Cultural Differences in Preference for Entertainment Messages That Induce Mixed Responses of Joy and Sorrow

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Two cross-cultural studies were conducted to explore how affective states from viewing favorite entertainment messages vary as a function of culture. Koreans were more likely than U.S. Americans to prefer entertainment messages that induce conflicting responses (e.g., feeling positive and negative, laughing and crying). Furthermore, this cultural difference was larger for positively valenced (i.e., comedy) than for negatively valenced message (i.e., sad films). Naïve dialecticism held by East Asians that treats these contradictory responses as balance, harmony, and moderation was introduced as a plausible explanatory mechanism.

doi:10.1111/hcre.12037

“When a person feels happiest, he will inevitably feel sad at the same time” (Confucius).

Media scholars have striven to predict trait- and state-based entertainment preferences, and demographics (e.g., gender, age), personality traits (e.g., sensation-seeking, neuroticism), or prevailing affects (e.g., positive or negative mood), among others have been recognized as key predictors (e.g., Bryant & Vorderer, 2006). However, one crucial factor has been neglected—the effect of culture. When simply considering blockbuster films, the favored types of messages clearly differ among cultures. For example, as of October 2013, the top 10 films of all time in the United States (boxoffice mojo.com) indicate overwhelming popularity of action, adventure, and fantasy (e.g., Avatar, The Avengers, Shrek 2, Star Wars) except for Titanic. In stark contrast, the top 10 films of all time in South Korea (kobis.or.kr) during the same period include nine domestic Korean movies, and most of them are dramas (e.g., The Host, King and the Clown).
One noticeable finding from the films listed is that U.S. moviegoers seem to prefer pleasurable and escapist movies. This observation is consistent with the early trend of entertainment research conducted in the United States that focuses on hedonic considerations (e.g., Zillmann, 1988; Zillmann & Bryant, 1986). In contrast, in Korea (or broadly East Asian countries that also include China and Japan), pure pleasure is regarded as impossible or even undesirable partly due to Buddhist beliefs (Schim-mack, Oishi, & Diener, 2002; Spencer-Rodgers, Williams, & Peng, 2010).

Although these cultural differences appear to be simple, complications arise because recent studies (e.g., Oliver, 2008; Oliver & Bartsch, 2010; Oliver & Raney, 2011) acknowledge the appeal of “sad” entertainment (e.g., serious dramas, classics, and documentaries) in the United States. According to the authors, the unique gratification from viewing sad entertainment is a “mixture” of positive affect and negative affect along with a heightened sense of meaningfulness, assuming that the two opposing states are independent (vs. bipolar, see Cacioppo & Berntson, 1994). For example, vicarious observation of uncontrollable human death due to natural disasters (e.g., watching a movie such as The Day After Tomorrow) brings negative affect reactions (e.g., sadness) to viewers who should accept human fragility; however, the observation also brings positive affect (e.g., upbeat) and further meaningful experiences (i.e., touching) by recognizing human faith or braveness. Therefore, preference for sad entertainment that induces co-occurrence of the two opposing affects is not an atypical phenomenon in Western society (see also Larsen & McGraw, 2011; Larsen, McGraw, & Cacioppo, 2001).

While acknowledging possible cultural similarity regarding the preference for sad entertainment that induces mixed affect, we claim that this preference may be stronger in Korea than in the United States because the affect-mixture may signify another unique type of gratification in Korea that is distinct from “meaningfulness” identified by Western scholars. Moreover, intriguingly, cultural differences in preference for mixed-affect experiences may be larger in “fun” entertainment than in “sad” entertainment. Two cross-cultural studies are conducted to examine these cultural differences. “Naïve dialecticism” (Peng & Nisbett, 1999) as a cultural framework that reflects unique beliefs regarding contradiction and change held by East Asians is introduced to elucidate the east–west differences in presumed entertainment preferences.

**Distinct conceptions of happiness in east–west: Social vs. personal**

To examine cultural differences in entertainment preference, identifying the nature of the unique entertainment gratification sought by Korean viewers may be useful, deriving from Koreans’ distinct conception of happiness (or well-being). Oliver et al. (Oliver & Bartsch, 2010; Oliver & Raney, 2011) suggest that entertainment messages can provide the two distinct (yet overlapping) gratifications—pleasure and meaningfulness—that correspond with each of the two types of happiness (i.e., hedonism and eudaimonism) respectively. Hedonic happiness values pleasurable experiences, whereas eudaimonic happiness values expressing human virtues as a means of realizing our true nature (Keyes, Shmotkin, & Ryff, 2002; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Waterman,
In particular, Oliver (2008) shows that sad entertainment appeals to U.S. moviegoers because it results in eudaimonic happiness, and thereby in a heightened experience of mixed affect associated with meaningfulness (vs. mindless hedonism).

When examining closely the specific elements of eudaimonic happiness, however, Western-focused values—namely, the importance of the fulfillment of personal goals—are emphasized (e.g., Ryan & Deci, 2001). Specifically, virtues such as personal growth and development (e.g., expanding one’s capacities), self-realization (e.g., advancing one’s potential), and self-acceptance (e.g., positive self-regard) are highlighted. Although, for example, Deci and Ryan (2008) acknowledge the importance of having positive relationship with others, the authors seem to focus on warmth (e.g., love) over obligations (e.g., respect). As such, eudaimonic (and also hedonic) happiness reflects the Western perspective of happiness (i.e., personal happiness) that may be associated with seeking entertainment gratifications of meaningfulness and pleasure.

In contrast, East Asians have a distinct conception of happiness, namely social happiness that emphasizes a group’s happiness with an other-oriented focus—“communal or inter-subjective forms of happiness” (Uchida, Norasakkunkit, & Kitayama, 2004, p. 230). Specifically, for East Asians, happiness is tightly related to the realization of social harmony rather than to the fulfillment of individuals’ subjective and inner goals (Suh, Diener, Oishi, & Triandis, 1998; Uchida et al., 2004). Therefore, social happiness tends to be inclusive or communal (vs. exclusive) and thus, importantly, ambivalent (vs. positive), which may have significant implications regarding the preference for mixed-affect experiences among East Asians (Kitayama & Markus, 2000). Social happiness characterizes ambivalence because while individuals strive to adjust themselves to social norms and relational obligations, they may perceive negative events as positive because the events may invite positive experiences (e.g., sympathy from others). Likewise, intriguingly, they may perceive positive events as negative because the events may result in negative social consequences (e.g., envy by others).

