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심리학석사학위논문

Individual, Relational, and Collective
Self-Discrepancies and Happiness

2014년 8월

서울대학교 대학원
심리학과 사회심리 전공
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Individual, Relational, and Collective Self-Discrepancies and Happiness

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Abstract

The present study examined whether self-discrepancies in distinct construal of the ideal or the ought self were associated with happiness and whether discrepancy-happiness relationships were moderated by individualism and collectivism. To address these issues two studies were conducted using different measures. Results showed that higher discrepancies were negatively associated with happiness in a personal, relational, and partly collective levels. Especially, personal dimensions of self-discrepancy were the significant predictors of happiness after partialling out the effects of other discrepancies. These negative relationships between self-discrepancy and happiness were moderated by individualism and collectivism. That is, the more individualistic the people's cultural value are, the stronger was the negative effect of the actual-ideal self-discrepancy on happiness. On the other hand, the more collectivistic the people's cultural value are, the stronger was the negative effect of the actual-ought self-discrepancy, rather than actual-ideal self-discrepancy, on happiness. These findings provide integrated understanding for discrepancy-happiness relationships.

Key words: self-discrepancy, happiness, self-construal, individualism, collectivism

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Introduction

Many psychologists examining the emotional outcomes of goal attainment have focused on emotional responses to inconsistencies between one's perceived actual self and one's desired goal. When actual selves of individuals are congruent with their desired end states, they experience positive emotions. In contrast, when they are discrepant, they experience emotional distress (e.g., Abelson, 1981; Carver & Scheier, 1990; Cooley, 1964; Duval & Wicklund, 1972; Higgins, 1987; James, 1890/1948; Markus & Nurius, 1987; Rogers, 1961; Roseman, 1984; Stein & Jewett, 1982; Sullivan, 1953). For example, persons who are aware that they possess a moderate amount of confidence but believe that confidence is their ultimate ideal self may experience discomfort arising from the gap, or incompatibility between the two self-states. This lack of alignment was called self-discrepancy by social psychologist Tory Higgins, who provided a theoretical conceptualization of discrepancy related to emotional vulnerability.

Self-Discrepancy Theory

The relationship of self-discrepancy to emotional discomfort has been an active area of research since the self-discrepancy theory (SDT) was proposed by Higgins (1987, 1989, 1998). SDT provides an important contribution to understanding how specific types of discrepancies between representations of the self are and are not associated with certain emotional vulnerabilities. SDT states that people compare themselves with internalized standards called "self-guides" as chronic goals. These self-representations can be contradictory to each other and can produce emotional distress.

Self-discrepancy is the gap between a pair of self-state representations. The model indicates that individuals are motivated to bring their self-concept into line with the appropriate self-guide in order to remove the gap.

Higgins distinguished multiple self-representations by two cognitive dimensions: domains of the self and standpoints of the self (Higgins, 1987; Higgins, Bond, Klein, & Strauman, 1986; Higgins, Klein, & Strauman, 1985). Three domains of the self are described as follows: (1) actual self, representing one's belief about what he or she is actually like; (2) ideal self, representing hopes, wishes or aspirations; and (3) ought self, representing duties, obligations or responsibilities. The former constitutes what is typically referred to as self-concept, while the latter two represent self-guides. Within these self domains, individuals can view their current states either from their own standpoint or from the standpoint of a significant other. Combinations of the two dimensions of the self yield six different self-state representations: actual/own, actual/other, ideal/own, ideal/other, ought/own, and ought/other. In terms of two basic self-guides, self-discrepancy is then specified into actual-ideal self-discrepancy (e.g., "actual/own" versus "ideal/own" and "actual/own" versus "ideal/other") and actual-ought self-discrepancy (e.g., "actual/own" versus "ought/own" and "actual/own" versus "ought/other"). As self-discrepancies are conceptually distinct, they reflect qualitatively different psychological situations. Self-discrepancy between the actual and ideal selves represents the absence of positive outcomes, whereas self-discrepancy between the actual and ought selves represents the presence of negative outcomes (Shah & Higgins, 1997).

As with all forms of self-inconsistency theories, self-discrepancies have an impact on motivational patterns, emotional responses, and behavioral strategies involved

in self-regulation (Higgins et al., 1986; Higgins, Roney, Crowe, & Hymes, 1994; Higgins & Tykocinski, 1992; Strauman, 1990; Strauman & Higgins, 1987). In particular, SDT demonstrated discrepancy-emotion relationships according to the types of dominant self-guides that individuals used. That is, actual-ideal self-discrepancy is related to dejection-related emotions, such as disappointed or discouraged, while actual-ought self-discrepancy is linked to agitation-related emotions, such as tense or nervous. On the other hand, actual-ideal congruency is related with cheerfulness-related emotions, such as happy or satisfied, whereas actual-ought self-discrepancy is associated with quiescence, such as calm or relaxed (Higgins et al., 1986; Higgins et al., 1997). Because these emotional responses of self-evaluations are automatic, they may be experienced even if individuals are not explicitly aware of the discrepancies. The affective consequences of experiencing a discrepancy from one's own ideal or ought consistently hold in both correlational (e.g., Higgins et al., 1985) and experimental studies (e.g., Higgins et al., 1994) with clinical (e.g., Scott & O'Hara, 1993) as well as nonclinical samples (e.g., Higgins et al., 1985).

Multiple Construal of Self-Discrepancy

Although affective experiences in relation to mismatches between the actual self and desired self have been widely investigated in previous studies, they have mainly focused on personal aspects of self, the individual-based aspects of self-discrepancies. However, the self can be defined not only at the individual level but also at relational and collective levels. Indeed, representation of the self has been found to involve multiple aspects of self-construal. Personal self-construal refers to one's self that is fundamentally individuated or differentiated from others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Relational self-construal is defined in terms of ties with close others, the quality of the relationship, and one's interpersonal roles (Cross & Madson, 1997). Collective self-construal reflects sociocentric aspects of the self in a more inclusive social category that depersonalize the self and differentiate one's group from other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Self-related concepts related to these construal, such as self-esteem, narcissism, and ego-justification, have been extended to collective self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), collective narcissism (de Zavala, Cichocka, Eidelson, & Jayawickreme, 2009), and group and system justification (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004), respectively.

As noted above, researchers have long been interested in the existence and implications of various self-state representations (e.g., Baumeister, 1986; Greenward & Pratkanis, 1984; James, 1980; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). More recently, the constructs of individual, relational, and collective self-construal have become important in research on the self (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Cross, Hardin, & Gercek-Swing, 2011; Kashima & Hardie, 2000). In this way, people can perceive self-discrepancy not only at a personal level but also at relational and collective levels. Given that distinct self-construal influences variations in cognition, emotion, motivation, and social behavior, discrepancies in other levels of self should be taken into concern.

A few studies on different dimensions of self-discrepancy can be found in the literature. For instance, Alexander and Higgins (1993) examined how the distinct types of self-discrepancy are related to emotional vulnerabilities in transition to parenthood when the relational role as a parent is activated. Robin and Boldero (2003) proposed a type of self-discrepancy considering self-aspects of relational partners. Boldero and Francis (2000) investigated the differences in discrepancy-emotion relationships comparing social self-domains (e.g., self as a family member, self as a student). Ross,

Heine, Wilson, and Sigimori (2005) conducted a cross-cultural study testing self-appraisals in East Asia and North America. The extent to which self-enhancing or self-criticizing is performed was measured through private and relational self-discrepancies between past self and current self. Bizman and colleagues extended Higgins's theory to encompass discrepancies related to the collective aspect of the self and their associations with distinct group-based emotional distress (Bizman, Yinon, & Krotman, 2001; Bizman & Yinon, 2004).

However, there is still no research providing evidences for the relationship between self-discrepancies and the tripartite self-construal. Thus, discrepancies regarding the individual, relational, and collective self and their associations to happiness are examined in the present study.

Relations between Self-Discrepancy and Happiness

A large number of researchers have conducted studies that have implications for the relationship between self-discrepancy and happiness. For example, Ogilvie (1987) suggested that the ideal self and the undesired self are the preferred reference points for making judgments of present-day life satisfaction. Ryff (1991) demonstrated that psychological well-being is related with present, past, future, and ideal self-assessment across different ages. Michalos (1985) presented the multiple discrepancies theory and argued that happiness and satisfaction depend on comparisons of one's current states to a number of standards, including aspirations, relevant other people, and the best state in one's past. Much earlier, Wilson (1967) mentioned in his review of the literature that happiness correlates with discrepancy between the need for achievement and actual achievement, and with the discrepancy between self and ideal self.

More recently, McDaniel and Grice (2008) assessed self-discrepancies following Higgins's categorization of self-guides and their relations to psychological well-being. In a similar vein, several studies reported correlations between actual-ideal or actual-ought discrepancy and life satisfaction (Pavot, Fujita, & Deiner, 1997; Reich, Kessel, & Bernieri, 2013). SDT referred to the relations between emotions and self-congruency as well: cheerfulness-related emotions, such as "happy" and "satisfied", were found to be positively correlated with actual-ideal self-congruency (Higgins et al., 1997).

The relations of discrepancy-happiness have been also explored in the literature on subjective well-being. Diener, Suh, Lucas, and Smith (1999) suggested that the rate of progress toward and the attainment of one's goals can potentially influence one's subjective well-being because individuals' goals serve as a central reference for the affect system. Emmons (1986) conducted a study about the relations between personal goal strivings and the components of subjective well-being. According to his research, positive affect was associated with past success of achieving goals.

