

Influence and Adjustment Goals: Sources of Cultural Differences in Ideal Affect

Jeanne L. Tsai
Stanford University

Felicity F. Miao
University of Virginia

Emma Seppala
Stanford University

Helene H. Fung and Dannii Y. Yeung
Chinese University of Hong Kong

Previous studies have found that in American culture high-arousal positive states (HAP) such as excitement are valued more and low-arousal positive states (LAP) such as calm are valued less than they are in Chinese culture. What specific factors account for these differences? The authors predicted that when people and cultures aimed to *influence* others (i.e., assert personal needs and change others' behaviors to meet those needs), they would value HAP more and LAP less than when they aimed to *adjust* to others (i.e., suppress personal needs and change their own behaviors to meet others' needs). They test these predictions in 1 survey and 3 experimental studies. The findings suggest that within and across American and Chinese contexts, differences in ideal affect are due to specific interpersonal goals.

Keywords: culture, values, interpersonal goals, affect

Although most people say that they want to feel good, people want to feel good in different ways. In a previous article (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006), we presented affect valuation theory, which proposes that variation in “ideal affect” (the affective states that people value and would ideally like to feel) is largely due to cultural factors, or socially transmitted ideas and practices (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952). In support of affect valuation theory, we have observed that European American adults value high-arousal positive states (HAP; e.g., excitement, enthusiasm) more and low-arousal positive states (LAP; e.g., calm, peacefulness) less than do Hong Kong Chinese adults. Chinese Americans, who are oriented to both American and Chinese cultures, value HAP more than Hong Kong Chinese, but value LAP more than European Americans (Tsai et al., 2006). We have found similar differences in ideal affect among European American, Asian American, and Taiwan-

ese Chinese preschool children (Tsai, Louie, Chen, & Uchida, 2007), suggesting that people learn to value specific affective states relatively early in life.

What aspects of Chinese and American culture lead one to endorse HAP states more and LAP states less than the other? In Tsai et al. (2006), we proposed that American and Chinese differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP were related to differences in the emphasis the cultures place on influencing versus adjusting to others. Specifically, we predicted that when people are encouraged to *influence* other people (i.e., assert their personal needs and change others' behaviors to meet those needs), as they are in American culture, people value HAP more and LAP less than when they are encouraged to *adjust* to others (i.e., suppress their personal needs and change their own behavior to meet others' needs), as they are in many East Asian cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 2003; Morling & Evered, 2006; Morling, Kitayama, & Miyamoto, 2002; Weisz, Rothbaum, & Blackburn, 1984).¹ In the present article, we report findings from four studies that more directly test this hypothesis. Before describing the studies, we elaborate on affect valuation theory, the theoretical framework motivating this research.

Affect Valuation Theory

Although a significant body of research has focused on actual affect (the affective states that people actually feel), relatively little

Jeanne L. Tsai and Emma Seppala, Department of Psychology, Stanford University; Felicity F. Miao, Department of Psychology, University of Virginia; Helene H. Fung and Dannii Y. Yeung, Department of Psychology, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shatin, Hong Kong.

This research was funded by a grant from the Stanford Office of Technology and Licensing, by National Institute on Aging Grant R03AG023302, and by National Institute of Mental Health Grant R01MH068879 awarded to Jeanne L. Tsai, as well as by grants from the Stanford Undergraduate Research Opportunities Program and Psi Chi awarded to Felicity F. Miao. We thank Eva Pomerantz for her helpful comments and suggestions; Sara Chang, Angela Chu, Hung Kit Fok, Emily Grewal, Greg Larkin, Jason Lee, Alice Lu, Derek Miller, Clara Park, Elena Sherman, and Delford Williams for their assistance on the project; and Angela Chu, Janie Hong, Birgit Koopman, Jenny Louie, Clara Park, and Tamara Sims for their comments on an earlier version of this manuscript.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Jeanne L. Tsai, Stanford University, Department of Psychology, Building 420, Jordan Hall, Stanford, CA 94305. E-mail: jtsai@psych.stanford.edu

¹ Some scholars use the terms *primary control* and *secondary control* to describe “influence” and “adjustment,” respectively (e.g., Heckhausen & Schulz, 1995; Weisz et al., 1984), whereas others use the terms *dominance* and *submission* (Wiggins, 1979). We use the terms introduced by Morling et al. (2002) because they do not privilege one type of interpersonal goal or behavior over the other.

research has focused on ideal affect. The first premise of affect valuation theory is that how people actually feel differs from how they ideally want to feel. Whereas actual affect is a response to an event, ideal affect is a goal that develops when people learn to prefer some affective states over others and begin to work to attain those states. In support of the distinction between actual and ideal affect, structural equation modeling revealed that models that distinguished between actual and ideal affect fit European American, Chinese American, and Hong Kong Chinese self-reports of actual and ideal affect better than did models that treated actual and ideal affect as a single construct (Tsai et al., 2006).

