

A Dialogue-Based Understanding of Subjective Well-Being: Expanded Application of Day Reconstruction Method and Life World Interview

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**A Dialogue-Based Understanding of Subjective Well-Being:
Expanded Application of Day Reconstruction Method and Life World Interview**

(対話に基づく主観的幸福感の理解：
拡張された一日再現法及び生活世界インタビューの適用を通して)

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Abstract

The starting point of this thesis is to explore an alternative understanding of the phenomenon known as Subjective Well-Being (SWB). This term refers to a subjective view of evaluating one's life as going well. Sometimes it is considered a synonym with happiness. As opposed to criteria set by others, e.g. income level, SWB depends on standards that stem from an individual's own evaluation of how good his/her life is.

This thesis contains five chapters. Chapter 1 is a selective review of SWB research, going all the way back to ancient Greeks concepts of the good life. *Hedonia* and *eudaimonia* are two basic concepts representing two different perspectives on a good life. Based on these two concepts, contemporary social science, especially the fields of economics and psychology, shift the philosophical debate on *what* a good life is to inquiring *how* happy people are and clarifying conditional factors in general. During the past decades, an increasing number of empirical studies have developed various measurements to assess how people feel and judge their lives. Findings mainly derived from statistical analysis indicating several correlative factors and cultural differences between notions of SWB.

The mainstream approaches to SWB so far usually follow a scientific paradigm focusing on exploring causal and conditional explanations. However, SWB is a complex phenomenon, so causation is not the only formula to expand on its comprehension. Furthermore, the standardized measurements and variable-centered analyses neglect a critical aspect: interpreting the meaning of SWB from the subject's perspective.

Chapter 2 outlines a theoretical framework composed of narrative and contextual perspectives, which serves the purpose of exploring the meaning and generating process of SWB. The narrative perspectives are Bruner's Narrative Mode, Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory, and Kvale's Inter-Views. The contextual perspectives, on the other hand, are Wapner's Organismic-Developmental Approach and Valsiner's Cultural Psychology.

Based on the theoretical background presented in Chapter 2, this study ultimately aims at exploring the structure of the meaning-making process of SWB. Chapters 3 and 4 present two empirical studies with respect to two more specific research questions:

(1) How do people make sense of their daily experiences as a form of well-being in their own terms?

(2) How does culture provide a context for the meaning-making process of SWB?

A revised Day Reconstruction Method (DRM; Kahneman et al. 2004) was used to describe the participants' previous day episodically. Following the revised DRM, a semi-structured life world interview (Kvale, 1996) further explicated those episodes through dialogue. The results of qualitative analyses of the structure and contents of the discourse of the DRM and interviews with three laboratory colleagues indicate that SWB is not a pre-existing fact "inside" of a person but delineated through dialogical interactions within a certain social context. Kelly's (1955) notion of Personal Construct is applicable to make sense of individualized narratives as a form of well-being.

Chapter 4 applies the same methodology but extends the focus towards approaching a contextual understanding. Participants sharing key living circumstances and their cultural background with the author took part in the second study. The results of qualitative analyses of DRM and the interviews indicate that SWB does not only represent an individual's Personal Construct. It is also shaped by a Cultural Construct. So SWB is not only generated through a dialogical unit and enabled by equivalent backgrounds, but also can be further clarified in discourse with audiences from outside the particular cultural context.

Chapter 5 concludes the findings from the previous two chapters as depending on the character of the respective discussion partner(s) taking part in a conversation touching on the life experiences of the person in question, as the subjectivity of SWB may appear in a personal or a cultural form. Furthermore, a general discussion reconsiders the term "subjectivity" of SWB research and points out that SWB is

embedded within a relational context and generated through a process of self-reflexivity. The structure of SWB is shaped explicitly when confronted with others to define distinctive features of the self so that the self knows itself to be situated in a given, desired life context. The mainstream approaches usually regard such subjectivity within a purposefully narrow scope of certain pre-designed SWB questions which limit the results to a standardized range of meaningfulness, so that the answers are prone to be incomplete with respect to the thoughts and feelings of the subject.

This study, combining the DRM and semi-structured life world interviews, presents the diversity of the expressions of SWB from the participants' perspectives. This combinational approach unites the hedonic and eudaimonic aspects of well-being. More importantly, it contributes a holistic view of SWB by locating the *subjectivity* between an experienced-based perspective (Kahneman, 1999) and narrative understanding (Bruner, 1986). Therefore, this study contributes to the field by providing a co-creative process of reaching interpreted and shared comprehensions of SWB.

Although it is limited by the number of participants and the range of qualitative data, and restricted to the possibilities of alternative interpretations and the verification of validation, it nonetheless provides insights directing future research efforts towards a more meaningful understanding of the subjectivity of SWB. The resulting method benefits people as a way to become more self-reflective, i.e. more aware of their own concerns and values which constitute their way of striving for a better life.

Abstract in Japanese

本論文は、主観的幸福感(Subjective Well-Being)について対話的なアプローチを通して再考する論考である。主観的幸福感は、幸せ(Happiness)の同義語として扱う場合もあるが、生活に対して客観的な指標（例えば高い収入を得ること）ではなく、本人の主観的な判断を基準にする点を特徴とし、ポジティブな評価を与えることを意味する。

本論文は研究の背景、理論的枠組み、2つの実践研究、及び総括の5章で構成されている。

第1章では、研究の背景として先行研究を概観した。幸福についての問いは古代ギリシャ時代から探求が始められており、「ヘドニア」と「ユーダイモニア」の2つの概念が提起された。この2つの概念は、ともに幸福と訳されるが、感覚的な快楽の側面（前者）と人生の生きがいの側面（後者）を重視する点が異なり、それぞれが後の実証研究の理論ベースとなっている。その後の実証研究は、このような幸福の概念についての哲学的な議論から、人々が自分の人生や生活に対してどの程度幸せだと判断するか、またどのようなときに幸せと感じるかの条件を測定するような方向に転換した。特に経済学と心理学が定量分析の強みを持ち、信頼性の高い質問紙を開発することで、それに基づいた人の幸福についての関連要因の解明、または国際比較研究を通して主観的幸福に関する文化間の考えの差異を明らかにしてきた。

従来の研究では、科学実証モードに基づく主観的幸福感に影響を与える要因や条件を明らかにする事に焦点化していた。しかし、人が幸せを感じることは、生理反応のようにある刺激に対して反応するよりも複雑な現象である。従って、因果関係の図式はそれの唯一の理解の仕方ではない。そして、質問紙において標準化した設問や変数解析の分析方法では、幸せがその人にとってどのような意味をもつかという主体による解釈に関わる問題を問わずにいた。

第2章では、ナラティブの視点および文脈的アプローチという2つの観点を融合させ、主観的幸福感の核心に迫る問題を問うた。即ち、その人にとっての幸せの意味、そしてその人が自身の生活が幸せだと判断する過程を明らかにするための理論的枠組みを構築した。ここでのナラティブの視点は、Brunerによるナラティブ・モ

ードの考え、Vygotsky の社会文化理論及び Kvale のインター・ビュー論から構成された。文脈的なアプローチでは、Wapner の有機体発達論および Valsiner の文化心理学を取り上げた。

これらの理論に基づき、本論文は最終的には主観的幸福の意味構成の過程を明らかにすることを目的とする。第 3 章と第 4 章は、さらにより具体的なリサーチクエストションとして以下の 2 つを考察するための実証研究であった。

(1) 人々が自分たちの日常生活経験において、よりよい形であると考えてるのはどのような仕方においてであり、それは彼ら／彼女ら自身の言葉によってどのように表されるのか。

(2) 主観的幸福の意味構成の過程に、文化はどのように文脈として寄与するのか。

第 3 章では、人々が如何に自分の経験をよい経験であると意味づけするかという問いを立てた。信頼関係を築きやすい点と、生活経験の意味をより詳細に話し合うため、研究室のメンバーを調査協力者とした。Kahneman ら(2004)の一日再現法に Kvale (1996)の半構造化・生活世界インタビューを加えた方法を用い、調査協力者の昨日一日の経験を具体的なエピソードとして描きだすとともに、そのようにして得られたその人の生活エピソードにおいて、どのようにその経験を幸せだと判断したのか、というプロセスを質的に分析した。語りの分析から、主観的幸福感はその人に内在する既存の事実というより、その人にとっての幸せの意味が他者との対話を通して理解される形になるという結果が明らかにされた。そして、Kelly (1955)のパーソナル・コンストラクトの概念を用いることで、その人が幸せと意味づける行為の個別性がより明確に理解されることが示唆された。

第 4 章では、第 3 章と同じ方法を用いて、文化がこの意味づける行為に対してどのような役割を果たすかを考察するため、著者と似たような生活経験及び文化的背景を持つ中国人留学生を調査協力者とした。主観的幸福の意味づけは個人的な構造を持つだけでなく、文化的な構造も反映されていることが確認された。文化の在り方は同じ文化圏にいる人の間では暗黙的な存在であるがゆえに、必ずしも明瞭にならない。人々の行為と思考がどのように文化によって形成されるかは異なる文化圏にいる人たちの間での議論（コミュニケーションによる妥当性検証）によって確認される。

第 5 章では、まず第 3 章と第 4 章の結論の総括として、主観的幸福の意味づけは、対話する相手との関係によって、個人的な構成概念（パーソナル・コンストラクト）あるいは文化的な共通理解の型として捉えられることが結論づけられた。そして、主観的幸福感の「主観性」、即ち、その人がその人である様式は、経験してきたことを振り返り、自己を照らし出すことによって顕在化されることが明らかになった。主観的幸福感の構造も、他者あるいは異なる時期の自分と出会い、互いの経験を参照し合う（比較するという意味ではなく）ことによって、現在ある自分がよい状態であることに気づき、より明瞭な形で表すことができる。従来多くの研究では、用意された質問に本人が答える行為そのものが主観的であると捉えてきたが、標準化した質問と回答の形式が協力者の個別的な理解を排除してきたために、その人の主観性（思考や感情）を十分に反映するように回答したとは言えなかった。

本論文は一日再現法及び生活世界のインタビューを加える方法を通して、協力者自身の視点から主観的幸福感について多様な理解の仕方を提示した。この方法を用いることで、古代ギリシャ時代以来提起されてきた幸福に関する「ヘドニア」と「ユーダイモニア」の 2 つの側面を統合することが可能になった。そして、実際に起きる経験を重視する Kahneman ら(1999)の研究成果と Bruner (1986)によるナラティブ・モードでの理解という側面を組み合わせることにより、その人によっての意味づけという問題領域に主観性を位置づけ、それを実証的に扱うことが可能になった。従って、本研究は対話という共同作業を通して、主観的幸福感についてより包括的に解釈し、理解の合意を得られる形を提示する点でこの研究分野に新たな貢献を行った。

本論文は(1)研究事例の数が少ない、(2)対象者の範囲が限られている、(3)解釈の妥当性そして異なる解釈の可能性についての検証がまだ不十分、といった課題が残るが、対話を通して主観的幸福感の核心である主観性をより明確にするための方向性を示した。この方法は、自分のことをより再帰的によく理解し、自身の価値観や判断基準に則したよい生活への取り組みを自覚させるような洞察を与える。

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Chapter 1 Overview of the Subjective Well-Being Research

1.1 The Pursuits of Happiness

1.1.1 Ancient philosophical questions

Starting at least with the Ancient Greeks, philosophers throughout history have pondered: What is a good life? Meaning, what should people strive to accomplish in life and how should they conduct their lives? Though few people have ever doubted that it is a significant topic requiring debate and discussion, the perspectives on it have changed considerably. Here, this thesis mainly elaborates on two contrasting terms used in ancient Greece: *hedonia* and *eudaimonia*, both often translated as happiness. More importantly, they establish the grounds for modern scientific inquiry on happiness.

a. *Hedonia*: pleasant and enjoyable

Hedonia is usually the first aspect people have in mind when they think of happiness. It could be simply understood as feeling happy, as equivalent to pleasant or enjoyable (Telfer, 1980). *Hedonia* is defined both positively, as the presence of pleasure, and negatively, as the absence of whatever may cause one to have unpleasant feelings (Huta, 2013). Fletcher (2016) summarizes that it refers to “a person’s overall level of well-being” which is “determined solely by the balance of pleasure and pain they experience” (p. 9). This implies the “equal value of hedonic experience that everyone at the same hedonic level has the same level of well-being” (p. 24), which is one of the foundations of contemporary well-being research.

b. *Eudaimonia*: virtue and excellence

Broadly speaking, *eudaimonia* is an account of what Aristotle articulated in his essay *Nicomachean Ethics* (R. Crisp, Trans., 2000). Different from hedonistic

happiness, which is attributed in terms of experiencing pleasure, *eudaimonia* denotes a dimension of happiness which is manifest by acting in a certain, particularly virtuous, manner. It implies living well by actively pursuing the virtues and excellences, along the lines of one's identity and values (Ryan, Huta, & Deci, 2008). *Eudaimonia* in the most general term means that the ultimate goal of life is living and doing well, not just feeling good. Huta (2013) concludes that *eudaimonia* as a form of well-being includes several themes: meaning, elevation, awe, connection, aliveness, fulfillment, and competence.

Ancient philosophical questions present a many-faceted picture when considering human well-being. Philosophers debate in ethics or moral terms what people ought to do in pursuing happiness on both an individual and a social level. Nevertheless, as *hedonia* and *eudaimonia* are contrasting notions that emphasize the different views on happiness, there is overlap between the ways of experiencing them. Although such discussion is still in progress, the essence is the establishment of two fundamental concepts that influence following social science research.

1.1.2 The point of view of economics

Beyond the philosophical inquiry into happiness in order to define what it is, economists consider happiness to be determined by one's social-environmental conditions rather than a kind of personal attitude of mind. This attitude towards happiness goes back all the way to the inception of utilitarianism. For example, one of the principles of utility (in economics refers to benefit or satisfaction) proposed by J. Bentham (1789), which is also called "the greatest happiness principle," is to achieve the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people. In order to maximize the total happiness of the members of the community, economists are eager to find empirical evidence, by asking questions such as "under which conditions do people report what with regard to their happiness?" (Frey & Stutzer, 2002)

Anielski (2007) discusses whether money can buy happiness. He states that “Traditionally wealth and economic performance (GDP) have been the most important indicators to measure the goodness of society at all levels. This has been based on the assumption that by increasing the level of economic output (i.e. producing more goods and services) society is truly better off. GDP indicators of progress may provide measures of the means to the good life (e.g., material possession), but they do not measure the ends, such as happiness, love, or spiritual enlightenment” (p. 217). The ‘Easterlin paradox’ (1974) is a classical debate around the wealth-happiness nexus: Roughly speaking, people in rich countries are happier than those in poor countries; however, as long as people are not battling poverty, an increase in income does not seem to cause a proportional increase in happiness. In other words, such a positive correlation between income and happiness does not always exist. Later, Frey, & Stutzer (2002) also systematically discuss the relationship between economics and happiness. Much along the same line, Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz, & Stone (2006) more specifically investigate whether the possession of more money causes a better mood in people.

Frey & Stutzer (2002) describe four psychological processes which are of some consequence to this phenomenon. These are:

- (i) Adaption: People get used to new circumstances and reduce their response to a continued stimulus.
- (ii) Aspiration: Once people attain their aspiration level, they are satisfied with their current situation.
- (iii) Social comparison: People compare their personal situation with people in similar circumstances, thus neutralizing their happiness or unhappiness.
- (iv) Coping: Over time, people are able to overcome certain unfortunate occurrences.

From an economic perspective, people’s happiness is not generally defined, but rather empirically measured, usually in two ways. The first uses a self-report asking

people, for example, “In general, how happy would you say that you are?” The scale of permissible answers typically ranges from “not very happy” to “very happy.” Another way is based on the concept of utility assessing momentary experience, such as experience sampling measures that are carried out at random times to determine how people feel in that given moment. In this way, economists getting involved in happiness inquiry make happiness—often considered to be an unscientific subject—become assessable and empirically researchable. Moreover, the findings on the relationship between economics and happiness both on an individual and societal level place the term happiness in a specific context. How people feel is not a purely personal issue, it is just as much a consequence of active interaction with people’s living circumstances.

1.1.3 Development of positive psychology

Whether on an individual or a social level, scientific inquiry on happiness or well-being tries to investigate people’s positive emotions and evaluations of their daily lives. Positive psychology is exactly the study of the positive aspects of people’s life experiences aiming to gain scientific recognition of how people achieve the capability to enhance their quality of life.

Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi (2000) outline a framework for positive psychology that exclusively focuses on the opposite side of pathology. They point out that it is not a brand-new field only established around 2000—rather, the earliest research dates back to the 1930s. However, after World War II, attention within psychology was mostly limited to “curing mental illness,” which should be only one of the missions of psychology, the other two being “making the lives of all people more productive and fulfilling,” and “identifying and nurturing high talent” (p. 6). The individuals are not a passive vessel responding to stimuli; rather, they act according to their preferences and continually interact with their surroundings.

The field of positive psychology includes value judgments about subjective

experiences in the past, for the future, and in the present, and takes into account such experiences both on the individual and group level. Since well-being does not simply mean the absence of ill-being, the approach to improve it has to have its own principle. Concerned with an enhancement of happiness and well-being, several significant concepts including *Subjective Well-Being* (hereafter SWB) emerged and elucidated this problem empirically through social and behavioral research:

Subjective Well-Being (Diener, 1984): This concept captures well-being in a strictly subjective framework. The underlying assumption is that each person is the authority on what happiness is to them and the only legitimate judge of how happy they are. It includes both cognitive and affective components, as well as hedonic and eudaimonic experiences.

Psychological Well-Being (Ryff, 1989): This concept concentrates on people's positive function considered as optimal mental health from a psychological and behavioral point of view. It is compatible with the description of eudaimonia and formulated in six core dimensions: Self-acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and personal growth.

Flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975, 1990): It is an optimal experience of feeling full involvement and getting to a high level of gratification when people are intensely engaged in an activity in such a way as to become capable of balancing a given challenge and their individual skills. Achieving this experience leads to a sense of well-being.

Despite these notions conceptualizing happiness and well-being based on different philosophical roots, approaches to capture what each of these notions refers to are mainly independent of the respective other notions. Nonetheless, their findings present positive and strong correlations and further discussion usually overlaps on certain levels. These studies started before the popularity of positive psychology; however, the trend that began two decades before accelerated the various efforts in research on happiness and well-being, and set up a platform that supported further

exploration into both theoretical and empirical research as well as clinical applications.

1.2 Mainstream Approaches to Subjective Well-Being

1.2.1 Methodologies

A number of recent scientists have added to the traditional approach to exploring happiness or well-being—asking *what* happiness means to an individual or a group of people—by asking *how* happy somebody is, and inquiring into what kind of factors lead people to evaluate their lives in certain ways, thereby making the problem measurable. Such a conversion of focus does not only introduce philosophical questions into empirical research, but also shifts the issue of the pursuit of happiness from a qualitative inquiry to quantitative analysis. Participants' answers to the question fall into numbers or degrees of agreement, and higher numbers represent a higher level of happiness or SWB.

Mainly there are two different approaches: One is asking for overall evaluations, the other is aggregating current moods.

a. Self-reports

Since the essence of SWB is inquiring how individuals evaluate their lives and how they feel, the primary and direct source of information is a person's self-report. An important implication is that there is no unitary construct able to capture the entirety of SWB. Since the construct of SWB is mainly comprised of three particular aspects (positive affect, negative affect, and life satisfaction) (Diener, 1984), researchers often conduct distinguished measurements for each component.

Positive and negative affect measurements

The measurements for assessing the affective component of SWB take into account the important principle that positive and negative affects are not simply polar

opposites, but distinct factors, and thus should be examined separately. The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule developed by Watson, Clark, & Tellegen (1988) is one of the popular instruments for assessing the affective component of SWB. It includes 10 adjectives such as “interested,” “excited,” “enthusiastic,” “inspired,” etc. to assess positive affect, and 10 adjectives such as “upset,” “scared,” “ashamed,” “afraid,” etc. to assess negative affect. The time frame can be determined broadly, ranging from the present moment, the past few days, to the past year, or just be left unspecified. Participants need to report their feelings on a five-point scale from “very slightly or not at all” to “extremely.”

Another set of scales based on pleasant and unpleasant dimensions developed by Diener & Emmons (1984) is also widely applied in SWB research. For example, “happy,” “joy,” “pleased,” and “enjoyment” represent positive affect, “angry,” “anxiety,” “frustrated,” and “depressed” represent negative affect. The applied time frame, again, can vary widely, such as “today,” “in the past month,” and so on. Participants are required to report their answers on a seven-point scale from “not at all” to “extremely much.”

Life satisfaction measurements

The Satisfaction with Life Scale developed by Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin (1985) is a major instrument, available in translation in many languages, and is widely used to assess an individual’s life satisfaction in general. It includes five items, for example, “In most ways my life is close to my ideal,” and “The conditions of my life are excellent.” Participants are required to answer by a seven-point scale from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.” Its expanded version, the Temporal Satisfaction with Life Scale (Pavot, Diener, & Suh, 1998) includes 15 items designed to assess the participants’ past, present, and expected future state of life satisfaction.

Holistic questionnaires

Besides those measurements reviewed above that assess the affective and life

satisfaction component of SWB independently, there is another kind of measurement: taking a holistic approach to assess all components in one questionnaire. The Oxford Happiness Inventory (OHI; Argyle, Martin, & Crossland, 1989) and its alternative version, the Oxford Happiness Questionnaire (OHQ; Hill & Argyle, 2002), are two examples. According to the assumption that SWB consists of three main components, i.e. the frequency of positive affects, the absence of negative affects, and general life satisfaction over a period, the OHI comprises 29 items including reversed items of the Beck Depression Inventory (Beck, Ward, Mendelson, Hock, & Erbaugh, 1961) and additional items to cover aspects of SWB. Participants select one of four options with each item, for example, “I do not feel happy,” “I feel fairly happy,” “I am very happy,” and “I am incredibly happy.” Its improved version, the OHQ, contains similar items but renders them as single statements that can be answered on a six-point scale. The OHQ investigates questions such as participants’ social relationships, sense of control of life, health awareness, positive emotions, and general life satisfaction compactly.

Several critiques indicate that the results of such retrospective evaluation are influenced by the participant’s instantaneous emotions and questionnaires’ styles (cf. Schwarz & Clore, 1983; Schwarz & Strack, 1999). Nevertheless, multiple-item measures of life satisfaction, and both positive and negative affect scales tend to be reliable and valid. This has been shown through inter-item correlations and short-term test-retest correlations (cf. Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999). More importantly, self-report has the advantage of assessing the subjective experience of the respondent directly without the influence by others.

b. Momentary assessment

One of the major critiques of self-report is that it relies on participants’ retrospective judgment, which is liable to distortion by memory, current mood or other factors, and thus fails to allow for an accurate representation of a person’s SWB.

Instead of accessing an individual's retrospective judgment, which is susceptible to contextual effects, the Experience Sampling Method (ESM; Larson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1983) takes an alternative approach by measuring individuals' immediate experience and feelings in a daily context rather than a laboratory setting. In order to capture individuals' feelings and experiences in real-time, ESM usually requires participants to wear an electronic device for a certain period, which makes it possible to transmit a brief survey about what one is doing and how one is feeling in any given moment several times a day randomly. Participants need to answer this survey as soon as they receive it. The advantage of ESM is that it is providing a direct, subjective assessment of individuals' actual experiences without having to recall them.

The Day Reconstructed Method (DRM; Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz, & Stone, 2004) is another method intending to reduce memory biases in assessing daily life experiences. It asks participants to record their experiences of the previous day in detail, including their time used on various activities and how they felt while they engaged in each activity. Reconstruction of daily life experiences in detail rather than just recalling general impressions helps minimize the effects of memory biases. The advantage of DRM is less to disrupt participants' normal patterns of daily activities to a lesser extent, and thereby being conducted more flexible than ESM.

While reviews of the ESM mention the high costs of the application, the DRM has been put into question with respect to whether it can truly bypass retrospective judgment to record the experiences of the previous day (Alexandrova, 2005). Momentary assessments have the advantage of approaching individuals' instant experiences in their actual living circumstances.

1.2.2 The main findings so far

Based on the principle that SWB is measurable, here this thesis mainly presents two findings: The first is concerned with correlative factors; the other is with regard to

conclusions from the cross-cultural study.

a. Correlative factors

For the purposes of this study, the correlative factors in question can be divided into two categories: internal and external.

Internal factors

In one of the first reviews of happiness research, Wilson (1967) concludes that the happy person is “young, healthy, well-educated, well-paid, extroverted, optimistic, worry-free, religious, married person with high self-esteem, high job morale, modest aspirations, of either sex and of a wide range of intelligence” (p. 294). Although the following empirical studies have not consistently supported all of these characteristics of a happy person, this conclusion suggests that “there is considerable stability in people’s affective and cognitive evaluation of their lives” (Lucas & Diener, 2009, p. 89), and thus became the starting point for the empirical journey inquiring into which factors influence such experiences and evaluations. Besides demographic factors, some people may feel happier or see things more positively inherently than others. In this sense, personality traits are an important element considered to affect SWB.

As would turn out, the described relation between personality traits and SWB confirmed the validity of the construct of SWB as well as its measurements. The most popular theory of personality is the Big Five: openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, neuroticism (cf. Goldberg, 1993; McCrae & Costa, 2008). The major finding confirmed by meta-analysis is that extraversion and neuroticism play a primary role: extraversion correlates more with positive affect, while neuroticism correlates more with negative affect, and these two affective components influence the overall feeling of life satisfaction (e.g., Costa & McCrae, 1980; DeNeve & Cooper, 1998; Emmons & Diener, 1985; Steel, Schmidt, & Shultz, 2008). Although the demonstrated correlations can sometimes turn out to be statistically weak,

depending on the specific set of personality inventories chosen and the analytical procedures, extraversion and neuroticism are generally regarded as important predictors of SWB.

Personality traits are not the only predictor of SWB, and there is research indicating that the statistical correlation is relatively weak under certain conditions. But the reviewed research investigating the correlation between personality traits and SWB implies that the considerable stability in personality comes about as a result of the fact that the affective and cognitive components of SWB are stable and consistent across time and situations—rather than arbitrary decisions depending on temporal factors.

External factors

The factors that influence SWB range from genetics to external life circumstances. Røysamb & Nes (2018) review genetic effects on SWB and concluded that about 30 to 40% of the variance is attributable to genetics. This indicates that other than the moderately stable internal factors, about 60 to 70% of the variance in SWB is attributable to external environmental effects.

One of the most discussed subjects is the relationship between income and happiness, or more commonly put, whether money can buy happiness. The classic debate around the “Easterlin Paradox” (1974) suggests that although higher-income individuals do report a higher level of well-being than lower-income ones, the association between changes in income and well-being is weaker than might be expected. Kahneman & Deaton (2010) distinguish two constructs of SWB: life evaluation and emotional well-being, their conclusion being that high income brings about a high level of life evaluation, whereas the linear association with positive emotions stopped around an annual income of US\$75,000. This means that there is a stronger correlation between people’s income levels and their general life evaluation than between their daily momentary judgment of their well-being.

Interpersonal relationships are another essential factor contributing to SWB.

Gable & Bromberg (2018) review the empirical evidence of the linkage between social relationships and well-being and concluded that through processes such as buffering against negative situations, support for personal goals, influence on the self-concept, and eliciting positive emotions, good quality social relationships have the potential for enhancing individuals' SWB.

There are disagreements about whether these factors are causes or outcomes of SWB. It seems likely that the causes occur in both directions. Supportive social relationships contribute to a high level of well-being—happier persons are more likely to have more friends and people like them more at the same time (Moore, Diener, & Tan, 2018). The same is true for health (Boehm, 2018) and work performance (Warr & Nielsen, 2018). These indications do not contradict the implication of SWB research mentioned above; instead, they demonstrate well the dual nature of SWB, which is a part of the optimal experience as well as an outcome for which individuals strive in search of better lives.

b. Cross-cultural studies

Besides investigating causes and correlates of SWB on an individual level, in order to optimize social well-being, researchers also engage in cross-cultural studies concerned with international differences in well-being. This kind of investigation, usually conducted through large-scale surveys, aims to identify how cultural differences influence people's reports on their well-being.