Although the findings of these studies provide theoretical contributions to understanding discrepancy-happiness relationships, there remains yet uncovered questions, which are addressed in the present study. For example, do people feel discrepancies in the dimension of relational or collective selves? Do people experience less happiness if their actual selves are discrepant from desired selves at the relational (or collective) level as well as the individual level? How do the relationships differ in distinct domains involving the ideal or the ought? Answers to these questions will offer an integrated and comprehensive understanding of happiness and self-discrepancy. Moreover, different measures or scales of self-discrepancy and happiness will be used in

this study to ensure internal consistency and generalizability of the results.

Cultural Differences in the Influences of Self-Discrepancies on Happiness

The cultural settings shape desired self-standards that are set by people. As Diener et al. (1999) pointed out, when the goals people select are weighted by the culture to which they belong, engagement in goal pursuit is more conducive to happiness. Saliency of discrepancy is likely to vary, depending on the self-guides that are culturally valued. Lee, Aaker, and Gardner (2000) demonstrated that self-regulatory processes focusing on promotion and prevention strategies differ in individuals within distinct cultures. Specifically, individuals within Western cultures where independent self-construal is dominant are more promotion-focused, while individuals within Eastern cultures where interdependent self-construal is dominant are more prevention-focused. Thus, the effects of discrepancies on happiness would be changed by interactions with cultural aspects. Also, a large variation in cultural values has been found within a country (Hofstede, 1980; Kirkman, Lowe, & Gibson, 2006). Accordingly, this study examined whether cultural values as an individual difference will determine patterns of discrepancy-happiness relations within a country.

The Present Study

The objective of the present study is to integrate individual, relational, and collective self-discrepancies of the ideal or the ought to examine whether discrepancies in distinct dimensions are related to happiness, as discrepancies in personal selves are associated with emotional discomfort. More specifically, the current research examines the type of discrepancy that people experience greater, the empirical links between

discrepancies and happiness, the most influential discrepancy in relation to happiness, and the moderation effect of cultural differences.

Study 1

Study 1 was designed as a test of whether self-discrepancies at different levels are negatively associated with actual happiness. This study had three primary purposes: to demonstrate what kind of discrepancy people feel greater, to examine empirical links between discrepancies and happiness, and to investigate which discrepancy is the most influential to happiness. Specifically, it is hypothesized that each type of discrepancy would relate negatively with happiness because of positive relationships between self-discrepancy and emotional distress (Higgins, 1987). From this time forth, the terms of self-discrepancy, family-discrepancy, and national discrepancy will be employed to refer to individual self-discrepancy, relational self-discrepancy, and collective self-discrepancy, respectively.

Method

Participants

One hundred and sixty-one undergraduate students (67 female, 94 male) from Seoul National University participated either for payment of 5,000 Korean Won (about \$4.71) or for partial fulfillment of course credit. One outlier ($\geq 3 SD$) was detected across six types of discrepancy scores and was subsequently removed from the analysis.

Materials and procedures

Participants completed the following questionnaires. This study was conducted with paper-and-pencil and run in groups of 1-5 participants in the laboratory.

Discrepancy Questionnaire. A nomothetic measure, including previous adjective rating tasks, was designed to assess self-discrepancy (Ickes, Wicklund, &

Ferris, 1973; Seo, 1996; Tangney, Niedenthal, Covert, & Barlow, 1998). This modified questionnaire measured participants' level of discrepancies: actual versus ideal self, actual versus ought self, actual versus ideal family, actual versus ought family, actual versus ideal Koreans, and actual versus ought Koreans.

Participants completed adjective checklists for each domain (actual, ideal, and ought) in three different dimensions (self, family, and nation). The questionnaire consisted of three sections: the first related to the "self" dimension, the second dealing with the "family" dimension, and the third concerned with the "national" dimension. The instructions read:

In the following questionnaire, you will be asked to rate the attributes of self, family, and nation. Each dimension can be defined as follows:

Self-dimension is how you think and feel about *yourself*.

Family-dimension is how you think and feel about *your family*.

Nation-dimension is how you think and feel about *your country (Koreans)*.

You will be asked to rate three types of dimensions, which are composed of two separate domains.

Actual state: your beliefs concerning the traits that you think you, your family or your country *actually possesses*.

Ideal state: your beliefs concerning the traits that you, your family, or your country would ideally like *to possess*; the state that you, your family, or your country *wishes, desires or hopes to be*.

Ought state: your beliefs concerning the traits that you, your family, or your country *ought to possess*; the state of you, your family or your country has *duties, obligations or responsibilities*.

Participants were provided with 11 bipolar adjective pairs (e.g., good-bad, strong-weak, honest-dishonest, active-passive, fair-unfair, free-constrained, bright-dark, etc.) on 9-point-likert scale. Participants indicated the extent to which the adjective pair described each state appropriately. These adjective pair attributes have been used in previous studies of self-discrepancy (Ickes et al., 1973; Seo, 1996; see also Chang, 1968; Osgood, 1957) and were chosen because they could clearly distinguish positive and negative poles and could be applied across three dimensions. One pair of “democratic-dictatorial” was added. Participants rated each of the nine states (3 dimensions \times 3 domains), and each page of the questionnaire was related to particular domain/dimension combinations (e.g., actual self, ideal family, ought nation, etc.). The order in which participants completed the discrepancy questionnaire and the adjectives checklist was counterbalanced. Within each order, the presentation of self, family, and national dimensions was counterbalanced. Also, five pairs arranged positive adjectives on the right side and negative adjectives on the left side, while the order was reversed for six pairs. The alpha for each type of representations ranged from .77 to .90.

Actual-ideal self-discrepancy (AIS) was scored by calculating the mean of the difference scores between actual self ratings and ideal self ratings on each of the 11 attributes. Actual-ought self-discrepancy (AOS) was scored in a similar way with the actual self and ought self ratings. Discrepancy scores for family and national dimensions (actual-ideal family-discrepancy, actual-ought family-discrepancy, actual-ideal national discrepancy, and actual-ought national discrepancy; in short, AIF, AOF, AIN, and AON, respectively) were also calculated similarly.

Happiness. Happiness was assessed with the Subjective Happiness Scale (SHS; Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999). This scale contains four statements on a 7-point likert

scale. For example, “In general, I consider myself _____” with responses ranging from 1 = *not a very happy person* to 7 = *a very happy person*, with a coefficient $\alpha = .89$. The four items were averaged such that higher scores reflect greater subjective happiness.

Results

Degree of discrepancies

At first, which discrepancy people perceived greater was examined. As presented in Table 1, the degree of discrepancy was the highest in national dimension, the next in self, and the lowest in family. Across dimensions, actual-ideal discrepancies ($M = 2.17$, $SD = .79$) were larger than actual-ought discrepancies ($M = 1.63$, $SD = 1.02$). To compare the three dimensions and two domains of discrepancies, repeated measures of ANOVA was conducted. Mauchly’s tests showed that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $\chi^2(2) = 7.68$, $p = .02$ for discrepancy dimensions and $\chi^2(2) = 9.21$, $p = .01$ for dimension \times domain interaction, therefore Greenhouse–Geisser correction was applied for these variables. There were statistically significant differences in the degree of discrepancies across the three dimensions, $F(1.91, 301.60) = 117.07$, $p < .001$, and across the two domains $F(1, 158) = 117.23$, $p < .001$. Dimension \times domain interaction was also statistically significant, $F(1.90, 299) = 5.61$, $p < .01$. Follow-up paired t tests showed significant differences on all discrepancy dimensions and domains, all $t_s(159) > 2.53$, $p_s < .05$. See Figure 1 for the pattern of results.

Correlations with happiness

Next, whether discrepancies actually had negative associations with happiness was examined. As presented in Table 2, correlational analyses revealed that self-discrepancy and family-discrepancy were significantly related to happiness.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Discrepancies in Study 1.

Dimension	Actual-Ideal		Actual-Ought		Total	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Self	1.87	.93	1.42	1.07	1.65	.93
Family	1.67	1.03	1.16	1.20	1.41	1.07
Nation	2.98	1.07	2.32	1.41	2.65	1.17

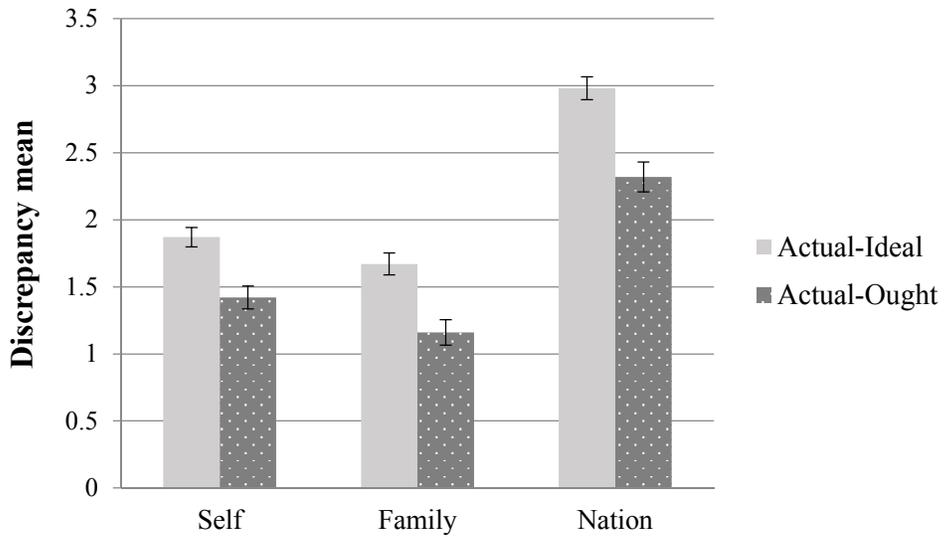


Figure 1. Degree of Discrepancies in Study 1.