In Tsai et al. (2006), we also observed that European American, Chinese American, and Hong Kong Chinese respondents alike reported wanting to feel more positive than negative. Thus, although there may be specific situations in which people want to feel more negative than positive (e.g., during a funeral), for most people, these situations are rare. Participants also reported wanting to feel more positive and less negative than they actually felt. Together, these findings suggest that whereas actual affect involves both positive and negative states, ideal affect primarily involves positive states.

The second premise of affect valuation theory is that culture shapes ideal affect. Culture shapes people's notions of what is good, moral, and virtuous (Shweder, 2003); thus, culture should also shape which affective states are desired. By engaging in cultural practices and being exposed to cultural products, people learn to value specific affective states over others. For instance, Tsai, Louie, et al. (2007) found that best-selling children's storybooks in the United States contained more excited (vs. calm) expressions, wider smiles, and more exciting (vs. calm) activities compared with best-selling storybooks in Taiwan. Moreover, in both American and Taiwanese contexts, short-term exposure to an exciting (vs. calm) storybook increased children's preferences for exciting activities and their perceptions of an excited smile as happy. Recently, we have found differences in the affective content of other widely distributed cultural and religious products such as women's magazines (Tsai & Wong, 2006) and best-selling self-help books (Tsai, Miao, & Seppala, 2007), with American and Christian cultural products containing more exciting content and less calm content than Chinese and Buddhist cultural products, respectively. Collectively, these findings support the notion that cultural factors influence how people ideally want to feel.

Whether or not peoples' actual affect matches their ideal affect, however, may depend on a multitude of additional factors. For example, people may vary in their ability to regulate their actual affect. Furthermore, a large literature suggests that temperament (i.e., individual differences in emotional reactivity that are primarily due to common genetic factors) is a major source of variation in actual affect across various individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Costa & McCrae, 1980; David, Green, Martin, & Suls, 1997; Emmons & Diener, 1985; Gomez, Cooper, & Gomez, 2000; Gross, Sutton, & Ketelaar, 1998; Rusting & Larsen, 1997; Schimmack, Radhakrishnan, Oishi, Dzokoto, & Ahadi, 2002). Thus, although cultural factors shape both actual and ideal affect, affect valuation theory predicts that cultural factors shape ideal affect *more* than actual affect. In support of these predictions, we observed that self-report measures of cultural values (i.e., Schwartz Values Survey; Schwartz, 1992) accounted for a greater percent-

age of variance in ideal affect than actual affect (for both HAP and LAP; Tsai et al., 2006).

Finally, drawing on control process theories (e.g., Carver & Scheier, 1982, 1990), the third premise of affect valuation theory is that people will try to reduce the discrepancy between their actual and ideal affect (i.e., will try to bring their actual affect closer to their ideal affect) by engaging in specific mood-producing behaviors (e.g., recreational activities, drug use) that are associated with their ideal affect. People who value HAP may be more likely to engage in physically rigorous activities and use stimulant drugs than those who value LAP. Thus, affect valuation theory provides an explanation for systematic differences in various mood-producing behaviors that are well-documented, but poorly understood (Floyd, 1998). For instance, Americans are more likely to engage in extreme sports (e.g., in-line skating, skateboarding) and are more likely to abuse stimulant drugs (i.e., cocaine, amphetamines) than are their Chinese counterparts (Hong Kong Sports Institute, personal communication, August 8, 2005; Marquand, 2005; Sporting Goods Manufacturers Association, 2005; United Nations Office for Drug and Crime, 2006). We propose that these behavioral differences reflect American and Chinese differences in the valuation of HAP and LAP states.