Although one’s belief in positive aspects of unhappiness may be a common attribute of both personal happiness and social happiness, one’s belief in negative aspects of happiness reflects a unique characteristic of social happiness (e.g., Leu, Wang, & Koo, 2011; Uchida & Kitayama, 2009). Consequently, social happiness reflects a dialectic view of happiness that sees pleasure and pain as connected and complementary rather than contradictory and antagonistic (Uchida et al., 2004). Specifically, when asked to generate up to five characteristics of happiness, the proportions of negative descriptions were 1.94% among U.S. Americans, but 33.74% among Japanese (Uchida & Kitayama, 2009). The negative descriptions include (a) transcendental reappraisal of happiness (e.g., “People cannot feel happy all the time”) and (b) social disruption (e.g., “Others may be jealous of my happiness”). Pertaining to social disruption, when receiving a good grade from a class, Japanese students tend to dampen (vs. savor) their positive affect and seek “moderate” experiences because they are concerned about potential disruption of group harmony (Miyamoto & Ma, 2011).
In summary, this distinct perspective of the Eastern happiness may be associated with a unique type of entertainment gratification sought by East Asians—namely, a good balance of the two opposing states (e.g., harmony between joy and sorrow).

To explore the feasibility of this distinct gratification, naïve dialecticism (Peng & Nisbett, 1999) among various cultural frameworks was chosen as an explanatory mechanism. This decision was made because naïve dialecticism has the relevancy to the tasks involving prediction of conflicting or contradictory responses (Spencer-Rodgers, Williams, et al., 2010). Moreover, naïve dialecticism can be parallel with other established theoretical frameworks that explain cultural differences in various domains, mostly focusing on the relationship between the self and other. The frameworks include individualism–collectivism (Triandis, 1996), independent–interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), low–high power distance (Hofstede, 1980), analytic–holistic thinking (Nisbett, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan, 2001), among others.

Naïve dialecticism as an explanatory mechanism

Naïve dialecticism represents East Asians’ unique beliefs about contradiction and change: specifically, (a) favorable attitudes toward contradiction (i.e., perceiving contradictions as balance and harmony because one can take each merit of the two opposing elements together) and (b) cyclical/circular/never-ending perceptions of change (i.e., anticipating constant fluctuations between positive events and negative events in the future, such as “bad becomes good” and “good becomes bad”; see Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Spencer-Rodgers, Williams, et al., 2010). In contrast, Westerners’ beliefs regarding contradiction and change reflect Aristotelian formal logic paradigm: (a) favorable attitude toward noncontradiction (i.e., perceiving contradictions as inconsistency that should be resolved) and (b) linear/logical/directional perceptions of change (i.e., predictable changes based on similar patterns in the past; see Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Spencer-Rodgers, Williams, et al., 2010). Previous research often compared naïve dialecticism with the other cultural frameworks aforementioned, and showed that it is conceptually distinct from both collectivism (Schimmack et al., 2002) and interdependent self-construal (Spencer-Rodgers, Peng, Wang, & Hou, 2004). Of interest, Western dialecticism (e.g., Marx and Engels) can be also aligned with the formal logical paradigm because it emphasizes a synthesis that resolves thesis and antithesis (Peng & Nisbett, 1999).

Given that naïve dialecticism has the relevancy to predict contradictory responses (Spencer-Rodgers, Williams, et al., 2010), prior studies show that it contributes to shaping conflicting self-perceptions (Spencer-Rodgers, Boucher, Mori, Wang, & Peng, 2009), to reconciling social contradictions by attributing the cause of the issue to both sides (vs. one side; Peng & Nisbett, 1999) and to experiencing frequent mixed affect in daily life and to further feeling comfortable about it (Leu et al., 2010; Miyamoto, Uchida, & Ellsworth, 2010; Spencer-Rodgers, Peng, & Wang, 2010). As an extension of the last line of research, we examine how naïve dialecticism influences preference for mixed-affect experiences in the context of cinematic consumption.
For East Asians, positive affect and negative affect are neither mutually exclusive nor antagonistic. When the two types of affect coexist, East Asians find it natural and balanced (vs. conflicting and tensional). Importantly, East Asians seek to find “a middle way” by tolerating the coexistence of the two opposing affects. The word “middle” (i.e., the “harmonious integration” state) reflects East Asians’ effort to retain each intrinsic characteristic of the two opposing elements together (Chen, 2002, p. 184). In doing so, they can take both merits of the two elements that constitute the universe or wholeness.

Indeed, a cross-cultural survey (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000) that asked Japanese and U.S. students to report the frequency with which they experienced each of various types of affect revealed that the correlation between positive affect and negative affect was largely negative in the United States, but positive in Japan, suggesting divergent styles of affect regulation between the cultures (i.e., seeking hedonism that brings maximized pleasure vs. fulfilling norms that results in ambivalence).

Because beliefs guide subsequent behaviors, the prevalence of naïve dialecticism should lead East Asians to prefer entertainment messages that induce a good balance between pain and pleasure (i.e., mixed responses). In contrast, U.S. Americans may find the coexistence of the two opposing states conflicting and further uncomfortable because they value consistency and noncontradiction. These result in the preference for entertainment messages that allows them to attain pleasure and avoid pain. Again, we would note that U.S. Americans do not dislike messages that induce mixed affect, as shown in the appeal of sad entertainment. Rather, the magnitude of the preference for this type of messages may be stronger in Korea than in the United States, and more evident in positively valenced than in negatively valenced messages.