Table 2

Correlations among Measures in Study 1.

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. AIS	—					
2. AOS	.71***	—				
3. AIF	.48***	.37***	—			
4. AOF	.45***	.55***	.83***	—		
5. AIN	.38***	.45***	.38***	.36***	—	
6. AON	.30***	.54***	.34***	.51***	.78***	—
7. SHS	-.39***	-.31***	-.33***	-.30***	-.09	-.08

Note. AIS = actual-ideal self-discrepancy; AOS = actual-ought self-discrepancy; AIF = actual-ideal family-discrepancy; AOF = actual-ought family discrepancy; AIN = actual-ideal national discrepancy; AON = actual-ought national discrepancy; SHS = subjective happiness scale.

*** $p < .001$.

However, the correlation between national discrepancy and happiness was nonsignificant. Although the magnitude of discrepancy was greatest at the national level, that is, people perceived that the disparity between the actual and the ideal (and the ought) for Koreans is widest, these discrepancies were not significantly related to actual happiness (all $ps > .10$). Meanwhile, significant correlations emerged, as predicted, between discrepancies concerning self or family and happiness. Specifically, subjective happiness was related with AIS, $r(150) = -.39$, AOS, $r(150) = -.31$, AIF, $r(149) = -.33$, and AOF, $r(150) = -.30$ (all $ps < .001$).

Additionally, positive correlations among discrepancy domains (i.e., actual-ideal discrepancy, actual-ought discrepancy) were found (.71 to .83). Research has routinely found high intercorrelations between ideal and ought discrepancies, typically over .50 and often as high as .80 (Bizman, Yinon, & Krotman, 2001; Higgins, Klein, & Strauman, 1985; Tangney et al., 1998). It is evident from Table 1 that the correlations among different types of discrepancies were quite high, as previous studies have consistently reported. However, the high intercorrelations are not surprising, given that all discrepancies in this study contained the same adjective checklist and each domain of discrepancies included a common variable—the actual state.

Relative importance on happiness

To examine which discrepancy among six types is the main predictor of happiness, multiple regression analysis was performed with subjective happiness as the criterion variable. In Step 1, gender as a demographic variable, was entered to partial out its effect. Six types of discrepancy were then simultaneously entered in Step 2. Multicollinearity was tested by means of variance inflation factors (VIFs; e.g., Bowerman & O'Connell 1990; Neter, Wasserman, & Kutner, 1990). VIF in excess of 10

Table 3

Results from Hierarchical Regression Analyses in Study 1: Effects of Discrepancies on Happiness.

Step	R^2	ΔR^2	Predictor	β (SHS)	t
1	.001		gender	.03	.34
2		.20***	AIS	-.25	-2.03*
			AOS	-.13	-.95
			AIF	-.20	-1.25
			AOF	-.03	-.20
			AIN	.09	.67
			AON	.08	.51

Note. Abbreviations as in Table 2; $df = 147$ at Step 1, 141 at Step 2.

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

is often taken as an indication that multicollinearity may be unduly influencing the least squares estimates. In this study, none of the VIF values was greater than 10, denoting that multicollinearity was not a serious problem. Standardized betas for each step of the regression analysis are demonstrated in Table 3. It was found that only AIS significantly predicted happiness, $\beta = -.25$, $t(141) = -2.03$, $p < .05$. No gender differences were found in the results.

Discussion

In sum, discrepancies, other than in the national dimension, were found to be negatively correlated with actual happiness. However, actual-ideal self-discrepancy was the single significant predictor of happiness after the effects of other discrepancies were partialled out. Also, participants reported the widest gap in national discrepancy.

First, these results suggest that happiness decreases by perceiving higher discrepancy. According to SDT, self-discrepancy results in greater negative emotion (Higgins, 1987, 1998). It is known that ideal self-discrepancy is related with dejection (e.g., disappointed, dissatisfied, and sad), whereas ought self-discrepancy is related with agitation (e.g., afraid, tense, and uneasy). When it comes to congruency, matching with ideal self brings about cheerfulness-related emotions (e.g., happy, satisfied, and enthusiastic), while matching to ought self leads to quiescence-related emotions (e.g., calm and relaxed). The result of Study 1 was consistent with Higgins's theory in that AIS was a significant predictor of happiness. Also, the effect of AIS suggests that the more congruent individuals' actual self and ideal self is, the more intense their induced level of happiness would be.

Secondly, family-discrepancies were also negatively correlated with happiness.

This result showed that there is a potentially important link between relational discrepancy and happiness. It is also noteworthy that associations between national discrepancies and happiness are absent although people perceive that discrepancy at the national level is greatest.

It is acceptable, meanwhile, that the intercorrelations between ideal discrepancies and ought discrepancies are potential limitations of this study. When a nomothetic approach is taken, a main problem that arises is the inflated intercorrelations among the variables. In this study, using identical adjective items for measurements may have inflated the correlations between discrepancies belonging to a specific domain. In order to untangle this problem, the next study replicated Study 1 with a different methodology for measuring discrepancies. Also, another measurement of happiness was adopted to increase the validity of the findings.

This study has addressed only the relationships of discrepancies to happiness. However, there is other literature that suggests that cultural orientations might be a reasonable candidate for a moderator of the relation between discrepancy and happiness. For instance, Lee, Aaker, and Gardner (2000) showed that individuals with a dominant independent-self attuned toward promotion focus, responding to events with relatively greater happiness or dejection, whereas individuals with a dominant interdependent-self attuned toward prevention focus, responding to events with relatively greater relaxation or anxiety. Therefore, it is expected that cultural differences would moderate the relations between happiness and self-discrepancy in different dimensions (i.e., self and family) or different domains (i.e., ideal and ought). This proposition was examined in Study 2.

Study 2

The primary purpose of this study is to examine whether cultural differences—individualism and collectivism—would function as a moderator of the relationship between self-discrepancies and happiness. It is expected that higher AIS would be related to reduced happiness, and more importantly, that cultural tendencies would determine levels of happiness. In particular, higher AIS with stronger individualism would be related to less happiness, whereas higher AOS with stronger collectivism would be related to less happiness. In addition, this study sought to replicate and extend the findings of Study 1 by using a different methodologies to measure discrepancies and happiness.

Method

Participants

Two hundreds and fifty-eight introductory psychology students (117 female, 138 male, 3 declined to specify), ranging from 18 to 30 years old ($M = 20.01$, $SD = 1.95$), participated in the study for partial course credits. Three outliers were detected and eleven incorrect quiz respondents in the discrepancy questionnaire were found. These cases were dropped from the analysis, yielding a sample size of 244.

Materials and procedures

Participants completed the following questionnaires. This study was conducted with paper-and-pencil and up to 5 participants were tested at the same time in the laboratory.

Discrepancy Questionnaire. Given that experimenter-provided set of adjective

lists may contain attributes not important or accessible to the participants, the nomothetic task in Study 1 may have missed attributes centrally relevant to individual participants (Higgins, 1999). Therefore, in Study 2, an idiographic approach was adopted to adequately capture participants' most accessible discrepancies by modifying the Self-Discrepancy Index developed by Hardin and Lakin (2009). A 3 (dimension: self, family, and nation) \times 2 (domain: ideal and ought) repeated measures design was employed. Firstly, participants were given instructions on the definitions of the different dimensions and domains of discrepancies and the way to respond to the questionnaire. The definitions of terms that were provided to the participants were identical to those given in Study 1 except that *Korean society* was used instead of *Koreans* for the national dimension. Brief quizzes were also administered so as to check for participants' understanding. Then, they were asked to generate lists of five attributes, each for the ideal and ought states, in dimensions of self, family, and nation, yielding a total of six types of representations (i.e., ideal self, ought self, ideal family, ought family, ideal nation, and ought nation). At the same time, participants were asked to enumerate the list in order of importance. Besides, they were shown a list of 108 adjectives which they were allowed to complete or change and produce self-generated lists.¹ This helped those who have difficulties due to vocabulary limitations or fatigue (Hardin & Lakin, 2009).

¹ Two pilot tests were conducted to select the adjectives list. In the pilot tests, participants were asked to list as follows: (1) attributes that they think they, their family, and Korean society actually possesses (i.e., actual self, actual family, and actual nation); (2) attributes that they, their family, and Korean society would ideally like to possess (i.e., ideal self, ideal family, and ideal nation); and (3) attributes that they, their family, and Korean society ought to possess (i.e., ought self, ought family, and ought nation). Attributes that responded more than twice were selected as the adjectives sample. And 22 positive items (Seo, 1996) were added in the final adjective list shown in this study.

Lastly, participants went back to the attributes they had listed and directly indicated how much they thought each of the words actually described or applied to them, their family, and their country at that time. Ratings were given on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 = *does not describe at all* to 5 = *completely describe*.² Discrepancies were determined by reversing ratings and calculating the mean of the first three attribute scores for each representation. The mean score of three lists were considered to reflect individuals' most relevant discrepancy since they formed them in order of importance. The order of presentations of the three dimensions and two domains were counterbalanced so that 12 combinations are made. Cronbach's coefficient alpha for each of the discrepancies ranged from .55 to .77 ($M = .69$, $SD = .08$).