Diener, Helliwell, & Kahneman (2010) edit a volume discussing international differences in average well-being and differences among nations in which life circumstances influence people to evaluate their well-being in particular ways. They argue in their introduction that since numbers of within-country and between-countries surveys are based on different samplings, measures, time frames, and types of analysis, there is still unsettled debate on empirical linkages between social factors and SWB. One of their suggestions is that different types of measures of SWB (e.g.,

measures of life evaluations versus daily affects, retrospective versus current evaluations) need to be comparably collected in order to get a better understanding of the nature and consequences of cross-cultural study. Another one is to use *well-being* instead of *happiness* as a generic terminology. Although sometimes these two are synonymous, happiness refers to a wide range of specific states affording different meanings (e.g., fortune and good luck, pleasure and enjoyment, fulfillment and satisfaction) in different countries and languages (Oishi, 2010), while the notion of SWB remains scientifically more precise and captures a subjective state of mind that refers to an evaluation of one's life as a whole.

Nevertheless, there is a consensus that different cultures experience and express well-being differently. Depending on cultural values and practices, the correlates of well-being also present themselves differently across cultures. After controlling determinates of the economic situation, educational levels, etc., one primary finding is that people who live in individualistic cultures (Western countries) are happier than those who live in collectivistic cultures (Eastern countries) (e.g., Diener & Diener, 1995; Kitayama & Markus, 2000). One explanation is that due to the fact that self-judgment is anchored on experiences and evaluation of individual's lives, self-esteem and self-consistency such psychological self constructs are more relevant to the happiness of individualists than to collectivists (Suh & Oishi, 2002). Selin & Davey (2012) argue that most of the research on SWB is based on the social customs and philosophical principles of Western countries and cultures, especially Europe and North America. They doubt that research findings from the West can establish a baseline for the rest of the world, and along those lines, they edited a volume of collected studies revealing unique perspectives of happiness and quality of life in non-western cultures.

There still remain questions about whether the meaning and value of being well and feeling well are a universal phenomenon or depend more on cultural context. Is SWB across cultures comparable in the first place? Since opinions vary on the explicit reference of well-being, and because of the trend of globalized exchange, nowadays

the dividing line between cultures cannot purely be defined in geographic terms. This is because the culture is being represented so diversely that geographic terms are not the sole principle of differentiation.

1.3 Critical Summary

The goal of this chapter is to offer an overview of SWB research. It does not present an exhaustive review covering all aspects of contemporary studies in this field; rather, the attention is selectively centered on several lines of findings that correlate with the arguments in the following chapters where they will be discussed in detail.

The significant progress in the past decades of research has resulted in making SWB measurable. Under the scientific framework, economists and psychologists alike transfer the philosophical debate about what people ought to do in order to pursue a good life to exploring *how* happy people say they are, as well as under what conditions people evaluate their lives as more or less satisfied, well-led or happy. The science here is in line with a common-sense approach, which aims at “discovering natural laws behind both physical and social phenomena and using such knowledge to both understand the causes of such phenomena and make testable predictions about them” (Morris, 2012, p. 435). A number of researchers have found values in achieving “numerical representations of reality” through “rigorous control, expert detachment, and reduction of the objects of study” (Thin, 2018, p. 121). Following these principles, the development of well-being measurements makes use of clear definitions of distinctive aspects, such as affective and cognitive, or hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. Results of elaborated statistical analysis reveal various internal and external factors that explain to a large degree of how and why people report their well-being differently.

However, SWB is a complex phenomenon rather than a pure stimulus-response reaction guarantying the same results from the same set of conditions. Moreover, in

real life, it is impossible to separate feelings from evaluations, or reverse. Culture, at the same time, is neither merely an external factor nor homogeneous. People's experiences and evaluation of well-being are inseparable from their life worlds and, more importantly, "conceived, produced, expressed, and expressed through culturally patterned terms and idioms" (Thin, 2018, p. 122). Two individuals who report equal levels of their temporary feelings or life satisfaction from a questionnaire may diverge in the quality of lives depending on how they conceive what constitutes a good life. In other words, the mainstream approaches to SWB, based on the principle of behavioral science, have clarified constitutive and correlative factors. The findings so far illustrate causal and conditional explanations of SWB and function to make suggestions of how to promote people's well-being in general. Nevertheless, the matter of subjectivity has not been treated in full. It only refers to oneself answering certain relevant questionnaires. The results from behavior analysis or the category of people's thoughts cannot answer the question of how an individual construes his/her well-being from his/her perspective.

The following chapter outlines a new theoretical framework that reconstructs the understanding of SWB and focuses on experienced qualities of one's life as a whole rather than segmented labels or representative indicators; so contextual variation of interpretation rather than causal explanation will be required.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework

The previous chapter reviewed three viewpoints, i.e. philosophical, economic, and psychological perspectives on what a good life is and how to pursue it. The term Subjective Well-Being (hereafter SWB), as it is applied in a variety of approaches of empirical research, refers to a person's positive feelings and thoughts about his/her life, regardless of how people other than the person in question may judge that person's life. Science, especially conducting rigorous and replicable quantitative research, highlights the importance of producing repeatable and generalizable results, thereby ensuring the reliability and validity of the insights. On account of scientific principles, the main findings of SWB research are based on quantitative analysis revealing several distinct correlation factors; and international comparative research indicating differences between average cultural levels of well-being and giving several possible explanations for these differences.

However, these conclusions seem to present, as it were, “fragmental” scientific facts rather than drawing a complete picture of how to understand the phenomenon of SWB. Schiff (2017) argues that the “reliance on variable-centered methods seriously compromises our ability to understand persons and to describe the true nature of psychological processes” (p. 6). The paradigm of empirical methodology as exemplified in the experimental method is not the only means of solving the problems associated with understanding central aspects of human nature; strategies to generate measurements and variables from statistical analysis should not be the sole product of SWB research.

In order to obtain a better understanding of persons' dynamic experiences, where reflexivity involved in their knowledge changes the very actions by the persons, this thesis suggests a synthesis of narrative and contextual perspectives, which will be helpful to further elucidate the fundamental questions of SWB.

2.1 Narrative Perspectives

2.1.1 Bruner's Narrative Mode: acts of meaning

This section will summarize the “narrative turn” (Yamada, 2006) which has taken place in a wide range of disciplines that provide meaning-oriented approaches in the social and human sciences. The focus here is on cognitive psychologist J. S. Bruner’s work, since it was Bruner who mainly laid the foundation for this area of study.

Bruner (1986) delineates two modes of thought or two ways of constructing reality: the logico-scientific and the narrative mode. The former uses empirical observation and analytical reasoning aiming at logical proof to show cause and effect, i.e. searching for universal truth conditions. It enables the prediction of still unknown facts that can be proven or disproven later according to the same framework. This mode we know well from the natural sciences. For example, the structure and composition of DNA have now been categorized as genetic codes based on empirical evidence. This knowledge helps in finding out whether a disease is genetic or not and then to discover and specify an effective treatment.

The latter is a form of explaining in lingual form what a person does and why, which purposes he/she pursues, and in what kind of context. Bruner (1986) calls this process of explanation through particular language use “meaning-making.” It is constructed in the form of stories we tell each other about our living experiences and use to make sense of the complexity, especially in case of extraordinary events, in our daily lives. It pursues not “arguments [to] convince one of their truth,” but “stories of their lifelikeness” (p. 11). Narrative mode deals with particular connections between two events. For example, in the sentence “The king died and then the queen died” (p. 12), the term *then* functions differently from the logical proposition (if x, then y). The explanation of such a connection is derived from putting matters in words in a particular way (which is to “narrate”) or telling a story about what happened and how it occurred in a given context. This type of understanding presents itself in a narrative form rather than a causal one.

Bruner further illustrates the narrative mode of thought in his work *Acts of*

Meaning (1990). The arguments start from his retrospective evaluation of the so-called Cognitive Revolution, which he and some colleagues engaged in during the late 1950s. The Cognitive Revolution, aimed at reintroducing the concept of mind into academic discourse, established the central notion of psychology not being “stimuli and responses, not overtly observable behavior, not biological drives and their transformation, but meaning” (p. 2). Meaning here is not equal to the *concept* or *law* that provides a general and constant explanation. Rather, the meaning is sensitive to the context. The meaning of people’s actions or thoughts unfolds dependent upon the interpretations by people who are involved, rather than being ascribed to a de-contextualized reason and factors. For example, one of the common pieces of advice for increasing people’s happiness is exercising. Behavioral analysis confirms the underlying mechanism (e.g., Huang & Humphreys, 2012). However, the relation between exercising and happiness is not purely linear. Whether and how physical activity improves a person’s happiness depends on his/her attitude towards these two things. In other words, the meaning of exercising or the reason why one does it is individual and diverse, and requires a contextual understanding.

Nevertheless, along with the development of computational theory and technology, the science of mind has become fragmented and technicalized; the construction of meaning has shifted to the processing of information comprising pre-coded messages, which is irrelevant to meaning. Bruner re-orientates the central concept of psychology as meaning and explores “a renewed cognitive revolution—a more interpretive approach to cognition concerned with ‘meaning-making’” (p. 2) and he claims that narratives and their interpretations are crucial to understanding the processes of “meaning-making.” Meaning-making refers to a process by which people interpret their experiences, surroundings, or discourses, in a given context and in the light of their own perspectives. This process emphasizes that people are actively engaged in making sense of their life world instead of passively receiving their environment. The key characteristic of meaning-making is to construct individualized connections between the person and the world. Learning a foreign language for

example, involves the process of meaning-making. It entails, in some cases, the study of a new writing system, an altogether different set of vocabulary and grammatical rules enabling the formation of meaningful sentences. Only when all these aspects make sense simultaneously will the person be able to use the language system to establish a new relation to the world based on this system of expression and understanding.

The narrative for Bruner is more than a sequence of events, but a creative way of making sense of our experiences by providing a constructed possibility in thinking about them. It represents a structure of reasoning which is different from casual explanations. Narrative is ubiquitous because we hear and tell stories as a natural part of human interaction. Especially, the narrative serves the purpose of structuring developments within a culture, from the more usual events in the life of a community to more extraordinary occurrences. Such a narrative can be at odds with a particular culture's norms, values, and behavioral expectations. Bruner (2002) points out that “‘to narrate’ derives from both ‘telling’ (*narrare*) and ‘knowing in some particular way’ (*gnarus*)” (p. 27). Furthermore, meaning requires co-creation and negotiation within a community. Thus, culture comes into existence through narration, while at the same time providing the necessary framework for any narrative to emerge in the first place. In Bruner’s own words, “It is through our own narratives we principally construct a version of ourselves in the world, and it is through its narrative that a culture provides models of identity and agency to its members” (1996, p. xiv).

The present study defines the narrative mode as a process of meaning construction, i.e. people telling others about their experiences and thoughts. Narrative designates as an action that people organize their daily lives in the form of a language. The analysis focuses on the context of the narrative and the interaction between the storyteller and the listener.

2.1.2 Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory: language-mediation

Bruner’s narrative mode of thought was inspired by Vygotsky’s Sociocultural

Theory (1978, 2012), which explores the mediated nature of human action taking place in socio-cultural contexts, especially the idea of language-mediation stressing the social origins and function of language.

In this section, a special focus is on a theoretical framework prepared by L. S. Vygotsky, a Russian psychologist of the 1920s and 30s. His notions and basic assumptions have been a driving force for the renewed interest in the so-called “Cultural Psychology” (Valsiner, 2000). Vygotsky’s theory stands in contrast to the classical theory of Conditioned Reflexes, also known as Pavlov Conditioning (1927) at the time, which discusses behavior under a stimuli-responses formulation: A neutral stimulus will reliably evoke the same reflexive response as a predicted stimulus under a certain condition. Vygotsky, on the other hand, views human beings as products of biology as well as of culture. He illustrates his concept using the imagery of working tools that establish a relationship between the subject and the object, and proposes a notion of “higher mental processes,” i.e. human cognitive activities mediated by symbolic tools, such as language and other symbolic systems (e.g., signs or semiotic signifiers which are central to Valsiner’s theory. For a more detailed description, see the following section 2.2.2). Such higher mental processes are distinguished from the lower mental processes, namely referred as the reflections of natural abilities that humans are born with.

According to Vygotsky, human development is not an exclusively subjective achievement but starts from interaction with others (e.g., parents). Humans do not engage in the world directly. A tool kit comprised of both material and symbolic items are pre-prepared by whatever society that person is situated in. Language as one of the most functional symbolic tools establishes an initiating relationship between the person and the world. The role of language facilitates inter-psychological processes (e.g., communication and exchange of knowledge) which in turn become intra-psychological processes (e.g., categorization of concepts and organization of one’s ideas). Language does not only internalize the knowledge from the outside world but also transforms a person’s way of thinking. Learning language does not simply one

familiar with a system of codes, but enables a conventional way of integrating concepts and ordering affairs within a community through interaction and collaboration with others. Language functions as an instrument empowering a person to gain control of the world and oneself. At the same time, the person's way of experience and cognition of the world are reshaped through using language.

Vygotsky's view of language-mediation is holistic, takes context into account and recognizes the complexity of reality construction. His crucial insight is that human practical activities are mediated by language, and structured reality is not only a physical but also a cultural product.

2.1.3 Kvale's Inter-Views: co-construction of knowledge

After reviewing the ideological origins of the "narrative turn" in the two previous sections, i.e. Bruner's emphasis on the process of meaning-making and Vygotsky's theory of language mediation, this section will discuss the practical issue of conducting narrative research: qualitative interviewing.

Interviewing is an important method in the social sciences, as it is a form of conversation based on daily life as well as a professional way to get to know other people's experiences and thoughts. The life world interview according to Kvale emphasizes discourse and negotiating the meaning of interviewees' life world, and takes a reflective/transactional perspective on conducting interviews. Kvale (1996) presents two contrasting metaphors to describe two different roles of an interviewer: One is as a miner and the other as a traveler. The former sees the interview as a process of knowledge collection. The interviewer makes an effort to dig out the valuable information of the interviewees' life worlds. Since these given facts are already there, they will be discovered, as it were, in their pure form as long as the interviewer asks the right questions. The latter, on the contrary, sees the interview as a process of knowledge construction. The interviewer-traveler walks together with the interviewees, asks questions and leads them to tell their own stories. The meaning of interviewees' stories is not predetermined, but rather unfolds through the

interviewer—traveler’s interpretation. The journey does not only reveal a new understanding of the interviewees, but also leads to a process of reflection that changes the traveler as well. In the end, what a traveler brings back home to his audience is not a qualitative report but reconstructed stories “which are convincing in their aesthetic form and are validated through their impact upon the listeners” (p. 4).

Kvale takes a stance of being a traveler who emphasizes the interrelation of personal interaction and knowledge construction. He refers to Danish psychologist E. Rubin’s figure-ground vase (1915, 1958) to illustrate that “an interview is literally an *inter view*, an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest” (p. 14). The hyphen in Kvale’s particular spelling of “inter-views” conveys this interactive nature of the interviewing process. An interview is a conversation between two persons; it also contains the knowledge constructed from the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. Knowledge in this sense does not refer to the mirror of objective reality, but the construction of social reality, which is open to multiple interpretations depending on the context and the viewpoints of whoever is involved.

2.2 Contextual Perspectives

As the critical summary of the previous chapter discusses, although the correlative factors of SWB and results from cross-cultural studies have been explored fairly, SWB is not a context-free truth about some objective reality but a situated account. In this regard, investigating people’s living contexts and the involvement with their embedded environments are crucial to understanding the quality of SWB.

The following content is going to illustrate two theories: Wapner’s Organismic-Developmental Approach and Valsiner’s Cultural Psychology. In contrast with the stimuli-response model, they illustrate the relationship between people and their situated environment/culture from a holistic and constructive viewpoint.

2.2.1 Wapner's Organismic-Developmental Approach: the person-in-environment system

Human beings do not exist independently in the world. Their actions and thoughts relate to their surrounding environment. Environment-behavior research, which is an interdisciplinary field, stresses the importance of the relationship between human beings and their environment from both theoretical and practical points of view. Nevertheless, the environment has been traditionally viewed as independent variables separated from human behavior and psychological processes (Altman, 1981).

Wapner, Kaplan, & Cohen (1973) argue that a real person as a social and historical being is “determined not by stimuli as such, but by definitions of situations partly enjoined upon them through their participation in a particular society and cultural milieu.” Moreover, as “his transactions with the environment are principally governed by a desire to satisfy or realize [his] ends and values” (p. 257), they are also meant to achieve an understanding of the circumstances at hand and determine his/her relative position vis-à-vis surrounding subjects and objects, the goal be in self-identification. (p. 258). Thereby, they propose an Organismic-Developmental Approach oriented to provide “structural descriptions” (p. 260) of how people construe and reconstruct their environment in a constant and dialectic way especially experiencing a critical transition.

This approach adopts a transactional world view (cf. Altman & Rogoff, 1987) which focuses on “the changing relationships among aspects of the whole” (p. 24). Hence, the approach emphasizes the holistic entity of the organism integrated and developing under goal-direction rather than composed of separable parts (e.g., an individual's affective and cognitive way of relating to the environment) (Wapner, 1978). One important feature is that the *person-in-environment system* is the central unit to be analyzed. Persons are characterized at three levels: physical/biological, psychological/intrapersonal, and sociocultural. Environments also operate at three levels: physical, interpersonal, and sociocultural. Such a unit of analysis implies that both the person and the environment should never be considered independently of

each other, rather, they function as aspects of a whole. A change in one aspect simultaneously impacts the totality of the system (Wapner, 1978; Wapner & Demick, 2000).

The person-in-environment system as a unit of analysis is one of the significant characteristics of the Organismic-developmental approach. It fits well into the inquiry to understand living organisms, in this case, human beings situated in their environments, and to explore their transactional way of experiencing the world.

2.2.2 Valsiner's Cultural Psychology: semiotic regulation

Culture is an alternative word for living environment and customs, and in psychology is usually studied in a comparative manner, under the label of cross-cultural studies. Valsiner (2000, 2007, and 2014) develops the unique field of Cultural Psychology, which is not a sub-field of psychology but rather an interdisciplinary inquiry encompassing developmental and social psychology together with anthropology, history, sociolinguistic and other neighboring fields. The basic focus is on human lived-through experiences that are “culturally organized, and personally constantly recreated, subjective reality” (2007, p. 15).

Valsiner (2007) argues that culture is a process of relationships between the person and the world rather than a “container” that people belong into. He criticizes that the word *culture* in cross-cultural studies is over-generalized and presupposes a qualitative homogeneity and temporal stability of culture. Culture should not be treated as an external factor to human behavior and psychological processes. On the contrary, Valsiner views culture as a lived process of becoming and more importantly as a semiotic regulation system. The main viewpoint, different from cross-cultural studies, represents culture as “is within the person, rather than the other way round. Yet being within entails being in-between the person and the world” (2014, p. 40).

A core concept of Valsiner's cultural psychology is *semiotic*, and as such inspired by C. S. Peirce's work of signs (1873/1986), and reconstructs Vygotsky's idea of language mediation (see previous section 2.1.2) into semiotic regulation. Human beings as meaning-makers simultaneously act in-between their socio-cultural

environment and make sense of their experiences in relation to situated life contexts through semiotic devices. Semiotic devices in this sense ought to be regarded as the creation and usage of signs. Based on Peirce's sign system, Valsiner illustrates signs as functional in presenting, representing, and interpreting the object while themselves can be presented in three different forms: icon, index, and symbol (cf. 2007, p 40-43; 2014, p. 90-93). Signs work as cultivated tools to construct one's personal relationship with the world as well as regulate interpersonal and collective relationships. Through the process of semiotic regulation occurring within the person as well as between the members of a community, culture in this sense belongs to the person and becomes manifest in that person's actions, feelings, and thinking.

Valsiner treats culture "as an inherent part of human psychological functions" (2007, p. 33) and views the relationship between individuals and their surrounding socio-cultural environment as a complementary unit. The process of semiotic regulation guides a new direction benefiting inquiries into context-relatedness human experiences from a dynamic and constructionist viewpoint.

2.3 Summary & Research Questions

The previous chapter provides an overview of the main findings of mainstream approaches to SWB to date. These results are mainly formulated in the logico-scientific mode (Bruner, 1986) that emphasizes the causal explanation of the measured degree of SWB. However, causation is not the only paradigm to enhance people's pursuit of a better life. Moreover, a standardized conception of SWB does not thoroughly represent the meaning of it, while scientific discourse treats questions about the meaning of SWB as negligible. In this respect, this study applies a qualitative approach to regain the meaning from an empirical perspective, rather than going back to a philosophical debate.

This chapter has aimed at building the theoretical framework required to support an alternative understanding of SWB from narrative and contextual perspectives.

Narrative perspectives consist of Bruner's Narrative Mode, Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory, and Kvale's Inter-Views. The contextual perspectives, on the other hand, are Wapner's Organismic-Developmental Approach and Valsiner's Cultural Psychology. Although each of these theories developed during its specific historical conditions and possesses its own systematical design, they all view the person as a meaning-maker who consistently interacts with his/her surrounding environment. So, their arguments all direct to a methodology based on inquiring about the quality of human living experiences and the necessity to situate humans within the related context. Therefore, applying a narrative approach combined with a contextual perspective makes it possible to take advantage of gaining structured insights into the meaning and generating processes of SWB.

The present study focuses on exploring how people experience their daily lives and construe their own explanations of their SWB. The fundamental research questions are proposed as follows:

- a. How do people make sense of their daily experiences as a form of well-being in their own terms?
- b. How does culture provide a context for the meaning-making process of SWB?

These two questions are corresponding to the next two chapters respectively, and the general discussions will be presented in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3 Study 1:

A Narrative Understanding of Subjective Well-Being

3.1 Introduction

To live a good life, traditional science linked to the medical model has often asked, “what is wrong with you and how can we fix it?” A new approach referred to as positive psychology (cf. Seligman, 1998; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000) is asking a very different question, “what is right with you and how can we promote it?” One way to define what is right or good about a person’s life has come to be called *Subjective Well-Being* (hereafter SWB). SWB refers to people’s evaluations of their lives and consists of two components: cognitive judgment and affective reactions (Diener, 1984, 2000; Diener & Lucas, 1999). Cognitive judgment refers to the evaluation of life satisfaction, while affective reactions refer to both the presence of positive affect and the absence of negative affect. Diener (1984) indicates that there are three characteristics of SWB; the subjective, positive, and global judgment of a person’s life.

SWB is an approach different from using economic indices, such as income level to define the good life. The foundation of this concept is the notion that the only legitimate authority able to judge the quality of a person’s life is that very person. Therefore, primary results are usually obtained by using self-reporting, asking participants what they think. For instance, Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin (1985) develop the *Satisfaction with Life Scale* (SWLS), asking participants to evaluate their life satisfaction globally using Likert scaled items such as “I am satisfied with my life,” and so on, which became the standard measure in the field (for a more detailed description, see chapter 1, section 1.2). However, SWB measures can be distorted by biases. For example, Schwarz & Clore (1983) report that instantaneous emotion influences subjects’ responses to SWB questions and Schwarz & Strack (1999) indicate that the ordering of items and other artifacts could influence reports on SWB.

They also argued that self-reports are unstable since subjects' retrospective judgments essentially depend on currently available information. Tversky & Kahneman (1974) suggest that heuristics such as representativeness, availability, and adjustment, are effective in making judgments under uncertainty but also lead to systematic and predictable errors. Kahneman (1999) clarifies that retrospective judgments are less authoritative under the rules of evaluative memory, such as the peak/end rule and duration neglect. Kahneman & Krueger (2006) also indicate that a person's choices or judgments at times could fail to reveal actual experiences.

In order to assess SWB by bypassing global retrospective judgments, Kahneman (1999) develops a new concept: *Objective Happiness* is anchored in an instant (moment) utility of the event in the actual context (when, where, with whom, and doing what). "Instant utility" here refers to how happiness is experienced and evaluated by the individual in question in a given moment. The description of individual experiences in a given instance is accessible and understandable to others. In this sense, it is objective. This terminology, however, would be misleading since it is usually taken as antithetical to the term "subjective." Even in Kahneman's methodology, evaluative judgment by the subject is conducted in the measuring procedure.

An alternative term for Kahneman's *Objective Happiness* concept is *Experienced Well-being* as contrasted to *Evaluated Well-Being* (Kahneman & Riis, 2005). Experienced Well-Being refers to the momentary affective states during a certain period; while Evaluated Well-Being refers to the global subjective evaluation of one's life during the same period. Since the global retrospective evaluations do not accurately reflect the quality of actual experiences, Experienced Well-Being should be measured separately (Kahneman & Riis, 2005). To do this, and referring to the Experience Sampling Method (ESM) developed by Larson & Csikszentmihalyi (1983), Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz, & Stone (2004) create a new instrument. The Day Reconstruction Method (hereafter DRM), combined features of time-budget measurement and experience sampling. It became a popular method for

measuring SWB based on assessing how people spend their time and how they experience the various activities of their daily lives (Diener & Tay, 2014). This method links “How do you feel?” or “What do you think?” with “What are you doing?” and switches the approach to SWB from one relying on general life satisfaction questions to one that focuses on experiences in the context of daily life.

After this period of refinement, the applications of the method have mainly focused on analyzing the pattern and the frequency of a subject’s happy experiences. What is missing from this orientation, however, is the consideration of the “meaning” of SWB, from the point of view of the experiencers. Bruner (1986) proposes a narrative mode that is concerned with “meaning-making” as contrasted to the paradigmatic mode, which focuses on general causes and “makes use of procedures to assure verifiable reference and to test for empirical truth” (p. 13). The empirical orientation of psychology implies that what people do is more important, more *real* than what they say. However, Bruner (1990) considers that “the relationship between action and saying is, in the ordinary conduct of life, interpretable” (p. 19), in that persons explain what they do so that others can understand what they have done. A narrative as acts of meaning is especially needed when what they do is deviant from the ordinary context of social actions. “The realities that people constructed were *social* realities, negotiated with others, distributed between them” (p. 105), and are dependent not only upon what people actually do, but are also concerned with what people say about their realities. Kelly (1955, 1963), in his Personal Construct Theory (hereafter PCT), argues that we construe our own reality, as we perceive it, together with some common ground among individuals, to render communication possible. Each person is a meaning maker. Kelly proposed that experiencing always entails a process of creating one’s own reality through attaching a particular meaning to each experience (Tindall, 2011). In other words, to understand one’s experiences is to “put on [...] spectacles” (Fransella, 1995, p. 46) and explore how to make sense of the world to oneself. Such a process of understanding is manifested in the narrative. Kelly’s notion of Personal Construct was not explicitly anticipated in the formulation

of the present study though, but rather discovered as a relevant framework through the dialogue-based interpretation of the participants' daily experiences. This is mentioned here in its relation to Bruner's narrative approach.

Retrospection is considered as less authoritative in Kahneman's proposition. On the contrary, Alexandrova (2005) claims that retrospection plays "an irreplaceable role" in the evaluation of SWB. She argues, "retrospective re-evaluations can reveal valuable facts" about SWB by "providing an opportunity to incorporate relevant information into the judgments" (p. 307) of daily lives. She also argues that the evaluation of a momentary affect, which an individual may perceive as factual in that given moment, may well change later on, in the process of reflection, depending on the person's value appraising his/her individual well-being. PCT (1955, 1963) based on constructive alternativism, offers the potential of personally constructed multiple realities, and is open to personal reconstruction. According to these viewpoints, besides clarifying the "real" (momentary/instant) experiences of well-being, this approach to SWB focuses more on exploring an individual's narrative about how he/she organizes and reconstructs daily life experiences. The possibility of personal interpretation always pertains to such narratives.