The present research
Study 1 explores the mixed-affect experiences from three all-time-favorite films that participants named regardless of genres. Study 2 explores the same experiences from one all-time-favorite comedy and one all-time-favorite sad film. Naïve dialecticism will serve as a mediator in both studies and film valence (comedy vs. sad film) will serve as a moderator in Study 2. The valence variable is included because mixed experiences can be prevalent while viewing a favorite comedy (e.g., appeal of sad comedy), particularly among East Asians who tend to generate negative implications from happiness to make a balance between happiness and unhappiness. South Koreans and U.S. Americans were used as our sample.

Study 1
Hypotheses
Study 1 examines cultural differences in affective experiences from viewing all-time-favorite films. We predict that U.S. Americans prefer films that allow them to attain maximized pleasure and minimized pain. In contrast, Koreans tend to seek a good balance between pleasure and pain (Kitayama & Markus, 2000; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and thus, they prefer mixed-affect inducing films that help maintain
harmonious relationships. Based on this reasoning, the following hypothesis was drawn.

**H1 (Main Effect):** Koreans will be more likely than U.S. Americans to report retrospective mixed-affect responses from viewing all-time-favorite films.

The present study also tests whether H1 can be explained by the prevalence of naïve dialecticism among Koreans. Whereas Western reasoning requires that contradictions should be resolved by selecting one position on the basis of rules and logics, East Asian reasoning accepts that the contradictions can coexist by selecting both merits of each of the two opposing positions (Peng & Nisbett, 1999). Thus, coexistence of the two opposing types of affect in preferred films may be tolerated more among Koreans than among U.S. Americans because Koreans may see the coexistence as harmony (vs. antagonism).

**H2 (Mediation):** Naïve dialecticism will mediate the relationship between culture (Korea vs. United States) and retrospective mixed-affect responses of viewing all-time-favorite films.

**Methods**

**Sample**

A total of 520 undergraduate students participated in the study. Specifically, 249 Koreans from a university located in Seoul, South Korea and 271 U.S. Americans from an urban campus university in the American Midwest completed a self-administered pencil-and-paper survey during class time. Those who identified themselves as non-U.S. (N = 15) or non-Korean citizen (N = 2) and those who did not complete questions pertaining to key variables (N = 20) were excluded from final analyses. The final sample comprised 238 Koreans (M<sub>age</sub> = 22.32, SD = 2.28, 52.9% female) and 245 U.S. Americans (M<sub>age</sub> = 24.75, SD = 6.67, 45.3% female). Self-identified race classifications for the U.S. sample using multiple-checking options were 69.8% White, 24.1% Black, 4.1% Hispanic–Latino, 2.4% Asian–Asian Americans, and 1.6% Native American. Upon completion of the survey, all Korean participants were given a $2 pen and 20% (randomly chosen) of U.S. participants received a $20 Amazon gift card.

**Procedures**

A questionnaire was developed first in English, and then translated into Korean by two authors who are bilingual in English and Korean. The two authors closely examined the translations for inconsistencies and negotiated the translations. Subsequently, a professional translator who is bilingual in English and Korean and who did not know the purpose of the study translated the Korean questionnaire back into English to validate the translation (Brislin, 1970). Finally, questionnaires were finalized in Korean and in English.

Participants were instructed that they would be asked to recall affects that they had experienced while watching their all-time-favorite films. Each participant was asked to provide three film titles. Upon providing each title, participants were asked to check specific genre categories of the named film and to retrospectively rate the
affect responses that they had experienced while watching the film for the first time. The presentation order of the affect responses was varied among participants to control possible order effects. Finally, respondents provided demographics and completed personality scales that assessed naïve dialecticism.

**Measures and index construction**

Unless otherwise noted, all measures used a 7-point Likert ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) or Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*).

**Naïve dialecticism.** Dialecticism focusing on tolerance for contradiction and expectation of change (Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2004) was measured using 24 items with Likert scale. Example statements include: “I often find that my beliefs and attitudes will change under different contexts” and “When two sides disagree, the truth is always somewhere in the middle.” An additive index that represents a global measure of naïve dialecticism was created ($M_{Korea} = 4.53$, $SD = 0.74$, $α = .75$; $M_{U.S.} = 3.65$, $SD = 0.90$, $α = .76$). Prior literature suggests that the scale has adequate psychometric properties (Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2004).

**Film genres.** Specific genre categories for each of the three all-time-favorite films named were tallied. Upon providing each of the three film titles, participants were asked to indicate whether the named film belonged to each of the 17 listed film genres: drama, action, adventure, SF, fantasy, horror, musical, mystery, comedy, romance, noir, animation, suspense, war, western, documentary, and romantic comedy.

**Mixed-affect responses.** Participants were asked to retrospectively report the affective experiences that they had felt while watching each of the three films named for the first time. Various affect items that would represent positive affect and negative affect were listed using a Likert-type scale from Barrett and Russell (1999). To run a factor analysis on the affect items measured repeatedly for each of the three films named, a separate data file that includes a total of 45 affect items was created by pooling the three sets of affect items concatenated horizontally (i.e., 15 affect items per film × three films). Subsequently, the items pertaining to each of the latter two films were concatenated vertically, resulting in a total of 1,449 cases (i.e., 483 cases per film across the two cultures × three films). An exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the 15 affect items using Principal Axis Factoring extraction with promax rotation ($κ = 4$). This analysis suggested three factors that accounted for 47.85% of the variance. After the two items (*happy, content*) that had cross-loadings or low loadings across the factors were removed, three affect scales across the three films named were constructed by averaging the affect items loading on a given factor. Factor 1 (eigenvalue = 4.33; 28.84% of the variance), labeled “negative affect,” consisted of eight items (*sad, low, depressed, fatigued, upset, stressed, nervous, and tense*; $α_{Korea} = .83$; $α_{U.S.} = .88$). Factor 2 (eigenvalue = 1.85; 12.30% of the variance), labeled “positive/low-arousing affect,”
consisted of three items (calm, relaxed, and serene; αKorea = .78; αU.S. = .69). Finally, factor 3 (eigenvalue = 1.01; 6.72% of the variance), labeled “positive/high-arousing affect,” consisted of two items (excited and elated; rKorea = .29; rU.S. = .22; ps < .001).