Happiness. Subjective Happiness scale (SHS; Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999), used in Study 1, was also employed for this study. The alpha for SHS was .82. In an attempt to enhance generalizability of the findings, Subjective Well-Being measures (SWB; Diener, 1994) were used in further analyses of Study 2. This measure contains the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) and Positive Affect and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), and SWB is calculated as a composite of life satisfaction, positive affect and negative affect. First, participants completed the 5-item SWLS which measure the individual's evaluation of general satisfaction with life (e.g. "I am satisfied with my life," and "If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing"). Participants

² In study 1, discrepancy scores were calculated by subtracting actual states from ideal states (or ought states). Unlike with study 1, participants' ratings directly reflect congruency (reversed discrepancy) in study 2. For instance, if someone wrote "respectable" as his or her ideal self and then rated "3" as the extent to which the word "respectable" applied to their current state, the "3" became congruency score toward his or her ideal state.

responded on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* for each statement; the coefficient alpha for the SWLS was .83. Next, participants completed the 20-items PANAS, which measured positive affect (PA) and negative affect (NA). They were asked to indicate the extent they have felt this way over the past month, using a 1 = *very slightly* to 5 = *extremely* scale. This instrument contained 10 positive affects—interested, excited, inspired, determined, attentive, and etc.—and 10 negative affects — irritable, nervous, hostile, afraid, guilty, and etc. Coefficient alpha for PA and NA was .86 and .83, respectively. Finally, the SWB score was computed by standardizing these variables and subtracting NA from SWLS and PA (Sheldon & Kasser, 1998, 2001).

Cultural Difference. The Individualism and Collectivism Scale (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995) was used to measure the cultural differences at the individual level. Sample items are as follows: for collectivism, “To me, pleasure is spending time with others,” “I feel good when I cooperate with others,” “I usually sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of my group,” “It is important to me that I respect decisions made by the group”; for individualism, “I often do ‘my own thing,’” “Being a unique individual is important to me,” “Winning is everything,” “It annoys me when other people perform better than I do.” Participants rated the extent to which each item applied to them along a 9-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 9 = *strongly agree*. Since Hofstede (1980) reports collectivism-individualism as a continuum, the collectivism-individualism index (COL-IND) was calculated by subtracting individualism score from collectivism score. Therefore, higher scores reflect stronger collectivism. The internal consistencies (Cronbach’s alpha) of the collectivism and individualism scales were .81 and .78, respectively.

Results

Degree of discrepancies

Means and standard deviations for six types of discrepancy are presented in Table 4. The results of Study 1, regarding the domain of greater discrepancy, was replicated. The degree of discrepancy was the highest in national dimension, the next in self, and the lowest in family. Actual-ideal discrepancy ($M = 3.24, SD = .64$) was larger than actual-ought discrepancy ($M = 2.77, SD = .54$). A two-way repeated measure ANOVA revealed statistically significant main effect of dimension, $F(1.93, 464.09) = 217.98, p = .000$, main effect of domain, $F(1, 241) = 170.10, p < .001$, and dimension \times domain interactions, $F(2, 482) = 5.11, p < .01$. Mauchly's tests of sphericity were shown to be significant, $\chi^2(2) = 9.45, p < .01$ for discrepancy dimensions, therefore Greenhouse–Geisser correction was applied for these variables. Furthermore, paired t tests showed significant differences on all discrepancy dimensions and domains, all $t_s(241) > 3.02, p < .01$. See Figure 2 for the pattern of results.

Correlations with happiness

Correlations of discrepancies and self-reported happiness were assessed and are displayed in Table 5. As predicted, discrepancies exhibited (marginally) significant correlations with actual happiness (either SHS or SWB), except for AON. In the meantime, correlation coefficient tended to decrease gradually from self to family and from family to national dimension, varying from $r(243) = -.40, p < .001$ to $r(243) = -.11, p = .08$ for SHS and from $r(243) = -.45, p < .001$ to $r(243) = -.18, p < .01$ for SWB. Besides, discrepancy questionnaire used in study 2 showed lower intercorrelations between ideal and ought discrepancies (.43 to .55) than those of study 1.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for Discrepancies in Study 2.

Dimension	Actual-Ideal		Actual-Ought		Total	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Self	3.13	.87	2.57	.70	2.85	.67
Family	2.77	.98	2.28	.85	2.52	.81
Nation	3.82	.76	3.47	.84	3.65	.69

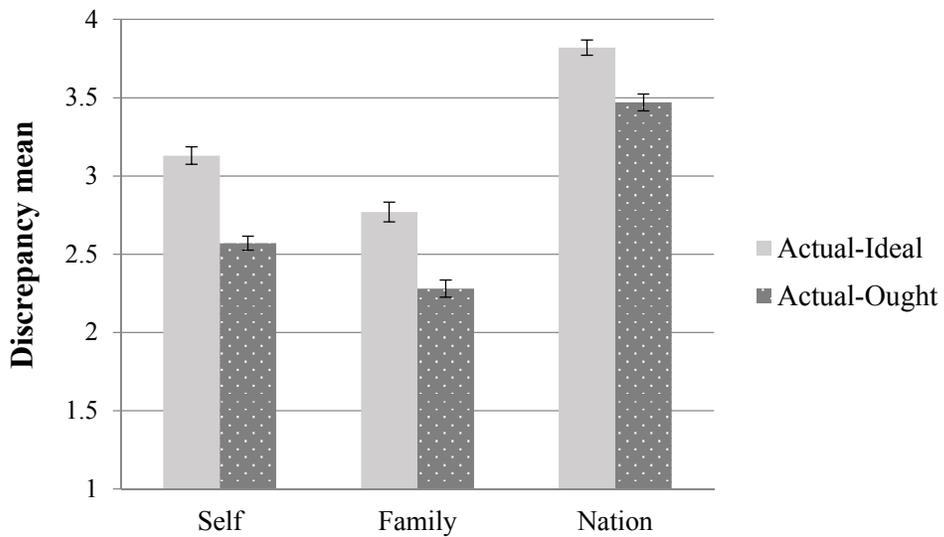


Figure 2. Degree of Discrepancies in Study 2.

Table 5

Correlations among Measures in Study 2.

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. AIS	—						
2. AOS	.43***	—					
3. AIF	.35***	.27***	—				
4. AOF	.25***	.32***	.55***	—			
5. AIN	.29***	.22***	.31***	.14*	—		
6. AON	.09	.23***	.15*	.07	.50***	—	
7. SHS	-.40***	-.31***	-.24***	-.19**	-.11 [†]	-.02	—
8. SWB	-.45***	-.33***	-.25***	-.23***	-.18**	-.09	.77***

Note. Abbreviations as in Table 2; SWB = subjective well-being.

[†] $p < .09$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Relative importance on happiness and moderation effect of culture

The primary purpose of study 2 was to investigate whether individualism and collectivism would moderate the negative relation between self-discrepancies and happiness. To examine this issue, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were performed with subjective happiness as the criterion variable, following the moderated regression procedures recommended by Aiken and West (1991). After all main effect predictors were centered, demographic variables such as gender and age were entered into the first step. Six types of discrepancies were then entered in the second step, followed by the six two-way interaction terms between discrepancies and individualism and collectivism index (e.g., AIS \times COL-IND, AOS \times COL-IND, and etc.) in the third step. Multicollinearity was tested by means of VIFs. The maximum VIF in the regression analyses for Study 2 was 1.73, indicating that multicollinearity was not a problem (Neter et al., 1990).

The results of regression analyses are reported in Table 6. The main effect of discrepancies in the self-dimension was only significant, $\beta = -.28$, $t(233) = -4.09$, $p < .001$ for AIS and $\beta = -.19$, $t(233) = -2.83$, $p < .01$ for AOS, respectively. The coefficient of AIS on SHS were not significantly different from that of AOS, $t(233) = .78$, ns . Consistent with our prediction, the relationship between self-discrepancies and subjective happiness were moderated by the individualistic and collectivistic aspect; $\Delta R^2 = .06$, $\Delta F = 2.51$, $f^2 = .07$, $\beta = .19$, $t(226) = 2.73$, $p < .01$ for AIS and COL-IND interaction and $\beta = -.20$, $t(226) = -2.84$, $p < .01$ for AOS and COL-IND interaction, respectively. The effect size met conventional criteria suggested by Cohen (1988). The effects of other interactions in the regression analyses were not close to statistical significance. To verify these two interaction effects, a series of simple slope analyses

Table 6

Results of Moderated Regression Analyses in Study 2: Effects of Discrepancies on Happiness.

Step	R^2	ΔR^2	Predictor	β (SHS)	t
1	.05**		gender	-.05	-.82
			age	-.22	-3.51**
2		.19***	AIS	-.28	-4.09***
			AOS	-.19	-2.83**
			AIF	-.10	-1.34
			AOF	-.01	-.11
			AIN	.03	.42
			AON	.07	1.07
3		.06*	COL-IND	.07	1.07
			AIS \times COL-IND	.19	2.73**
			AOS \times COL-IND	-.20	-2.84**
			AIF \times COL-IND	.12	1.65
			AOF \times COL-IND	-.04	-.55
			AIN \times COL-IND	.01	.10
			AON \times COL-IND	-.01	-.16

Note. Abbreviations as in Table 2; COL-IND = collectivism – individualism; df = 239 at Step 1, 233 at Step 2, 226 at Step 3.

