capitalizing” on social capitalization interactions: The role of attachment insecurity. *Journal of Family Psychology, 25*, 77-85.
- Smith, S. M., & Reis, H. T. (2012). Perceived responses to capitalization attempts are influenced by self-esteem and relationship threat. *Personal Relationships, 19*, 367-385.
- Soto, J. A., Perez, C. R., Kim, Y. H., Lee, E. A., & Minnick, M. R. (2011). Is expressive suppression always associated with poorer psychological functioning? A cross-cultural comparison between European Americans and Hong Kong Chinese. *Emotion, 11*, 1450-1455.
- Sung, M. (2007). *Cross-cultural differences in the positivity of happy person stereotype and subjective well-being* (Unpublished master’s thesis). Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea.
- Taylor, S. E., Sherman, D. K., Kim, H. S., Jarcho, J., Takagi, K., & Dunagan, M. S. (2004). Culture and social support: Who seeks it and why? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 87*, 354–362.
- Triandis, H. C. (1989). The self and social behavior in differing cultural contexts. *Psychological Review, 96*, 506-520.
- Tsai, J. L., Louie, J. Y., Chen, E. E., & Uchida, Y. (2007). Learning what feelings to desire: Socialization of ideal affect through children's storybooks. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 33*, 17-30.
- Tugade, M. M., & Fredrickson, B. L. (2007). Regulation of positive emotions: Emotion regulation strategies that promote resilience. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 8*, 311-333.

- Uchida, Y., Kitayama, S., Mesquita, B., Reyes, J. A. S., & Morling, B. (2008). Is perceived emotional support beneficial? Well-being and health in independent and interdependent cultures. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34, 741-754.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1994). Emotion, language, and cultural scripts. In S. Kitayama & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Emotion and culture: Empirical studies of mutual influence* (pp. 133-196). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Wilson, R. E., Gosling, S. D., & Graham, L. T. (2012). A review of Facebook research in the social sciences. *Perspectives on psychological science*, 7, 203-220.
- Yuki, M. & Schug, J. (2012). A socio-ecological approach to personal relationships. In O. Gillath, G.E. Adams, & A.D. Kunkel (Eds.). *New directions in close relationships: Integrating across disciplines and theoretical approaches*. Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics of key variables in Study 1

Variable	Koreans	Americans
Global capitalization attempts	5.14 (1.38)	5.57 (1.22)
Concrete capitalization attempts	5.15 (3.78)	6.08 (3.53)
Extraversion	4.82 (0.93)	4.78 (0.86)
Neuroticism	4.11 (1.09)	3.69 (1.04)
Age	18.77 (0.90)	19.22 (3.75)

Table 2

Descriptive statistics of key variables in Study 3

Variable	Koreans	European Americans
Capitalization attempts (general-positive)	14.46 (259.35)	78.27 (280.38)
Positive event Positivity	5.75 (1.43)	6.08 (1.23)
Positive event Importance	5.04 (1.82)	5.46 (1.63)
General event Positivity	4.01 (1.64)	4.61 (1.69)
General event Importance	3.81 (1.68)	4.38 (1.75)
Facebook Friends	447.70 (254.13)	707.91 (434.04)
Facebook usage	2.95 (1.41)	2.23 (1.09)
Extraversion	3.46 (0.86)	3.44 (0.77)
Neuroticism	2.66 (0.88)	2.55 (0.80)

Table 3
Descriptive statistics of and correlations between key variables in Study 4

[illegible]