Subsequently, the degree of mixed-affect experienced was calculated as the minimum (MIN) value of positive affect and negative affect that participants rated. In the literature, MIN is by far the most extensively used formula designed to calculate mixed responses (e.g., Miyamoto et al., 2010; Oliver & Raney, 2011). According to the logic of MIN, if individuals report relatively high scores for both positive affect and negative affect, then MIN is high. For example, if a participant had an average positive affect of 7 and an average negative affect of 7, MIN is 7 (i.e., the most mixed affect). If the positive affect was 7 and the negative affect was 1 (or vice versa), MIN is 1 (i.e., the least mixed affect). Thus, mixed-affect experience is a function of the extent to which a participant provides similar responses to positive affect and negative affect and the intensity of each of the two types of affect. Based on the three scales constructed, two types of MIN were calculated: MIN “A” (negative, positive/low-arousing; M = 2.37; SD = 0.84) and MIN “B” (negative, positive/high-arousing; M = 2.49; SD = 0.90).

Results

Before testing H1 and H2, the distribution of each of the 17 genres checked across the three films was compared between the two cultures. To run a chi-square per each genre by culture, resulting in a total of 17 chi-squares, a separate data file was created by pooling the 17 genre variables for each of the three films concatenated horizontally. Subsequently, the variables pertaining to each of the latter two films named were concatenated vertically, which results in 1,449 cases (i.e., 483 cases per each film across the two cultures × three films).

Each genre category is an individual variable that has two values (1 = checked; 0 = unchecked). The condensed results (Table 1) indicate checked percentages alone within each culture (not each genre). Taking the example of the action genre, only 26.1% of Koreans checked the action genre across the three films named (i.e., 73.9% of them did not check this genre at all). Likewise, 47.3% of U.S. Americans checked this genre across the three films named (i.e., 52.7% of them did not check this genre at all). Infrequently checked genres (N = 7) were omitted from Table 1. In both cultures, drama was the most common genre of the three all-time-favorite films; however, the percentage at which it was selected did not differ significantly between the cultures. U.S. Americans were significantly more likely than Koreans to identify their all-time-favorite films as action, adventure, comedy, and thriller. These results (perhaps, except for thriller) seem to align with Tsai’s (2007) findings that U.S. Americans are more likely than East Asians to value positive and highly arousing affect (e.g., excited, elated, enthusiastic). However, this interpretation requires a caveat because genres that do not show significant differences (e.g., fantasy, science fiction) could also elicit fun and thrills. Meanwhile, preference for romantic comedy did not differ between the cultures, perhaps because although this genre provokes
lightheartedness, it may not necessarily induce high arousal due to predictable storylines and endings.

Relevant to the hypothesis testing, H1 predicted that Koreans would be more likely than U.S. Americans to report retrospective mixed-affect experiences from viewing the three all-time-favorite films identified. To test H1, a multivariate analysis of covariance was conducted on the five indices (i.e., three types of affect, two types of mixed affect) with culture as a factor and gender and questionnaire order as covariates (dummy coded). Gender was included because gender differences have been reported in emotional responses to various entertainment messages (e.g., Hoffner & Levine, 2005; Oliver, 2000). The order was also included because initial analysis showed that the order influenced dependent measures. The results show that the order was a significant covariate (p < .05) and that the effect of gender approached significance (p = .08). As predicted by H1, culture had a significant multivariate main effect (Table 2). Each of the five univariate analyses of covariance was also significant. Specifically, U.S. Americans were more likely than Koreans to experience the two types of positive affect from viewing the three films named. Likewise, U.S. Americans were less likely than Koreans to experience negative affect from viewing the three films named. Importantly, both types of mixed affect across the three films named were higher for Koreans than for U.S. Americans, supporting H1.

H2 predicted a significant mediating role of naïve dialecticism between culture and MIN. Bootstrapping procedures in AMOS 18.0 using 5,000 bootstrap samples and 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals were employed to test the mediating role of dialecticism. Again, the same variables served as covariates. The results show that the indirect effect of culture on MIN “A” via dialecticism was not significant, estimated standardized indirect effect β = .04, p = .11, CI [−.008, .078]. However, the indirect

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**Table 1 Cultural Differences in Genres Assignments (%) of the Three All-Time-Favorite Films Named**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>U.S. American</th>
<th>$\chi^2$ (df = 1)</th>
<th>Cramer’s V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
<td>69.88***</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventure</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>37.4%</td>
<td>142.90***</td>
<td>.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
<td>117.97***</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mystery</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romance</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic comedy</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science fiction</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thriller</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>8.86**</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p < .01. ***p < .001.**
Table 2  Cultural Differences in Affective Responses to the Three All-Time-Favorite Films Named

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>U.S. American</th>
<th>F(1, 479)</th>
<th>Partial η²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive/low-arousing</td>
<td>3.26 (.07)</td>
<td>4.09 (.07)</td>
<td>73.25***</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive/high-arousing</td>
<td>4.00 (.07)</td>
<td>4.74 (.07)</td>
<td>52.98***</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>3.00 (.06)</td>
<td>2.24 (.06)</td>
<td>79.14***</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed (MIN “A”)</td>
<td>2.63 (.05)</td>
<td>2.13 (.05)</td>
<td>46.43***</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed (MIN “B”)</td>
<td>2.78 (.06)</td>
<td>2.20 (.06)</td>
<td>56.21***</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Wilks λ = .71, F(5, 475) = 39.65, p < .001, partial η² = .29. MIN “A” and MIN “B” represent MIN (negative, positive/low-arousing affect) and MIN (negative, positive/high-arousing affect) respectively. Numbers in parenthesis are standard errors.

***p < .001.

effect of culture on MIN “B” via dialecticism was significant, β = .05, p < .05, CI [.009, .098].² Thus, H2 was partially supported.