Related to this issue, Brinkmann & Kvale (2015) put the question, "If you want to know how people understand their world and their lives, why not talk with them?" at the beginning of their methodological clarification of "InterView" as a communicative action in qualitative research. This question fits in with the original SWB enquiry: A asks B, "What do you think of your life?" B starts to review his/her life then tries to answer the question. Kvale (1996) develops an interview method called "semi-structured life world interview." It obtains descriptions of the life world of the interviewee to understand that world from the interviewees' point of view, to unfold the meaning of their experiences, and uncover their life world prior to trying to explain it scientifically. In a semi-structured life world interview, both interviewer and interviewee take more interactive roles, rather than the interviewer simply asking questions to clarify certain matters that the interviewee already has in mind but only

presents during the interview. Depending on the interviewer's interaction, it is then not only the case that interviewees could provide more details of their experiences, but also that the collaborative dialogue develops in unexpected ways to interpret the interviewee's experiences.

In order to capture SWB at both an experiential and a meaning level, the present research combines two methods: the DRM and the semi-structured life world interview that aims to explore how people make sense of their daily life experiences as a form of well-being. Through a methodologically extended application of DRM, it induces the actual episodes as clues and materials for understanding the participants' evaluation of daily events. The nature of evaluation regarding those episodes was then clarified in the exchange of dialogue method by using semi-structured life world interviews. The meaning-making processes in the combined procedures were investigated using the central research question, "What makes the experience as a form of a good life for the subject in what ways and for what reasons?" The answer to this central question was considered to constitute the core component of the "subjectivity" of SWB. The ultimate purpose of the present research lies in finding the structure of meaning-making in the interpretation of the subjects' own daily life events that are understood as good in their own terms.

The integrative approach employed in the present study is described in the Method section by firstly introducing Kahneman et al.'s (2004) contextual approach to SWB, and then followed by Kvale's (1996) dialogue-based InterView method. Narrative data that best illustrate individualized forms of meaning-making are provided in the Result section together with the summary background information. The affective evaluation profiles gained through DRM are also shown as overall pictures of the targeted episode for which the exploratory interviews were conducted. The "stories" as captioned in the Result section make for a distilled summary, regarding "how people give [an] account of themselves" (Bruner, 1991, p. 67) among the participants in the present study. Theoretical implications of these stories together with limitations are then elaborated in the Discussion section.

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Procedure

a. Instruments

Day Reconstruction Method

(DRM; Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz, & Stone, 2004)

As indicated above, the DRM is an instrument assessing subjective experiences in specific situations throughout the day. The goal is to capture participants' one-day life in a clear-cut timeline and assess each episode with contextual descriptions.

It is conducted in four steps:

- Step 1. Asking participants to evaluate their life satisfaction in general and in particular life-domains, and supply demographic information;
- Step 2. Asking participants to describe their previous day, like continuous episodes in a film, from the time that they woke up until bedtime;
- Step 3. Asking for more details about the described episodes. With whom did the participant interact and where? In the Affect Section it is asked how he/she felt during that episode (impatient for it to end, happy, frustrated, depressed, competent, hassled, warm, angry, worried, a sense of enjoyment, criticized, or tired)? A scale from 0 ("not at all") to 6 ("very much") is used; and
- Step 4. A few more questions are asked about the previous day, the participant's job, and other peoples' perceptions of the participant.

For the purposes of the present study, the DRM was translated by two bilingual researchers sensitive to the nuances and subtleties of English and Japanese. Throughout, the Japanese version of DRM conducted in Hasegawa (2010) served as a reference. To ensure the conceptual accuracy of the translation, the Japanese version of DRM was independently back-translated into English by the third bilingual researcher.

Semi-Structured Life World Interview

(Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Kvale, 1996, 2007)

This is an interview method aiming to obtain rich descriptions of the interviewees' life world to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena. Guidelines ensure a sufficient degree of uniformity across interviews. Although it is significant to gather the same kind of information from all interviewees, the role of the interviewer in a life world interview resembles more than of "a traveler rather than a miner." This way, the interviewees tell their stories in their own way. Therefore, the interviews proceed in line with the interactions between the interviewer and the interviewee, which unfold diversely.

The purpose of this study is to explore interviewees' ways of structuring their daily experiences. Accordingly, the interviews started with an open-ended question, "What is your impression after completing the DRM?" The interviewee was allowed to take as long as he/she wished to answer this question, and in any way that seemed appropriate to him/her. In this manner, it was possible to gain initial insight into the given interviewee's way of structuring his/her one-day life. Then, the interviewer proceeded to ask about the details of episodes obtained through the DRM described above.

A set of questions corresponding to each episode was used in all interviews, such as "Can you tell me more about what happened?" "Why do you feel that way?" and "Is that a common or special experience for you?" In keeping with the view of the interviewer as a traveler, the interviewer attempted to have a conversation with the interviewee, rather than confronting him/her with a large number of questions that he/she would only be able to answer superficially. In other words, the actual interview process was not prescribed but dialogue-based: Further questioning was developed in an improvised manner. In the interaction between interviewer and interviewee, focusing on the interviewees' particular episodes conducive to their happy or unhappy experiences ensured mutual understanding. The decision to proceed with or discontinue further questioning was also made in a dialogical manner resulting in a

wide variation of the length of the interviews ranging from 1 to 3 hours.

All interviews were audio-recorded in order to make note-taking during the conversation unnecessary and to preserve the interview completely. Permission to record was secured from each participant prior to beginning the interview. All participants were informed about further use of their data and guaranteed confidentiality.

All interviews took place at a location with which the interviewees were familiar. Five of the altogether six interviews were conducted in the laboratory where the interviewer and the interviewees usually met and one in the interviewee's current working place.

The author contacted participants face-to-face to describe the study and schedule an interview date individually. Each schedule involved two parts: First, participants were asked to engage in the DRM. Second, the semi-structured life world interviews were conducted with the author on the day after they completed the DRM. On average, the DRM and the recorded interview took 90 minutes each. All procedures were conducted in Japanese, the native language of all the participants.

b. Participants

To carry out the methods described above based on an understanding derived from mutual trust and support, four laboratory colleagues and two former colleagues volunteered to participate in the present study. Although they worked on different research projects unrelated to SWB, as laboratory colleagues we were familiar with each other's topics and discussed common research interests regularly. All the participants were Japanese. Their names were anonymized.

3.2.2 Analysis

a. DRM

The DRM provides access to participants' momentary affects within their daily life context. The majority analysis of the DRM categorizes participants' activities with designated affect(s) or the duration of specific activities. However, this study aims to illustrate how participants construe their everyday experiences as a form of well-being in their own terms. Therefore, the major focus is on the individual descriptions derived from the DRM. The related questions include, for example, how the participant divided his/her one-day into continuous episodes, are whether the episodes are named in general (e.g., work, dinner) or under a particular heading (e.g., watching a baseball match at the dome)? What kinds of episodes did the participant ascribe the positive affect-terms "happy," "competent," "warm," and "a sense of enjoyment" to and which ones did he/she give a relatively high score? These points work as road signs for the interviewer to achieve greater familiarity with the given participant's one-day life. More importantly, they orient the following semi-structured life world interview.

b. Semi-structured life world interview

Transcription

In order for the data from each participant to be analyzed by the person most familiar with the nuances of that participant's experience, the interviewer, i.e. the author of the present study, completed the transcriptions of all interviews herself. The recordings were made verbatim in Japanese. Later, all identifying information (including names, specific locations, etc.) was removed from the transcript.

Analytic procedure

The goal of conducting life world interviews is to grasp the way in which the interviewee interprets his/her own life experiences. The first step involves the

determination of the segments of protocols containing reference to strong feelings of positive and/or negative nature. In step two, after locating the segments of protocols, the analyses focus on connecting the target protocols with the research question. This is to say, the analyses aim to construct the interpretation of how the narrative represents the interviewee's well-being. The essential components are the discourse between the interviewee and the interviewer about his/her experiences and thoughts.

Step three discusses with laboratory colleagues and the supervisor about the selection and primary analyses, to adjust and confirm the interpretations. The rationale for this procedure is mainly to increase the inter-subjective validity of interpretation through "peer validation" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Kvale, 2007), which is further elaborated in the following Results section.

The English translation of the target transcriptions is the author's, and was further discussed and confirmed with the supervisor and laboratory colleagues.

3.3 Results

Here the author mainly presents three out of the six participants' cases, because they serve to illustrate the process of how the participants construe the meaning of their Well-Being based on their daily life experiences derived from DRM and the semi-structured life world interviews. The other three participants also made use of DRM and underwent the semi-structured life world interviews. Appendix 3 contains a summary of the central features of the other three participants' experiences. However, while their descriptions of what they experienced were very detailed, in the dialogue they did not relate much beyond what they did and why. The interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee did not suffice to determine how they make sense of their lives and explore their specific form of well-being. The Discussion section explores this issue in more detail.

As background information, the overall description of the participants' life world

is presented in the introduction section. A reconstructed *Day* that was surveyed in the participants' DRM is presented in a time log form using the unit of the episode as described by the participant. The segments of protocols of the semi-structured life world interview presented here were selected as indicating meaning-making processes most vividly. The selection and the following interpretation were consolidated through peer validation (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Kvale, 2007). The participants' evaluation on the affect scale in DRM corresponding to the targeted episode was also shown as profile information derived from the quantitative measures.

3.3.1 Mr. Fujita's Story

a. Introduction

Mr. Fujita was in his forties, married, living with his wife and daughter. He was a laboratory colleague one-year senior to the author. At the time of the interview, he was a professor of a national normal university teaching the students who are going to be kindergarten or preschool teachers. The time chosen was an open campus day of the university. He was the supervisor of the orientation of his department. Table 1 presents his one-day life as described in the DRM and the interview.

Table 1. One of Mr. Fujita's Saturdays

Episodes	Time	Details
Wake up then watch TV	7:00-8:00	The morning TV program was interesting
Commuting	8:00-9:00	Went to the university by bicycle, bought a box of Soba from a convenience store on the way
Preparation	9:00-11:00	Prepared for the Open Campus event
Visiting children's book library	11:00-11:30	The children's book library tour led by the students went well
Preparing for department orientation	11:30-12:30	Tidied up and decorated the hall for orientation with the students
Rehearsal	12:30-13:00	Rehearsed anxiously with the students on a very tight schedule
Department orientation	13:00-14:00	I was the host, and it started with two other professors' presentations

Students' presentation	14:00-15:00	The students did a good job on their presentation and Q&A section
Visiting lab	15:00-16:00	Supervised the lab tour for the high school students and their parents
Cleaning up	16:00-16:15	Students did a nice job of cleaning up the hall after the event, but none of the professors participated
Back home	16:15-17:00	Wrote emails to thank colleagues, though disagreed with their attitude today, then went home
Back home then go out for dinner	17:00-18:00	Back home then drove to a seaside restaurant with my wife and daughter
Dinner	18:00-20:00	Had dinner at a seaside restaurant and enjoyed the sunset, came across the family of my daughter's friend, the happiest time of the day
Back home	20:00-20:30	Drove back home
Shower and going to bed	20:30-21:00	Talked with my wife about my day, relieved but a little depressed while remaining the unpleasant matters with colleagues

b. Mr. Fujita's "Happiness is a concept"

Background

Mr. Fujita's overall impression of the DRM was that this method confirmed his intuition that he was having a much more positive affect at home with family than at work. Even though he liked to work at the university, for instance, facing different educational ideas from other professors bothered him sometimes. The worst time of that day was during the "Rehearsal"-episode. The orientation started at 13:00. The hall was supposed to open 30 minutes early to welcome all the high school students, their parents, and teachers. It was too important to fail. However, the students who were supposed to present had no clear clue on how to proceed. As the supervisor of the orientation, Mr. Fujita insisted on rehearsing at least one time with the students under the time pressure. Nevertheless, other professors did not care about the rehearsal, only urged that the hall should open on time.

We discussed the meaning of his feeling of happiness during the "Students' presentation"-episode, after talking about his complicated feelings during the "Rehearsal" one, see Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2. Transcript of the interview with Mr. Fujita

Researcher (R): After the rehearsal, you seemed to calm down gradually.
Fujita (F): Yes, since it started.
R: Hum. Before that, all the affects were marked with a high score. Then some of the affects came down to a lower number, for example “1,” so the tension was seemed to be relieved somehow. “Happy” was not that much. But only here you marked “Happy,” during the “Students’ presentation.”
F: Yes. It went well. I felt so nervous and worried during the rehearsal. But the students worked hard then the presentation went well. I was very happy. It’s different from “Enjoying myself.”
R: What do you mean by feeling happy at that time? Satisfied? Or, maybe not.
F: I felt happy, what is different from “Enjoying myself.” For example, the students sang or dance at the event, it’s nice that it went well; the audience would also enjoy it. The reason why I felt happy about it more than just enjoying myself is because I had worked hard with them. The orientation went well and was highly regarded by all of our guests: the high school students, their parents, and the teachers. It encouraged the students to come to this university. It’s my responsibility to make that happen. The orientation went well, it’s not about enjoying myself. Students want to come to this university and learn from here. The orientation made a good impression of this university to more people. I felt happy about that. More than that, I didn’t do the presentation by myself, but I worked with the students and helped them. When they did a good job, I’m happier than when myself did it. I think the ‘happy’ feeling comes from this job.
R: Is it happiness as a teacher?
F: Yes, happiness as a teacher . The students understood how to proceed with the orientation in a very short time, and their performance was much better than the rehearsal. I felt happy as their teacher.
R: I understand. I think it may be a kind of happiness one couldn’t get from other jobs.
F: It may be the same for example in the business world. A freshman who can’t get a job well done at the beginning, but you gave him some advice, sometimes worked together. When he got his first contract, you felt very happy and said to him “Good job! Now you can work independently!” It may be the same feeling, though not being a teacher.
R: Is that a kind of accomplishment?
F: Yes. You enjoy yourself when you are alone. You also feel happy when you are alone. For example, when you eat a delicious dessert. But somehow you feel happy when others succeed because of your contribution. It’s deeper. I came up with these when I’m talking right now.
R: OK, I understand.
F: I am a teacher, so there are some occasions that students got the results instead of myself. But I think soccer coaches are the same. They aren’t going to score, but the players do. There is a kind of happiness when the players, the students, the colleagues, or the team accomplishes something because of your contribution, and it surpasses when yourself has done it.
R: Did you think like this at the moment when the students were doing the presentation, or when you recalled that moment later and confirmed what you had felt?
F: I might have a different feeling when they did the presentation. When they did a good job, I

didn't feel joy or happiness, but glad.

R: So, it turned into happiness when you look back?

F: I think enjoyment is momentary. Happiness is a long-term judgment depending on one's values, so you feel happy while looking back. Looking back and thinking cautiously, the initial feeling is just being glad, but **when you reflect, applying your values, it turns into happiness.** Gladness is not a notion based on values, but happiness is. Enjoyment is a psychological state, which reflects that situation directly. The opposite word, for example, hopelessness, it's not an emotional expression but a judgment. **Happiness is a conclusion; it is a concept.** Although it contains emotions, it may be a little different from other words.

R: I see.

Table 3. Mr. Fujita's affect during the "Rehearsal" & "Students' presentation"-episodes

	Not at all				Very much		
Impatient for it to end		1	2	3	4	5	6
Happy	0	1	2	3		5	6
Frustrated/annoyed	0	1		3	4		6
Depressed/blue		1	2	3		5	6
Competent/capable	0	1	2	3			6
Hassled/pushed around		1	2		4	5	6
Warm/friendly		1	2		4	5	6
Angry/hostile		1	2	3	4		6
Worried/anxious	0	1		3	4		6
Enjoying myself	0	1	2	3			6
Criticized/put down	0	1		3	4		6
Tired	0	1		3	4		6

"Rehearsal" 

"Students' presentation" 

c. Summary

Mr. Fujita could rationally talk about his feelings, and used different words to distinguish his different thoughts about what happened at that time. He trained students to be kindergarten or preschool teachers. This intense rehearsal, which he worked on hard with the students, made the orientation successful. This did not only confirm to him that his job was well done, but more importantly, that his students learnt and grew during that process. Instead of accomplishing something solely by himself, he thought that helping students to grow met his responsibilities, and he was

thrilled for their success. This led to his interpretation of SWB, “Happiness is a concept,” which was Mr. Fujita’s summary statement. It is constituted by retrospection, and not only responds to the present but is also related to what happened earlier, and striving to live up to one’s values. In contrast to the feeling of enjoyment or being glad, which is momentary, happiness is “a conclusion,” a result of reflective value judgment. It is not a mere reaction but “a concept” as a product of overall reflection.

3.3.2 Ms. Suzuki’s Story

a. Introduction

Ms. Suzuki was in her forties, married, living with her husband and three children. She was a former colleague, and got her Master’s degree a few years ago. She was also a primary school teacher specializing in special needs education. It was a weekday in the summer vacation. Instead of teaching, her main job was meeting with colleagues to review and prepare for classes. Her two elder children did not need to go to primary school, but the youngest one still needed to go to preschool. Her busy day started in the morning, arranged a whole day plan, did the housework, prepared all the things the youngest one needed to take to preschool, and wrote a note about what the two elder children could do at home. Table 4 presents her one-day life described in the DRM and the interview.

Table 4. One of Ms. Suzuki’s Tuesdays

Episodes	Time	Details
Cleaning	6:20-6:50	In a hurry to clean the floor and woke up the children, regretted not getting up earlier
Morning preparation	6:50-8:30	Talked with my husband about the plan for today, very busy with making breakfast, taking care of children, and getting ready to go to work
Working	8:30-12:00	Had a meeting with the schoolmaster and other teachers discussing teaching programs, did not go so well
Lunch	12:00-12:30	Went back home to check how two elder children

		were doing, ate some pieces of bread in a hurry
Meeting	13:00-15:30	Meet with students at the university for planning some new community events in the future
Preparing for watching baseball match	15:30-16:30	Picked up the youngest child from preschool, in a hurry to pack all cheering tools, food, and drinks for tonight to make the opening time at 18:00
Going to dome	16:30-18:30	Took two neighbor children together to the dome, it was very crowded
Dinner	18:30-19:00	I drank some beers, felt good
Watching a baseball match at the dome	19:00-21:00	Took care of five children, ensure they were safe and eating healthy food not just snacks. In the end, our team won the game, very excited
Back home	21:00-22:00	My husband picked us up. But the dome was so crowded that took a very long time to get out of it, exhausted
Putting children to bed	22:00-23:00	Tomorrow is a weekday not a weekend, which means everybody needs to get up early but children were too excited to go to bed, annoying , but not regretting going to watch the match because it was a nice experience
Finally, can take a rest	23:00	Too tired , then fell asleep right after putting children to bed

b. Ms. Suzuki's "such little happiness"

Background

Ms. Suzuki marked the affect "Tired" over "0" ("not at all") on all of her episodes. Moreover, she constantly mentioned "Frustrated" experiences during the interview other than positive affect. Table 5 presents the conversation after we reviewed her one-day life episode by episode. For how she felt during the "Watching baseball match at the dome" & "Putting children to bed"-episodes described in the DRM, see Table 6.

Table 5. Transcript of the interview with Ms. Suzuki

Researcher (R): It seems to be a very theatrical day. Suzuki (S): Yes, but it's quite normal. R: Everyday? S: Except we went to watch a baseball game that day, every day likes this.

R: It needs a lot of energy to deal with everything.

S: Yes, there is no time to take things slowly. It was quite busy because of summer vacation. But actually, it was easier for me to work at the school. Because I could only focus on the pupils and myself, no housework. So actually I feel calmer at work than at home.

R: Yes, I realized that your “Frustrated/annoyed” score at home was higher than at work.

S: Yes, there wasn’t so much at work.

R: When you have kids, somehow you are always busy.

S: If I don’t have to work, I’ll have more time, more things that can be done on time, and then I may not be so frustrated. But there is no guarantee that I could do more things when I don’t have to work. On the contrary, I may do nothing at all.

R: You mean if you were a housewife?

S: Yes, when I have time, I may not push myself so hard. There won’t be any time limit, so I have more time to make arrangements.

R: Even though you would like to keep working, right?

S: Yes.

R: So, you haven’t considered quitting your job, right?

S: No, I’ve never thought about it. First of all, **I want to get paid and have financial security.** Although I’m frustrated, **having time limitations helps me balance my life.**

R: I understand.

S: Besides, bringing up children will not be a lifelong thing. Once I quit my job, it won’t be easy to come back. But **I like to be a teacher.**

R: Hum, education.

S: Yes. I don’t want to quit because **I like educational activities. Financial security is important, but I like my job indeed. I like children because it’s fun to be with them.**

R: I understand that you feel happy when you work.

S: Yes. It’s not easy though. Raising children is not easy either. It was very hard to take children to watch the baseball game, but **it was great to see others enjoyed it when I enjoyed it at the same time.**

R: I understand.

S: I was very tired after taking them home, but when they said to me that they had a very good time, **I felt worthy of going with them.**

R: I see.

S: Hum. I do want to take care of my children at the same time. It’s not easy to work at the school either, but when the pupils show some improvement in their study, or when they said something interesting, **I like to see their smiles.** Their parents are also happy for them, right? **There is a lot of such little happiness in my life. I like it.**

**Table 6. Ms. Suzuki's affect during the "Watching a baseball match at the dome"
& "Putting children to bed"-episodes**

	Not at all			Very much			
Impatient for it to end	0	☐ 1	☐ 2	3	4	5	6
Happy	0	1	☐ 2	3	☐ 4	5	6
Frustrated/annoyed	0	1	2	☐ 3	☐ 4	5	6
Depressed/blue	☐ 0	1	☐ 2	3	4	5	6
Competent/capable	0	1	☐ 2	☐ 3	4	5	6
Hassled/pushed around	0	1	☐ 2	☐ 3	4	5	6
Warm/friendly	0	1	☐ 2	3	4	5	6
Angry/hostile	0	1	2	☐ 3	4	☐ 5	6
Worried/anxious	0	☐ 1	☐ 2	3	4	5	6
Enjoying myself	0	1	☐ 2	3	☐ 4	5	6
Criticized/put down	0	1	☐ 2	☐ 3	4	5	6
Tired	0	1	2	3	☐ 4	☐ 5	6
"Watch a baseball match at the dome"	☐						
"Put children to bed"	☐						

c. Summary

Ms. Suzuki marked all her episodes of the DRM as "Tired," together with other negative affects. Except when watching the baseball match, most of the time she was stressed, and often used "Exhausted" and "Annoyed" to describe her feeling. Nevertheless, "such little happiness" appeared surrounded by several "not easy." Though raising children and working at the primary school were both not easy for her, she mentioned three circumstances that were covered by "such little happiness": When she enjoyed the happy moment with others in the dome, when her children said they had a good time at the baseball match, and when she saw her pupils' smile. In fact that her children said they had a good time that happened during the "Putting children to bed"-episode, however, her "such little happiness" was not presented by the DRM, instead, it was a relatively negative evaluation.

3.3.3 Mr. Tanaka's Story

a. Introduction

Mr. Tanaka was in his thirties, single. He was a former colleague, and got his Master's degree a few years ago. He has liked to play baseball since he was a child. He also engaged in the marathon to keep fit. Instead of working for somebody else, he wanted to be his own boss. He quit his job at the magazine of interior design then opened a book café one year ago close to the campus. Before the café opened, the author did some help with the preparation, later went there from time to time as a customer. It was not a very huge area that he designed as a secret basement. He was in charge of the entire layout and made some of the furniture for decoration by himself. Table 7 presents his one-day life described in the DRM and the interview.

Table 7. One of Mr. Tanaka's Thursdays

Episodes	Time	Details
Running	9:30-10:30	Run back and forth to the city center for one hour as a routine, it's hot outside, but I'm in a good mood
Getting dressed	10:40-11:00	Took a shower, happy about losing one-kilo weight
Watching TV	11:00-12:00	Watching the National High School Baseball Championship of Japan. It's the taste of summer
Preparing for opening the café	12:10-13:00	Cleaning, change the layout. Get ready for a brand-new day
Updating the homepage	13:00-13:30	Not very hard work. It went smoothly
Talking to customer	13:30-14:30	A customer who is also very interested in interior design, we had a nice talk
Working on photos	14:30-15:30	Edited some photos for updating the homepage later. It wasn't much fun, but I do learn a lot from it
Writing	15:30-18:30	When I'm not that busy with greeting customers, I sit in the back-stage do some sideline work like writing advertisements for other stores to put in a magazine
Talking to customers	18:30-20:30	Meet up with old friends, nice talk
Talking to customer	20:30-21:00	Nice talk
Designing shop cards	21:00-22:00	Design the cards for selling. My body was tired, but I was enjoying doing it
Changing the layout	22:00-24:00	After the closing time stayed to change the layout,

of café		tired but excited for the chance to entertain customers
Dinner	0:30-2:30	Back home and relaxed, drank four cans of beer for dinner, tired but felt nice

b. Mr. Tanaka's "not very satisfied"

Background

Mr. Tanaka answered the first and the third question of Step 1 in the DRM about life satisfaction in general and with his job both as "not very satisfied." Meanwhile, questioned about work in Step 4, he wrote that he wanted to work for a longer time and found his present job attractive. Table 8 presents the conversation we had at the beginning of the interview.

Table 8. Transcript of the interview with Mr. Tanaka (1)

Researcher (R): First of all, I noticed that you chose "not very satisfied" here, why? I thought you were satisfied.
Tanaka (T): I enjoy it, but it's far from ideal. I have my ambition. I'm not satisfied means I want to improve. I want the café to be better, want to set a nicer atmosphere up, want to offer better drinks, want to plan more events, want to enrich the homepage and there're many more things that I want to do. I meant to say that it's far from being perfect. In this sense, I'm not satisfied, although I enjoy it.
R: You mean it's still on the way?
T: Yes, it's still on the way. There are so many things I want to do. I think if I'm satisfied with my life right now it will stop going forward, and somehow, I will lose ambition in this sense.
R: I see, I was very surprised. But I got it now. Not satisfied means well.
T: Yes. Not a negative connotation at all. It doesn't mean that I was bored with it.
R: I understand.
T: Luckily, you ask me about it. It doesn't mean "I'm not satisfied" literally.
R: I couldn't believe that you didn't enjoy what you are doing right now.
T: Hum. It's not what I meant.

c. Mr. Tanaka's "'Happy' is not my word"

Background

Mr. Tanaka's general impression of the DRM was that he had no problem with writing down what he had done. However, he was uncertain about how to answer the

affect section, because the affect-related words did not bear much meaning to him. Besides, none of the episodes that Mr. Tanaka circled “Happy” on the 6-point scale was at “6” (“very much”), even though he described how he enjoyed his life moment by moment. He circled “Happy” at “5” on three “Talking to customers”-episodes. Otherwise, “4” was the highest score. The interviewer attempted to ask him what would make him circle “Happy” at “6”, for example when he worked on the layout of the café until midnight. Table 9 presents the conversation we had close to the end of the interview. For how he felt during the “Changing the layout of café”-episode described in the DRM, see Table 10.