Cultural Differences in Influence and Adjustment Goals

An unanswered question, however, is *why* American contexts value HAP states more and LAP states less than Chinese contexts. The present article aims to answer this question. As mentioned above, we focus on influence and adjustment goals, which are considered specific facets of individualism and collectivism (Markus & Kityama, 2003). Although people engage in both influence *and* adjustment behaviors on a regular basis, and both are required for smooth and satisfying social interactions (Horowitz et al., 2006; Leary, 1957; Tiedens & Fragale, 2003), several studies have suggested that influence is more and adjustment is less salient and valued in American contexts than in East Asian contexts. For instance, when asked to recall times in their lives when they influenced or adjusted to others, American college students were better able to recall times when they influenced others than were Japanese college students, whereas Japanese college students were better able to recall times when they adjusted to others than were American college students (Morling et al., 2002). On average, European Americans report influencing their circumstances more and adjusting to their circumstances less than their East Asian counterparts (e.g., Morris, 1956; Morris & Jones, 1955; Parsons & Schneider, 1974).

We propose that differences in the relative emphasis placed on influence versus adjustment in individualistic and collectivistic contexts have important implications for the specific affective states that these contexts encourage their members to feel. Affective states are neurophysiological changes that are often experienced as feelings, moods, or emotions and that are organized in terms of at least two dimensions: (a) *valence* and (b) *arousal* (or activation) (e.g., Feldman Barrett & Russell, 1999; Larsen & Diener, 1992; Russell, 1991; Russell, Lewicka, & Nitt, 1989; Thayer, 1989; Watson & Tellegen, 1985; Yik & Russell, 2003). Because different affective states are involved in successfully influencing or adjusting to others, we predicted that when people *want* to influence or adjust to others, they would—consciously or

not—strive for and thus *value* the affective states associated with influence or adjustment. We discuss the specific affective states associated with influence and adjustment next.

Influence and HAP

Influencing others requires asserting the self and changing others. Individuals must first establish and demonstrate (e.g., by appearing confident, self-assured, in charge) that their needs and preferences are special and unique. Then individuals must try to change others' thoughts and behaviors so that they become consistent with individuals' personal needs and preferences. Both aspects of influencing others require some form of action (e.g., by expressing an opinion, explicitly asking someone to do something). For instance, Gifford and O'Conner (1987) observed that during an open-ended group conversation, individuals who were higher in influence were more active (i.e., more likely to speak, gesture, and initiate acts) than those who were lower in influence. Action involves increases in physiological arousal (Obrist, 1981; Schupp, Cuthbert, Bradley, Birbaumer, & Lang, 1997; Tomaka, Blascovich, Kelsey, & Leitten, 1993); therefore, influencing others should involve increases in physiological arousal. Indeed, Mehrabian and Russell (1974) observed that influence was positively associated with arousal, and Murray and Nakajima (1999) found that influencing others was negatively correlated with relaxing mentally and physically. Thus, because influencing others involves high-arousal states, we predict that when individuals *aim* to influence others (i.e., have influence goals), they should *desire* high-arousal states. The degree to which individuals actually experience high-arousal states, however, may depend more on how much they actually engage in influence behaviors.

Adjustment and LAP

In contrast, adjusting to others involves suppressing the self and conforming to others. Individuals must first suppress their own thoughts and actions (e.g., by keeping their thoughts to themselves, not revealing their thoughts and preferences, waiting for others to act or speak first, allowing others to make plans or decisions for them) in order to let others express their needs and preferences (Moskowitz, 1994). Only after assessing others' needs and preferences can individuals change their own behaviors to meet those needs and preferences. Suppressing the self involves suspended action, and suspended action involves decreases in physiological arousal (Obrist, 1981; Schupp et al., 1997; Tomaka et al., 1993). Moreover, low-arousal states facilitate broadened attention to environmental stimuli (Libby, Lacey, & Lacey, 1973; Schupp et al., 1997). Thus, we predict that when individuals *aim* to adjust to others (i.e., have adjustment goals), they should *desire* low-arousal states. The degree to which people actually experience LAP, however, may depend more on the extent to which they actually engage in adjustment behaviors.²

In sum, we predict that in American culture more value is placed on HAP and less on LAP than in Chinese (and other East Asian) cultures because American culture encourages people to influence their environments more and adjust to their environments less than Chinese (and other East Asian) cultures. Although a handful of studies have demonstrated cultural variation in desired states (Eid & Diener, 2001; Izard, 1971; Sommers, 1984) and have proposed

that such differences are due to individualism and collectivism, none have directly tested these links, nor have they specified the mechanisms by which individualism and collectivism shape desired states. Tsai et al. (2006) was the first study to administer self-report measures of actual affect, ideal affect, and individualism–collectivism and to empirically demonstrate links between ideal affect and individualism–collectivism. This study, however, did not directly measure *interpersonal* influence and adjustment goals. Furthermore, because the data were correlational, the causal direction of the associations remains unclear.