Discussion

The findings supported H1 and partially supported H2: Koreans were more likely than U.S. Americans to retrospectively report mixed-affect experiences from viewing all-time-favorite films (H1), and this obtained difference particularly for MIN “B” can be partly explained by the prevalence of dialectic beliefs among Koreans (H2). Given the different results depending on the arousal level in the positive affect, future research should further explore the specific nature of mixed affect preferred as a function of culture and genre. Alternatively, the partial support for H2 may have resulted from demand characteristics in the procedures employed (i.e., participants should name three films in a row) and from possible noise of uncontrolled genres. Thus, of interest, the first named film alone was selected by omitting the other two films named, and the same mediation effects were tested. The results show robust indirect effects for both types of MINs: β = .05, p < .05, CI [.005, .092] for MIN “A” and β = .06, p < .05, CI [.011, .105] for MIN “B.”³

As a follow-up study, we categorize types of film genres in accordance with their main valence (i.e., controlling for genres). Specifically, we test whether naïve dialecticism is related to preference for mixed-affect experience depending on the valence of the film. Recent studies suggest that naïve dialecticism may contribute significantly to mixed-affect experience from positive compared to negative events (Hui, Fok, & Bond, 2009; Leu et al., 2010; Leu et al., 2011; Miyamoto et al., 2010). Namely, although both East Asians and U.S. Americans may experience mixed affect from bad life events by applying, to some extent, dialectic reasoning (e.g., seeking positive aspects from the negative events), only East Asians, not U.S. Americans, may experience negative affects from good life events. Thus, Study 2 was designed to test a possible moderating role of the valence of films (i.e., comedy vs. sad film).
Study 2

Hypotheses

In Study 2, participants were asked to name one of their all-time-favorite comedies and one of their all-time-favorite sad films and to retrospectively report the affect states and also the physical responses that they experienced while watching each of the two films for the first time. The physical responses (e.g., affect expressions such as laughing, crying; bodily reactions such as light bouncy, a lump in the throat) are included to examine whether the role of naïve dialecticism can be expanded to explain mixed-physical responses often observed in anecdotal episodes reported by Koreans (e.g., “Even if I am laughing by watching a sitcom, I have tears in my eyes”). Also, prior literature provides evidence of a positive but modest association between affect experiences and expressive behaviors coded while viewing films (e.g., Rosenberg & Ekman, 1994) as well as facial electromyogram responses while viewing slides (e.g., Dimberg, 1988).

Thus, in Study 2, we estimate mixed-affect experiences as well as mixed-physical responses within each of the two preferred oppositely valenced films to examine whether these mixed responses are more prevalent in comedy than in sad films, particularly among Koreans. We also test whether the indirect effects (the paths from culture to preference for the messages that induce mixed responses via naïve dialecticism) are stronger in comedy than in sad films (Figure 1). The following three hypotheses were drawn based on the aforementioned reasoning.

**H3 (Interaction):** Koreans will be more likely than U.S. Americans to report (H3a) mixed-affect experiences and (H3b) mixed-physical responses from an all-time-favorite comedy compared to an all-time-favorite sad film.

**H4 (Mediation):** Naïve dialecticism will mediate the relationship between culture (Korea vs. U.S.) and (H4a) mixed-affect experiences as well as (H4b) mixed-physical responses from viewing both an all-time-favorite comedy and an all-time-favorite sad film.

**H5 (Moderated Mediation):** The mediation effects in H4 will be larger for an all-time favorite comedy than for an all-time-favorite sad film (i.e., film valence will have a moderating effect).

Methods

**Sample**

Study 2 was conducted using an online panel sample comprised of groups of various age, occupation, and education level across the two countries. Two survey companies (one based in Utah and one based in Seoul) were commissioned to collect
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data online. The Utah and Seoul companies had registered approximately 5 million and 1 million online users, respectively, as of the end of 2012. From these populations, the companies randomly drew participants in ways that met the specified constraints (explained below) on the sampling procedure. All participants received compensation (e.g., cash-equivalent points) from the companies. To equalize different degrees of acculturation to each of the two cultures (see Leu et al., 2011), only those who were born and raised in Korea (or United States) and whose parents were also born and raised in Korea (or United States) were recruited to participate in Study 2.

Among the initial data sets obtained, instances that included invalid film titles were removed from further analysis. Specifically, regarding the comedy genre, two Koreans and eight U.S. Americans provided invalid responses (e.g., “can’t think of,” “don’t like comedy”) and 15 Koreans and 11 U.S. Americans provided noncomedy titles (e.g., *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind*). Regarding the sad film genre, 4 Koreans and 20 U.S. Americans provided similar types of invalid responses. Moreover, 17 U.S. Americans provided nonsad film titles (e.g., *Monsters, Inc.*). Films that were neither comedy nor sad films were identified based on the official genre classifications in the Internet Movie Database (www.imdb.com) in the United States and the Korean Movie Database (www.kmdb.or.kr) in Korea.

After removing these invalid cases, 282 Koreans (51.8% female) and 258 Americans (50.4% female) were retained to test the hypotheses. Across the two countries, participants’ ages ranged from 18 to 78 (*M*<sub>Korea</sub> = 38.82, *SD* = 14.14; *M*<sub>U.S.</sub> = 43.63, *SD* = 15.18). In the U.S. sample, 85.5% of participants self-identified as White, 16.3% as Black, 1.6% as Hispanic–Latino, 1.6% as Native American, and 1.2% as Asian–Asian Americans using multiple-checking options. Educational level, measured on a scale ranging from 1 (grade school or less) to 6 (graduate or professional school), averaged 4.33 (*SD* = 1.06) in Korea and 4.31 (*SD* = 1.00) in the United States. This value corresponds to some college and community college graduates. With regard to current occupation across the two countries, 22.1% of respondents were employed as administrative support workers, 14.1% were homemakers, 13.9% were students, 13.0% were not employed, 11.1% were professionals, 9.6% were self-employed, 3.2% were freelancers, 3.0% were teaching profession, 2.4% were public officers, and 7.6% were others.