Table 9. Transcript of the interview with Mr. Tanaka (2)

Researcher (R): Here, what would make you say “I’m very happy,” for example?
Tanaka (T): “Happy” at “6”?
R: Yes.
T: (laugh) I hardly think that I’m happy.
R: Hardly think?
T: Hum...What is the condition for “Happy” to be “6”?
R: What happened that would make you circle “6” here?
T: I circled “4” here, but it could be “6” if you say so. I mean to do all of these. The layout, the events, the homepage, and the drinks, the more effort I make, I hear more the compliment and excited comments from the customers. I’m happy to hear about these.
R: Hum. When you enjoyed the conversation with customers, it’s a temporary emotion, right? How long will it last? Will it disappear when you start to do something else?
T: Yes, it’s gone very quickly. But happiness isn’t such a thing, right? I did not feel happy when I talked with the customers. Even though I reflected on, thought about it rationally, I don’t think I was happy at that moment. I’m glad when they said they had a great time here and thanked me because it is what I expected. But it won’t last very long because I have other things to do.
R: What about when you back home and had some beer for dinner? You circled “Happy” at “4” here the same as when you worked on the layout. But the feeling was not the same, right?
T: Here, I was totally drunk. The day was over. I watched the TV. It was the time that I didn’t have to think about anything just relaxing. It was wonderful and fun. That’s why I drink every day.
R: I see.
T: Fulfilling is not enjoyable, right?
R: Hum. So here is the happiness at work?
T: Yes.
R: Even though you said you hardly think you were happy, you answered the question about

how happy you are.
T: Yes, somehow. Whether I'm happy means whether I enjoy it, right? I never thought if I'm happy or not. I felt glad and sometimes felt enjoyment.
R: Are you enjoying yourself right now?
T: Yes.
R: Do you mean that it's not the time to think about happiness?
T: No, I don't think about it. I can understand sad, hassled, anxious, and enjoyable, tired, and depressed, but happy, I haven't considered it so far.
R: It's not your word?
T: It's not my word, can't catch it.
R: I see.
T: It's not in my category.

Table 10. Mr. Tanaka's affect during the "Changing the layout of café"-episode

	Not at all				Very much		
Impatient for it to end	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Happy	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Frustrated/annoyed	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Depressed/blue	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Competent/capable	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Hassled/pushed around	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Warm/friendly	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Angry/hostile	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Worried/anxious	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Enjoying myself	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Criticized/put down	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tired	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

d. Summary

It was difficult for Mr. Tanaka to describe how he felt during each episode. The Author can infer that the affect words in the DRM did not fit with the form of Mr. Tanaka's experiences and only limited his expression. The meaning of "not very satisfied" with his life in general and the job was explicated in the interview. At the initial stage of running his own business, "not very satisfied" means having an ambition that dominates his present life.

When the interviewer pushed him to describe what would make him feel very happy, he refused to use it to describe his present life and said that "happy" was not

the word he would use, despite the fact that he had experienced several enjoyable moments, such as watching the baseball game on TV, having nice conversations with the customers and drinking beer after work.

3.4 Discussion

3.4.1 The individual form of SWB

Instead of asking participants to report their general life satisfaction or affect reactions during a certain period on a given scale, the DRM helps each participant to determine personally experienced episodes and measures their affective states based on these episodic units. The dialogue-based explication of these units was constituted from the semi-structured life world interviews. Participants organized and interpreted their experiences individually. The expression of SWB was not limited to “I am happy,” but was expressed implicitly using their own words: Mr. Fujita’s “others succeeded because of your contribution,” Ms. Suzuki’s “not easy but like such little happiness,” Mr. Tanaka’s “I have my ambition.” In any story, each episode of the DRM vividly exposed individual daily life.

Moreover, experiences did not all have an equal weight, which is the assumption underlying Kahneman’s approach. As Alexandrova (2005) points, participants decide to weigh certain experiences by their values as being constitutive of their SWB, and “these weights can be different from those assigned by the averaging procedure” (p. 310). Mr. Fujita divided his experiences at work precisely into several episodes characterized by what he is engaging in, while Ms. Suzuki described her experience at work as one episode named “Work” generally. Besides, Mr. Fujita felt more positive at home than at work, while Ms. Suzuki felt the opposite. It is improper to conclude which of them was happier at work. They both pursued their jobs and weighted their experiences from different angles and perspectives.

The subjectivity of the experience base for SWB was firstly reflected in the

individualized units of episodes in daily life. The categorical division of daily events such as “Work” and “Family Dinner” did not match the meaning unit for construing well-being in daily life episodes.

3.4.2 Meaning-making under a collaborative dialogue-based approach

SWB is attributed to the person but also a joint product of interactive dialogue so that the judgment is understandable. Bruner (1990) points out that “there are agreed-upon canonical relationships between the meaning of what we say and what we do in given circumstances, and such relationships govern how we conduct our lives with one another” (p. 19). Meaning is not pre-determined but generated through the process of negotiation with others. Meaning-making occurs when the relation between doing and saying is deviant from the ordinary social context. In Mr. Fujita’s story, when the interviewer summarized the happiness that came from being a teacher, he did not deny it but rather extended this judgment to situations in which others achieved something noteworthy with his support. In Ms. Suzuki’s story, because it was hard for the interviewer to imagine her daily life, the interviewer attempted to ask about how she balanced work and family life. After she had given several reasons, her statement “it is not easy, but I like such little happiness” can be understood as her giving meaning to her daily life. In Mr. Tanaka’s story, the interviewer pushed him to imagine his happiest experience. As a consequence, he resisted the expression “happy,” then clarified that it was not the word he would use. On the contrary, he judged himself to be “not very satisfied” with his present life, thereby expressing higher ambitions, though he did indeed make clear that he derives joy from certain experiences. These three cases present vividly the process of how the participants make sense of their daily life experiences as a form of well-being, each in their own way.

The interpretations of a portion of daily life experiences, which revealed the meaning structure of each participant, were construed both within the interview process and in the analyses after the interaction. Thus, the summary statement as

described in the results could be characterized as post hoc reconstruction. Previous research indicated that, as a research interview consists in the interaction between an interviewer and an interviewee, any resulting knowledge is also to be seen as interactively produced (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Kvale, 2007). In this research, the interviewer and interviewees were laboratory colleagues. Such supportive relationships as well as the inter-subjective background made the exploration of SWB more plausible and mutual. These relational qualities are conducive to the validity of post-interview interpretation, but are not a requirement for the regular administration of SWB instruments. The dialogue as a methodological premise was not restricted to the actual interactive procedure, but was extended to the overall interpretive approach as conducted in the present research.

However, there is no guarantee that the participants' individualized form of well-being will reveal itself by conducting the semi-structured life world interview. Narrative is not only about a sequence of events over time answering the question "what happened"; it also contains structured comprehension in terms of social canonicity and exceptionality, which answer to the question "why is this worth telling" (Bruner, 1991). In this regard, the interviewer's understanding of what is going on was in line with the interviewee's understanding, and the interaction turned out to be more effective with the three cases presented above. This presents a methodical difficulty in the administration of the integrative approach employed in the present study. The interpretability of the given interview protocols is mutually restrained by the capacity of the interviewer as well as the relational qualities in the Inter-View pair. The author considers these limitations as the fundamental consequences of employing a dialogical approach.

3.4.3 The constructs of SWB

PCT proposed by Kelly (1955, 1963) sees the person from a holistic viewpoint. It holds that we view our experience, as it were, through the lens of our constructs.

Moreover, a certain experience derives its meaning also from a construction of unrealized alternatives to that very experience. Fransella (1995) indicates that construing, for Kelly, “is not ‘thinking’ or ‘feeling’ —it is the act of discriminating experientially” (p. 52). When Alexandrova (2005) argues why retrospective evaluation is important to approaching SWB, she indicates that “one way to judge our lives is by assigning values to experiences on the basis of commitments we may find important” (p. 308). It means, we recognize the similarities and differences in our experiencing under our individual personal frameworks of meaning and we place our own value to impose personal order in our lives.

Mr. Fujita’s “Happiness is a concept” can be understood in the context of one of his value statements: instead of accomplishing something by himself, he felt happy when the students, whom he worked hard with, did a good job. This construct made the “Students’ presentation”-episode a happy experience to him. Ms. Suzuki’s expression “such *little* happiness” was not supposed to refer to a *degree* of happiness, but rather to the way she takes responsibility for her loaded daily activities in a forward-looking manner. Mr. Tanaka’s “Happy is not my word” and his describing himself as “not very satisfied” are mean to convey his great “ambition” in running his own business. What all these constructs have in common is that they are based on life experiences and are employed to make sense of individual life in terms of “well-being.”

These key terms are idiosyncratic, having particular meanings for each subject and yet were clarified and understood in the interviews. They function as a summary statement of the overall conception of what a good life means to the subject. What was considered as “bias” in the retrospective evaluation by Kahneman is the “lens” or narrative framework through which participants see and construe their life as being conducive to their well-being. Such key terms and phrases are not just expressions of their views but are also active ingredients in their daily transactions with others and their surrounding environments (Wapner, Demick, Yamamoto, & Minami, 2000). Kelly’s (1955, 1963) notion of Personal Construct and its collateral concept of

Personal Project (Little, 2000) capture the central active role of the narrative forms in guiding a person's daily life.

Chapter 4 Study 2:

A Contextual Understanding of Subjective Well-Being

4.1 Introduction

Subjective Well-Being (hereafter SWB) refers to a person's feelings and thoughts about whether his/her life is going well regardless of others' judgments (Diener, 1984). This concept was developed to answer the question of what is a good life and how to determine a high quality of life from a subjective perspective. High scores on the measurements of SWB mean that the participants who represent a certain group of people believe their lives to be desirable and that they are enjoying it. One reason for scientists to study SWB is to apply it as a social indicator to assess how well society is developing together with objective indexes such as income and education statistics (Diener, 2009).

Since SWB emphasizes that the right to evaluate one's life lies with the person in question, the majority of the methods are often based on self-reporting questionnaires asking participants how they feel and think about their lives. However, one criticism of this method is that the subjects' global retrospective judgments do not always accurately reflect the quality of their actual experiences (for a more detailed discussion, see chapter 3, section 3.1). Kahneman et al. (2004, 2005) develop a new instrument called the Day Reconstruction Method (hereafter DRM) to record individuals' one-day activities and to measure their experienced well-being in the context of daily lives. The advantage of applying this method is to assess what role different kinds of activities and the duration for which they are being carried out play in giving rise to their happiness or life satisfaction. It reports not only the cognitive-affective assessment of life over a certain period of time, but also provides information on how happiness is being experienced in the context of the specified activities.

One application of Kahneman et al.'s approach is to categorize subjects' happy

and unhappy experiences and to analyze the behavioral tendencies of a certain population. Thus, such empirical results would enable make suggestions on public policies of how to change people's behavior patterns in order to improve their quality of life. The assumption underlying this orientation is that each experience has equal weight and homogenized meaning. However, as we have discussed in the previous chapter (see section 4.3), each person organizes and values his/her daily life in an individualized way according to their Personal Construct (Kelly, 1955, 1963). Kelly's notion of Personal Construct serves as a lens, which helps to determine how people anticipate events, how they interact with others, make sense of their experiences, and make predictions about the future. Thereby, their daily experiences are neither pre-categorized nor standardized. What these experiences mean to each person is revealed by that person's attempt to make their particular sense of what is happening to them and around them. SWB does not merely involve happy experiences that can be categorized into a behavior pattern of being happy, but rather refers to that person's perspective of being well.

In the previous chapter, Study 1 presented an alternative approach to SWB and proposed that SWB is a personal meaning construct generated through narrative, namely, how people talk with each other about their daily lives and make sense of their personal experiences. Although it is the person who makes sense of his/her daily events and finds alternative possibilities, this process of meaning-making is neither completely arbitrary nor isolated; rather, it takes place within a certain context and is a socio-cultural product. Vygotsky (1978, 2012) in his Sociocultural Theory claims that the origin of individuals' mental processes is the society or culture that the individual is situated in. One of the key arguments is that people use certain tools, especially the symbolic one of language, as mediators interacting between their minds and the world. According to Vygotsky, language is first and foremost a social instrument that facilitates interaction with others, for example communicating to share and develop knowledge. Then also, language is an "interiorized" tool that helps to shape the minds of those who adapt to its use, for example absorbing new concepts to reconstruct

one's thoughts. This internalization process mediated by language is functionalized in gaining control of the world and of the person himself, and simultaneously changing them. Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory stresses that social interaction plays a fundamental role in individuals' mental processes. Thereby, the best way to understand people's thought and activity is to conduct the investigation rooted in their embedded socio-cultural context.

Studying the relationship between human beings and their environment is one of the major themes in social science. Nevertheless, the environment is usually treated as an external factor being influential in the process of behavioral or psychological change. Going against this paradigm, Wapner, Kaplan, & Cohen (1973) propose an Organismic-Developmental Approach where the person-in-environment system serves as the central unit of analysis. The basic feature of this approach is seeing the person and the setting/environment function as aspects of a whole system rather than isolated entities independent of each other. This whole system works in an organismic way rather than a mechanical one. This is to say, the person and the environment are mutually defined in terms of one another, and any actions that occur within the system would have reciprocal effects on each other. More importantly, referring to Vygotsky's internalization process, the outside world and the person integrate into a new structure that systematically transforms the whole system as a developing process. This transactional view is crucial to inquire about how people are living within a set of experiential settings and evaluate it. From this perspective, the environment consists of several layers, the most obvious three being the physical, the inter-personal and also the cultural—the latter of which intersecting with and providing context to the first two.

Another way of studying how socio-cultural context effects people is to conduct cross-cultural studies. In this framework, culture is traditionally seen as an independent variable while people's feelings and evaluations are responses to stimuli. Valsiner (2007, 2014) criticizes this viewpoint of culture and questions the appropriateness of comparing different cultural contexts in general. He develops his

version of the field of Cultural Psychology holding a different view—not of a person as belonging to a certain kind of culture, but of culture being located in-between the person and the social worlds. Valsiner’s Cultural Psychology sees a person as a culturally functioning system, and living experience within its social contexts is culturally organized by way of semiotic regulation. He reconstructs Vygotsky’s idea of language mediation into semiotic regulation, and proposes that we use semiotic tools to participant in and create the relation to the socio-cultural context. Then, such a context constructed through semiotics becomes an inherent part of our behavior and psychological processes. This viewpoint does not only support Wapner et al.’s holistic analysis of the person-in-environment system, but also is a benefit of applying Bruner’s Narrative Mode (1986, 1990) in a lived cultural context.

In contrast to most other studies of SWB, which take the form of large-scale surveys with hundreds of participants, directed toward an understanding of the “average” evaluation of people’s lives in the “average” setting, the present study is to gain insight into the diverse ways in which people organize and evaluate their daily lives by conducting the same procedures of methods as applied in Study 1: Expanded application of DRM and a following life world interview (Kvale, 1996).

As the discussion of Study 1 shows, SWB is not pre-existing inside the individual and cannot be discovered by researchers just asking the right questions. It is rather delineated through dialogical interaction taking place within the interviewer-interviewee relationship depending on a certain social context. In study 1, the interviewer and interviewees are laboratory colleagues, sharing a common research interest that leads to their supportive cooperation. However, variation in the living environment and the native language could affect the quality of meaning-understanding processes. In order to “take advantage of, and reveal, the local *whats* of experience” (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 45), the present study started off with taking into account the local setting and select participants sharing a similar living context with the author. The purpose of this study is to answer the question, “How does culture provide a context for the meaning-making process of SWB?” The

ultimate aim of the present research, following up on Study 1, is to clarify the structure of meaning-making in the interpretation of a person's own daily experiences which are considered as a form of well-being.

4.2 Method

4.2.1 Procedure

a. Instruments

Day Reconstruction Method

(DRM; Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz, & Stone, 2004)

As described in the previous chapter, the DRM is an instrument assessing subjective experiences in specific situations throughout the day. The goal is to capture participants' one-day life in a clear-cut timeline and assess each episode with contextual descriptions.

It is conducted in four steps:

- Step 1. Asking participants to evaluate their life satisfaction in general and in particular life-domains, and supply demographic information;
- Step 2. Asking participants to describe their previous day, like continuous episodes in a film, from the time that they woke up until bedtime;
- Step 3. Asking for more details about the described episodes. With whom did the participant interact and where? In the Affect Section it is asked how he/she felt during that episode (impatient for it to end, happy, frustrated, depressed, competent, hassled, warm, angry, worried, a sense of enjoyment, criticized, or tired)? A scale from 0 ("not at all") to 6 ("very much") is used; and
- Step 4. A few more questions are asked about the previous day, physical status in general and other peoples' perceptions of the participant.

For the purposes of the present study, the DRM was translated by two bilingual researchers sensitive to the nuances and subtleties of English and Chinese. To ensure the conceptual accuracy of the translation, the Chinese version of DRM was independently back-translated into English by the third bilingual researcher.

Semi-Structured Life World Interview

(Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Kvale, 1996, 2007)

This is an interview method aiming to obtain rich descriptions of the interviewees' life world to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena. Guidelines ensure a sufficient degree of uniformity across interviews. Although it is significant to gather the same kind of information from all interviewees, the role of the interviewer in a life world interview resembles more that of "a traveler rather than a miner." This way, the interviewees tell their stories in their own way. Therefore, the interviews proceed in line with the interactions between the interviewer and the interviewee, which unfold diversely.

The purpose of the present study, complementing Study 1, is to explore interviewees' ways of structuring their daily experiences. Accordingly, the interviews started with an open-ended question, "What is your impression after completing the DRM?" The interviewee was allowed to take as long as he/she wished to answer this question, and in any way that seemed appropriate to him/her. In this manner, it was possible to gain initial insight into the given interviewee's way of structuring his/her one-day life. Then, the interviewer proceeded to ask about the details of episodes obtained through the DRM described above.

A set of questions corresponding to each episode was used in all interviews, such as "Can you tell me more about what happened?" and "Why do you feel that way?" Additional questions, such as "What do you think about your life in Japan?" and "What's your plan after graduation?" were also raised since they are relevant to become acquainted with participants' current living circumstances. In keeping with the view of the interviewer as a traveler, the interviewer attempted to have a

conversation with the interviewee, rather than confronting him/her with a large number of questions that he/she would only be answer superficially. In other words, the actual interview process was not prescribed but dialogue-based: Further questioning was developed in an improvised manner. In the interaction between interviewer and interviewee, focusing on the interviewee's particular episodes conducive to their happy or unhappy experiences ensured mutual understanding. The decision to proceed or discontinue further questioning was also made in a dialogical manner resulting in a wide variation of the length of the interviews (see section 4.2.3 in detail).

All interviews were audio-recorded in order to make note-taking during the conversation unnecessary and to preserve the interview completely. Permission to record was secured from each participant prior to beginning the interview. All participants were informed about further use of their data and guaranteed confidentiality.

All interviews took place at a location with which the interviewees were familiar. Four of the altogether five interviews were conducted in the interviewer's laboratory next to the interviewees' and one in the interviewee's laboratory.

The author contacted participants via common social medial (i.e. WeChat and email) to describe the study and schedule an interview date individually. Each schedule involved two parts: First, participants were asked to engage in the DRM. Second, the semi-structured life world interviews were conducted with the author on the same day they completed the DRM. On average, the DRM took 40 minutes but the recorded interview took anywhere from less than 2 hours to 6 hours and 20 minutes. All procedures were conducted in Chinese, the native language of all the participants and the author.

b. Participants

To carry out the methods described above based on an understanding derived from mutual trust and support, five Chinese graduate students studying in Japan who shared a similar living environment with the author took part in the present study. All the participants have had daily conversations with the author as a friend since they came to Japan rather than being random sampling subjects only recruited for this research. In this regard, the relationship between the author and the participants was similar to the previous study. The difference is that these five Chinese students were not familiar with the topic of the author's research since they were studying different subjects at university. Their names were anonymized.

4.2.2 Analysis

a. DRM

The DRM provides access to participants' momentary affects within their daily life context. The majority analysis of the DRM categorizes participants' activities with designated affect(s) or the duration of specific activities. However, this study aims to illustrate how participants construe their everyday experiences as a form of well-being in their own terms. Therefore, the major focus is on the individual descriptions derived from the DRM. The related questions include, for example, how the participant divided his/her one-day into continuous episodes, and whether the episodes are named in general (e.g., lunch, shopping) or under a particular heading (e.g., video telephone with boyfriend)? What kinds of episodes did the participant ascribe the positive affect-terms "happy," "competent," "warm," and "a sense of enjoyment" to and which ones did he/she give a relatively high score? These points work as road signs for the interviewer to achieve greater familiarity with the given participant's one-day life. More importantly, they orient the following semi-structured life world interview.

b. Semi-structured life world interview

Transcription

In order for the data from each participant to be analyzed by the person most familiar with the nuances of that participant's experience, the interviewer, i.e. the author of the present study, completed the transcriptions of all interviews herself. The recordings were made verbatim in Chinese. Later, all identifying information (including names, specific locations, etc.) was removed from the transcript.

Analytic procedure

The goal of conducting life world interviews is to grasp the cultural ways in which the interviewee interprets his/her own life experiences. The first step involves the determination of the episodes that the interviewees talked about with strong positive feelings. The narrative of the episodes may be concentrated in one place or spread out across the interview. In step two, after locating the episodes, the analyses focus on connecting the target episodes with the research question. This is to say, the analyses aim to construct the interpretation of how the episodes represent the interviewee's well-being in a cultural context. The essential components are the discourse between the interviewee and the interviewer about his/her experiences and thoughts.

Step three discusses with laboratory colleagues and the supervisor about the selection and primary analyses, to adjust and confirm the interpretations. The post-interview discussion was held mostly in Japanese, the common language among the group members. The utilized parts of the Chinese language transcripts of the interviews were also translated into Japanese for mutual understanding and discussion.

The English translation of the target episodes is the author's, and was further discussed and confirmed with the supervisor and laboratory colleagues.

4.3 Results

This section follows the principle of presenting only the result of the best and most insightful interview if there are two or more illustrating the same point (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). The author mainly presents two out of the five participants' cases, because they serve to illustrate the process of how the meaning of SWB based on participants' daily life experiences derived from DRM and the semi-structured life world interviews most vividly. The other three participants made use of the same procedures. Appendix 4 contains a summary of the central features of the other three participants' experiences.

As background information, the overall description of the participants' life world is presented in the introduction section. A reconstructed *Day* that was surveyed in the participants' DRM is presented in a time log form using the unit of the episode as described by the participant. The flow of the semi-structured life world interview is also presented in a time log. The participants' evaluation on the affect scale in DRM corresponding to the targeted episode was shown as profile information derived from the quantitative measures.

The way of presenting the results is different from Study 1. The main results are not showing the segments of protocols referring to a direct record of the interview, but first showing a table of the flow of the whole interview to outline its structure, and then reporting the participants' happy experiences together with the interviewer's explanations. Here the episodes are characterized by the word "happy" instead of terms like "being-well" or "feeling good" since it refers to a more general impression of interviewees' narratives during the interview. These will be described in more detail in the following section. The explanations from the interviewer rather than the interviewee's own words are meant to help readers who are not very familiar with the cultural context at hand to better understand the participants' happy experiences. This issue will be further discussed in the Discussion section.

The author is identical with the interviewer, but in the following section, in order to stress the relationship within the interview, "the interviewer" is substituted for "the

author.” The selection and the following explanation were consolidated through peer validation (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005; Kvale, 2007).

4.3.1 Ms. Chen’s Story

a. Introduction

Ms. Chen was in her thirties, an only child, married for one year. She came to Japan five and a half years ago and finished her master's program. At the time of the interview, she was going to obtain her doctoral degree. She and the interviewer lived on the same floor of a dormitory for international students for a certain period.

She passed the oral defense of her doctoral dissertation, but some additional experiments and revisions remained. She explained that her daily rhythm had recently been somewhat chaotic, due to the revision process. Otherwise, she kept regular hours. She recorded her one-day life from the previous day 23:00 to the next day 1:00 am rather than the period from the time she woke up until bedtime. Table 11 presents her one-day life described in the DRM and the interview.

Table 11. One of Ms. Chen’s Saturdays

Episodes	Time	Details
Writing the thesis	23:00-1:00	Revised the Ph.D. thesis
Sleeping	1:00-3:00	Took a nap in the laboratory
Washing up	3:00-3:15	Except for not being able to take a shower, we could actually live in our laboratory
Breakfast & watching YouTube	3:15-4:00	Relaxed and happy
Writing the thesis	4:00-7:00	Revised the Ph.D. thesis, the deadline is coming
Lab experiment	7:00-12:00	Additional experiments are necessary, but I’m very hungry
Lunch & dinner	12:00-13:00	Having lunch in a restaurant, and reading novels in Kindo, relaxing time
Shopping in the supermarket	13:00-13:30	Bought some fruit, found some cheap but delicious grapes
At home	13:30-14:30	Shower, washing clothes, eating fruit, most enjoyable and happy time of the day

Sleeping	14:30-21:00	
At home	21:00-24:00	Prepared some fruits to bring to the laboratory later
Back to laboratory	24:00-1:00	Bought something to eat from a convenience store on the way back to the laboratory, eating and watching YouTube in front of the desk
Writing the thesis	1:00-	Continuing revision of the thesis

The interview lasted for 6 hours and 20 minutes. In the beginning, she introduced her laboratory, the functions of her equipment work and her research to the interviewer in detail, since she majored in a different subject from the interviewer's. After we reviewed her one-day life episode by episode, we talked about the reason why she decided to come to Japan and how she thought about her life studying abroad and her character.

The flow of the interview is shown in Table 12. For how she felt during the “At home”-episode described in the DRM, see Table 13.

Table 12. The flow of the interview with Ms. Chen

Timeline	Interviewer	Ms. Chen
00:00	Asking how she felt about doing the DRM	Living very irregular recently, otherwise, I stay in the laboratory from 10 am to 8 pm almost every day
06:33	Starting to ask about the details of the episodes of the day one by one	Explaining how the laboratory works and the doctoral research project
1:21:00	Asking about the time she is relaxed and happy: “Breakfast & watching YouTube” and “Lunch & dinner”	Likes detective stories and is interested in reading various kinds of novels
2:10:02		“Shopping in the supermarket” involved talking about fruit being expensive in Japan, so I am very much looking forward to eating fruits later at home
2:13:21	Asking about her plan for going back home after graduation	Will start a postdoc position at a university in my hometown because all of my family is there
2:29:21	Because the last episode she recorded was going back to	Revised it to be more understandable following the comments from the Examination Board. And

	revise her thesis, asking about the details of it	the deadline for bookbinding is close
2:36:09	Asking about the oral defense	The preparation and the oral defense were both quite intense. Afterwards, I slept for more than 13 hours
2:42:15	Asking about that recovery process	That sleep was enough to feel reborn. Good health is influenced by my parents because both of them are doctors of traditional Chinese medicine
		Reading is also a kind of family tradition
3:03:49	Asking for the reason why she wanted to come to Japan	It was an alternative solution to get further education because I partially failed the examination in China
		I applied for this university with assistance from an intermediary agency
3:19:54	Asking how she dealt with the expense	My parents paid in the beginning, but I got an award that covered all of my expense started from the third year
		Our laboratory is too busy to do a part-time job for a living
3:27:03	It must be a great relief to her and her family	Sure, at the end of last year, I invited my parents to Japan, I'm so proud that I could pay for it
		Talking about the trip to Kyoto, Kobe, Himeji, Fukuoka, and Tokyo (This part will be discussed in more detail in the next section)
4:05:55	Asking whether she thinks it has been worth coming to Japan for those years	Talking about being a translator once for academic exchange activity, and how I thought about the difference between China and Japan.
		I learn a lot from being abroad for a certain time, but I want to go back home to become a teacher at a university
4:47:20	Asking what is her happiest time and activity are	(silent for a while) My supervisor said the oral defense was good, I just need one more experiment and to be able to publish the thesis. I said yes to myself, it's done! (This part will be discussed in more detail in the next section)

4:47:55	Asking her whether she thinks she is a happy person	I'm a person enjoying wherever I am Talking about family relationships, my character is the same as my mom's Because my husband majors in a different subject, our conversations are more about everyday issues
5:43:37		Talking about learning all of the special vocabularies in English, confused sometimes when discussing with laboratory colleagues in Japanese Talking about other colleagues' research and job after graduation I tried my best doing research here, but I think my specialty is teaching rather than focusing on more advanced experiments, so this is what I'm going to do later

b. Two narratives representing Ms. Chen's well-being

(i) "I pride myself on entertaining my parents traveling around Japan by my savings from an award"

This narrative emerged when the interviewer asked about how Ms. Chen deals with her expenses for studying abroad. She explained that for all the living expenses and tuition fees she used to rely on her parents until she received an award for outstanding students. Then she mentioned, "At the end of last year my parents came to travel around Japan, it was me entertaining them for the whole trip. I'm very proud of myself (originally, she used 'De-se' a vernacular form indicating pride and great satisfaction) for being able to do this." Then we talked about that trip for about 30 minutes.