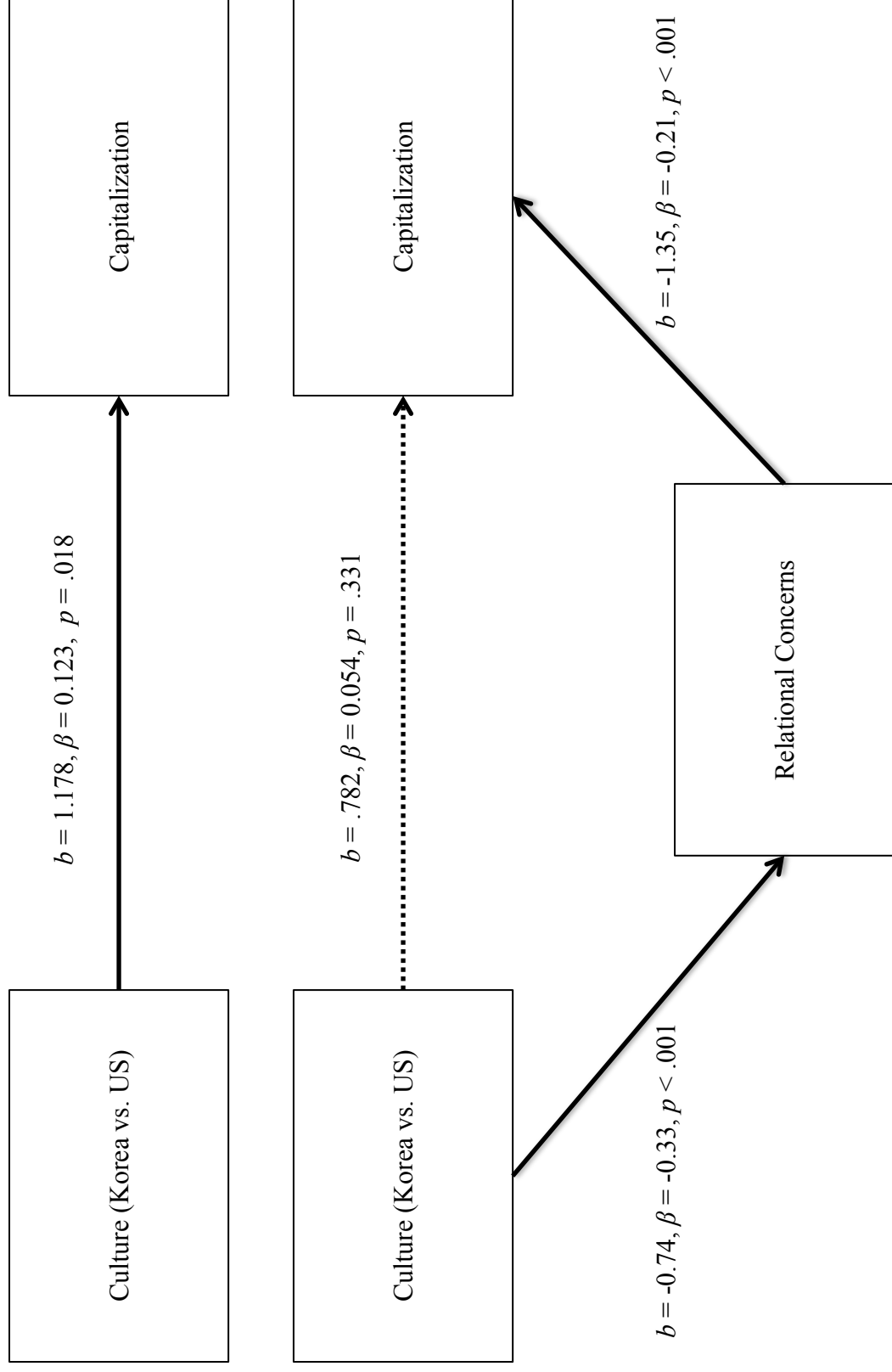


Figure 1. The mediation analysis. Note: ' b ' denotes unstandardized regression coefficients. ' β ' denotes standardized regression coefficients.