**Procedure**

Online questionnaires were finalized in Korean and in English by employing the same back-translation procedures used in Study 1. After clicking on a consent link, participants completed 24 items that measure dialectic reasoning tendency. Subsequently, they were asked to name the title of one of their all-time-favorite comedies. Upon entering the title, participants were asked to provide a retrospective report about their affective experience as well as physical responses while they had watched the named comedy for the first time. The same procedure was repeated for the genre of sad film. Finally, participants provided their demographic information. The presentation order of the genres and their associated questionnaire items (comedy vs. sad film) was
counter-balanced. The presentation order of the specific measurement items was also fully randomized among participants.

Measures and index construction

Unless otherwise noted, all measures used a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much).

**Mixed-affect responses.** Twenty-seven affect items designed to measure emotional responses to each of the two named films were listed. Similar to Study 1, seven positive affective states (excited, happy, elated, relaxed, calm, serene, and content) and seven negative affective states (tense, upset, stressed, nervous, depressed, sad, low) were used. In addition to these 14 items, 9 affective responses pertaining to comedy (i.e., hilarious, pleasant, ridiculous, lively, funny, goofy, silly, amused, joyful) and 4 pertaining to sad film (downhearted, melancholy, gloomy, peaceful) were added from our pilot study ($N = 181$) conducted as a part of comprehensive survey using undergraduate students ($M_{age} = 20.70, SD = 1.13$). An exploratory factor analysis with the same procedure in Study 1 was conducted on the 27 items. This analysis suggested two factors that accounted for 46.97% of the variance. After removing the five items that had cross-loadings or low loadings across the factors, two affect scales pertaining to each of the two films named were constructed by averaging the affect items loading on a given factor, resulting in a total of four scales. Factor 1 (eigenvalue = 9.55; 33.79% of the variance), labeled “positive affect,” consisted of 12 items (excited, happy, elated, relaxed, hilarious, pleasant, lively, funny, goofy, silly, amused, joyful; $\alpha_{Korea} = .92; \alpha_{U.S.} = .93$). Factor 2 (eigenvalue = 4.08; 13.18% of the variance), labeled “negative affect,” consisted of 10 items (tense, upset, stressed, nervous, depressed, sad, low, downhearted, melancholy, gloomy; $\alpha_{Korea} = .92; \alpha_{U.S.} = .91$). Subsequently, similar to Study 1, MIN (positive, negative) value was calculated for comedy ($M = 2.25, SD = 1.03$) and for sad film ($M = 2.91, SD = 1.01$) to examine mixed-affect experiences.

**Mixed-physical responses.** Respondents’ physical responses related to “tearing” and “laughing” were measured using items from Algoe and Haidt (2009) and Silvers and Haidt (2008). The three items—light bouncy, high energy, and laughter—were averaged as “laughing” responses ($\alpha_{Korea} = .82; \alpha_{U.S.} = .83$), whereas another three items—lump in the throat, tears crying, and muscles tensed—were averaged as “tearing” responses ($\alpha_{Korea} = .77; \alpha_{U.S.} = .85$). Similar to the mixed-affect scores, MIN (laughing, tearing) value was calculated for comedy ($M = 2.47, SD = 1.33$) and for sad film ($M = 2.85, SD = 1.28$) to examine mixed-physical responses.

**Naïve dialecticism.** The same items as in Study 1 were used to create an additive index of naïve dialecticism ($M_{Korea} = 3.83, SD = 0.54, \alpha = .69; M_{U.S.} = 2.94, SD = 0.86, \alpha = .84$).

**Results**

Initial analyses included gender and age as covariates to examine whether these variables might have moderated any of the expected cultural differences. None of the
analyses showed significant effects of gender and age. Thus, the following section does not report results pertaining to gender or age differences.

H3 predicted that Koreans will be more likely than U.S. Americans to report mixed-affect experiences (H3a) and mixed-physical responses (H3b), and these cultural differences will be more pronounced in comedy than in sad film. To test H3a, a repeated measures ANOVA with a multivariate approach was conducted predicting mixed-affect experiences, with culture as a between-subject factor and film genre (comedy, sad film) as a within-subject factor. Results showed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1,538) = 57.66, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .10$, suggesting that Koreans ($M = 2.85, SE = .05$) were more likely than U.S. Americans ($M = 2.28, SE = .05$) to report mixed-affect experiences across the two genres. The results also showed a significant main effect for genre, Wilks $\lambda = .66, F(1, 538) = 278.83, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .34$. Namely, participants reported more mixed-affect experiences from a sad film ($M = 2.90, SE = .04$) than from a comedy ($M = 2.23, SE = .04$) across the two countries. However, these two main effects should be interpreted with the interaction effect between culture and genre that was also significant (Figure 2a), Wilks $\lambda = .96, F(1, 538) = 21.72, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$. This interaction suggests that Koreans were more likely than U.S. Americans to report mixed-affect experiences from viewing both genres; however, the obtained cultural difference was larger for comedy than for sad film. Thus, H3a was supported.

Similarly, another repeated measures ANOVA was conducted on mixed-physical responses to test H3b. Results showed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 538) = 82.64, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .13$, suggesting that Koreans ($M = 3.05, SE = .06$) were more likely than U.S. Americans ($M = 2.23, SE = .07$) to report mixed-physical responses across the two genres. The results also showed a significant main effect for genre, Wilks $\lambda = .92, F(1, 538) = 49.56, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .08$. Specifically, participants reported more mixed-physical responses from a sad film ($M = 2.84, SE = .05$) than from a comedy ($M = 2.45, SE = .05$) across the two countries. However, these two main effects should be interpreted with the interaction between culture and genres that was also significant (Figure 2b), Wilks $\lambda = .95, F(1, 538) = 39.13, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$. This interaction suggests that for both genres, Koreans were more likely than U.S. Americans to report mixed-physical responses; however, the obtained cultural difference was larger for comedy than for sad film. Thus, H3b was supported.