She had started to plan this trip three months earlier: she booked a log cabin with a hot spring from where one can see Mount Fuji, made a reservation for a tea ceremony in Kyoto, a famous steak house in Kobe, and a night boat tour in Tokyo.

She made a detailed plan of what kind of special event to go to on that day, where to eat and stay, and how to move in between, all with a precise timetable. She said that she usually lives a fairly frugal life, but on this trip, she picked out all the best for her parents.

Here are some of her statements about the trip:

“My mom asked me how much money do they would need to exchange to Japanese Yen, and I told them it wasn’t necessary, because I would take care of all of it.”

“I picked them up from the airport, and I brought a bouquet of flowers especially for my mom. How can we pick up a lady without flowers, right?”

“I booked a steak house in Kobe for them to enjoy Kobe Beef (a prized Japanese delicacy). It was very expensive, but I’m so happy, really very happy.”

“I asked my mom if she’s satisfied with the entire plan, she said very much so.”

“I was so “De-se” (means proud and satisfied) that I arranged everything perfectly for my parents, so happy.”

Table 13. Ms. Chen’s affect during the “At home”-episode

	Not at all					Very much	
Impatient for it to end	①	1	2	3	4	5	6
Happy	0	1	2	3	4	5	⑥
Frustrated/annoyed	①	1	2	3	4	5	6
Depressed/blue	①	1	2	3	4	5	6
Competent/capable	0	1	2	3	4	5	⑥
Hassled/pushed around	①	1	2	3	4	5	6
Warm/friendly	0	①	2	3	4	5	6
Angry/hostile	①	1	2	3	4	5	6
Worried/anxious	①	1	2	3	4	5	6
Enjoying myself	0	1	2	3	4	5	⑥
Criticized/put down	①	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tired	①	1	2	3	4	5	6

(ii) “Happy about getting high praise by my supervisor after the oral defense”

In the Affect Section of DRM, Ms. Chen marked “Happy” on the 6-point scale “6” (“very much”) when she was at home from 13:30–14:30. Nevertheless, she said,

“Taking a break from the experiment and thesis, just relaxing, of course I’m happy.”
“But it’s just taking a break.” When the interviewer asked what her happiest time was doing what, she paused a while and answered, “after the oral defense, my supervisor said it was good, I just needed to finish the additional experiment and publish it. I said ‘yes!’ to myself. It’s done now! Although it’s not done yet, I’m still working on that right now.”

c. Explanations

These two parts of narratives were not directly concerned with Mr. Chen’s one-day life described in DRM. They emerged after we talked about her daily life episode by episode. Considering which part of the whole interview involves her thoughts on being well, these two narrative parts are in the spotlight. In other words, these two parts stand out as the highlights, as it were, of her life in Japan.

Though she got a great award that covered her living expenses, she lived very simply. She cooked herself as often as possible, and hardly ever bought new clothes or accessories. On the contrary, she was very generous and hospitable to her parents. She brought flowers when she picked them up from the airport; she picked up the most expensive dinner course, i.e. Kobe beef; she provided them with more than enough cash when she needed to go back to the laboratory and could not be with them. All the arrangements cost her most of her savings for these years, but she mentioned several times that she was very happy and satisfied with this trip.

Other than talking about the trip, we also took quite a long time to talk about her favorite books, her childhood in her hometown, and the daily life when she was at home with her parents. She said that because both her parents are doctors of traditional Chinese medicine, they needed to study constantly and read the latest literature all the time. She spent a lot of time with her mom in the library when she was very young. Reading is a kind of family tradition. All these narratives are based on her family and their close bonds with each other. Their attachment offers the

ground to understand why she put so much thought into that trip with her parents in Japan, which represents a kind of her well-being.

Ms. Chen took a while to think about the interviewer's question of what her happiest time was doing what. She said it was the moment of getting a good evaluation of her oral defense from her supervisor. Different from the happy time when she was doing something she liked and was able to relax; getting a good evaluation from her doctoral supervisor on her final examination confirmed the meaning of her effort for these years to her. The interviewer herself is also working on her doctoral dissertation, and an oral defense is indispensable in the future. Because of the similar positions of the interviewer and the interviewee, the meaning of this narrative was not only understood through Ms. Chen's words, but also sympathized with at the same time. Therefore, in the context of this particular conversation between the two participants, it was understood that these very concise statements were sufficient to convey their much more comprehensive meaning. This point will be discussed in more detail in the Discussion, see section 4.4.2.

4.3.2 Mr. Yang's Story

a. Introduction

Mr. Yang was in his twenties, an only child. He had come to Japan three years before and studied to obtain a master's degree in the same department as the interviewer. When he first came to this university, the interviewer was a member of the support team for foreign students assisting him in starting this new phase of his life.

He went back home to look for job opportunities there during the term break, and then returned to the university for the new semester. It was an ordinary working day at his part-time job for a furniture retail chain store. Table 14 presents his one-day life described in the DRM and the interview.

Table 14. One of Mr. Yang's Thursdays

Episodes	Time	Details
Way to work	8:30-8:48	Got on a very crowded train, no available seat to sit down. Texted with my girlfriend, solved one of her problems
Morning shift	9:00-12:00	Not so many customers, thinking about the meaning of doing a part-time job
Meeting with manager	12:00-13:00	The monthly meeting, was a little nervous as usual
Afternoon shift	13:00-14:30	Getting busy around lunchtime, felt a little tired
Lunch break	14:30-15:00	Ate at the cafeteria, very cheap; had a cup of coffee, smoked, chatted with colleagues, felt relaxed
Afternoon shift	15:00-17:00	Not so many customers, stood for a long time, my legs started to hurt, wished to be off duty as soon as possible
Shopping	17:00-17:20	Used the staff discount to buy some food I like, felt nice
Going back home	17:30-18:00	Listened to music and enjoyed the view out of the train window, felt relaxed
Relaxing	18:00-20:00	Cooked a steak that I bought this afternoon and one vegetable dish and rice, and watched a movie
Taking a rest	20:00-23:50	Took a shower, went to bed, cleared my head

The interview lasted for 2 hours and 16 minutes. His general impression of doing DRM was like making a movie, what happened yesterday reappeared vividly. Since the interviewer used to do a part-time job in a different department at the same company, we talked about his work in more detail for a certain time. After we reviewed his one-day life episode by episode, we talked about how he thought about the decision to come to Japan, his college life and working experiences, and his plans for going back home after graduation.

The flow of the interview is shown in Table 15. For how he felt during his “Relaxing”-episode described in the DRM, see Table 16.

Table 15. The flow of the interview with Mr. Yang

Timeline	Interviewer	Mr. Yang
00:00	Asking how he feels about doing the DRM	Usually, I don't recall things I have done in such detail. It feels like making a movie I'm satisfied with the part-time job because of the nice payment, and the college life is actually much nicer than I had expected
03:17	Starting to ask about the details of the episodes of the day one by one	Explaining the working shift and training program Thought about career path from now on Finally had a lunch break around 2 pm after meeting with the manager and 1.5 hours shift
51:03	Asking when he would usually have lunch on off-days	Depends on what I'm doing that day but the latest by 2 pm I haven't eaten breakfast since I came to Japan because there are not so many choices as I have at home. I only eat what I really like , so lunch is my first meal; I cook for myself around 6-8 pm, I eat more at dinner I went to a cooking school for 11 months before I came to Japan, but didn't have the time to get the license When I go back home I eat more for breakfast and we have a late lunch without dinner
58:57	Back to the episodes of the day	I'm happy when I'm cooking. It's a kind of healing time when I'm in Japan. I enjoy the whole time from preparation until tidying up everything (This part will be discussed in more detail in the next section)
1:10:00	At the beginning of the interview, he mentioned that he is not satisfied with his life in general because he does not have time to do exercise, here asking what he would do when he had time	Like to ride a bicycle to somewhere further I once rode to Lhasa from my hometown in a team for 40 days when I was 20. Because it was a very tough journey, I'm proud of myself for the accomplishment. Traveling by public transportation in Japan is expensive, but the condition of the road is quite

		good (compared to the road we rode to Lhasa), so I would like to ride somewhere when if I have time, enjoying the view on the way, I feel so happy (This part will be discussed in more detail in the next section)
1:24:15	Asking how he feels about coming to Japan and the plan after graduation	It's not an easy topic, but I think I gain more than I lose having made this decision. Learned how to live independently, got some new and important viewpoints from the study that could be useful later for work Plans for going back home to work, want a stable life
1:45:35	Asking about his master thesis	I'll write the thesis after a conference presentation, and try my best to finish it.
1:50:38		These three years aren't easy, talking about the relationship with girlfriend Three years of free life, I learn a lot here, but it's enough already, never thought to stay here longer, want to enjoy having a nice breakfast, more importantly, want to stay closer to family and friends. I think I can explore myself better in a more familiar environment Plan for the next six months

Table 16. Mr. Yang's affect during the "Relax"-episode

	Not at all					Very much	
Impatient for it to end	0	1	②	3	4	5	6
Happy	0	1	2	3	4	⑤	6
Frustrated/annoyed	0	①	2	3	4	5	6
Depressed/blue	0	①	2	3	4	5	6
Competent/capable	0	1	2	3	4	⑤	6
Hassled/pushed around	0	①	2	3	4	5	6
Warm/friendly	0	1	2	3	4	⑤	6
Angry/hostile	0	①	2	3	4	5	6
Worried/anxious	0	1	②	3	4	5	6
Enjoying myself	0	1	2	3	4	⑤	6
Criticized/put down	0	1	②	3	4	5	6
Tired	0	1	②	3	4	5	6

b. Two narratives representing Ms. Yang's well-being

(i) "Enjoying the delicious food cooked by myself"

Mr. Yang's happy time of that day he described in DRM was after work, he went shopping for and cooked his dinner and took a rest at home. When the interviewer admitted to being impressed that after a long day of work, he still had the energy to cook himself, Mr. Yang explained that it was "Not an issue at all, I'm relaxed when I cook, I just like cooking. When I'm tired of writing reports or something like that, I'll go to cook something for myself." "For me, it's an enjoyable thing." Then we talked about how often he goes shopping, and how he decides what to cook. Later, he mentioned that after he graduated from university in China, and he had no plan to go to Japan yet. He had some spare time, went to a cooking school for almost a year to learn to cook professionally. There was a chance to get a license as a chef but he did not have enough time to attend the test because he decided to go to Japan. Nevertheless, this learning experience was propitious to the arrangement of his daily diet now.

In the following interview, he mentioned several times that cooking is a kind of healing time while staying in Japan. The happy time starts from the preparation while imaging the look of the finished dish, for example, Coke chicken wings. Then eating is the happiest moment, with a happy time even lasting through tidying up the kitchen. This entire time makes him feel satisfied with the day.

(ii) "Like riding a bicycle enjoying the view"

This narrative occurred after we reviewed his one-day life episode by episode and then talked about the last part of DRM, which includes asking participants about their physical status in general. He answered that he is not very satisfied with his health because he did not have enough time to exercise. When the interviewer asked what he would do for exercise, he said he used to cycle to neighboring cities for a one-day trip, around three to four hours one-way. He said, "If I really had time, I would like to take a long-distance trip by bicycle. First of all, I'm able to ride that far, and actually, you

know, traveling in Japan is not that cheap. If I travel to a neighboring city by bicycle instead of taking a train, I save quite a lot of money. And the view on the way is nice, so I would be happy to ride a bicycle.”

When the interviewer uttered surprise about the distance he would ride by bicycle, Mr. Yang brought up his trip to Lhasa, which he hardly mentions to somebody else. He wanted to do something special when he turned 20, so during a summer break he joined a team with about twelve or thirteen people to ride to Lhasa from his hometown. The whole trip took about 40 days. It was quite tough so there were only male participants on the team. We talked about how he trained for that trip and how hard it was. He said he thought about quitting when they had gone one-third of the way. He thought it was special enough, but the leader of the team convinced him to keep going and reach their destination. When the interviewer asked whether it was a happy experience or not, Mr. Yang said, “It is not like happiness but an achievement, because only a few people are able to do that.”

c. Explanations

With respect to what has been described in the previous section b-(i), Mr. Yang circled “5” as the highest score on the 6-point affect scale from the DRM in the “Happy”-category evaluating coming back home from work, especially during the “Relax”-episode when he cooked himself dinner and enjoyed it. It was his happiest time of that day. Another conversation about food occurred when we talked about his daily rhythm in general. He mentioned that he only eats what he really likes. He explained what kind of breakfast he usually has at home in China, with many delicious choices. By comparison, he did not like the Japanese style. So, he chose not to have breakfast at all when he came to Japan, whereas he usually did when he was going back home to visit his family. From these two points, the interviewer sensed that Mr. Yang places particularly high importance on food. Delicious food makes people happy, which is commonly understood. Particularly in Chinese culture, eating

is one of the most important issues people are typically concerned about.

Still, the interviewer expressed much acknowledgment of Mr. Yang's efforts to cook dinner after work. The interviewer, on the other hand, would probably do the same thing only to entertain friends but not for herself. Then Mr. Yang said that cooking for him is an enjoyable thing and described it as a healing time while being in Japan. Later, he mentioned his experience of learning cooking professionally, which contributed to his standards of delicious and healthy food for a daily diet. Close to the end of the interview, he even said that he would like to go back to his hometown to find a job rather than stay in Japan because he could not bear not having his preferred kind of breakfast any longer. Although he explained that it was a joke, what he wants, foremost, is to live close to family and friends.

All these narratives show how important delicious food is to Mr. Yang. Based on the conversation at the end of the interview, it becomes clear to what great extent his well-being depends on living in a more familiar environment in which there is the food he likes, and close friends and family are around.

The second story related to Mr. Yang's happy experiences is about his hobby. Although it was not directly connected to the questions about his one-day life, it came up in the context of the DRM asking participants to evaluate one's life as a whole (Step 1) and asking participants about their health in recent days (Step 4). Both of these two questions Mr. Yang marked as "not very satisfied." The reason was that he did not have time to exercise. Asked what he would do, he answered that he likes riding his bicycle for long-distance sightseeing. At least to the interviewer, the distance he would cycle seemed much farther than most people would consider riding a bicycle. To explain why he enjoys this particular activity Mr. Yang told a story about riding to Lhasa with a team for 40 days continuously. Compared to that, riding in Japan to him is more enjoyable and would save travel expenses at the same time.

Lhasa is a tourist attraction in China. It is famous as the world's highest capital city whose name literally means "place of the gods." There are usually three ways to travel to Lhasa: by plane, by train, and by car. Going by bicycle is a particularly harsh

option most people would not consider. However, this was precisely the reason why Mr. Yang chose this challenge as a celebration of his 20th birthday. We talked about this journey for about 15 minutes. Although he prepared thoroughly by training in advance for a certain period and finding a leader of a professional team, it was clearly not easy to accomplish. He thought about giving up but completed the journey in the end.

This experience was so special that he hardly talked about it to anyone else because he thought that someone not fond of cycling would not understand his attitude and rather consider the journey a meaningless challenge. Although the interviewer does not cycle much herself, the general strain of cycling that far for a duration of 40 days earned Mr. Yang her respect. The journey to Lhasa was a milestone in Mr. Yang's life and riding a bicycle became an entertaining hobby, especially useful to counter the stress of living abroad.

4.4 Discussion

4.4.1 Contextual understanding constructed within the Inter-View unit

In Bruner's (1991) argument, the sense of what are ordinary and exceptional aspects of daily life is shared among members of a community. This leads us to consider whether a particular thing is "interesting," i.e. worthy of telling others, or not. Our intentional states and actions are therefore comprehensible in a certain way intrinsic to our culture. Culture simultaneously develops and transmits through such a process of interpretation of its preferences and formations. In this manner, a pair consisting of a storyteller and a listener, co-constructing the meaning of the stories, becomes a primary unit of understanding a cultural activity or phenomenon.

Kvale (1996) proposes a statement as "Inter-View" emphasizing an interchange of views between two parties engaging in qualitative interviewing. In a conventional view of the interview, the interviewer usually acts as a miner to probe into the

preexisting subjectivities of the interviewee. On the contrary, under the frame of “Inter-View,” the interviewer is more like a traveler walking with the interviewee to co-construct a form of subjectivities through the practice of interview.

Ms. Chen took a while to answer the interviewer’s question of what her happiest time was doing what close to the end of the interview, which was getting a good evaluation of her oral defense from her supervisor. This conversation only lasted 30 seconds; the interviewer did not ask follow-up questions to have her expand on the reason why she thought this was a happy moment. This is because both as a Ph.D. student, though our majors are quite different, the meaning of winning praise for the oral defense from the supervisor is self-evident, as it were. Moreover, the way she explained her research project, the structure of their laboratory, and the relationship between the students and the professors, these narratives strengthened the mutual sympathy for a fellow student conducting a doctoral thesis. The meaning of this short conversation is not only about a collection of a factual report of Ms. Chen’s happiness moment but more derived from a shared understanding with the interviewer of studying abroad for a doctoral degree.

Mr. Yang likes riding his bicycle on long-distance trips as his hobby. To him, it is a form of physical exercise to maintain his health, and also a delightful experience in Japan. When the interviewer was impressed with the distance he would like to travel by bicycle, he brought up his special experience riding to Lhasa to celebrate his 20th birthday, which he hardly talked about because he thought few people would understand the meaning of it. Nevertheless, as described in the previous section (see 4.3.2-c), the special meaning of traveling to Lhasa but not somewhere else is apparent at least to Chinese people. Mr. Yang did not have to explain to the interviewer why he chose this particular challenge. The narration of that harsh experience was sufficient to make clear what it means to him and explains why riding in Japan is a relaxing and enjoyable activity for him.

Compared to the interviews conducted in Study 1, there were fewer questions along the line of “Why do you feel that way?” though it was one of the interview

questions of the present study. The interviews in this study turned out to be more about “what happened” which made the interviewees tell their daily experiences rather than the interviewer digging into the “true” meaning of the interviewees’ stories. As Gergen (1990) points out that “the meanings of utterances are not fixed but continue to shift over the course of conversation as the participants manage their implications through recontextualization” (p. 585), the meaning of participants’ happy experiences are co-constructed within the interview. Especially, since the interviewer and the interviewee share a similar background, the meaning of the stories had already spoken for itself, as it were.

Valsiner (2007, 2014) points out that people are meaning-makers and act through culture. This is to say, the interviewee and the interviewer are both functioning as cultural actors to communicate with each other. The interviewees do not just passively contain an answer to a question, like a vessel would contain its content. Rather, they take a more active role and “continuously monitor who they are in relation to the person questioning them” (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 15). The interviewer is not simply observing the interviewee and listening to their stories but processes the meaning construction along with the interviewee. The unit of inter-view is taken into account because of not only a rapport relationship but also the underlying intentions and desires of both participants in the interview. The cultural formation, such as mutual customs and ways of thinking, shared between the interviewee and the interviewer, contributes to paying attention in the same direction and benefits to constructing a reciprocal understanding of the interviewees’ happy experiences.

4.4.2 Cultural explanation validated during the analyzing procedures

Culture is usually considered an external factor in mainstream research of SWB. One of the approaches is to investigate how cultural differences affect the report of SWB by conducting a cross-cultural study through large-scale surveys. In this sense, the participants are selected to represent a certain kind of culture that usually is

divided geographically or by nationality. A primary effort in discussing the international differences of SWB is to make sure that the questionnaire is translated validly. Even though the notion of SWB is scientifically defined, the key idea of what well-being or happiness means to a person may vary widely between different languages and cultures (Diener, Helliwell, & Kahneman, 2010; Oishi, 2010). This leads to a question that has already been posted in section 1.2.2-b, “Is SWB across cultures comparable in the first place?”

Wapner, Kaplan, & Cohen (1973) propose the person-in-environment system to describe the transactional relationship between the person and his/her situated environment. And Valsiner (2007, 2014) adds to the field of Cultural Psychology emphasizing that culture is not a container; rather, it is a process of relating and therefore located in-between the person and the world. Based on these two perspectives, culture does not represent geographic nor national differences. It is a semiotic regulation system of people’s daily lives, which is not just an external factor of statistical analysis.

One of Ms. Chen’s happy experiences was feeling proud and excited about being able to invite her parents to travel around Japan by her savings from an award. She used to rely on her parents until she received an award for outstanding students. She maintained a simple lifestyle so that she was able to save a certain amount of money from the prize. She made a lot of effort to plan the trip and spent almost all of her savings of those years for that purpose. She said several times that she was so happy that she made a perfect plan for her parents, and her parents indeed enjoyed the trip.

During the course of the conversation, there was a clear though sometimes tacit understanding, that the interviewer and interviewee would interpret the most important points in similar ways, as they shared particular cultural contexts and spoke the same native language.

There are thus several ways to understand this story. The interviewer noted the most significant aspects as follows: First, the money Ms. Chen spent on the trip was not from a part-time job but an award for being excellent in academic work; with this

particular accolade being famous among foreign students for the high amount of prize money as well as the high reputation of the funder. It was an honor to win a prize more than getting financial aid. Being honored in this particular way, though, carries an even higher prestige in the community of foreign students in Japan than might at first glance appear to a Japanese person.

Second, she picked out several hot spots in Japan and tried her best to arrange several special events, i.e. a tea ceremony in Kyoto and a famous steak house of Kobe Beef, for her parents to have a memorable time in Japan. The plan worked perfectly so that the three of them had an enjoyable time together. The significance here, for the interviewee, clearly did not only consist in providing a generally special experience to her parents, but also one that is markedly foreign, in that it could only be experienced in their out-of-native-context of Japan. While Kobe Beef, for instance, is considered a delicacy by Japanese people too, there is no reason for a Japanese resident to think of it as unique, as long as one can afford it. For a non-resident foreigner, however, it will in most cases, more likely than not, be a once-in-a-lifetime experience. (It is worth noting, that the original Kobe Beef, despite of foreign products sometimes being labeled the same way, is illegal to export under Japanese law.)

Third, since Ms. Chen's parents are well-paid doctors, it is no problem for them to support her entire life studying abroad, and cover their own travel expenses, if necessary. Nevertheless, she got the award and was able to live independently. She planned the trip both as a gift for her parents and to assure them that she was able to take good care of herself. The particular pride this gave her also sets her apart from many people with a Japanese cultural background as a mechanism of social cohesion. From a standpoint of Chinese cultural norms, it is more likely for familial dependence to run both ways between members of different age cohorts.

On the contrary, Japanese colleagues held the view of an award for outstanding students being meant to be a financial aid rather than a bonus or a reward, so that they had a different opinion especially on the way Ms. Chen spent the prize on traveling with her parents—while in their mind it was supposed to be fully used for her studies.

Moreover, Japanese parents would probably not respond as happily as Chinese parents. To the contrary, they may not be comfortable with this kind of arrangement.

Mr. Yang enjoyed the dinner that he cooked for himself. He learned cooking professionally, so he knows well how to make delicious food. He enjoys the entire cooking process from preparing to clean up afterwards and considers it a remedy for his stressful life in Japan. Moreover, he altered his lifestyle to not having breakfast while living in Japan because he only eats what he likes but does not have not the same delicious choices he would have at home. This breakfast issue even has been talked about jokingly by him as one of the important reasons he would like to go back home instead of staying in Japan after his graduation.

In general, having delicious food is no doubt a happy experience. Especially in Chinese culture, eating is an important issue on various occasions. To Mr. Yang, his happy experience with food derived from his professional cooking skill as well as the relaxing effect of being immersed in this activity. Besides, having his preferred kind of breakfast is a kind of the epitome of living in a familiar circumstance, where he thought he would function better and feel happier than staying in Japan. Japanese colleagues also agreed that food plays an important role in everyday life. However, the way Mr. Yang obsessed about the breakfast in his hometown appeared to them to be a little extreme.

The meaning of these two stories does not only depend on their Personal Construct (see section 3.4.3) but is also constituted by a shared understanding with the interviewer of how to value and manage money, how to treat parents with filial respect, and how food is perceived in daily life. A generalizing construct of any one particular culture does of course not exhaustively represent the outlook of all people located within that culture. But as cultures, in their own ways, are generally very much concerned with affairs related to money, family affairs, and food, these issues also seem to make for a good starting point to delineate some relatively common tendencies of Chinese attitudes toward everyday life.

Culture works as a regulation system when people make sense of their lives, but

culture is also a kind of self-understanding and commonsense knowledge. When such meaning-making processes emerge between at least two people from the same background, there is a lack of eagerness to clarify what culture means or how this kind of context functions. Culture becomes an issue to be clarified when something needs to be explained to people who are not familiar with the cultural context. In other words, the answer to what culture means and how a culture functions in people's daily lives only emerges in conversation between parties from different cultural backgrounds. The analyzing procedures of the present study each actualize such an occasion themselves. Brinkmann & Kvale (2015) argue for the principal value of verifying interview knowledge and depict communicative forms of validation. One of the forms is "peer validation." The community of validation consists of the scholars' familiarity with the interview inquiry and with the theories applied to the specified research. The aim is to verify the theoretical understanding that goes beyond the interviewee's self-understanding and also to exceed mere commonsense. All the above interpretations of participants' happy experiences are established not only relying on the interviewer/author's arbitrary opinion even though based on a commonsense understanding of Chinese culture, but also validated through discussion, after the interviews, with laboratory colleagues and supervisor who do not share the specific cultural context.

Shweder (1990) discusses the process of "thinking through others," referring to thinking through other lives and other cultures when arguing for the interpretative nature of Cultural Psychology. During the life world interview, the interviewee's evaluations of his/her life were revealed through the interaction between the interviewee as an alien other. Still, of course, both participants in the interviewing process had a Chinese cultural background. After the interview, the understanding of the meaning of these stories was recontextualized within a peer community from a different culture, and then adjusted to an adequate way of interpretation to formulate the underlying cultural principles. It is a process of thinking one's life out of his/her own dimension, as well as thinking one culture from beyond itself.

In conclusion, this study inquires, “How does culture provide a context for the meaning-making process of SWB?” This question does not pursue a conditional explanation of cultural differences of SWB; rather, it is to provide cultural interpretations of the process of co-constructing the meaning of SWB within the culture, and to validate such interpretations between the cultures after the interview. The answer to this question is beyond any one participant’s self-understanding, and exceeds a commonsense understanding within a culture. To summarize the above two points of discussion, SWB is a Cultural Construct (instrumentality), which is not only generated by a dialogical unit from the equivalent background, but also clarified in discourse with the audience from outside the cultural context.

Study 1, as described in the previous chapter, has explored a narrative approach to SWB and proposed that one’s Personal Construct is applicable to make sense of their daily experiences as a form of well-being. The present Study 2 makes an extension and indicates: Such a meaning-making process is not only personal but also grounded in a socio-cultural context, shared between the members of the same community and clarified between the people from distinctive cultures. This argument emphasizes that SWB is a joint meaning construction invented in dialogue rather than a decontextualized response to the stimulus from the external world. This contextual/cultural basis of meaning-making is crucial for understanding the nature of SWB—but has been excluded from the mainstream approach so far.

It should be noted, that at the current state of research, the application of the notion of Cultural Construct to elucidate the structure of how people make sense of their lives is still largely hypothetical. But as a heuristic approach, and employed in a complementary manner to well-established approaches like Kelly’s notion of Personal Construct, it provides a useful paradigm to describe how making sense of one’s life as a form of well-being works in a practical context and how such meaning suggests themselves to be understood by people with different cultural backgrounds.

Chapter 5 General Discussion

The concept of Subjective Well-Being (SWB) provides a framework to investigate how to pursue a better life with a predictive purpose. The field of SWB has grown rapidly for two decades and produced significant findings. Nevertheless, the research methods are usually impersonal and the research implications sometimes are too abstract or fragmentary to do the mostly diverse and diachronic character of our daily lives justice. This thesis critically inquires a fundamental question: How processes are instrumental in generating this so-called Subjective Well-Being? It also reconsiders the results from mainstream approaches so far.