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

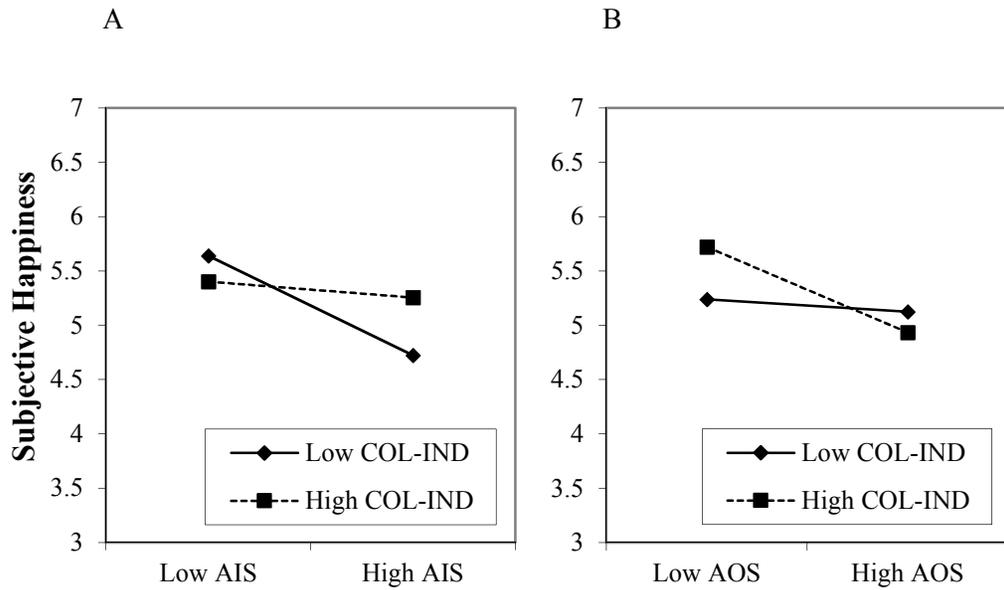


Figure 3. Moderation effect of collectivism-individualism on the relation between self-discrepancy and happiness. High and low values are 1 standard deviation above and below each value, respectively. AIS = actual-ideal self-discrepancy (Panel A). AOS = actual-ought self-discrepancy (Panel B). COL-IND = collectivism – individualism.

was tested (Aiken & West, 1991). As predicted, the slope of AIS for high individualism (at 1 SD below the value on COL-IND scale) was significant, $\beta = -.44$, $t(226) = -4.73$, $p < .001$, whereas the slope for high collectivism (at 1 SD above the value on COL-IND scale) was nonsignificant, $\beta = -.08$, $t(226) = -.81$, *ns*. In contrast, the slope of AOS for high collectivism (at 1 SD above the value on COL-IND scale) was significant, $\beta = -.34$, $t(226) = -3.82$, $p < .001$, whereas the slope for high individualism (at 1 SD below the value on COL-IND scale) was nonsignificant, $\beta = -.05$, $t(226) = -.65$, *ns*. These results indicated that AIS was significantly negatively associated with subjective happiness for those individuals with higher individualism, while AOS was significantly negatively associated with subjective happiness for those individuals with higher collectivism. See Figure 3 for the pattern of results.

Discussion

Study 2 was conducted to replicate results of Study 1 and to examine whether cultural differences moderated the discrepancy-happiness relationship. The findings, using a methodology different from Study 1, provided evidences for the relation of self-discrepancies in different self-construal to happiness. More importantly, the hypothesized moderation effect was systematically examined and the role of cultural tendencies as a moderator of the relationships between self-discrepancies and happiness were confirmed. That is, the more individualistic the people's cultural value are, the stronger was the negative effect of AIS on happiness. On the other hand, the more collectivistic the people's cultural value are, the stronger was the negative effect of AOS, rather than AIS, on happiness.

The findings of interactions between discrepancies and cultural differences are

well fitted with previous research. As Lee et al. (2000) reported, individuals within Western cultures where independent self is salient are more promotion-focused, which concerns the presence or absence of ideal outcomes. In contrast, individuals within Eastern cultures where interdependent self is salient are more prevention-focused, which concerns the absence or presence of ought outcomes. Lockwood, Jordan, and Kunda (2002) demonstrated that individuals are inspired by role models and that the impact of the role models on motivation depends on one's dominant regulatory orientation (i.e., prevention and promotion). They also discussed that positive role models might function as a more effective motivators than negative role models, particularly among individuals in cultures characterized by independent self-construal. Accordingly, present study provided consistent support for previous findings that self-regulatory focus for goal pursuit differ with distinct cultural self.

It is noteworthy that there is no interaction effect between relational (nor collective) dimensions of discrepancy and cultural values. Although relational and collective discrepancies on happiness seemed to be moderated by collectivism, their effects on happiness might be too weak comparing with self-dimension.

General Discussion

Summary

The aim of the current study was to integrate the relationships between self-discrepancies and the tripartite self-construal, the individual, relational, and collective aspects of self-discrepancies of the ideal or the ought, to examine their associations to happiness, and to assess the moderation effect of individual differences in cultural value. First, the results demonstrated that discrepancies were negatively correlated with actual happiness. All two studies found that discrepancies were negatively related to happiness. These results showed that chronic self-discrepancies in different construal levels have negative relations with happiness. More specifically, happiness had significant correlations with family discrepancy (and also national discrepancy in Study 2) as well as individual self-discrepancy on measure of both subjective happiness scale and subjective well-being scale with both the nomothetic and the idiographic task. Secondly, self-discrepancy (actual-ideal self-discrepancy in study 1, actual-ideal discrepancy and actual-ought self-discrepancy in study 2) was the only significant predictor of happiness after the effects of other discrepancies were partialled out. Lastly, the moderation effects of individualism and collectivism were supported in Study 2: The relation between actual-ideal self-discrepancy and happiness increased as the level of individualism heightened. In contrast, the relation between actual-ought self-discrepancy and happiness increased as the level of collectivism heightened.

Implications

These findings are important for a number of reasons. To begin with, the

present study directly shows the negative relationships between discrepancy and happiness. It is important to note that correlations with happiness were found not only in a personal dimension but also relational and collective dimensions of self. That is, people reported lesser happiness as their actual family was discrepant from desired family. And people experienced lesser happiness as their actual nation was discrepant from their ideal nation. The results of this study provide a substantial body of evidence that self-discrepancy theory can also be applied to relational and collective dimensions of self by suggesting a potentially important link between distinct construal of self-discrepancy and happiness. These findings significantly extend and expand the theoretical and empirical implications of self-discrepancy theory for happiness issues.

In the meanwhile, the effect of national discrepancy became nonsignificant when the effects of other discrepancies were controlled although people reported the widest gap in national dimension. Likewise, the effect of family discrepancy no longer significant after controlling effects of other discrepancies. In contrast, self-dimension was the only significant predictor of happiness after partialling out the effects of other discrepancies. Hence, although relational and social dimensions of discrepancies had marginal correlations with happiness, these relations were less pronounced than they were for the individual dimension. These results are consistent with recent findings which examined the relations between satisfaction with life domains and actual happiness (Choi, 2014). According to this study, people showed more dissatisfaction with societal domains (e.g., political and economic situations), as compared to that of individual domains concerning their family, health, and old age. However, such dissatisfaction with societal domains had a relatively minor impact on happiness while dissatisfaction with individual domains showed significant impacts on happiness.

These smaller relations between social dimensions and happiness are in line with the notion that objective conditions (e.g., socioeconomic status, levels of crime, residential environment, and the situation of women) are less influential for individuals' life satisfaction. Rather the variance of happiness is well explained by individuals' perceptual assessment that reflects subjective judgment of life satisfaction (Andrews & Withey, 1976; Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976; Diener & Suh, 1997). As Myers and Diener (1995) noted, happiness is primarily a subjective phenomenon "for which the final judge is whoever lives inside a person's skin." That is why relational and societal self-discrepancies in this study showed less distressing for people than individual self-discrepancy.

In addition, discrepancy-happiness relationships were differed by individualism and collectivism. Importantly, these moderators of cultural preference are thought to both reflect and underlay very different desired end states of self in relation to happiness. Although this study conducted in only a single country, the moderation effects of cultural value may provide cross-cultural implications. Specifically, the desired goal of individuals within dominant individualistic cultures appears to be matching themselves with their ideals like self-actualization, which distinguishes themselves from others in a positive manner. Meanwhile, the desired goal of individuals within dominant collectivistic cultures places more emphasis on their oughts to maintain harmony with others in social groups (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999). Therefore, successful accomplishment concerning happiness is likely to depend on matching goals valued by culture which individuals belong.

Limitations and Further Research Suggestions

Nevertheless, the results of the present study do not tell us about the causal direction of discrepancy-happiness relations because they are correlational. More research needs to be done which can demonstrate causality between discrepancies and happiness. An intervention study can be suggested as an alternative for further research. It can be examined that intervening with approaching one's ideal selves will increase happiness for individualists, whereas intervening with approaching one's ought selves will increase happiness for collectivists. Furthermore, the discrepancy-happiness relations in the current study only sampled undergraduate students, at an early age. It is suggested to examine whether the individual aspect of self-congruency is still important on happiness at other ages to ensure generalizability of the results. Lastly, future research should continue to examine the difference roles of distinct discrepancies as determinants of happiness, and the different regulatory strategies that individuals use to increase the happiness.

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Appendix 1. Discrepancy questionnaire (Study 1)

본 연구의 질문지는 세가지 영역과 세가지 차원으로 나뉘져 있습니다. 먼저 세가지 영역인 실제 모습, 이상적인 모습, 당위적인 모습 등에 대해서 설명해 드리면 다음과 같습니다.