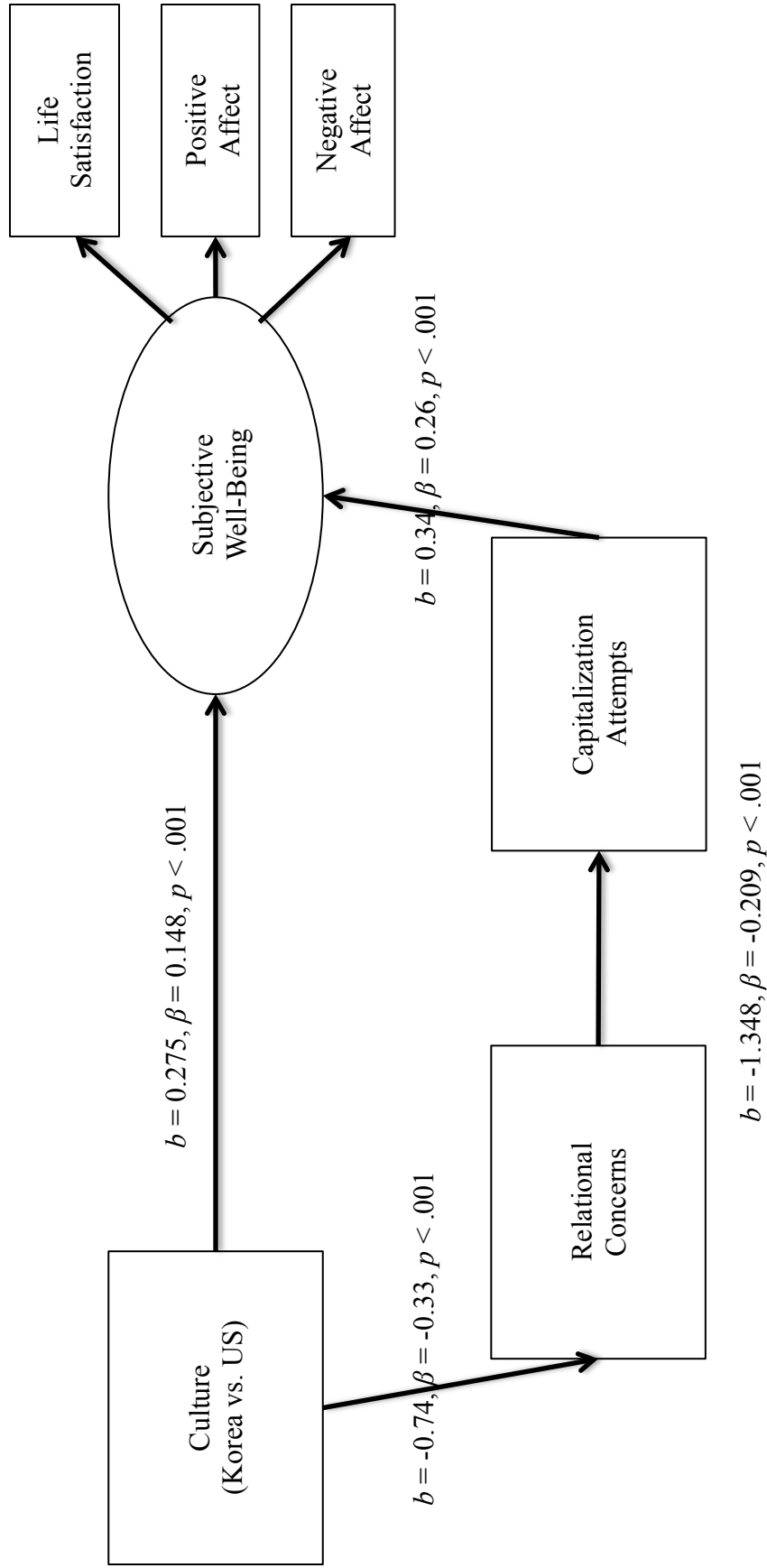


Figure 2. The path analysis. Note: 'b' denotes unstandardized regression coefficients. 'β' denotes standardized regression coefficients

Appendix
Items of relational concerns

1. I don't want to disrupt my social relationship by sharing it.
 2. I am afraid that other people would feel jealous or envious of me.
 3. I don't want to risk criticism from the people.
 4. I would feel hurt if they rained on my parade.
 5. It might make other people feel uncomfortable.
 6. It is just a personal thing and I have no need to share it with other people.
 7. I am afraid that other people would consider me immature.
 8. It is not beneficial for relationships in the long run.
 9. I don't think other people truly understand me.
 10. I don't enjoy being at the center of attention.
 11. I don't feel other people care about my good fortune.
-

Footnote

¹ For global reports on capitalization attempts, a 2 (Culture: Koreans vs. European Americans) x 2 (Gender: Men vs. Women) ANOVA was conducted. The main effect of Gender was significant, $F(1, 570) = 13.17, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .023$, meaning that women ($M = 5.59, SD = 1.22$) tend to share their positive event more than men ($M = 5.13, SD = 1.39$). The interaction effect between Culture and Gender was not significant, $F(1, 570) = 0.008, p = .930, \eta_p^2 = .000$. More important, the main effect of Culture was significant, $F(1, 570) = 18.01, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .031$. This shows Koreans ($M = 5.14, SD = 1.38$) tend to recount their positive event with others less than European Americans ($M = 5.66, SD = 1.20$). After controlling gender, age, neuroticism, and extraversion, the effect of culture on capitalization attempts remained significant, $F(1, 568) = 17.98, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .031$.

For concrete reports on capitalization attempts, we recorded responses of more than 11 to 11 as in the main analysis, because the number of capitalization attempts was severely skewed ranging from 0 to 1150 ($M = 11.78, SD = 66.38$; Skewness = 16.45, Kurtosis = 281.46). This transformation reduced the impact of outliers ($M = 5.58, SD = 3.73$; Skewness = 0.16, Kurtosis = -1.26). Next, a 2 (Culture: Koreans vs. European Americans) x 2 (Gender: Men vs. Women) ANOVA was conducted. The main effect of Gender was not significant, $F(1, 307) = 1.57, p = .212, \eta_p^2 = .005$. The interaction effect between Culture and Gender was significant, $F(1, 307) = 4.97, p = .026, \eta_p^2 = .016$. Pairwise comparisons using Fisher's least significant difference (LSD) showed that Korean females ($M = 5.69, SD = 3.79$) reported making more capitalization attempts than Korean males ($M = 4.11, SD = 3.56$), $F(1, 307) = 7.87, p = .005$. By contrast, there was no gender difference between European American females ($M = 6.08, SD = 3.31$) and

European American males ($M = 6.53$, $SD = 4.10$), $F(1, 307) = 0.39$, $p = .533$. More important, the main effect of Culture was significant, $F(1, 307) = 9.55$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. This shows Koreans ($M = 5.15$, $SD = 3.78$) told others about their positive event less than European Americans ($M = 6.22$, $SD = 3.56$). Also, consistent with global reports, the effect of culture on capitalization attempts remained significant after controlling for personality and demographic factors, $F(1, 305) = 4.42$, $p = .036$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$.