Chapter 1 traced the origin of the pursuit of a good life back to ancient Greek thought. *Hedonia* and *eudaimonia* are two basic concepts representing two different criteria for what is a good life: The former regards it as experiencing pleasure, while the latter emphasizes the meaning of life. These two concepts establish the grounds for the following social science inquiries. Other than a philosophical debate on *what* a good life is, the fields of economics and psychology are more interested in *how* happy people are and in clarifying conditional factors in general. Therefore, these empirical results can sustain a more practical suggestion of how to enhance the quality of life for a target group.

SWB is a concept containing both hedonic and eudaimonic experiences, and more importantly, it captures well-being from a “subjective” perspective emphasizing that the person in question is the authority on evaluating his/her life. So, the empirical results are usually obtained by using self-reports: asking participants to assess how happy or satisfied they feel with their life over a certain period. Usually, a higher score represents a higher level of SWB. However, there has been noteworthy criticism of focusing on subjects’ retrospective judgments as failing to reveal that person’s actual experiences at times because of memory biases (cf. Kahneman & Krueger, 2006). While many researchers do not consider this problem much further, Kahneman et al. (2004), in line with the behaviorist perspective, developed the Day

Reconstruction Method (DRM) to assess how people feel within the context of a specific activity. It has the advantage of accessing participants' daily experiences while minimizing the effects of memory biases. So far, the applications of DRM mostly serve the analysis of patterns or tendencies of people's happy experiences.

One of the assumptions for designing the DRM is that each instant/momentary experience carries equal weight, so that, simply put, one has a longer time and a greater number of happy episodes, which means he/she lives a better life. For example, two people might describe a very similar part of their daily experience (e.g., "having dinner with the family"). Even if both events lasted for roughly the same length of time, and both people assessed their respective period of time as reasonable happy, individually they still might weigh their respective well-being differently according to their personal value. In other words, the same label may have a significantly different meaning to individual persons. Bruner (1986, 1990) argues for a narrative mode of thought to warrant the validity of "meaning" as the central concept of psychology. Compared to the logico-scientific mode based on linear patterns of cause and effect, a narrative is a process of creating meaning in order to make sense of the complexity of life in a structured way together with members of one's community. In this regard, meaning is a joint product mediated by language and generated through the interaction between the individuals who are involved in the communication.

The present study combines the DRM and a semi-structured life word interview (Kvale, 1996) into a more practical model of the narrative. Thus, it becomes clearer what kind of experiences contribute to an individual's well-being. Even more importantly, this method focuses on illustrating the structure of the meaning-making process of how individuals construe their daily experiences as a form of well-being in and on their own terms. This ultimate purpose comes to the fore particularly in the two concrete investigations corresponding to Studies 1 and 2.

Study 1 aims at exploring how individuals make sense of their daily experiences as a form of well-being. In Ms. Suzuki's story, taking care of three children and having a full-time job is so tough on her that she marked all her episodes in DRM

with a high level of negative emotions. Nevertheless, close to the end of the interview, she said, “it is not easy, but I like such little happiness” to epitomize her present life. The adjective “little” here does not denote a low level of happiness; rather, it is her own way of giving a forward-looking meaning to her daily life. She summarized her life as “little happiness” not because of memory bias only allowing for the recollection of peak experiences while ignoring unpleasant circumstances suffered for a longer time. Rather, it is a conclusion generated through her Personal Construct (Kelly, 1955) representing her perspective of being well. Moreover, since meaning only results from interaction, Ms. Suzuki’s well-being does not precede the interview as a stable trait within herself but requires conversational exchange in the first place. The life world interview does not aim at simply digging up the given facts about an interviewee’s life, but to shape a person’s understanding by way of a collaborative dialogue with the interviewer. Study 1 concludes that SWB does not show either as a high score of happiness in self-reports, or amounts to happy experiences falling under categories of certain behavior patterns. A better way of understanding the subjectivity of SWB is as a Personal Construct revealing a person’s perspective of being well based on his/her daily experiences. Also, a dialogical approach is a practical way to clarify that person’s thoughts.

Study 2 continuously inquires the meaning-making process of formulating one’s well-being, but extends the focus towards approaching a contextual understanding. All the participants in this study share key living circumstances and cultural background with the researcher, since such mutual understanding assists in answering the question of how people’s living circumstances/culture provides a context for the meaning-making process of SWB. One of Ms. Chen’s happy stories is about covering the cost of her parents’ trip abroad on her savings from an award. Though this episode did not occur during the day described in the DRM, it appeared in the long life world interview and stands out as a highlight of her life studying abroad. The interpretation of how this episode represents her well-being becomes clear after the discussion during the “peer validation” procedure of what such an event means to Chinese

people studying abroad. This episode can be interpreted from a specific viewpoint, i.e. a Chinese perspective of the value and of managing money, and of how to treat parents with filial respect. This kind of perspective is not merely individual but appears as a cultural agreement. Therefore, the interviewer was able to capture the essence of Ms. Chen's reflections and explain her attitudes and perspectives to Japanese colleagues. Study 2 implies that the subjectivity of SWB does not only represent an individual's Personal Construct, but also shaped by a Cultural Construct which is shared between the members of the same community, and then validated by the audiences outside of this cultural context.

5.1 Reconsidering *Subjectivity* through Dialogue: self-reflexivity

The elementary perspective of SWB is the application of a subjective view in evaluating life. This means that each person is the most critical judge of his/her well-being. This approach builds on the epistemological assumption that the first-person subject is the final judge and "authority" with regard to his/her own thoughts, attitudes, and feelings as the "inner" domain of the world (Finkelstein, 2003). The locus of the understanding derived from present research is a shift from the inner status of individual persons to within an actively coordinated relationship.

According to Studies 1 and 2, depending on the character of the respective discussion partner(s) taking part in a conversation touching on the life experiences of the person in question, the subjectivity of SWB may appear in a personal or a cultural form. In Study 1, the interviewer and interviewees are laboratory colleagues having supportive relationships but living in distinctive circumstances. Such distinctive living contexts of interviewer and interviewee function to clarify the interviewee's Personal Construct: How certain things are significant to an individual and represent his/her well-being. In Study 2, the interviewer and interviewee share a similar living context that fosters mutual sympathy, thus the reason for how and why a certain event is important to the interviewee easily leads to a mutual understanding with no need for

additional explanation. Nevertheless, the process of “peer validation” takes place between the interviewer and laboratory colleagues who are outside of the cultural context and there emerges a need to justify what such mutual understandings are. The renegotiations of how certain events are significant to the interviewee’s well-being clarify a kind of Cultural Construct, which becomes clear through the interviewer’s understanding, and then exceed the interviewee’s Personal Construct.

Cultural Construct is framed in the present research with reference to Kelly’s notion of Personal Construct. These two kinds of Construct both serve as a lens that assists in understanding how people anticipate events, how they interact with others, make sense of their experiences, and make predictions about the future. The lens consists in “ways of construing the world” (Kelly, 1963, p. 9). These two notions represent a theoretical turn connecting the interpretation of one’s life to the actual conduct of living. However, the two Constructs are not self-explanatory, though they work at some level of awareness. Their clarification requires collaborative interaction. Besides, they are not absolute concepts but depend on the context of a conversation. In Study 1, Ms. Suzuki’s “little happiness” could be understood as a Cultural Construct if the audience is Japanese. This way of appraising daily life seems to constitute a mutual understanding shared especially among Japanese women. In Study 2, the reason why the episode of “entertaining parents traveling abroad through savings from an award” represents Ms. Chen’s well-being might be illustrated through her Personal Construct if the audience does not happen to be familiar with Chinese culture or the experience of studying abroad.

At the current state of research, the application of these two Construct notions to the individualized narratives is still hypothetical, and requires further investigation. It nonetheless stands to reason that it is individuals who make sense of daily events and alternative possibilities depending on the social contexts in which they find themselves. This form of meaning-making is far from arbitrary; it is rather a coherent system that has its own organizing principles, and is delineated through dialogical interactions. For this reason, others can share and understand it, too. In this regard,

SWB is neither the exclusive possession of an individual nor a direct response to environmental stimuli. Rather, it exists within a relational context and comes about through a process of self-reflexivity.

SWB emphasizes a subjective view of evaluating one's own life as being well, regardless of anyone else's judgment. However, a subjective view is only possible if there exists something different from oneself, so that the self can identify as possessing distinctive features from others. The DRM provides a framework to reformulate subjects' one-day life, and the following life world interview offers further discussion to confront the subjects' thoughts. A subjective view becomes manifest through this process, especially the interaction with others. During this reciprocating communication, the other confronts and challenges the self by bringing up points of discussion, which the latter is unable to foresee completely. Thus, the manner of subjective meaning construction depends on the diverse features of otherness. Meaning construction, because it is mediated by necessarily polysemous language, is subject to multiple interpretations dependent on the related context. Bruner (1987) argues that except for the superficial interpretation of human behavior, "there is also an alternative interpretation of what something 'means,' [which] gives depth to human behavior and to its interpretation" (p. 15). Alternative interpretations of certain things rely on familiarity with the involved cultural context, but gain in clarity vividly through the discussion with others, because diverse features of otherness function efficiently to negotiate what alternative interpretations are imaginable. In this regard, the structure of SWB becomes explicit through confrontation with the others to define distinctive features of the self. Only then does the self know itself to be self.

5.2 Reappraising Mainstream Approaches to SWB

5.2.1 Return to the Subject

The limitation of the mainstream of SWB research is that it regards such subjectivity as oneself answering certain pre-designed SWB questions. A self-report also functions as a process of self-reflexivity, but the result may be limited to a very standardized range of “meaningfulness” just as the questions themselves are standardized. A well-designed questionnaire, ensuring that all subjects take it within the same framework, is considered to be capable of reducing the bias resulting from differences in subjects’ cultural backgrounds, life experiences, momentary moods, degrees of education, age, gender, and so on. Nevertheless, various subjects are likely to answer them by highlighting very different aspects of what a given question refers to. Besides, since the questions in a questionnaire are pre-designed but not themselves replaceable or modifiable, the subject may not be able to use a number of self-suggesting nuances in their own answer. Furthermore, since the subject cannot spontaneously add to the topics of the questionnaire, the answer will probably be incomplete with respect to the thoughts and feelings of the subject.

This research, combining the DRM and a semi-structured life world interview, presents the diversity of the expressions of SWB from the participants’ perspective, instead of using concepts superimposed by researchers. Diener & Tay (2014) reviewed the DRM and found it to be a helpful method as it assesses feelings in the context of specific situations and activities. In the semi-structured life world interview, interviewees’ comments locate their experiences and interpretations of life within a social scene of action. The terms of particular narratives articulate the meaning of the narrative itself (Schiff, 2012). Compared to a questionnaire, the interview will be more extensive, more nuanced, and more complete. Most importantly, the interviewer engages in discussion in such a way, that the interview does not only take place on the interviewer’s terms but also in light of the interviewee’s notions.

Combining these two methods, one is able to understand not only when, where,

and in what situations, contexts, and relationships the participants are well but also how they make sense of these experiences as “well-being” for themselves. This approach provides a more holistic understanding of an individual’s SWB beyond causal explanations. Ms. Saito (see Appendix 3-a) and Mr. Yang (see previous section 4.3.2), both described their happiest time of the day as around dinner. Broadly speaking, enjoying a meal no doubt relates to one’s happiness. Nevertheless, the narrative of these two happy events, derived from the present study, represents different structures of reasoning of how having delicious food contributes to their well-being. Ms. Saito felt happy because she met with friends whom she had not seen for quite a long time. She was able to take a break from her stressful work and just enjoy their chatting about old times. Mr. Yang, on the other hand, enjoyed the time preparing delicious food by himself. He cooks well and sees it as a healing time while he is studying abroad. Though these are two individual cases, the dialogical process of participants construing their daily experiences as a form of well-being and from their own perspective contributes to comprehending the subjective aspect of SWB concretely rather than generally.

This method fits well with the three characteristics of SWB: subjectivity, positivity, and globality (Diener, 1984). It is clear from the previous discussion section that the approach employed in this research deliberately allows for an emphasis on subjectivity. The positivity here refers to participants’ forward-looking or future-oriented attitude toward their daily lives discernable in the interview. Globality is understood in the present research as an integrated evaluation of one’s experiences.

So far, DRM has mostly served as a classified method to categorize people’s daily behaviors. In combination with Bruner’s Narrative approach, Kelly’s notion of Personal Construct, and an extended notion of Cultural Construct, it can now relate a given subject’s retrospective evaluation of past experiences to expectations of and ambitions for his/her future life, which in turn underlie the respective evaluations of such experiences. In other words, the narrative of SWB anchored in interaction is not only concerned with one’s past and present, but also opens up a perspective into the

future.

Mainstream approaches to SWB which, in line with the logico-scientific mode based on causality, also point to the future by presenting predictive conditions in order to achieve a good life in general. The narrative approach in the present study, on the other hand, searches for meaningful interpretations of daily experiences attributable to the subject. Although meaning construction involves multiple interpretations, understandable or reasonable interpretations are ensured by a discussion with others (i.e. interviewer and laboratory colleagues in the present study) of whether such narratives sensibly coordinate with the subject's attitude of being well and efficiently integrate the subject's perspective of past, present, and future. *The narrative turn* in the domain of SWB is approachable by contextualizing the experience base through the adoption of DRM, as well as by probing the subjects' own interpretation of their daily experiences through dialogue-based interaction.

5.2.2 Uniting the hedonic and eudaimonic concepts of well-being

There is widespread agreement that SWB consists of both affective and cognitive aspects. It fits in with two concepts, hedonia and eudaimonia, which represent two criteria of the good life in ancient Greek thought. Much in line with this traditional differentiation, SWB is usually measured by two kinds of self-report: The presence of positive and absence of negative affect indicates the affective aspect, while the various life satisfaction questionnaires measure the cognitive aspect (for a more detailed description, see chapter 1, section 1.2.1-a). However, Kahneman and his colleagues argue that because of memory bias self-reports relying on subjects' retrospective judgment may fail to reveal their actual experiences (Kahneman, 1999; Kahneman & Krueger, 2006; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). In line with the behaviorist perspective and the principle of utility, DRM represents a new paradigm to capture people's momentary affect within the context of daily life instead of a retrospective judgment of life in general.

Therefore, this research started off by applying the DRM benefits to accessing people's daily experiences in detail. The second part of the method, conducting life world interviews, focused on those described experiences towards which participants had positive feelings. The combination of the DRM and the life world interview explores not *what* conditions or factors make people happy in general, but *how* an individual makes sense of his/her daily experiences as a form of well-being from his/her perspective. These personal constructs in general do not form by causality but through narrative interpretations.

The DRM is well-suited to elucidate casual and conditional explanations of people's happiness. Nevertheless, it mainly emphasizes the hedonic domain of well-being. The approach combining the DRM with the life world interview connects hedonia with another notable domain, eudaimonia, which refers to the meaning of life in the narrative. A happy episode contains a person's momentary emotions. More importantly, how he/she chooses to explain it to others represents his/her way to construct the world. In other words, subjects' forms of well-being depend on their values, beliefs, and aspirations. These become manifest during the interview and later analyses. Rather than neither returning to a philosophical discussion nor assessing by various global self-report, the contextual interpretation of people's daily experiences derives from this combinational approach and supplies a holistic view of SWB uniting the hedonic and eudaimonic domains, as well as the affective and cognitive aspects.

To conclude, this research proposes to revise the meaning of the term "subjectivity" within the context of SWB. The subjectivity of SWB does not merely imply the first-person authority in charge of the evaluation of questionnaires, but rather is understood as a construct that reveals one's subjective way of meaning-making of his/her daily experiences. The answer to the radical question raised at the beginning of the chapter, "How processes are instrumental in generating this so-called SWB?" is that SWB is not a phenomenon best elucidated by a questionnaire or a one-

way interview; it is a co-creative process of reaching interpreted and shared comprehensions derived from the dialogue. In other words, from a wider scope of the current states of SWB research, subjectivity partakes both in the “objective” or experience-based events as proposed by Kahneman (1999) and the “narrative” base of personal experiences (Bruner, 1986). The integral meaning of personally relevant everyday experiences becomes interpretable within a dialogical approach of investigating good ways of living by utilizing the combination of two methods extended application of DRM and life world interviews.

The present study, although limited by the number of participants and the range of qualitative data, and restricted to the possibilities of alternative interpretations and the verification of validation, can at least point to the direction required for a more meaningful understanding of the subjectivity of SWB. Differing from the causal and conditional analyses that provide predictive power for higher scores of SWB measures, the meaning components delineated in this approach are expected to help persons to become self-reflective about their own concerns and values which constitute their way of striving for a better life. Thus, such an understanding has the prospective power to regulate somebody’s daily transactions with the world as created in their own way.

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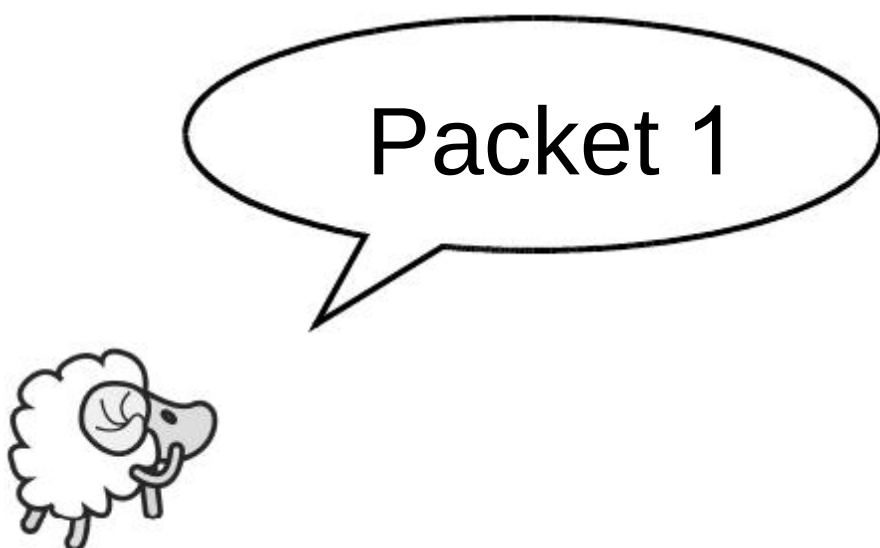
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Appendices

Appendix 1 DRM in Japanese



お願い

1. この調査は、みなさまの日常生活を知ることを目的としています。
2. 調査では、昨日のことについてお尋ねします。
3. Packet 1 から 4 まで、順番にできる限り一度にご回答ください。

はじめに、あなたの生活についての一般的な質問します。
あなたの考えに最も当てはまる□にチェックをしてください。

1. すべてのことをひっくるめて、最近あなたは生活全体にどのくらい満足していますか？

☐とても満足している ☐あまり満足していない
☐満足している ☐全く満足していない

2. 次に、あなたの家での生活についてかんがえてください。

全体的に、あなたは家における生活に満足していますか？

☐とても満足している ☐あまり満足していない
☐満足している ☐全く満足していない

3. あなたの仕事について考えてください。

全体的に、現在の仕事に満足していますか？

☐とても満足している ☐あまり満足していない
☐満足している ☐全く満足していない

4. あなたが家にいる時、どんな風に感じ、どんな気分で過ごしているか教えてください。

あなたは家にいる時間の内、どのくらいの割合を次のような気分で過ごしていますか？

悪い気分	_____ %
少し元気がない、またはイライラしている	_____ %
やや心地の良い気分	_____ %
とても良い気分	_____ %
合計	100 %

5. あなたが仕事している時、どんな風に感じ、どんな気分で過ごしているか教えてください。

あなたは仕事している時間の内、どのくらいの割合を次のような気分で過ごしていますか？

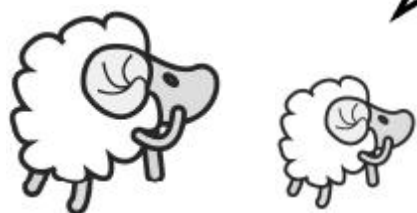
悪い気分	_____ %
少し元気がない、またはイライラしている	_____ %
やや心地の良い気分	_____ %
とても良い気分	_____ %
合計	100 %

次に、統計的な目的のために、あなたの基礎的な情報を教えてください。

1. 西暦何年生まれですか？ _____
2. 性別はなんですか？ ☐ 男性 ☐ 女性
3. あなたが卒業・修了した最も高い教育を教えてください。
☐ 高等学校またはそれ以下
☐ 大学（短期大学含む）
☐ 大学院
4. あなたの結婚歴について教えてください。
☐ 独身（結婚したことがない） ☐ 結婚している（結婚年目）
☐ 離婚/別居している ☐ 死別
5. あなたの子どもが何人いますか？ _____人
6. 一緒に暮らしている子どもの人数を教えてください。 _____人
7. あなた自身を含めて、何人が同居していますか？ _____人
8. 差し支えなければ、世帯全体での月収を教えてください。
☐ 20 万円またはそれ以下
☐ 21 万円～30 万円
☐ 31 万円～40 万円
☐ 41 万円～50 万円
☐ 51 万円～60 万円
☐ 61 万円～70 万円
☐ 71 万円～80 万円
☐ 81 万円～90 万円
☐ 91 万円～100 万円
☐ 101 万円以上

ありがとうございました。
Packet 2 にお進みください。

Packet 2



■昨日について

あなたが昨日何をしたか、そしてどう感じたかについて教えてください。
毎日は全く同じではありません。ある日いつもより良かったり、ある日は少し悪かったり、またある日はいつも通りだったりするでしょう。
ここでお伺いするのは、昨日のことだけです。

何をしたかを正確に思い出すことは多くの人によって難しいとされますので、今から3つの手順を踏みたいと思います。

1. まず、昨日の起床時刻、就寝時刻をお尋ねします。
2. 次に、あたなの一日がどんなだったかを、日記を書くように再現してください。あなたはどこにいましたか？何をしましたか？何を感じましたか？次のページから、昨日を思い出すに役に立つと思われる質問が設定されています。
3. 日記を書き終えた後、昨日についていくつか質問をします（これからの質問は Packet 3 にあります）。これらの質問に答えときに、あなたが日記に書いたことを参考にしてください。

はじめに、昨日の日付を記入してください。 ____月 ____日 （ ____曜日）

■ 日記ページ

昨日何時に起きましたか？ _____ :

そして何時に寝ましたか？ _____ :

次からの 3 ページに、昨日の出来事を記述してください。昨日 1 日を、映画における一連の出来事やエピソードのように考えてください。そしてそれぞれのエピソードに簡単な名前をつけてください（例えば、「通勤」、「B [人やグループ名] と昼食」など）。

まだそれぞれのエピソードのおおよその開始と終了時刻を記入してください。一般的に、はじめに、昨日の日付を記入してください。1 つのエピソードは通常 15 分～2 時間程度です。エピソードの終わりを示すものとしては、違う場所に行った、1 つの活動が終わり別の活動が始まった、あなたとやりとりする相手が変わった、などがあります。

午前、午後、夜の 3 つの時間帯ごとに 1 ページずつ用意されています。それぞれの時間帯ごとに、エピソードを書く欄が 10 個ありますが、全ての欄に記入する必要はありません。あなたが昨日何をしてどう感じたかが最もよくわかるように場面を切り取ってください。

それぞれのエピソードの詳細をできる限り思い出し、昨日どんなことがあったがわかるように記述してください。また、それぞれのエピソードにおいて、あなたがどういう風に感じ、どのような気分だったかをできる限り思い出してください。あなたがこの Packet でかいたことは、あなた自身が理解できて、かつ Packet 3 を回答するときに参考にできるものであれば問題ありません。

午 前

（起床から昼食の前まで）

エピソード名	開始時刻	終了時刻	メモ：何がありましたか？ その時感じたこと
1A_____	_____	_____	_____
2A_____	_____	_____	_____
3A_____	_____	_____	_____
4A_____	_____	_____	_____
5A_____	_____	_____	_____
6A_____	_____	_____	_____
7A_____	_____	_____	_____
8A_____	_____	_____	_____
9A_____	_____	_____	_____
10A_____	_____	_____	_____

午 後

（昼食から夕食の前まで）

エピソード名	開始時刻	終了時刻	メモ：何がありましたか？ その時感じたこと
1B 昼食			
2B			
3B			
4B			
5B			
6B			
7B			
8B			
9B			
10B			

夜

（夕食から寝るの前まで）

エピソード名	開始時刻	終了時刻	メモ：何がありましたか？ その時感じたこと
1C 夕食			
2C			
3C			
4C			
5C			
6C			
7C			
8C			
9C			
10C			

あなたの日記をもう一度見返してください。
修正したり、付け加えたりしたいエピソードはありませんか？
また2つに分けたいエピソードはありませんか？
もしあれば、戻って必要に応じて調整してください。
もしなければ、Packet 3に進んでください。

ありがとうございました。
Packet 3にお進みください。

Packet 3



■昨日何を感じましたか？

Packet 3 に取りかかる前に、日記ページ(Packet 2)を見返してください。

午前にいくつのエピソードを記述しましたか？ _____

午後にいくつのエピソードを記述しましたか？ _____

夜にいくつかのエピソードを記述しましたが？ _____

それぞれのエピソードにおいて、あなたが何を感じていたか、より詳細に教えてください。エピソードごとに、何が起ってどう感じたかを質問してきます。必要なときはいつでも日記ページに書いたメモを参考にしてください。

午前中の最初のエピソードから始めて、あなたが記述した全てのエピソードそれぞれについて回答してください。経過を追いやしくするために、日記ページの左端にあるエピソード番号をお尋ねします。例えば、午前の最初のエピソードは 1A、午後の 3 番目のエピソードは 3B、夜の 2 番目は 2C、などです。

あなたが昨日経験したすべてのエピソードの情報を得ることが、この研究にとってとても需要です。どうか必ずすべてのエピソードについて回答いただきますようお願いいたします。一日の最後のエピソード（布団に入る前まで）まで記入し終わりましたら、Packet 4 にお進みください。

最初の午前中のエピソード

日記を見て、午前中の最初のエピソードを選んでください。

最初のエピソードは、何時に始まり何時に終わりましたか？できるだけ正確に思い出してください。

エピソード名（番号）：_____ 開始時刻：_____ 終了時刻：_____

あなたは何をしていましたか？（当てはまるもの全てにチェックしてください）

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| ☐ 通勤 | ☐ 仕事 |
| ☐ 買い物 | ☐ 食事の用意 |
| ☐ 家事 | ☐ 子どもの世話 |
| ☐ 食事 | ☐ 宗教的活動 |
| ☐ 人付き合い | ☐ テレビを見る |
| ☐ うたた寝・休息 | |
| ☐ パソコン・インターネット・e-mail（携帯でのネット、メールを含む） | |
| ☐ リラックスしている | ☐ 電話で話す |
| ☐ 親密な人という | ☐ 運動 |
| ☐ その他（具体的にご記入ください） | |

あなたはどこにいましたか？

- | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ☐ 家 | ☐ 仕事場 | ☐ その他 |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|

誰とやりとりしていましたが？（電話、テレビ会議など含む）

- ☐ いいえ → 次の質問はとばしてください

あなたがもし誰かとやりとりしていたなら、当てはまるもの全てにチェックしてください。

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ☐ 配偶者・パートナー | ☐ あなたの子ども |
| ☐ 友人 | ☐ 両親・親類 |
| ☐ 同僚 | ☐ 上司 |
| ☐ 客・学生・患者等相手 | ☐ その他（ ） |

あなたはこのエピソードの時どんな感じでしたか？

次に挙げるそれぞれの感情について、最も当てはまると思う数字に 1 つに○をつけてください。

そのような感情を全く持たなかった場合は 0 を選び、持った場合は、1～6 でご回答ください。

	全くない					非常に強い	
耐えられない・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
幸せ・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
イライラ・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
ゆううつ・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
うまくやれていると思う・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
嫌だ・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
温かい気持ちになる・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
怒る・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
不安・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
楽しい・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
プレッシャー・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
疲れた・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