H4 predicted the mediation effect of dialecticism between culture and (H4a) mixed-affect experiences as well as (H4b) mixed-physical responses from viewing both comedy and sad film. Bootstrapping procedures in AMOS 18.0 using 5,000 bootstrap samples and 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals were employed to test H4a (Figure 3a). The indirect effect of culture on mixed-affect experiences from viewing comedy through dialecticism was significant: estimated standardized indirect effect, $\beta = .10, p < .001$, CI [.059, .156]. The same indirect effect for sad film was also significant, $\beta = .11, p < .01$, CI [.051, .165]. A similar analysis strategy was also used to test H4b (Figure 3b). The indirect effect of culture on mixed-physical responses from viewing comedy through dialecticism was significant, $\beta = .09, p < .001$,
The same indirect effect for sad film was also significant, $\beta = .06$, $p < .05$, CI [.005, .119]. Thus, both H4a and H4b were supported.

Finally, H5 predicted that the mediation effects in H4 will be larger for comedy than for sad film. To test this moderated mediation, an SPSS macro (MODMED) was used (Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). Moderated mediation commands with bootstrapping procedure ($N = 5,000$ bootstrap samples) were created for mixed-affect experiences and mixed-physical responses separately. Because we predicted a significant interaction between genre and naïve dialecticism for each of the two types of MIN scores, Model 3 in MODMED was run with the restructured data set that treats genre as a between-subjects factor. The interaction between naïve dialecticism and film valence was not significant for the mixed-affect experiences, $b = .12$, $SE = .07$, $p = .10$, but was significant for the mixed-physical responses, $b = .26$, $SE = .09$, $p < .01$. The latter case reveals a significant moderated mediation effect: A conditional indirect effect of culture on mixed-physical responses through dialecticism was significant for comedy genre, $b = .32$, $SE = .06$, $Z = 5.01$, $p < .001$. Specifically, Koreans reported more mixed-physical responses than U.S. Americans as a result of Koreans’
heightened beliefs of naïve dialecticism. However, no corresponding effect was found for sad film, $b = .08$, $SE = .06$, $Z = 1.37$, $p = .17$. Thus, H5 was supported for physical responses, but not for affect experiences.

**Discussion**

Study 2 added a new type of outcome variable—mixed-physical responses—and a possible moderating variable—film valence. Consistent with H3, the results showed that the two types of mixed responses (positive and negative; laughing and crying) were reported more commonly among Koreans than among U.S. Americans, and that this cultural difference was more prominent in response to comedy than to sad films. Thus, Koreans tend to prefer comedy genres that also induce negative responses (e.g., sadness, crying), which reflects a dialectic view of happiness in East Asia. Also, similar to the result (i.e., MIN “B”) in Study 1, the relationship between culture and each of the two mixed responses (i.e., emotional and physical) for comedy and for sad
films were mediated by naïve dialecticism, supporting H4. Thus, Study 2 expanded the explanatory boundary of dialecticism by including contradictory physical responses that go beyond perceptions and experiences per se.

Regarding H5, the predicted moderated mediation effect was significant only for mixed-physical reactions, but not for mixed-affect experiences. This difference in significance may occur because contradictory outward bodily reactions may better capture the unique element of naïve dialecticism (i.e., tolerance for contradiction). Specifically, physical reactions can be perceived as more explicit and conspicuous than contradictory inner affect experiences. Alternatively, because bodily reactions, unlike affect experiences, include affect expressions (e.g., laughing and crying), the outcome may have been highly affected by unique display rules that may differ between the cultures (e.g., negative connotations for emotional swings in the United States).

**General discussion**

The purpose of the present research was to explore cultural differences in preferred entertainment messages focusing on mixed (or ambivalent) experiences, which has not garnered great attention among media scholars. Results showed that Koreans were more likely than U.S. Americans to prefer the messages that induce contradictions in terms of affective and physical responses and moreover, the obtained differences were further amplified in comedy over sad films. Finally, the mediating role of naïve dialecticism that links culture to the preferences was confirmed in both studies except for MIN “A” in Study 1. The significant findings were interpreted as suggesting that Korean viewers who value a group’s happiness seek a good balance between joy and sorrow, which may characterize a distinct type of gratification from meaningfulness and pleasure derived from personal happiness.

Although most indirect effects reported turned out to be significant, naïve dialecticism did not fully mediate the relationship between culture and MINs, except for the one path in Study 2. Furthermore, the indirect effect obtained in Study 1 was particularly weak. Thus, several speculations were made for the partial mediations (Study 1 and Study 2) and the particularly weak indirect effect (Study 1). First, despite significant mean differences in naïve dialecticism scale between the two cultures, its variance within each culture was quite small. Therefore, the relationship between culture (IV) and naïve dialecticism (M) could be too close so that the IV could overshadow the effects of the M on MINs (DV), resulting in the partial mediations. Second, the size of the total effect (before controlling for the mediator) contributes to whether mediation is full or partial (Rucker, Preacher, Tormala, & Petty, 2011). For example, when the total effect is significant at \( p < .05 \), it may lead to a full mediation effect because the direct effect (after controlling for the mediator) is often nonsignificant. In contrast, when the total effect is very significant \( p < .001 \) as in the current study, it may just lead to a partial mediation effect because the direct effect can still be significant \( p < .01 \) or \( p < .05 \). Third, the reason for the particularly weak indirect effect obtained
in Study 1 may be noise resulting from different procedures employed. Unlike Study 2, (a) participants were asked to name each of the three all-time-favorite films in a row, which may have been too demanding. Participants may have named films that were easily retrieved from their memory rather than genuinely preferred ones (i.e., recency effect) and (b) participants were allowed to name all kinds of favorite films regardless of genres (i.e., uncontrolled genres).

The cultural differences obtained in this study suggest important theoretical implications about the appeal of entertainment messages. Although studies conducted with U.S. samples (Oliver & Bartsch, 2010; Oliver & Raney, 2011) have provided explanations regarding the mixed-affect reactions to sad entertainment messages on the basis of personal happiness, their explanations can be complemented with a view of social happiness to fully elucidate the appeal of contradictory entertainment messages among East Asians. Because the present research explored affect experiences and their related physical reactions without measuring cognitive elements (e.g., meaningfulness), future research would benefit from exploring the role of the interplay between cognition and emotion in the preference for messages that induce contradictory reactions. For example, examining whether the mixed-affect experiences among Koreans elicited by sad comedy are associated with appreciation responses (Oliver & Bartsch, 2010) might yield useful insights.