- 실제 모습은 평소 모습을 잘 나타내 주는 특징들입니다.
- 이상적 모습은 이상적으로 갖고 있기를 바라는 특징들로, 희망·목표·바람 등이 이에 해당됩니다.
- 당위적 모습은 마땅히 갖고 있어야만 한다고 생각하는 특징들로, 규범적인 규칙이나 당위적인 신념 등이 이에 해당됩니다.

다음으로 세가지 차원에는 자기, 가족, 나라가 있습니다.

- 자기(self) 차원은 여러분 자신이 여러분을 보는 차원입니다.
- 가족 차원은 여러분 자신이 여러분의 가족을 보는 차원입니다.
- 나라 차원은 여러분 자신이 여러분의 나라(한국인들)를 보는 차원입니다.

그래서 세가지 영역과 세가지 차원을 조합하면 총 9가지의 서로 다른 유형들을 고려해 볼 수 있습니다.

- 실제 모습, 자기 차원
- 이상적 모습, 자기 차원
- 당위적 모습, 자기 차원
- 실제 모습, 가족 차원
- 이상적 모습, 가족 차원
- 당위적 모습, 가족 차원
- 실제 모습, 나라 차원
- 이상적 모습, 나라 차원
- 당위적 모습, 나라 차원

먼저 여러분에게 위 9가지 유형들 중 하나가 제시되고, 그 다음 반대어로 구성된 형용사 쌍들이 제시될 것입니다. 각 형용사 쌍에서 해당 차원의 모습을 잘 나타내주는 한 형용사를 선택하시고 그 정도를 다음과 같이 표시하시면 됩니다.

예를들면 여러분 자신이 여성적인 사람이라고 생각하시고 거기에 매우 동의하시면, 아래와 같이 'V'표시하시면 됩니다.

	확실히 그렇다	매우 그렇다	상당히 그렇다	약간 그렇다	어느 쪽도 아니다	약간 그렇다	상당히 그렇다	매우 그렇다	확실히 그렇다	
여성적인	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	남성적인

* 주의 : 문항들을 빠뜨리지 않도록 주의하시고 한 문장에 한번만 표시를 하도록 하십시오. 문항이 제시된 순서대로 하셔야 합니다. 가능한 빨리 하시는 것이 좋고, 각 문항에 대한 즉각적인 느낌이나 처음 인상대로 표시하시면 됩니다. 그렇다고 서둘러서 건성으로 하셔서는 안 됩니다. 성의껏 검사에 임해주시면, 대단히 감사하겠습니다.

다음 장부터 본 질문지 작성에 들어가도록 하겠습니다. 각 질문지 첫머리에 제시된 설명을 적어도 두번 이상 속독하신 후 질문지 작성에 임해주시기 바랍니다.

· 실제 모습, 자기 [가족 / 나라] 차원

이 질문지는 여러분 자신이 생각하는 평소 여러분의 실제 자기(self) [가족 / 한국인들] 모습을 알아보기 위한 것입니다. 여기서 실제 자기 [가족 / 한국인들] 모습이란 여러분의 [여러분 가족의 / 한국인들의] 평소 모습을 잘 나타내준다고 생각하는 특징들입니다.

아래 각 형용사쌍에서 여러분 자신의 [여러분 가족의 / 한국인들의] 모습을 잘 나타내주는 한 형용사를 선택하시고 그 형용사를 “나는 [나의 가족은 / 한국인들은] ~ 사람(들)이다”라는 문장에 넣어 보십시오. 그리고 그 문장이 여러분 자신을 [여러분 가족을 / 한국인들을] 나타내 주는 정도를 해당 위치에 ‘V’ 표시를 해 주시기 바랍니다.

		확실히 그렇다	매우 그렇다	상당히 그렇다	약간 그렇다	어느 쪽도 아니다	약간 그렇다	상당히 그렇다	매우 그렇다	확실히 그렇다	
1	좋은	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	나쁜
2	강한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	약한
3	소극적인	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	적극적인
4	자유로운	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	경직된
5	어두운	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	밝은
6	정직한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	부정직한
7	불공정한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	공정한
8	기쁜	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	슬픈
9	민주적인	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	독재적인
10	무능한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	유능한
11	병약한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	건강한

더불어 여러분이 생각하는 실제 자기 [가족 / 한국인들] 모습을 아래의 빈칸에 자유롭게 기술해주시시오.

“나는 [나의 가족은 / 한국인들은] _____ 사람(들)이다”

· 이상적 모습, 자기 [가족 / 나라] 차원

이 질문지는 여러분 자신이 생각하는 이상적 자기(self) [가족 / 한국인들] 모습을 알아보기 위한 것입니다. 여기서 이상적 자기 [가족 / 한국인들] 모습이란 *여러분이* [여러분 가족이 / 한국인들이] 이상적으로 갖고 있기를 바라는 특징들로, 희망·목표·바람 등이 이에 해당됩니다.

아래 각 형용사쌍에서 *여러분의* [여러분 가족의 / 한국인들의] 이상적인 모습을 잘 나타내주는 한 형용사를 선택하시고 그 형용사를 “나는 내가 [나의 가족이 / 한국인들이] ~ 사람(들)이라면 하고 바란다”라는 문장에 넣어 보십시오. 그리고 그 문장이 *여러분이* [가족이 / 한국인들이] 바라는 모습에 가깝다고 여러분이 생각하는 위치에 ‘V’ 표시를 해 주시기 바랍니다.

		확실히 그렇다	매우 그렇다	상당히 그렇다	약간 그렇다	어느 쪽도 아니다	약간 그렇다	상당히 그렇다	매우 그렇다	확실히 그렇다	
1	좋은	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	나쁜
2	강한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	약한
3	소극적인	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	적극적인
4	자유로운	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	경직된
5	어두운	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	밝은
6	정직한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	부정직한
7	불공정한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	공정한
8	기쁜	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	슬픈
9	민주적인	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	독재적인
10	무능한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	유능한
11	병약한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	건강한

더불어 여러분이 생각하는 이상적 자기 [가족 / 한국인들] 모습을 아래의 빈칸에 자유롭게 기술해주시십시오.

“나는 내가 [나의 가족이 / 한국인들이] _____ 사람(들)이라면 하고 바란다”

· 당위적 모습, 자기 [가족 / 나라] 차원

이 질문지는 여러분 자신이 생각하는 당위적 자기(self) [가족 / 한국인들] 모습을 알아보기 위한 것입니다. 여기서 당위적 자기 [가족 / 한국인들] 모습이란 여러분 자신이 [여러분 가족이 / 한국인들이] 마땅히 갖고 있어야만 한다고 생각하는 특징들로, 여러분 자신에 [여러분 가족에 / 한국인들에] 대한 규범적인 규칙이나 당위적인 신념 등이 이에 해당됩니다.

아래 각 형용사쌍에서 여러분의 [여러분 가족의 / 한국인들의] 당위적인 모습을 잘 나타내주는 한 형용사를 선택하시고 그 형용사를 “나는 [나의 가족은 / 한국인들은] 마땅히 ~ 사람(들)이어야만 한다”라는 문장에 넣어 보십시오. 그리고 그 문장이 여러분의 [여러분 가족의 / 한국인들의] 당위적인 모습에 가깝다고 여러분이 생각하는 위치에 ‘V’ 표시를 해 주시기 바랍니다.

		확실히 그렇다	매우 그렇다	상당히 그렇다	약간 그렇다	어느 쪽도 아니다	약간 그렇다	상당히 그렇다	매우 그렇다	확실히 그렇다	
1	좋은	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	나쁜
2	강한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	약한
3	소극적인	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	적극적인
4	자유로운	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	경직된
5	어두운	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	밝은
6	정직한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	부정직한
7	불공정한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	공정한
8	기쁜	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	슬픈
9	민주적인	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	독재적인
10	무능한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	유능한
11	병약한	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	건강한

더불어 여러분이 생각하는 당위적 자기 [가족 / 한국인들] 모습을 아래의 빈칸에 자유롭게 기술해주시십시오.

“나는 [나의 가족은 / 한국인들은] 마땅히 _____ 사람(들)이어야만 한다”

Appendix 2. Discrepancy questionnaire (Study 2)

본 연구는 사람들이 자기, 가족, 그리고 사회에 대해 어떠한 생각을 가지고 있는지 알아보기 위한 것입니다. 다음의 이어지는 지시문을 반드시 꼼꼼히 읽고 질문들에 답변해주십시오.

본 연구는 사람들에게 중요한 세가지 차원, 즉 자기, 가족, 사회에 대해서 관심을 갖고 있습니다. 각 차원에 대한 설명은 다음과 같습니다.

- **자기**(self) 차원은 당신 자신이 **당신**을 보는 차원입니다.
- **가족** 차원은 당신 자신이 **당신의 가족**을 보는 차원입니다.
- **사회** 차원은 당신 자신이 **당신이 속해있는 사회(한국사회)**를 보는 차원입니다.

Quiz. 위의 설명을 이해하셨으면, 아래 주어진 문장의 빈칸에 들어갈 알맞은 단어를 써 주십시오.

'당신 자신이 당신을 보는 차원을 _____ 차원, 당신의 가족을 보는 차원을 차원, 당신이 속해있는 사회를 보는 차원을 _____ 차원이라고 정의한다.'

위에 설명된 자기, 가족, 그리고 사회의 차원이 정확히 이해되었으면 다음 페이지로 넘어가 주십시오. 만약 아직 애매하거나 불분명한 점이 있으면 손을 들고 실험자에게 질문을 해주십시오.