次のエピソード

日記を見て、今判定したもののすぐ次のエピソードを選んでください。

エピソード名（番号）：_____ 開始時刻：_____ 終了時刻：_____

あなたは何をしていましたか？（当てはまるもの全てにチェックしてください）

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| ☐ 通勤 | ☐ 仕事 |
| ☐ 買い物 | ☐ 食事の用意 |
| ☐ 家事 | ☐ 子どもの世話 |
| ☐ 食事 | ☐ 宗教的活動 |
| ☐ 人付き合い | ☐ テレビを見る |
| ☐ うたた寝・休息 | |
| ☐ パソコン・インターネット・e-mail（携帯でのネット、メールを含む） | |
| ☐ リラックスしている | ☐ 電話で話す |
| ☐ 親密な人という | ☐ 運動 |
| ☐ その他（具体的にご記入ください） | |

あなたはどこにいましたか？

- | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ☐ 家 | ☐ 仕事場 | ☐ その他 |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|

誰とやりとりしていましたが？（電話、テレビ会議など含む）

- ☐ いいえ → 次の質問はとばしてください

あなたがもし誰かとやりとりしていたなら、当てはまるもの全てにチェックしてください。

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ☐ 配偶者・パートナー | ☐ あなたの子ども |
| ☐ 友人 | ☐ 両親・親類 |
| ☐ 同僚 | ☐ 上司 |
| ☐ 客・学生・患者等相手 | ☐ その他（ ） |

あなたはこのエピソードの時どんな感じでしたか？

次に挙げるそれぞれの感情について、最も当てはまると思う数字に 1 つに○をつけてください。

そのような感情を全く持たなかった場合は 0 を選び、持った場合は、1～6 でご回答ください。

	全くない					非常に強い	
耐えられない・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
幸せ・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
イライラ・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
ゆううつ・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
うまくやれていると思う・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
嫌だ・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
温かい気持ちになる・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
怒る・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
不安・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
楽しい・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
プレッシャー・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
疲れた・・・・・・・・・・	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

もっと多くのエピソードがある方は、追加用紙をご利用ください。

布団に入る直前までの全てのエピソードを記入し終わりましたら、Packet 4 にお進みください。

Packet 4



■あと少しだけ昨日のことについて聞かせてください

今まであなたの一日を詳細に教えていただきました。あといくつかの一般的な質問をさせてください。

1. 全体的に、昨日どんな感じだったか、どんな気分だったかについて教えてください。

昨日のことだけを考えて、次のような気分で過ごした時間の割合を教えてください。

悪い気分	_____ %
少し元気がない、またはイライラしている	_____ %
やや心地の良い気分	_____ %
とても良い気分	_____ %
合計	100 %

2. 昨日は、いつものその曜日と比べ、どのくらい典型的な一日でしたか？昨日が月曜日なら普段の月曜日と比べて、火曜日なら火曜日と比べてください。当てはまる数字に○をつけてください。

とても 悪かった	少し悪かった	きわめていつも 通りだった	少し良かった	とても 良かった
1	2	3	4	5

3. 昨日仕事をしている時どんな感じだったか、どんな気分だったかについて教えてください。昨日仕事をしていた時のことだけを考えて、次のような気分で過ごした時間の割合をお教えてください。

悪い気分	_____ %
少し元気がない，またはイライラしている	_____ %
やや心地の良い気分	_____ %
とても良い気分	_____ %
合計	100 %

4. 普段仕事をしている時と比べて、昨日仕事そしていた時間はどのぐらい典型的でしたか？

当てはまる数字に○をつけてください。

とても 悪かった	少し悪かった	きわめていつ も通りだった	少し良かった	とても 良かった
1	2	3	4	5

■あなたの仕事

あなたの現在の仕事についてお尋ねします。

1. あなたは2つ以上の仕事をしていますか？ ☐はい ☐いいえ

2. もしあなたが2つ以上の仕事をしているなら、以下の質問にはメインの仕事についてお答えください。メインの仕事とは、一週間最も長い時間で働いている仕事と指します。

3. 現在の仕事はいつから始められましたか？ _____年_____月

4. あなたの職業は何ですか？
 - ☐公務員（職種：【例：行政職、教員など】 _____）
 - ☐経営者・会社役員
 - ☐会社員（管理職）
 - ☐会社員（技術職）
 - ☐会社員（営業職）
 - ☐会社員（事務職）
 - ☐自営業
 - ☐自由業
 - ☐パート・アルバイト
 - ☐その他（ _____ ）

5. あなたが所属する組織には、全部何人の人は働いていますか？
 - ☐25人以下
 - ☐25～100人
 - ☐100～500人
 - ☐500～1000人
 - ☐1000人以上

6. 組織の中で、あなたの地位は次のうちのどれですか？

- ☐低い地位
- ☐中程度の地位
- ☐高い地位

7. あなたの所属する組織は、どの産業に属していますか？

当てはまるもの全てにチェックしてください。

- ☐農林水産業
- ☐鉱業、天然資源関係
- ☐電力、エネルギー関係
- ☐建設業
- ☐製造業
- ☐卸売、倉庫業
- ☐小売
- ☐運送業
- ☐メディア（例：新聞、雑誌、ソフトウェア）
- ☐金融、保険
- ☐不動産業、賃貸業
- ☐専門サービス業（例：コンサルティング、法律業、エンジニアリング、会計・経理）
- ☐行政
- ☐教育
- ☐医療、健康保健
- ☐社会福祉
- ☐芸術、芸能、娯楽
- ☐宿泊施設（例：ホテル）
- ☐その他（例：自動車修理、清掃、造園）

8. あなたの職業は何ですか？どのような仕事をしていますか？

（例：配管工、農家）

9. その仕事での日常の活動や任務はどのようなことですか？（例：文書作成、帳簿・会計簿をつける、書類整理、自動車販売）

次に、あなたの働いている環境について教えてください。

あなたの働いている環境について、下記の文を読み、説明ごとに最も近いところに○をつけてください。

状況説明	全くそうではない	あまりそうではない	ややそうである	全くそうである
1 専門的な教育や研修が必要される	1	2	3	4
2 仕事のために必要な支援が全て用意されている	1	2	3	4
3 他の人にアドバイスをすること仕事の一部である	1	2	3	4
4 顧客、学生、患者等相手を支援することに決定権がある	1	2	3	4
5 私がしている仕事は解雇されるリスクがある	1	2	3	4
6 同僚と頻繁なやりとりするは重要である	1	2	3	4
7 主導権を発揮する機会がたくさんある	1	2	3	4
8 定期的に親切なスーパーバイスを受けられる	1	2	3	4
9 他人にスーパーバイスする	1	2	3	4
10 仕事中に他の働いている人とおしゃべりができる	1	2	3	4
11 自分自身の活動を計画できる	1	2	3	4
12 在宅勤務ができる	1	2	3	4
13 勤務時間はフレックス	1	2	3	4
14 残業を要求される	1	2	3	4
15 夜勤シフトがある	1	2	3	4
16 日または週によって異なるシフトで働いている	1	2	3	4
17 休憩は少なく、短い	1	2	3	4

状況説明	全くそうではない	あまりそうではない	ややそうである	全くそうである
18 時間に追われることにいつもプレッシャーがある	1	2	3	4
19 よく出張に行かれる	1	2	3	4
20 一日中ほぼ同じ作業をしている	1	2	3	4
21 高い労災リスクを抱えている	1	2	3	4
22 ミスを避けるために常に注意する	1	2	3	4
23 小さいミスが深刻な結果を引き起こす可能性がある	1	2	3	4
24 不満のある相手（顧客、学生、患者等）直接やりとりする	1	2	3	4
25 不快な雑音にさらされている	1	2	3	4
26 塵、埃、悪臭にさらされている	1	2	3	4
27 風雨にさらされている	1	2	3	4
28 ほとんどの時間を立っている	1	2	3	4
29 肉体労働で、筋肉が必要とされる	1	2	3	4
30 やりがいがある	1	2	3	4
31 私の能力を生かしきれていない	1	2	3	4

■他人はあなたをどのように見ていますか

この部分では、他人があなたをどのように見ているかについてお尋ねます。

あなたを知っている人々は、あなたについて何といますか。下記の文を読み、最も当てはまるところに○をつけてください。

-3 は他人に比べ、あなたがこのような性格を持たないこと；

0 は他人があなたのことをほぼ平均だと見ていること；

+3 は他人に比べ、あなたがこのような性格をよく持っていることを指しています

	他人より持たない			ほぼ平均		他人より持っている	
	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
熱狂的	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
楽観的	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
よく笑う	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
いつも物事の明るい面を見ている	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
どこにいても気楽	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
おいしい食事を楽しむ	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
人と一緒にいることを楽しむ	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
悲観的	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
心配性	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
うつ気味	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
よく怒る	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
緊張しやすい	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

■あなた自身のことについて

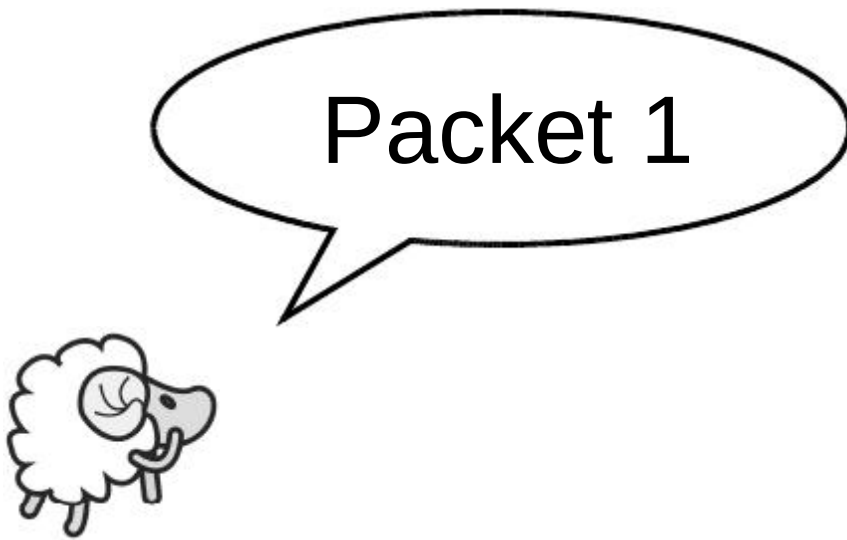
1. この一ヶ月の睡眠の質について教えてください。
☐ とても良い ☐ まあ良い ☐ 少し悪い ☐ とても悪い
2. 過去一ヶ月の平均睡眠時間はどのくらいですか？
一晩に平均 _____ 時間
3. 昨夜の睡眠時間はどのくらいですか？
昨夜 _____ 時間
4. この一ヶ月、運転中、食事中や何らかの社会的活動の間に、居眠りしそうになったことはどのくらいありましたか？
☐ この一ヶ月にはなかった
☐ 一週間に 1 回未満
☐ 一週間に 1 回か 2 回
☐ 一週間に 3 回以上
5. この一ヶ月、あなたにとって、物事を成し遂げる為のやる気、作業に対する集中力を持続することは難しかったですか？
☐ 全く問題なかった
☐ ほんの少しだけ難しかった
☐ いくらか難しかった
☐ 非常に難しかった
6. 近頃のあなたの健康にはどのくらい満足していますか？
☐ とても満足している ☐ 満足している
☐ あまり満足していない ☐ 全く満足していない
7. 最後に、このアンケートを記入するのにかった時間を教えてください。
_____ 分

調査は以上で終了です。
全ての質問に回答してあるか、それぞれの Packet を見直してください。

この度は長時間にわたり調査にご協力いただき
本当にありがとうございました。



Appendix 2 DRM in Chinese



1. 本次调查是关于您昨天一天的经历和感受，旨在了解您日常生活的基本情况。
2. 您的回答无所谓对错，请根据您的真实的情况作答即可。
3. 请按从 Packet 1 至 4 的顺序依次作答。
4. 您所填写的资料将会被严格保密，请放心回答。

首先，我们想了解一下您的生活概况。请在符合您的选项上打勾。

1. 总的来说，您对您最近生活状况满意程度的描述是：

☐很满意 ☐满意 ☐有点不满意 ☐非常不满意

2. 总的来说，您对在家里的生活状况满意程度的描述是：

☐很满意 ☐满意 ☐有点不满意 ☐非常不满意

3. 总的来说，您对现在的大学生生活状况满意程度的描述是：

☐很满意 ☐满意 ☐有点不满意 ☐非常不满意

4. 总的来说，您对现在的打工生活满意程度的描述是：

☐很满意 ☐满意 ☐有点不满意 ☐非常不满意

5. 请用百分比来描述您在家时的心情状态：

心情不好	_____ %
情绪有些消沉或烦躁	_____ %
情绪比较平和与愉悦	_____ %
心情非常好	_____ %
合计	100 %

6. 请用百分比来描述您在大学时的心情状态：

心情不好	_____ %
情绪有些消沉或烦躁	_____ %
情绪比较平和与愉悦	_____ %
心情非常好	_____ %
合计	100 %

7. 请用百分比来描述您在打工时的心情状态：

心情不好	_____ %
情绪有些消沉或烦躁	_____ %
情绪比较平和与愉悦	_____ %
心情非常好	_____ %
合计	100 %

然后，我们想了解一下您的基本情况。

1. 您的出生年月 _____

2. 性别 ☐ 男性 ☐ 女性

3. 您的最高学历

☐ 本科

☐ 硕士

☐ 博士

4. 如果方便的话，请填写您的收入：

奖学金： _____

打工收入： _____

打工收入： _____

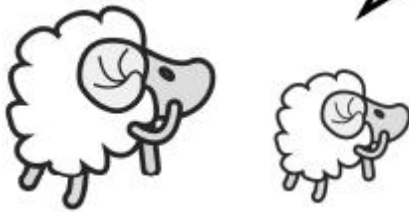
家里资助： _____

其他： _____

总额： _____

谢谢！
请继续进入 Packet 2 部分。

Packet 2



■有关您的昨天

我们想了解您昨天都做了些什么，有什么样的感受。

我们猜想，在您生活中的每天都是不一样的。可能有些天感觉好一些，有些天感觉差一些，还有些天也许说不上好也说不上差，是非常普通的日子。

在此，我们只询问有关您“昨天”这一天的经历和感受。

也许，对很多人来说，要准确回忆昨天做了些什么，或有什么样的感受，会有一些的难度。因此，我们会遵循以下 3 个步骤来询问您。

1. 首先，请回答您昨天早上起床和晚上上床睡觉的时间。
2. 然后，请您以日记的形式再现您昨天一天的经历。比如您去了哪里，做了些什么，有什么样的感受等等。从下一页开始，我们设计了能够帮助您回忆昨天一天的问题。
3. 在 Packet 3 部分，我们设计了更加详细具体的问题。请您参照您记录的日记来回答。

首先，请您记录昨天的日期。 ____月____日 （星期____）

■日记环节

您昨天几点起床的？ _____：
几点上床睡觉的？ _____：

请您在以下的三页纸上记录您昨天一天所经历的事情。请您将这些事情想象成一部由一系列连续情景组成的电影，并给各个情景起一个简短的名称以帮助您回忆（例如：“上班途中”，或者“和 B（人物或团体）共进午餐”等等）。

请记录每个情景的起至时间。一般来说，一个情景的持续的时间范围大概在 15 分钟~2 个小时之间。一个情景的结束标识，可以是地点的变化，也可以是从事活动的变化，或者与您互动的对象的变化等等。

以下的每一页分别对应上午（从起床到午饭前），下午（从午饭时间到晚饭前）和晚上（从晚饭时间到上床睡觉）三个时段。我们给每一个时段分别准备了 10 个情景的空间，请您根据您的经历填写。请务必记录下最能反映您昨天所经历的事情以及感受的情景。

请尽量详细回忆每一个情景，并请记录下细节，以生动反映出您当时所经历的情景。同时，请尽量详细回忆您当时的情绪和感受。这个“日记环节”的记录是为了能够更好地帮助您回答 Packet 3 的问题。

上午

(从起床到午饭前)

情景名称	开始时间	结束时间	备忘：当时发生了什么？ 您什么感觉？
1A			
2A			
3A			
4A			
5A			
6A			
7A			
8A			
9A			
10A			

下午

(从午饭到晚饭前)

情景名称	开始时间	结束时间	备忘：当时发生了什么？ 您什么感觉？
1B 午餐			
2B			
3B			
4B			
5B			
6B			
7B			
8B			
9B			
10B			

晚上

(从晚饭到上床睡觉)

情景名称	开始时间	结束时间	备忘：当时发生了什么？ 您什么感觉？
1C 晚餐			
2C			
3C			
4C			
5C			
6C			
7C			
8C			
9C			
10C			

请回顾一遍您所记录的日记。

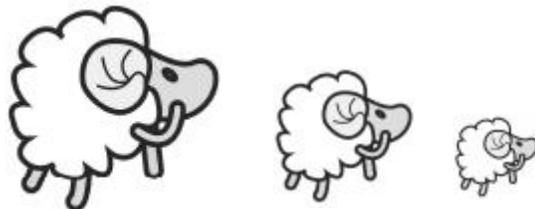
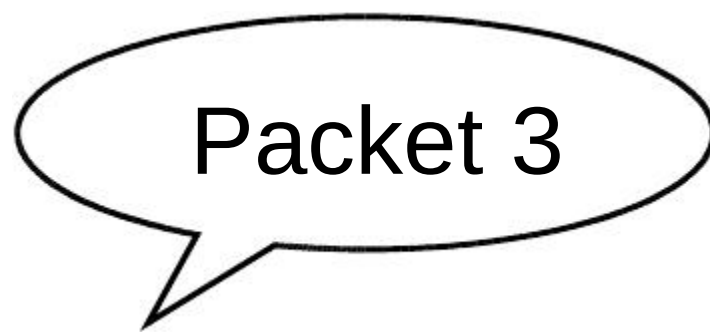
有没有需要修改或者添加的情景？

或者有没有可以分解成 2 个情景的部分？

如果有的话，请做适当的调整。

如果没有的话，请继续进入 Packet 3 部分。

谢谢！
请继续进入 Packet 3 部分。



■昨天您感觉如何？

在进行 Packet 3 之前，请回顾一下您记录的日记环节（Packet 2）。

上午记录了几个情景？ _____

下午记录了几个情景？ _____

晚上记录了几个情景？ _____

现在，我们想更具体地了解您经历每一个情景时的感受。针对每一个情景，我们会提问关于当时发生了什么，您的感受是什么等具体问题。必要时，请您参考日记环节的备忘部分。

请从上午的第一个情景开始，并依次回答您所记录的所有情景。

为了能够一一对应您所记录的所有情景，请依次写下日记环节页面标示的情景编号。例如：1A 代表上午的第一个情景，3B 代表下午的第三个情景，2C 代表晚上的第二个情景等等。

我们期待得到您昨天经历的所有情景的完整信息。这对我们的研究十分重要。

请您务必回答有关您所记录的所有情景的问题。

当您完成了晚上上床睡觉前最后一个情景的回答时，请进入到 Packet 4 部分。

上午的第一个情景

请参照您在日记环节中记录的上午的第一个情景内容。

情景编号（名称）：_____ 开始时间：_____ 结束时间：_____

您在做什么？（请在符合您的选项上打勾，多选）

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ 外出 / 上下班 | ☐ 工作 |
| ☐ 购物 | ☐ 准备食物 |
| ☐ 做家务 | ☐ 照顾孩子 |
| ☐ 吃东西 / 用餐 | ☐ 宗教活动 |
| ☐ 社交活动 | ☐ 看电视 |
| ☐ 休息 / 小憩 | ☐ 用电脑（上网 / 回复邮件） |
| ☐ 休闲娱乐 | ☐ 打电话 |
| ☐ 和亲密的人在一起 | ☐ 运动 |
| ☐ 其他（请具体说明_____） | |

您在哪里？

- ☐ 家里 ☐ 工作场所 ☐ 其他

您和他人有互动吗？（包括打电话等）

- ☐ 没有 → 请跳过下一个问题

请选择和您有互动的所有对象。（多选）

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ☐ 配偶 / 恋人 | ☐ 同学 |
| ☐ 朋友 | ☐ 父母 / 亲戚 |
| ☐ 同事 | ☐ 领导 / 老板 |
| ☐ 客户 | ☐ 其他人（_____） |

您当时的感受如何？

请您根据当时感受，对下面所列举每一种感受及其强烈程度进行评价选择。

其中，0 代表一点也没有，6 表示非常强烈，从 0 到 6 程度越来越强烈。请在符合您的数字上画圈。

	一点儿没有				非常强烈		
不耐烦· · · · · ·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
开心 / 幸福· · · · · ·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
沮丧 / 烦躁· · · · · ·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
郁闷 / 情绪低落· · · · · ·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
自信 / 能胜任· · · · · ·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
困扰 / 受摆布· · · · · ·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
温暖 / 友善· · · · · ·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
生气 / 敌对· · · · · ·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
担忧 / 焦虑· · · · · ·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
自得其乐· · · · · ·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
被批判 / 奚落· · · · · ·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
疲惫· · · · · ·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

下一个情景

您接下来做了什么呢？

情景编号（名称）：_____ 开始时间：_____ 结束时间：_____

您在做什么？（请在符合您的选项上打勾，多选）

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ 外出 / 上下班 | ☐ 工作 |
| ☐ 购物 | ☐ 准备食物 |
| ☐ 做家务 | ☐ 照顾孩子 |
| ☐ 吃东西 / 用餐 | ☐ 宗教活动 |
| ☐ 社交活动 | ☐ 看电视 |
| ☐ 休息 / 小憩 | ☐ 用电脑（上网 / 回复邮件） |
| ☐ 休闲娱乐 | ☐ 打电话 |
| ☐ 和亲密的人在一起 | ☐ 运动 |
| ☐ 其他（请具体说明_____） | |

您在哪里？

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ☐ 家里 | ☐ 工作场所 | ☐ 其他 |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|

您和他人有互动吗？（包括打电话等）

- ☐ 没有 → 请跳过下一个问题

请选择和您有互动的所有对象。（多选）

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ☐ 配偶 / 恋人 | ☐ 同学 |
| ☐ 朋友 | ☐ 父母 / 亲戚 |
| ☐ 同事 | ☐ 领导 / 老板 |
| ☐ 客户 | ☐ 其他人（_____） |

您当时的感受如何？

请您根据当时感受，对下面所列举每一种感受及其强烈程度进行评价选择。

其中，0 代表一点也没有，6 表示非常强烈，从 0 到 6 程度越来越强烈。请在符合您的数字上画圈。

	一点儿没有				非常强烈		
不耐烦·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
开心 / 幸福·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
沮丧 / 烦躁·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
郁闷 / 情绪低落·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
自信 / 能胜任·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
困扰 / 受摆布·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
温暖 / 友善·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
生气 / 敌对·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
担忧 / 焦虑·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
自得其乐·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
被批判 / 奚落·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
疲惫·	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

如果您有更多的情景需要描述，请使用追加的问卷继续作答。

如果您已完成了晚上上床睡觉前最后一个情景的回答，请进入到 Packet 4 部分。

Packet 4



■还有一些有关昨天的问题

感谢您详细地告诉了我们有关您昨天所做的事情和当时的感受！
现在，我们还想了解一些概况。

总的来说，您昨天一天感觉如何？
请用百分比来描述您**昨天**的心情状态。

心情不好	_____ %
情绪有些消沉或烦躁	_____ %
情绪比较平和与愉悦	_____ %
心情非常好	_____ %
合计	100 %

相对于平时，昨天对于您来说，是特别的一天还是普通的一天？（昨天若是星期一，则与平时的星期一做比较。若是星期二，则与平时的星期二做比较）
请在符合您的选项上画圈。

特别糟糕	有点糟糕	和平常一样	比平时好一些	比平时好很多
1	2	3	4	5

■别人是如何看待您的？

现在，我们还想了解一些概况。

我们想了解您觉得别人是如何看待您的。

您认识的人对您有什么样的评价呢？请阅读下面的描述，在您认为适当的选项上画圈。

- 3 表示相对于其他人，您不具有这样的特点；
- 0 表示您跟其他人差不多；
- +3 表示相对于其他人，您这方面的特点很突出。

	没有其他人突出			平均		比其他人突出	
	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
热情	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
乐观	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
喜欢笑	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
总是看到事情的积极面	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
随遇而安	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
享受美食	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
喜欢和大家在一起	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
悲观	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
杞人忧天	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
容易郁闷	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
易怒	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
容易紧张焦虑	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

■关于您的一些问题

1. 这一个月睡眠的质量怎么样？

- ☐ 特别好 ☐ 还可以 ☐ 不太好 ☐ 非常不好

2. 过去的一个月平均睡眠时间有多少小时？

每晚上平均_____小时

3. 昨天您的睡眠时间有多长？

昨晚_____小时

4. 这一个月，在您外出用餐或者进行其他社交活动时，是否有需要努力保持清醒的时候？

- ☐ 这个月没有
☐ 一周不到一次
☐ 一周有一到两次
☐ 一周有三次以上

5. 这一个月，您是否有感觉很难全神贯注地完成某些事情？

- ☐ 完全没有这个问题
☐ 仅有极少数的时候
☐ 有时候会有些困难
☐ 特别困难

6. 您对最近自己身体健康状况满意程度的描述是：

- ☐ 很满意 ☐ 满意 ☐ 有点不满意 ☐ 非常不满意

7. 最后，请回答您填写这份问卷所花的时间：_____分

问卷到此结束。
请确保您回答了问卷中所有的问题。

对于您所提供的协助，我们表示诚挚的感谢！



Appendix 3 Other three participants' cases in Study 1

Three participants were laboratory colleagues of the author. As in the descriptions of the method described in the previous chapter, participants' names have been replaced. Each case is shown including the background information of the participant, a summary of the participant's one-day life, and a highlighted part of the interview. Each participant's happiest time/episodes of the day are marked in bold in the tables.

a. Ms. Saito

Ms. Saito was in her twenties, single. She was a laboratory colleague one-year senior to the author. In the laboratory, Ms. Saito's desk was next to the author's, so they met up frequently and had daily conversations quite often.

The recorded day was a normal workday for her. After a private English lesson and working in the university, she had dinner with friends who had not seen each other for quite a long time, which was her happiest time described in the DRM.

Although these three episodes were the main events of the day, the 'Lunch & SNS'-episode made the greatest impression on her when we talked about it in detail during the interview. She had mixed feelings when she chatted with a friend and felt reminded of her conviction that it is important to manage a voluntary society. However, it was more a feeling rather than something she could express clearly in words. In this regard, the author was not able to fully capture the essence of Ms. Saito's thoughts.

Table 17 presents her one-day life as described in the DRM and the interview.