Overview of the Present Research

To address the limitations of previous work and further test our predictions, we conducted four studies on European American, Asian American, and Hong Kong Chinese samples, for whom differences in ideal affect have been well-documented (Tsai et al., 2006). By including all three groups, we sampled a broad range of individuals with varying levels of orientation to American and East Asian cultures. All participants were undergraduates at top tier universities in the United States and Hong Kong and, therefore, were comparable in terms of levels of academic attainment, occupation, and stage of life. In Study 1, we used a self-report measure of interpersonal goals to examine whether cultural differences in ideal HAP and LAP were mediated by self-reported influence and adjustment goals, respectively, at the global level (i.e., on average). In Studies 2–4, we experimentally manipulated influence and adjustment goals to assess whether they produced differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP across cultures at the situational level.

Study 1: Self-Reported Influence and Adjustment Goals and Ideal Affect

Hypotheses

We hypothesized the following: (a) European Americans would value HAP more and LAP less than Hong Kong Chinese, and Asian Americans would value HAP more than Hong Kong Chinese and LAP more than European Americans; (b) European Americans would endorse influence goals more and adjustment goals less than Hong Kong Chinese, and Asian Americans would endorse influence goals more than Hong Kong Chinese and adjustment goals more than European Americans; and (c) group differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP would be mediated by influence and adjustment goals, respectively.

Method

Participants

A sample of 225 European American (58.7% female, 41.3% male), 198 Asian American (69.7% female, 30.3% male), and 145 Hong Kong Chinese (51.7% female, 48.3% male) college students

² This hypothesis is consistent with Rothbaum, Weisz, and Snyder's (1982) assertion that adjustment (or what they refer to as "secondary control") is associated with "less extreme highs and lows" and with Morling and Evered's (2006) assertion that one outcome of secondary control is serenity. However, whereas these authors focus on actual affect, we focus on ideal affect.

Table 1
Internal Consistency Estimates and Measurement Equivalence Fit Indices for Variables in Study 1

Variable	Cronbach's α			Factorial invariance fit indices			
	European American	Asian American	Hong Kong Chinese	RMSEA	GFI	IFI	CFI
HAP							
Actual	.78	.74	.73	.11	.95	.97	.97
Ideal	.71	.70	.60	.04	.99	1.00	1.00
LAP							
Actual	.83	.84	.62	.06	.98	.99	.99
Ideal	.69	.75	.53	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Influence goals	.63	.65	.49	.07	.95	.95	.95
Adjustment goals	.64	.69	.60	.07	.99	.98	.98

Note. RMSEA < .10 indicates acceptable fit; RMSEA < .05 and GFI, IFI, and CFI > .90 indicate good fit.

HAP = high-arousal positive states; LAP = low-arousal positive states; RMSEA = root-mean-square error of approximation; GFI = goodness-of-fit index; IFI = incremental fit index; CFI = comparative fit index.

participated. Participants were recruited via e-mail distribution lists sent to dorms and student organizations, flyers posted on campus, and class announcements and were screened via phone or e-mail to ensure that they met study criteria. To meet normality and homogeneity of variance assumptions, we identified participants whose scores were outside the 95% confidence interval of their group mean as outliers (by SPSS, Version 11.0) and excluded them from analyses (McClelland, 2000).

To participate in the study, European Americans were required to (a) have been born and raised in the United States, (b) have parents who were born and raised in the United States, and (c) be of Eastern, Western, or Northern European ancestry. Asian Americans were required to (a) have been born and raised in the United States or in an East Asian country (e.g., China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, Korea) and (b) have parents who were born and raised in an East Asian country. Hong Kong Chinese were required to (a) have been born and raised in Hong Kong or China and (b) have parents who were born and raised in Hong Kong or China.