사람들은 앞서 설명한 자기, 가족, 그리고 사회를 두가지 영역에서 바라보고 이해합니다. 다시 말해 각 차원의 이상적 모습과 의무적 모습에 대한 생각을 가지고 있습니다. 이상적 모습과 의무적 모습에 대한 설명은 다음과 같습니다.

- “**이상적 모습**”: 이상적으로 갖고 있기를 바라는 특징들로, **희망, 바람, 궁극적 목표 혹은 요소** 등이 이에 해당됩니다. 이것은 도달할 수 있는 최대치의 목표를 설정하고, 그에 대한 긍정적인 결과를 기대하는 것과 관련이 있습니다.
- “**의무적 모습**”: 마땅히 갖고 있어야만 한다고 생각하는 특징들로, **책임적, 의무적, 규범적, 그리고 도덕적 요소** 등이 이에 해당됩니다. 이것은 마땅히 갖추어야 할 최소치의 목표를 설정하고, 그로 인해 부정적인 결과가 일어나지 않도록 방어하는 것과 관련이 있습니다.

‘이상적 모습’과 ‘의무적 모습’이 어떻게 구분되는가?

이상적 모습과 의무적 모습이 어떻게 다른지에 관한 예를 들어보면 다음과 같습니다. 어떤 사람은 이상적 자기의 요소로 부유함을 대답할 수 있습니다. 이 때, 자기(self)가 부유해지는 것이 자기의 이상적 목표가 될 수는 있지만, 그것이 자기도덕적 혹은 의무적으로 마땅히 가져야 하는 요건은 아닙니다. 따라서, ‘부유함’이라는 단어는 자기가 이상적으로 되었으면 하는 모습(이상적 자기)이지, 자기가 마땅히 가져야 하는 의무적 요건(의무적 자기)으로 기술하기에는 적합하지 않습니다.

‘의무적 모습’은 ‘이상적 모습’에 비해 더 현실성 있는 개념인가?

반드시 그런 것은 아닙니다. 사람들마다 이상적 모습과 의무적 모습의 속성이 얼마나 현실성을 가지는지에 대한 생각이 다릅니다. 그러므로 어떤 것이 더 현실적인가를 떠나서, 각 차원이 이상적으로 어떤 모습이 되길 바라는지, 그리고 의무적으로 어떤 모습이 되어야 하는지를 생각하면 됩니다.

Quiz. 위의 설명을 이해하셨으면, 아래 주어진 문장의 빈칸에 들어갈 알맞은 단어를 써 주십시오.

'책임·의무·규범·도덕과 같이 마땅히 갖고 있어야만 한다고 생각하는 특징들을 ____ 모습, 희망·바람·궁극적 목표와 같은 이상적으로 갖고 있기를 바라는 특징들을 ____ 모습이라고 정의한다.'

위에 설명된 이상적 모습과 의무적 모습이 정확히 이해하셨으면 다음 페이지로 넘어가 주십시오. 만약 아직 애매하거나 불분명한 점이 있으면 손을 들고 실험자에게 질문을 해주십시오.

앞선 페이지들에서 설명된 세가지 차원과 두가지 영역을 조합하면 총 6가지의 서로 다른 유형들을 고려해 볼 수 있습니다.

- 자기 차원, 이상적 모습
- 자기 차원, 의무적 모습
- 가족 차원, 이상적 모습
- 가족 차원, 의무적 모습
- 사회 차원, 이상적 모습
- 사회 차원, 의무적 모습

다음 페이지로 넘어가기 전에 위에 설명된 세가지 차원과 두가지 영역을 정확하게 이해하셔야 합니다. 만약 이해가 안되는 부분이 있으면 앞선 페이지로 돌아가 설명들을 다시 꼼꼼히 읽어 주십시오.

본인이 이해한 내용을 바탕으로 아래의 질문에 답해주십시오. 다음의 질문에 대한 적절한 답을 골라 V 표시 해주십시오.

1. '의무적 자기'는 _____ 을/를 가리킨다.

- ① 내가 지금 누구인지
- ② 나의 도덕적 의무
- ③ 다른 사람들이 원하는 나의 모습

2. '이상적 가족'이란 _____ (이)다.

- ① 도달 불가능한 완전한 상태
- ② 내가 생각하는 가족의 일상적인 평소 모습
- ③ 내가 원하고, 꿈꾸고, 바라는 가족의 모습

3. '의무적 한국사회'는 _____ 을 의미한다.

- ① 한국사회에 대해 가지는 희망, 목표, 바람
- ② 현재 한국사회의 실제 모습
- ③ 한국사회가 가져야 한다고 생각하는 규범, 규칙, 당위적 신념

손을 들어 실험진행자에게 당신의 답을 보여주십시오. 답을 확인 받고 본 설문을 이어서 해주십시오.

다음 페이지에서는 당신이 생각하는 자기·가족·한국사회에 대한 이상적·의무적 모습을 각각 기술하게 될 것입니다. 질문들에 답하기 앞서, 반드시 질문이 이상적·의무적 모습 중 어떤 영역에 관한 것인지와 자기·가족·한국사회 중 어떤 차원에 대한 것인지를 먼저 생각하고 답변해주시요. 각각에 답을 하실 때 당신이 원하는 내용을 자유롭게 기술할 수 있습니다. 단, 가능하면 간단하고 명료하게 적어주시요. 예를 들어 ‘길에 쓰레기를 버리지 않고 질서를 잘 지키는’이라고 쓰기보다는 단순하고 명료하게 ‘공중도덕을 잘 지키는’이라고 적어주시요.

위의 지시문이 충분히 이해 되셨으면 다음 페이지로 넘어가 주십시오. 만약 애매하거나 불분명한 부분이 있으면 손을 들어 실험자에게 질문을 해주십시오.

자기(self)의 [가족의 / 한국사회의] 이상적인 모습을 ‘이상적으로 내가 [나의 가족이 / 한국이] ~ 사람이려면 [사람들이려면 / 사회라면] 하고 바란다.’의 문장에 넣을 수 있는 형태로 밑줄에 적어주십시오. 중요하다고 생각하는 순서대로 써 주십시오(가장 중요하다고 생각되는 것을 1번, 그 다음으로 중요하다고 생각되는 것을 2번, 그 다음은 3번의 순서로 5번까지 답변해 주십시오).

- 이상적 자기 [가족 / 한국사회] 1: _____
- 이상적 자기 [가족 / 한국사회] 2: _____
- 이상적 자기 [가족 / 한국사회] 3: _____
- 이상적 자기 [가족 / 한국사회] 4: _____
- 이상적 자기 [가족 / 한국사회] 5: _____

자기(self)의 [가족의 / 한국사회의] 의무적인 모습을 ‘나는 [나의 가족은 / 한국은] 마땅히 ~ 사람이어야만 [사람들이어야만 / 사회여야만] 한다.’의 문장에 넣을 수 있는 형태로 밑줄에 적어주십시오. 중요하다고 생각하는 순서대로 써 주십시오(가장 중요하다고 생각되는 것을 1번, 그 다음으로 중요하다고 생각되는 것을 2번, 그 다음은 3번의 순서로 5번까지 답변해 주십시오).

- 의무적 자기 [가족 / 한국사회] 1: _____
- 의무적 자기 [가족 / 한국사회] 2: _____
- 의무적 자기 [가족 / 한국사회] 3: _____
- 의무적 자기 [가족 / 한국사회] 4: _____
- 의무적 자기 [가족 / 한국사회] 5: _____

주의!! □에는 어떠한 숫자나 문자를 적지 말고 빈칸으로 남겨 놓으십시오. !!

지금까지에 걸쳐, 세가지 차원과 두가지 영역에 관하여 본인의 생각을 적었습니다. 만약 각 조건에 대한 5개의 응답을 일일이 나열하지 못했다면(or 전체 응답의 수가 총 30개가 되지 않는다면), 아래에 제시된 예시 목록을 참고하여 당신의 빈칸으로 남겨 놓은 곳을 완성해주시요. 아래 목록을 읽고, 앞으로 돌아가 아직 답하지 못한 질문에 답변을 해주십시오. 아래 목록을 보고 이미 써 놓은 당신의 응답을 예시 목록의 것으로 바꾸고 싶다면, 이미 본인이 적은 응답을 수정해도 됩니다. 그러나 당신의 답을 꼭 예시된 항목들에 맞출 필요는 없습니다. 다음의 목록을 읽고 나서 더 적절한 답이 떠오르면, 당신이 원하는 만큼 답을 추가하거나 수정해도 됩니다. 30개의 응답을 모두 완성하셨다면, 다음 페이지로 넘어가주시요.

가치 있는	도전적인	빠른	용감한	준법의
강인한	따뜻한	사교적인	유능한	즐거운
강직한	똑똑한	사랑하는	유쾌한	질서 있는
강한	리더십 있는	사려 깊은	윤리적인	차별 없는
개방적인	만족하는	삶의 질이 높은	이로운	책임감 있는
개성을 존중하는	매력적인	서로 아끼는	이타적인	청렴한
건강한	목표의식 있는	서로 의지하는	이해하는	충만한
경쟁력 있는	민주적인	섬세한	인권이 보장된	치안이 유지된
경쟁이 덜한	믿을만한	성실한	인기 있는	친절한
골고루 잘사는	바른	성장하는	자랑스러운	침착한
공정한	밝은	솔직한	자신감 있는	큰
공중도덕을 잘 지키는	배려하는	시민의식 있는	자유가 보장된	통합이 잘된
공평한	범죄가 없는	신뢰의	재미있는	편안한
교육 평등의	법치의	아름다운	적극적인	평등한
글로벌한	보수적인	안전한	전통 있는	평범한
긍정적인	복지가 잘된	약자를 배려하는	정이 많은	포용적인
기술 발달의	부강한	여유 있는	정직한	행복한
기회균등의	부드러운	열정적인	조화로운	현명한
깨끗한	부유한	예절 있는	존경 받는	화목한
노력만큼 보상받는	부정부패가 없는	온순한	존중하는	활기찬
능력주의의	분명한	완벽한	좋은	
도덕적인	빈부격차가 없는	외교를 잘 하는	주체적인	

다음 순서로 넘어가기 전에, 30 개의 답을 모두 나열했는지 꼭 확인하시기 바랍니다!