Table 17. One of Ms. Saito's Fridays

Episodes	Time	Details
Waking up and doing housework	8:00-9:20	I'd planned to do some preparation for the English lesson later, but I am not a morning person
Commuting by bicycle	9:20-9:30	Going to Starbucks in a hurry
English lesson	9:30-10:40	Meeting with Ms. Hiromi. I am happy that I make a little progress with speaking English

Commuting by bicycle	10:40-11:00	Commuting to the University as usual
Dermatologist	11:00-12:00	Seeing a dermatologist on the way. My hand is getting better. Reading a magazine while waiting in the room and finding an interesting article
Lunch & SNS	12:00-13:00	Checking my favorite Japanese poet and chatting with a friend about the content. The lunch box I bought on the way is very delicious
Making a resume	13:00-17:00	I am planning to visit the US for a short time in the near future. I am concerned about whether I am able to do this or not. Making a resume is a part of the preparation and I tried my best. It takes such a long time to get done. My colleague (the author) sits next to me and encourages me
Talking to a colleague (the author)	17:00-17:30	Taking a break from making the resume. Talking with the colleague about each other's research. Having a nice time
Stopping by at home	17:30-17:40	Putting the bicycle back home and getting ready for going out tonight
Walking to the station	17:40-17:50	I have only just realized that I messed up with the time for the appointment tonight when I get a message from a friend. I am late already!
Taking the subway	17:50-18:00	The subway was not too crowded. I am very much looking forward to dinner
Meeting with friends and going to the restaurant together	18:00-18:30	We have not seen each other for 7 years! Talking to each other on the way to the restaurant, so happy!
Dinner	18:30-20:45	The four of us finally get together. The food is ok; we are more enjoying ourselves being together as in the old times. We have to leave because of the time limit of the dinner course
Looking for a café	20:45-21:00	We are so full but want to hang out for a longer time. We wanted to find a non-chain store café but we go to Starbucks in the end
Tea time with friends	21:00-23:00	2 hours went by too fast
Going home by subway	23:00-23:30	Getting tired of the crowded space
Taking a bath and going to bed	23:00-1:00	Falling asleep with the light still on, turned it off at midnight

b. Mr. Ono

Mr. Ono was in his forties, single. He was a laboratory colleague one-year senior to the author. He does research and organizes art activities in local areas. One of his projects was designing an annual art festival in the summer near the university.

The recorded day was special because he organized an event not only as part of the festival but also as a present for his friend's 60th birthday. He recorded the time very precisely because he made a detailed plan in advance to make sure that everything would go smoothly. The event was successful, so to a certain degree, it was a happy day for him.

When we reviewed his one-day life episode by episode during the interview, he explained that most of the time he had mixed feelings so that the interview was necessary to complement his answers to the DRM. For example, he was under a lot of pressure with the preparation of the event but also very excited about it, because it was more than a job but carried special meaning for him personally. He was enthusiastic about the art projects, but most of them were non-profit, so he was concerned about how to manage them sustainably in the future. Moreover, he mentioned in the end that this interview had a kind of therapeutic effect. Because he had a chance to share things that he considers important with people he trusts, this period of time made him happy.

Table 18 presents his one-day life as described in the DRM and the interview.

Table 18. One of Mr. Ono's Saturdays

Episodes	Time	Details
Cooking	6:10-6:30	Making breakfast while listening to the news
Breakfast	6:30-6:55	Kiwi fruit was a little overripe
Facebook	6:55-7:20	Sending messages
Writing the thesis	7:20-10:45	Writing the Ph.D. thesis
Cleaning	10:45-11:00	Cleaning up a broken plate
Taking a shower	11:00-11:15	Accidentally dropping the bottle of rinse
Cooking	11:15-11:30	Making lunch ahead of time
Lunch	11:30-12:00	Having lunch while watching YouTube
Email	12:00-12:15	Replying to inquiries about the event today

Going out	12:15-12:30	Going to the meeting place
Exhibition meeting	12:30-12:45	Discussing the exhibition
Working for the exhibition	12:45-14:30	Displaying the artworks
Lottery	14:30-14:50	Got some lottery tickets from the local festival, so I went to exchange for gifts
Reception preparation	14:50-15:15	Preparations for the reception, such as folding the event flyers
Final meeting	15:15-15:25	Meeting with the performers
Welcoming the guests	15:15-16:07	Opening the venue and guiding the guests
Organizer's greeting	16:07-16:10	Giving an opening speech as the organizer
Event	16:10-18:40	Guiding the guests who arrived late
Closing speech	18:40-18:45	Giving a closing speech as the organizer
Preparing for the 2 nd part	18:45-19:20	Preparing for the 2 nd part reception party
Party	19:20-21:20	Enjoying talking with guests and staff
Sending-off guests	21:20-22:15	Tidying-up and sending guests and performers off
Chatting with staffs	22:15-23:10	After tidying-up chatting with the staff
Back home	23:10-23:20	Talking with some of the staff on the way home
Shower	23:20-23:30	Taking shower
Checking emails	23:30-24:30	Replying email and Facebook
Sleep	24:30-	Tired but also excited

c. Ms. Hara

Ms. Hara was in her thirties, single. She was a laboratory colleague. She used to be a high school teacher teaching Japanese, and her research was about children's native-language education.

She and two close friends attended a four-day education program, and they wanted to have a further discussion so they planned a three-day seminar for just three of them. The described day was the last day of the whole week. It was a special day. She very much enjoyed the time with her friends and she was too happy to separate her day into more detailed episodes.

During the interview, we talked for a long time about her concerns about native-language education, which explains how she felt that day, as it were. Ms. Hara and her friends were laboratory colleagues and had participated in a characteristic educational program several times. What they thought should be the center of native-language education was usually neglected from ordinary classes in school. Their community was not big but their discussions were usually profound. Such deep connections are the foundation of Ms. Hara's outlook on her research and her life itself.

Table 19 presents her one-day life as described in the DRM and the interview.

Table 19. One of Ms. Hara's Sundays

Episodes	Time	Details
Breakfast at the villa	8:10-8:50	Continuing talking about our concerns, we didn't sleep so much these days because we were all immersed in the topics of our conversation
Checking out	8:50-10:00	Paying for the villa, and discussing with the owner about how to get to the closest station
Going to station	10:00-11:30	Noticing it's nice to be outside in nature, enjoying the view while talking on the way
Talk together	11:30-14:00	Talking with two friends at a café close to the station. It's sad being about to say bye but what we talked about these days encourages me a lot
Lunch	14:00-15:30	Saying goodbye to one friend after lunch
On the train	15:30-17:30	Taking the train with another friend about halfway
Dinner	17:30-18:00	Having dinner on the train, starting to feel tired
On the way back home	18:00-21:00	Long way to home, changing trains several times

Shopping	21:00-21:30	Thinking of a lot of things at the same time
Taking a bath	21:30-22:00	Taking a break and then feeling a little refreshed after that
Schedule management	22:00-22:30	Checking the schedule for next month, feeling a little excited about the future
Contact	22:30-23:30	Sending emails for work and also to friends

Appendix 4 Other three participants' cases in Study 2

Three participants were Chinese students studying in Japan to obtain their Master's degrees. As in the previous chapter, participants' names have been replaced. Each case is shown including the background information of the participant, a summary of the participant's current life, and the highlighted part of the interview. Each participant's happiest time/episodes of the day are marked in bold in the tables.

a. Ms. Liu

Ms. Liu was in her twenties. Unlike most Chinese people her age, she has a sibling, a younger brother. She was in the second year of a master's program in the same department as the author. When she first came to the university, the author was a member of the support team for foreign students assisting her in starting this new phase of her life. She lived in a dormitory close to the campus. Her boyfriend was her classmate and studied in America at that time.

It was an ordinary day. She did not get a job offer in Japan, so she was looking for opportunities back home. Since everything was uncertain, anxiousness was a kind of basic mood of her life at the time. She was not very satisfied with her life in general because she thought she should work harder during her postgraduate period.

She argued with her boyfriend about the schedule of visiting America, and both of them were a little sad about their disagreement at that time. Nevertheless, she felt warm and blissful when recalling the whole experience because of their stable relationship. The DRM does not only record their argument but more importantly, reminded her of the warm and blissful nature of their relationship. In her own words, she seems to switch into a happy mode when chatting with the person she loves, no matter what they are talking about.

Table 20 presents her one-day life as described in the DRM and the interview.

Table 20. One of Ms. Liu's Wednesdays

Episodes	Time	Details
Breakfast	7:40-8:10	Eating while watching an American TV sitcom
Video telephone with boyfriend	8:15-9:00	Talking about the plan of visiting him in America but having some disagreement about the time
Reviewing vocabulary	9:00-9:30	I keep taking notes of new vocabulary in both English and Japanese. I want to improve my language skills
Internet surfing	9:30-10:30	Checking the nutrition details of different kinds of fish, very interesting, get some tips for grocery shopping next time
Sports indoor	10:40-11:00	Following the app on phone, several times a week regularly
Shower	11:00-11:30	Getting refreshed
Cooking	11:50-12:30	I like eating so I cook for myself regularly, healthy and cheap
Lunch	12:50-13:30	Eating while watching an American TV sitcom
Reading papers	14:00-15:00	Staying in the research lab, borrowed a book from the library but didn't find the part that I need, then read one article downloaded earlier
Searching job information	15:10-16:30	Checking some recruitment information
Cooking	17:00-17:35	I'd planned to stay in the lab until night, but I'm getting hungry so back to the dormitory cooking for dinner
Dinner	17:40-18:40	Eating while watching a movie
Watching movie	18:40-19:10	Keep watching the movie
Internet surfing	19:10-20:30	I'd planned to read papers or search for job information but just keep putting it off, mixed feelings
Video telephone with boyfriend	20:40-21:10	We contact each other two or three times every day. We usually just leave the chatting app on, which makes us feel like being around each other. Keep discussing the travel plan a little bit
Video telephone with mom	21:10-22:00	My mom is always concerned about my safety being abroad. Having some small talk with other family members
Practicing calligraphy	22:00-22:30	My friend gave me a nice pen as a gift. I've practiced for more than a month
Washing up	22:30-23:10	

b. Ms. Huang

Ms. Huang was in her twenties. She has a younger brother. She just finished the master's program in the same department as the author. We once took a foreign language class together. Her boyfriend studied a different subject at the same university.

The described day was the first day of the term break. She had just finished the oral exam and submitted the final version of the thesis. She also had already got a job offer in Japan. Though it was not her first choice, she considered this option better than nothing. Therefore, she was finally able to take a break and plan ahead. She rented an apartment close to the campus with a roommate. She likes things to be tidy and clean, but she had been too busy with her master's thesis to keep things in order. So, she was happy to have the time to make her room tidy again.

Because she finished her thesis and had a job offer already, she was relaxed and did not mind indulging in a conversation about her life. During the interview, she talked in detail about her experiences with job hunting, language learning, university life in Japan, as well as her character and family relationships. Her parents always support her unconditionally and she has a good relationship with her younger brother. So, she was relaxed and felt secure with her family. Talking with them typically made for a relaxing and happy time. After we reviewed her one-day life episodically, the interview shifted to be more like a daily conversation between friends rather than merely an inquiry.

Table 21 presents her one-day life as described in the DRM and the interview.

Table 21. One of Ms. Huang's Fridays

Episodes	Time	Details
Playing a mobile game in bed	10:00-10:30	Didn't fully wake up
Washing up	10:30-12:00	Washing hair, brushing teeth, putting on makeup, opening all the windows
Chatting	12:10-13:00	Contacting boyfriend about having lunch together later

Going to the dry cleaner	12:30-12:45	I wore a shirt for the oral exam but did not have the time to have it dry-cleaned. It is not worth washing the bag there too, so I take it back home
Back home	12:45-13:00	Washing the bag myself
Lunch	13:00-14:30	Both of us order the new set of McDonald's, a little expensive
Tidying up the room	14:00-15:00	Putting the bed linen on the balcony, folding up clothes, and tidying up the wardrobe
Taking a nap	15:00-16:00	Tired and falling asleep on the Tatami
Tidying up the room	16:00-17:00	Calling my mom but not long because she was busy, cleaning up the makeup tools
Part-time job	17:00-22:15	Working in a clothes store, hanging up new arrivals for 4 hours, not so many customers
Going home	22:15-22:30	Meeting with a colleague on the way back. My boyfriend usually picks me up at night but he has been busy with his research recently
Dinner	22:30-23:00	Eating a cup of yogurt, two bananas, and some grapes. Feeling happy that the work is done for today
Phone call	22:40-23:30	Chatting with my mom, haven't talked with her for a long time because I was busy with the thesis and could only send messages from time to time
Tidying up the room	23:30-1:00	Washing the bag, wallet, and clothes, sweeping the floor
Going to bed	1:00-1:30	Playing mobile games and spending time on the phone before sleeping

c. Ms. Wu

Ms. Wu was in her twenties, an only child. She was in the first year of a master's program in the same department as the author. When she first came to the university, the author was a member of the support team for foreign students assisting her in starting this new phase of her life.

She was interested in creating a new style of social network application. In order to become familiar with how to run a business, she attended a business innovation club at university and teamed up for a business plan contest in the next month. During the term break, she made a punishing schedule for herself full of internships and intensive seminars in preparation for the contest. The described day was the day after she finished a three-day internship in Tokyo. She thought the internship was meaningful and she really liked the company, but she was a little stressed out because of the tight schedule.

Since the author was not familiar with running a business, the lack of a mutual understanding of Ms. Wu's current concerns stopped the interview going forward and caused the whole interview to remain on a superficial level. It means that with respect to content, the interview only focused on collecting and confirming the general information of what she had done instead of elaborating on the meaning of her experiences.

Table 22 presents her one-day life as described in the DRM and the interview.

Table 22. One of Ms. Wu's Thursdays

Episodes	Time	Details
Way to Shinjuku	11:00-13:00	Staying with a girl who attends an internship with me. We are too tired to get up, and have to pay extra for checking-out late
Lunch	13:00-15:00	I had planned to see an exhibition but was too tired to move. We have lunch in a bakery then keep staying there until I have to leave for the airport
Way to the airport	15:00-17:00	Saying goodbye to the roommate and going to the airport. Done with the boarding procedures.
On the plane	17:00-19:00	Reading on the plane

Back home	19:40-22:00	I like to rearrange the room because it makes me feel refreshed. Changing the position of the sofa and bed. Tidying up the room, washing clothes, and watering plants. I'm glad that they are still alive after I was gone for these days
Doing research	22:00-3:00	Replying to emails and organizing the schedule

Appendix 5 Japanese transcripts of the interviews in Study 1

This appendix contains the Japanese (original) transcripts of the interviews in Study 1.

a. Mr. Fujita

R : インタビュー (筆者)

F : インタビューイ

R : 多分リハーサル以降に、段々落ち着いた風に見えます。

F : そう、始まってしまったらね。

R : うんうんうん。前は、なんか全部高いの波の段階を乗り越えて、1 とかも、落ち着いているなと思いました。そうですね。まあ、でもあんまり幸せとかも、ここだけで幸せだなと思いましたね。「学生の発表」のときは。

F : ああ、そうですね。うまくいって、あれだけ僕も直前のリハーサルで、もうハラハラをしながら、ちゃんとできるかな、ああと思っていたんだけど、すごく一所懸命をやって、うまく行って、はあ、それは幸せだね。それは楽しさじゃないね。

R : その幸せってどういう？満足？満足でもないかな。

F : 幸せなのは、例えば楽しさとそこは違うと思うね。学生が例えば何か歌とか、何か楽しく本番でうまくやったら、それはうまくやれていると思うとか。後、楽しいねと思うんだけど。楽しいのは、参加者も楽しいと感じられるでしょう。その踊りの楽しいな、歌の楽しいなと思うとか。だけど、私もそれを見て楽しいんだけど、それ以上に幸せなのは、まあ自分がすぐそこに手をかけましたね。本番がうまくいくように。本番がうまくいったらいいというのは、単にイベントが来てくれた高校生や保護者や、高校の先生たちに、この大学の講座の紹介はすごくよかったな、あそこに学生を行かせたいなというふうに思ってくれるように、そういう伝わり方ができた、ということが、一つ私の使命なんだけれども。それがうまくいったというのは、一つそれは楽しさじゃない。仕事人として、そういう、やっぱりここでね、この大学でこういうことを学びたいなというふうに思ってくれる人が、そういう理解者がね、一人でも増えるというのはすごくやっぱり私にとってはうれしいこと、なんで、そういうことは少し達成できたというのがとても教員として幸せだし、何よりも、それを自分が直接にしたのではなくて、自分も一緒に動きながらも、でも学生がそういう発表を、ある種できた、そういう彼女たちができたというのは、自分が直接する以上に、うれしいですね。だから、そこはあの、この仕事ならではの幸せだと思うんですね。この仕事だからこそその幸せ。

R : 教員、教師としての幸せですか？

F : 教師としての幸せ。学生がそういう短い時間だけでも、理解して、自分たちが最後にリハーサルのとき何倍もね、力を発揮してくれたというのは、教師としては幸せですよ。

R : うん。そうね。そこで多分他の職業では感じられないとか、絶対思えないある種の幸せじゃないかなと思って。

F : もしかしたら、ほら、あのいろんな、例えばビジネス世界でも、当然自分には、ほら同じく部下がいるじゃないですか。新人が入ってきた、最初は、新人は営業に行っても、仕事はなかなか取れません。けれども、何度も何度も教えて、時に一緒に行って、徐々に仕事を覚えてもらって、少しずつ任せていきますね。それで、初めて何か契約を取ってきましたときは、多分ねすごく幸せ、うれしい。はい、あ、取れたのか、よかったね、これで一人前だねみたいなのは、多分先生ではないけれど、多分気持ちが似ている。

R : ある種の達成感？

F : うん。だから、楽しいというのは自分一人でも感じるんだけど。まあ、幸せも一人で感じると思う、あのおいしいスイーツを食べるとき、「あ、しあわせ」って思うときもちろんあるんだけど。だけど、なんとなく、まあ、楽しいのもみんなと一緒に楽しい、楽しいと幸せは自分で感じる部分と、自分が何かを働きかけて、それにその結果がね、happy な結果が自分で出したんじゃないときに、人によって見出されたときに、なんかより深い、というのかな。今、今話しながら、感じたことで、

R : うん、そうですね。

F : そういうことがあるかもしれないですね。でも、もし、たまたま今 R さんがおっしゃるように、教師とか、教員の仕事をしていると、その自分がそういう結果を出すんじゃなくて、自分が働きかけて、

学生が誰かが結果を出す。まあ、サッカーの監督もそうだよね。サッカーの監督は直接ゴールはできないから、選手がするので。だからそういう職業から、**そういう幸せ、自分が何か一所懸命働きかけることで、でもそれを超えて、超えた結果をその選手なり、学生なり、職場だったら部下なり、チームなり、何かあの達成することとかね。**

R：そう。今そういう感覚で、その当時、学生たちが発表する当時も自分は幸せだなと思いますか？それとも振り返るときは、ああ、やっぱりその時そうだな？

F：ああ、たぶんね、学生が発表をうまくね、やってきてうまく行ったと思うときは、幸せではないですよ。うれしいな、うまくいってるしな、あの子たち本番よかったね。よかった、うれしいな。だから、**楽しいでもないし、幸せでもないし、うれしいですね。**

R：で、これを振り返ると、幸せに変換しますよね？

F：だからうれしいと幸せは、結構。だから、楽しいことはその瞬間的に起こっていることを言っている、捉えていると思うよね。幸せといったら、もうちょっと長いスパン自分の価値と照らし合わせて、ジャッジするから、振り返りながら幸せとを感じるだけ。その振り返って後で、振り返って、長いスパンで考える、冷静に考えるということを、もうすこし楽しいに近いような、そのときの emotion 的なことを言い換えると、うれしさ。だけど、それはもうちょっと自分の価値基準、価値規範と照らし合わせて、**反省的にリフレクションしていくと、幸せという概念になる。**うれしさで、価値概念ではないよね。うれしさ、うれしいって気持ちの表現でしょう。だけど、幸せというのは、価値概念、幸福であるとか、幸せというのはね。だから、楽しいというのは、価値概念ではないよね。楽しさというのは心理状態。何か心理状態、その状態を表すものは、まさに on going などところで、動いている emotion、どういう風に感じたのか、振り返ってね。だけど、その幸せとか、後何かあるのかな、憂うつでもない、イライラでもない。幸せ、後は、絶望とかね、もし書いていたら、絶望は感情表現じゃないですね。感情も含まれているけど、もうちょっと決定的にあれば絶望であったとか、あれは幸せであった、**幸福であったとかというふうに結論づけられる一つ概念になるけど。**これはそういう意味で、ちょっと他の言葉とは、ちょっと違うかもしれない。これも含まれていると思いますけどね。

R：そうですね。

b. Ms. Suzuki

R：インタビュー（筆者）

S：インタビューイ

R：うん、なんか、**波乱万丈な一日だな**と思いました。

S：（笑）でもこんな感じよ。普段も。

R：日々。

S：日々。たまたまドームが入ったからあれだけど、日々そんな感じだね。

R：何か**パワーが必要なん**ですよ。

S：うん。そうそう。ゆっくりする時間が本当にあまりない。逆に学校の仕事をしているときのほうが、ああ今回夏休みでバタバタしているけど、普通に学校に行っているときのほうが、ちょっとゆっくりしている。自分と生徒のことだけをやればいいやん。給食のことでもせんでよければ、いいじゃん。それだけじゃん。家事とか一切ないやん。だから学校が一番ゆっくりできる。ゆっくりまでではないけど、落ち着いてやっている気がする。

R：そう、**最初に家にいるときもなんかここが「イライラ」高い**、でも**学校、仕事のときはまだちょっとよい**感じで。

S：そう。ないの、そんなに。

R：その何か、うん、**やっぱり子どもができれば、すごく何か、わたわたする**ね。

S：そう。って仕事がなかったら、時間がそこまで追われないから、その、満足していないじゃなくて、やることをちゃんとやれると思うよね。でも、行かなくちゃいけない時間がある、この、やらないといかんと思ったら、ただやれないことが多くて、それがイライラする。でもだからと言って、仕事をしていなかったら、仕事をしていないからやれるとは限られないかもしれないね。やらないかもしれないね、逆に。

R：あ**あもし専業主婦だったら**

S：うんうんうん。時間に、時間があるから、逆に。まあいいかというにするかもしれないね。その代わりに、イライラはそこまで、今みたいなないかもね。時間に追われることがないから。自分の中で解消すればいいわけやん。これができんやだったら、じゃこれを後回しねということができるじゃない。

R：でも、**それでも仕事をしながらやりたい**ですよ。

S：やりたい。

R：仕事をやめるとかを全然考えていないよね。

S：考えていないよね。それは**やっぱりまずお金もあるかな、一つは金銭面でいう余裕がないのが私の中で一番嫌**なのね。だから**まずお給料をちゃんともらいたい**ということもあるし、うん、これイライラしながらも、メリハリがある生活というか。何時までしなくちゃいけないというのがあったほうが、私の中で**メリハリがある**なと思うから。

R：あ**あじゃスケジュール的に立て**

S：立てやすいし、もあるかな。後、子育ての期間があって、そんなに長く、一生生活という感じじゃないじゃん。そしたら、これはこれで。でも仕事ってやっぱり一回やめると、早々そんなに復帰できないになるし、同じ仕事に復帰できないだろうし、うん、それで多分ね、**教師という仕事が好きなんだ**と思う。

R：うんうんうん。**教育**

S：うん、**教育現場が好きだから、多分やめない**と思う。お金もあるけど、やっぱり**仕事内容が好き**かな。子ども**自体が好き、楽しい**もんね。

R：ああ。**仕事をするときば、やっぱり楽しい**。

S：うん。楽しいね。ああ嫌なこともいっぱいあるけど、大変だなと思うことがいっぱいあるけど。ああ子育てもそうだね。ああドームも**大変かもしれないけど、自分がうあって喜んで**いる横で、人が喜んで**いるのを見るのも楽しい**し、

R：うんうんうん。

S：家に帰って来て、すごく疲れたけど、「**楽しかった**」と言われたら、ああよかった、よかったって思ったりするから、

R：ああ。

S：なんかうん。やっぱり子育てもしたいし、その学校も大変なこともいっぱいあるけど、その子どもがなんか勉強ができるようになったり、って、面白いとか言ったりその顔を見るのが好きだし、その親も、ほら喜んでるじゃん、なんか**そんな小さい幸せ**というか、**そんなが**いっぱいあるから、好きだね。

c. Mr. Tanaka

R：インタビュー（筆者）

T：インタビュイー

(1)

R：いや何か、一つ先気になったので、何でここ「あまり満足していない」ですか？どうしても、すごく満足しているなと思っていた。

T：ああ、楽しいんだけど、まだまだこんなもんじゃ終わらないぞというか、向上心があるというか、現状が満足していない、つてもつともっと上に行くぞって、その店も良くしたいし、雰囲気も良くしたいし、飲み物も良くしたいし、イベントもやりたい、ホームページも充実させたいし、という意味で、これで終わるというレベルに全然達していないから、そういう意味で、満足はしていない、楽しいけど。

R：まだまだですという。

T：まだまだですという。まだまだやるぞ。何か満足したら終わる気がする。今の状態でいいなって、何か向上心がない気がして。

R：ああ、なるほど。何かびっくりしました。ああ、でも、いい意味で満足していないよね。

T：そうそうそうそう。いい意味で。そういうことそういうこと。ネガティブじゃ全然ない。あぁつまらないなというのじゃ、全然ないね。

R：ああ、それでもいろいろ意味合いがありますね。

T：そうでしょう。あるよね。今 R ちゃんに聞かれなっきゃ、このまま解釈したら、おれ何かね。

R：そう、何か、ええ、嫌々ながらやっているのって。

T：思っちゃうのね。そういうわけじゃない。

(2)

R：何か、もしここは6だったら、どんなことだろうかって。例えば。

T：「幸せ」が6？

R：うん。

T：（笑）おれね、あんまり幸せだなとかとは思わないんだよな。

R：思わない？うん。

T：...「幸せ」が6の状態。

R：うん。どんなことがあったら、6に付ける？（笑）

T：うん...どうかな...うん...まあでもこれは4かって、6と言えこれでも6なのかは分からないな。そう言われると。そのためにやっているというのがあるし...なんかイベントごととか、ホームページなんかこう、飲み物とか、手をかけたもの、手をかければかけたものほど、やっぱこう、いいねって、よかったね、面白かったって言ってもらえれば多分うれしいし、喜んでもらえたらうれしいのかな。そういう意味じゃ、店に来てくれる人というの、6でも分かんない。そうしたら。

R：うん。でもそれで一時かな？一時の気分じゃないですか？どのくらい続けるかな？その、お客さんと話して、その楽しい気分が、次のことにしたら、多分すぐ切り替える。

T：消える消える。そんなに、付いたり消えたりするもんじゃない気がするな、幸せ？...その話しているときに幸せだなと感じないしさ。後って客観的に、理性的に、こう振り返って、あああのときは、楽しかったなと思わないな。そうね、帰って、「ああありがとうございました。」ああ、帰って、ああ、そのときには、ああ、ぱっとまあ、楽しかったのかなって、もしくは、そうしてもらえたかなというのが、じゃよかったのかなって思うけども。それもすぐ消える。その後ずっとあれよかったなよかったなとずっと思っていない。まだ次のやることとかもあるからさ。そっちに、なるという。

R：自分が帰って、家に帰って、あの晩ご飯のとき、これと、これはあの、レイアウトを変えたとき、これもほぼ4なんですよ。これも多分今まで、話しをしたときは、5なんだけど、が高い、でもそれでも、同じ意味合いとは言えないよね。

T：これも、完全にもうなんか、何もかも酔っ払って、あぁつって、一日、終わった、つって、何かね、DVDとかを見ながら、テレビだったのかな、テレビかも、を見ながら、とか、何か、何も考えなくっていい時間というか、それでも、何か、それは幸せだね。楽しい。だから毎日飲む（笑）。

R：そうなんですね。

T：充実というのが楽しさではないよね。幸せ。

R：ほほほほ。これは仕事としているときの幸せ？

T：そう。うん。

R：と話しているときの幸せって、でもあんまり考えていないとか言っても、聞かれたら、丸付けができるんですね。

T：そうね。なんとなくだけど。何となく。幸せかといったら、楽しかったのかなということでしょう。

つまり、幸せだなって、思わない。よかったなとか、楽しかったなって。

R：今は楽しんでいる段階なんですよ。

T：うん。

R：まだ幸せとかは、そこは考えられない？考えていない？

T：うん、考えていない。幸せ、そうね、悲しい、嫌だなとか、不安だなとか、楽しい、疲れたとか、ちょっとゆううつだなと分かるけど、幸せというのは、おれあんまり意識的に考えたことがないよな。

R：多分この中にこのこの単語がないんだ。

T：単語がない。掴めない、おれは。

R：ああ、そうなんだ。

T：カテゴリーの中じゃない。