There was a significant group difference in age, $F(2, 559) = 36.07$, $p < .001$, with Hong Kong Chinese being slightly older than European Americans and Asian Americans (European Americans = 19.57 years, $SE = 0.10$; Asian Americans = 19.25 years, $SE = 0.10$; Hong Kong Chinese = 20.54 years, $SE = 0.12$; $p < .001$). European Americans were also older than Asian Americans ($p < .05$). The results did not change when we covaried for age in our analyses, and therefore, we do not discuss this difference further. Based on university norms for subject payment, participants were paid US\$15 or HK\$120 as compensation for their study participation.

Procedure

Participants completed the measures (described below) either in class or at home. Questionnaires were presented with other instruments that were unrelated to the aims of the present study.

Instruments

For Hong Kong Chinese, all instruments were translated into Chinese by four bilingual Chinese-English speakers, using standard translation techniques (Brislin, 1970).

Ideal and actual affect. To assess ideal affect, we had respondents complete the affect valuation index (AVI; Tsai et al., 2006), in which they were asked to "rate how much you would IDEALLY like to feel" each of 25 different affective states "on average," using a scale ranging from 1 = *never* to 5 = *all of the time* (see Tsai et al., 2006, for psychometric properties of AVI). To assess actual affect, we had respondents rate "how much you TYPICALLY feel each of the following items on average." Although the AVI sampled each octant of the affective circumplex (e.g., Feldman Barrett & Russell, 1999; Larsen & Diener, 1992; Watson & Tellegen, 1985), we focused on actual and ideal HAP (excited, enthusiastic, elated) and actual and ideal LAP (calm, peaceful, relaxed). Internal consistency estimates (based on raw scores) are provided in Table 1.³

Influence and adjustment goals. Participants completed the Circumplex Scale of Interpersonal Values (Locke, 2000), which has been used to assess interpersonal goals in previous research (e.g., Locke, 2003; Ojanen, Gronroos, & Salmivalli, 2005). Participants used a 5-point scale, ranging from 0 = *not at all* to 4 = *extremely*, to rate the importance of 64 different interpersonal goals. For influence goals, we first identified the items (out of the 64) that were related to influence on the basis of previous reports (Morling et al., 2002; Weisz et al., 1984). We then conducted exploratory factor analyses on the raw scores of all 64 items to identify the items related to influence that loaded on the same factor. These four items comprised the influence aggregate and reflected both stages of the influence process described above: (a) *asserting the self* (i.e., "I appear confident," "I am unique") and (b) *changing others* (i.e., "I have an impact on them," "They listen to what I have to say"). We followed a similar procedure for adjustment goals. The adjustment aggregate was comprised of 5 items that reflect both stages of the adjustment process described above: (a) *suppressing the self* (i.e., "I keep my thoughts or feelings to

³ Across all four of the studies reported in this article, we also conducted analyses on actual and ideal high-arousal, high-arousal negative, negative, low-arousal negative, low-arousal, and positive states. Overall, we found few differences in these states; therefore, given space constraints, we do not report the specific findings here, although they are available upon request.

myself," "I do not reveal what I am really like") and (b) *conforming to others* (i.e., "I go along with what they want," "I do what they want me to do," "they do not see me as getting in their way"). Internal consistency estimates (based on raw scores) are reported in Table 1.

Measurement equivalence and response styles. In cross-cultural survey research, prior to conducting group comparisons, researchers must establish the cross-cultural equivalence of their measures and assess the degree to which participants' responses may be due to response styles (e.g., Fischer, 2004; van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). The former was particularly important given the consistently lower internal consistency estimates for the Hong Kong Chinese. To ensure that the instruments used in the present study were structurally equivalent (and therefore comparable) across groups, we conducted means and covariance structure analysis (Cheung & Rensvold, 1999; Ployhart & Oswald, 2004), an increasingly popular method for establishing construct comparability across cultures and for determining whether or not comparisons of group means are valid (e.g., Chirkov, Ryan, Kim, & Kaplan, 2003; Little et al., 2003). Because these analyses use structural equation modeling, they have the added benefit of accounting for measurement error. These analyses revealed that for all of the instruments, factor loadings were equivalent, but intercepts were not. In other words, although the constructs showed structural equivalence, the means could not be compared across cultures. Table 1 displays fit indices for each construct.