Although the underlying motivation that predicts preference for films that induce contradictory (indeed, balanced) responses among East Asians, this motivation seems distinct from eudaimonic motivation (Oliver & Raney, 2011; Waterman, 1993). While dialectic motivation from social happiness seeks moderation and harmony by taking the merits of both positive affect and negative affect together, eudaimonic motivation from personal happiness seeks meaningfulness and insight by blending positive affect and negative affect. Each of the two specific mixed-affect experiences, however, awaits future research that employs online and continuous affect measures. Moreover, while the former is applicable to both positively and negatively valenced messages, the latter is readily applicable to negatively valenced messages. We believe that the motivation derived from social happiness may be conceptualized as distinct from the motivation derived from personal happiness. Future research should develop a relevant scale to clearly compare the motivation from social happiness along with the two established motivations (i.e., eudaimonic and hedonic).

One possible alternative explanation regarding the obtained findings may pertain to East Asians’ response styles in which they tend to select the middle point of scales ranging from negative to positive (Chen, Lee, & Stevenson, 1995). However, prior research (Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2004) showed that East Asians also provide mixed or contradictory responses (i.e., both positive views and negative views regarding the self) as their answers for open-ended questions (see also Hui et al., 2009). Thus, the explanation in which the obtained cultural differences are attributable to moderacy bias can be ruled out.

Cross-cultural happiness or well-being studies show that East Asians put less emphasis on happiness, are concerned less whether they are happy, and attach less
importance to positive affect as well as positive self-regard than do U.S. Americans (e.g., Diener, Suh, Smith, & Shao, 1995). This may be the case because emphasis on pure positivity and happiness is not normatively prescribed in East Asia due to East Asians’ strong belief in the dual nature (Yin and Yang) of naïve dialecticism. Thus, embracing good and bad aspects of human lives should not be regarded as maladjustment. Consistent with this reasoning, we believe that the appeal of contradictory entertainment messages among Koreans may not pose a threat to their mental health. For East Asians, acknowledging and accepting opposite positions is normative and adaptive rather than illogical and maladjusted (Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2004). Indeed, Miyamoto and Ryff (2011) reported that moderate dialectical emotions are associated with fewer problematic physical symptoms among Japanese than among U.S. Americans.

Several limitations of the current research should be addressed. Notably, the present study employed self-reported surveys that rely on respondents’ memory. Although the surveys may provide important preliminary findings in this kind of cross-cultural study conducted rarely, future research should consider employing moment-to-moment measures (e.g., continuous response measurement), unobtrusive tools (e.g., physiological data), and actual behavioral indicators (e.g., emotional expressions). In particular, continuous measures of affect in real time may shed light on the specific nature of mixed-affect experiences preferred between the two cultures and its implications for gratifications of meaningfulness and balance. Relatedly, the present study measured emotional and physical responses in a somewhat static way by summarizing respondents’ experiences over time. As such, future research may benefit from developing methods that may be able to capture whether the mixed responses are “simultaneous” or simply “vacillating” (Carrera & Oceja, 2007; Larsen & McGraw, 2011; Oceja & Carrera, 2009). Perhaps, the two experiences (i.e., simultaneity and vacillation) resulting from consuming messages may differ between the two cultures and the two genres (i.e., comedy vs. sad film). Finally, we allowed participants to have freedom in providing the titles from their all-time-favorite films that include comedy and sad film. Although we excluded some invalid titles in Study 2, this subjectivist approach might have introduced noise particularly in Study 1. Thus, future research may benefit from pilot testing the messages used and by asking participants to report their online reactions to the messages in real time at a natural setting, which may be able to capture complicated experiences better than self-reports.

Despite these limitations, the present study has confirmed the important role of culture in the formation of entertainment preference. We hope that the current research generates follow-up cross-cultural studies that contribute to broadening the scope of extant entertainment literature. Importantly, the concept of naïve dialecticism as a unique thought system is expected to provide exciting potentials that convincingly explain the immense popularity of Korean television dramas and films, the so-called “Korean Wave” (Hallyu or Hanryu in Korean) in East Asia (China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong) and Southeast Asia (Vietnam and Thailand) initially and even South America (Brazil, Chile) nowadays.
Acknowledgments

This research was supported by the MSIP (Ministry of Science, ICT and Future Planning), Korea, under the “IT Consilience Creative Program” (NIPA-2014-H0201-14-1001) supervised by the NIPA (National IT Industry Promotion Agency).

Notes

1 Alternative formulas that consider both the larger response and similarity can be used to calculate the mixed responses: Similarity Intensity Model (SIM, Thompson & Zanna, 1995) that can represent a more sensitive index of mixed response compared to MIN. Mixed responses have also been calculated using Conflicting Reactions Model (CRM, Kaplan, 1972) that can represent the intensity of the conflicting response. The specific formulas are: SIM = 3S – L; CRM = 2S. “S” represents the smaller value and “L” represents the larger value of the two responses (i.e., negative affect and positive affect).

2 The indirect effects for the two types of SIM and CRM respectively that differentiate the arousal level (high vs. low) in the positive affect were also examined. Results show that the indirect effects for SIM “A,” SIM “B,” and CRM “A” were not significant. Only CRM “B” was significant, $\beta = .05, p < .05, 95\% CI [.007, .098].$

3 The same indirect effects pertaining to the first film named alone was also significant for SIM “A,” CRM “A,” and CRM “B” at $p < .05$, but was in borderline for SIM “B” at $p = .06$.

4 In Study 2, the use of either SIM or CRM did not make any difference in the results that employ MIN.

5 Similar to Study 1, the indirect effects for the two types of MIN that differentiate the arousing level in the positive affect were also explored by requesting three factors in Study 2. The results in the indirect effects were the same with those reported in this article. The only difference was that the full mediation effect of culture on preference for sad films that induce mixed-affect experiences via naïve dialecticism was found only for MIN “B” (negative, positive/high-arousing), not for MIN “A” (negative, positive/low-arousing).

References