30 개의 응답을 모두 완성하는 것이 매우 중요합니다.

이제, 당신이 응답한 내용을 다시 읽고 다음의 질문에 답변을 해주십시오. 앞으로 다시 돌아가, 당신이 나열한 각각의 응답이 현시점에서의 자기(self), 가족, 혹은 한국 사회의 실제 모습을 얼마나 잘 설명하고 반영하는지를 평정해주시요. 즉 다시 말해, 현시점 자기의 실제 모습을 얼마나 잘 설명하고 반영하는지, 현시점 가족의 실제 모습을 얼마나 잘 설명하고 반영하는지, 그리고 현시점 한국사회의 실제 모습을 얼마나 잘 설명하고 반영하는지, 각 페이지 각 답안의 맨 왼쪽에 있는 네모상자 안에 적절한 숫자를 기입해주시면 됩니다.

전혀 아니다	약간 그렇다	꽤 그렇다	매우 그렇다	전적으로 그렇다
1	2	3	4	5

주의!! 현재 페이지에 쓰는 것이 절대 아닙니다. 당신이 나열했던 답안으로 돌아가서, 응답한 내용의 왼쪽에 있는 네모상자 안에 각각 숫자를 써주시요.

앞으로 돌아가기 전에 위의 지시문을 정확히 이해하셔야 합니다. 혹시라도 애매한 점이나 불분명한 점이 있으면 손을 들어 실험자에게 질문해주시요.

위의 지시문을 정확히 이해하셨습니까? 그럼 앞으로 돌아가 안에 위의 척도에 맞춰 답변을 적어주시요.

이상으로 본 질문지가 모두 끝났습니다. 감사합니다!

Appendix 4. Satisfaction with life scale (Study 2)

아래의 글을 읽고, 평소에 여러분이 스스로의 삶에 대해 생각하는 것과 일치하는 정도에 가장 가까운 곳에 표시해 주십시오.

문 항	내 용	전혀 그렇지 않다		보통 이다			매우 많이 그렇다	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	전반적으로 나의 삶은 내가 생각하는 이상적인 삶에 가깝다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	나의 삶의 조건은 매우 훌륭하다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	나는 나의 삶에 만족한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	지금까지 살아오면서 나는 원했던 것들을 모두 얻었다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	만약 다시 태어난다면, 지금 그대로 아무 것도 변하지 않았으면 좋겠다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix 5. Positive affect and negative affect schedule (Study 2)

다음의 단어들은 감정이나 기분을 나타내는 것입니다. 각 단어를 읽고 현재를 포함한 최근 1개월 동안 당신이 느끼는 기분의 정도를 가장 잘 나타낸 곳에 표시해 주십시오.

문항	내 용	전혀 그렇지 않다	약간 그렇다	보통 이다	많이 그렇다	매우 많이 그렇다
1	흥미진진한	1	2	3	4	5
2	짜증난	1	2	3	4	5
3	괴로운	1	2	3	4	5
4	정신이 맑게 깨어있는	1	2	3	4	5
5	신나는	1	2	3	4	5
6	부끄러운	1	2	3	4	5
7	화난	1	2	3	4	5
8	감명받은	1	2	3	4	5
9	강인한	1	2	3	4	5
10	불안한	1	2	3	4	5
11	죄책감 드는	1	2	3	4	5
12	단호한	1	2	3	4	5
13	겁에 질린	1	2	3	4	5
14	집중하는	1	2	3	4	5
15	적대적인	1	2	3	4	5
16	조바심 나는	1	2	3	4	5
17	열정적인	1	2	3	4	5
18	활기찬	1	2	3	4	5
19	자랑스러운	1	2	3	4	5
20	두려운	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix 5. Individualism and collectivism scale (Study 2)

다음 주장들에 대해서 당신이 얼마나 동의하는지 혹은 동의하지 않는지를 아래의 9점 척도를 사용하여 표시해 주십시오.

문 항	내 용	전혀 동의하지 않는다	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	전적으로 동의한다
1	나의 행복은 내 주위 사람들의 행복에 의해 많이 좌우된다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
2	내가 속한 집단과 조화를 이루는 일은 나에게 중요하다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
3	승리가 전부이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
4	나는 보통 내가 속한 집단의 이익을 위해 나의 이익을 희생한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
5	다른 사람들이 나보다 일을 잘할 때 나는 불쾌해진다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
6	일에 있어 나는 다른 사람들보다 더 잘하는 것이 중요하다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
7	나는 내 이웃과 사소한 것이라도 나누기를 좋아한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
8	나는 경쟁적인 상황에서 일하는 것을 즐긴다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
9	내 동료의 행복은 나에게 중요하다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
10	나는 종종 나만의 일을 한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
11	친척이 재정적으로 어려움에 처해 있다면, 나는 내 재력의 한계 내에서는 그를 도울 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
12	경쟁이란 자연의 법칙이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
13	만일 동료가 상을 받는다면 나는 자부심을 느낄 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
14	독특한 사람이 된다는 것은 나에게 중요한 일이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
15	나에게는 타인과 시간을 함께 보내는 것이 즐거운 일이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		

문 항	내 용	전혀 동의하지 않는다									전적으로 동의한다								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
16	다른 사람들이 나보다 잘할 때 나는 긴장하고 흥분된다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
17	어린이들에게는 즐거움보다 의무를 우선시하도록 가르쳐야 한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
18	경쟁이 없다면 좋은 사회를 이루는 것은 불가능하다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
19	나는 다른 사람들과 협동할 때 기분이 좋다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
20	어떤 사람들은 승리를 강조한다; 그러나 나는 그런 부류의 사람이 아니다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
21	내가 속한 집단이 내린 결정을 존중하는 일은 나에게 중요하다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
22	나는 다른 사람들에게보다는 나 자신에게 더 의지한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
23	어떠한 희생이 요구된다 할지라도 가족 구성원들은 단결해야 한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
24	나는 대부분의 경우 나 자신을 의지한다; 나는 다른 사람들에게는 거의 의지하지 않는다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
25	부모와 어린이들은 가능한 한 함께 지내야 한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
26	다른 사람들과는 다른, 나만의 개인적 정체성은 나에게 매우 중요하다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
27	내가 원하는 것을 희생해야만 할 때조차 내 가족을 돌보는 것은 나의 의무이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
28	나의 개인적인 정체성은 나에게 매우 중요하다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
29	나는 다른 사람들과는 별개인, 독특한 사람이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
30	나는 내가 속한 집단에서 다수가 원하는 바를 존중한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
31	나는 내 자신이 다른 사람들과는 다르고 독특하다는 것을 즐긴다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
32	결정을 내리기 전에 가까운 친구들에게 상담하고 그들의 생각을 듣는 것은 중요하다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

국문초록

본 연구에서는 불일치(discrepancy)와 행복의 관계를 규명하였다. 불일치란, Higgins(1987)에 의해 제안된 자기불일치이론(self-discrepancy theory)에서 이상적인 자기(ideal self) 혹은 당위적인 자기(ought self)에 대한 실제적인 자기 모습(actual self)의 괴리로 정의된다. 본 연구에서는 자기불일치이론을 자기, 가족, 사회의 세 가지 차원으로 분화하여 자기불일치와 더불어 관계 및 집단 수준에서 불일치를 경험하는 것이 낮은 행복감으로 이어지는지 알아보았다. 더불어 자기-관계-집단 수준을 이상적인 모습과 당위적인 모습으로 구분하여 각 불일치 유형의 행복에 대한 관계도 검증하고자 했다. 이 때, 자기-관계-집단의 불일치 수준이 행복에 미치는 효과가 개인주의 및 집단주의 정도에 따라 달라지는지도 조사하고자 했다. 이를 위해 두 가지 연구를 수행한 결과, 각 유형의 불일치와 행복 간에 통계적으로 유의미한 상관관계가 있는 것으로 나타났다. 구체적으로는, 자기의 이상적인 모습 혹은 당위적인 모습에 현실의 자기가 많이 일치할수록 행복감 또한 높은 양상으로 나타났다. 이는 자기 영역뿐 아니라, 관계 및 집단 차원에 대해서도 부분적으로 부적 상관관계를 보였다. 불일치 유형과 문화 변인 간의 상호작용 효과도 통계적으로 유의미하게 나타났다. 즉, 개인주의적 성향이 강할수록, 자기의 이상적인 모습과의 괴리 정도가 행복감에 영향을 주었다. 반면, 집합주의적 성향이 강할수록, 자기의 당위적인 모습과의 괴리 정도가 행복감에 영향을 주었다. 현재까지 실시한

연구를 통해, 자기-관계-집단 불일치와 행복 간에 밀접한 관계가 있다는 것을 보였다. 그리고 자기 불일치의 준거가 이상적인 모습이나 혹은 의무적인 모습이나에 따른 행복감의 변화가 문화적 가치에 따라 달라지는 것을 확인할 수 있었다.

주요어: 자기불일치, 행복, 자기수준, 개인주의, 집단주의

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