When intercepts are not equivalent across cultures, the most likely explanation is cultural differences in response style (M. Cheung, personal communication, December 17, 2004; Cheung & Rensvold, 2000; Johnson, Kulesa, Cho, & Shavitt, 2005; Mullen, 1995; Smith, 2004). To adjust for response style differences, we standardized the scores (see Fischer, 2004, for an excellent review of the advantages and disadvantages of different standardization procedures used in cross-cultural psychology). Because we were primarily interested in group comparisons, we could not standardize within group; therefore, we standardized *within individual* (i.e., ipsatized). That is, for each individual, we calculated the overall mean and overall standard deviation of that individual's responses to all of the items within the same instrument (e.g., ideal affect measure), subtracted the overall mean from the individual's raw score for each item (e.g., ideal excitement), and then divided the difference by the overall standard deviation. We then calculated

the mean of the ipsatized items for each affective aggregate (e.g., the mean of ipsatized ideal excitement, ipsatized ideal enthusiasm, and ipsatized ideal elation for ideal HAP). For Studies 1–3 of this article, we conducted analyses on both raw and ipsatized scores. Because the findings were similar, to conserve space, we report analyses of ipsatized scores only; analyses of raw scores are available upon request.

Results and Data Analysis

In the analyses described below, group (European American, Asian American, and Hong Kong Chinese) was treated as a between-subjects factor; affect type (HAP, LAP) and goal type (influence, adjustment) were treated as within-subject factors. There were no significant Gender \times Group interactions, and therefore, we dropped gender from our final analyses. Means and standard deviations for both raw and ipsatized scores are provided in Table 2.

Group Differences in Ideal Affect

To test our first hypothesis regarding cultural differences in ideal affect, we conducted a 3×2 (Group \times Ideal Affect Type) analysis of covariance. We treated actual HAP and actual LAP as covariates, given the moderate correlation between actual affect and ideal affect observed in Tsai et al. (2006) and in the present study (see Table 3). However, the general pattern of findings held when we did not covary for actual affect.

As predicted and consistent with previous results, there was a significant Group \times Ideal Affect Type interaction, $F(2, 560) = 6.02, p < .01$. Follow-up analyses of variance (ANOVAs) revealed a significant main effect of group on ideal HAP, $F(2, 561) = 3.83, p < .05$, and ideal LAP, $F(2, 561) = 8.69, p < .001$. Planned contrasts revealed that European Americans valued HAP more (Cohen's $d = 0.27; p < .05$) and LAP less (Cohen's $d = 0.39; p < .001$) than Hong Kong Chinese (see Table 2 for means and standard deviations). Also as predicted, Asian Americans valued HAP more than Hong Kong Chinese (Cohen's $d = 0.26; p < .05$) and LAP more than European Americans (Cohen's $d = 0.38; p < .01$).

To examine whether similar differences also emerged for actual affect, we conducted a 3×2 (Group \times Actual Affect Type)

Table 2
Means (Standard Deviations) Raw and Ipsatized for Affect and Interpersonal Goal Variables in Study 1

Variable	European American ($n = 225$)		Asian American ($n = 198$)		Hong Kong Chinese ($n = 145$)	
	Raw	Ipsatized	Raw	Ipsatized	Raw	Ipsatized
HAP						
Actual	2.88 (0.69)	0.27 (0.63)	2.76 (0.64)	0.09 (0.66)	2.45 (0.59)	-0.02 (0.58)
Ideal	3.73 (0.73)	0.68 (0.39)	3.72 (0.72)	0.64 (0.38)	3.20 (0.63)	0.51 (0.41)
LAP						
Actual	3.10 (0.76)	0.52 (0.68)	3.09 (0.76)	0.47 (0.68)	2.91 (0.68)	0.45 (0.66)
Ideal	4.07 (0.63)	0.91 (0.33)	4.26 (0.64)	1.01 (0.34)	3.88 (0.62)	1.03 (0.34)
Influence	2.80 (0.64)	0.63 (0.36)	2.76 (0.63)	0.53 (0.35)	2.54 (0.52)	0.19 (0.40)
Adjustment	1.34 (0.58)	-0.50 (0.33)	1.48 (0.66)	-0.47 (0.33)	2.00 (0.54)	-0.28 (0.39)

Note. Actual affect scores do not covary for ideal affect; ideal affect scores do not covary for actual affect. HAP = high-arousal positive states; LAP = low-arousal positive states.

Table 3
Zero-Order (Above Diagonal) and Partial Correlations (Below Diagonal) Among Affect and Interpersonal Goal Variables for Study 1

Variable	Actual HAP	Ideal HAP	Actual LAP	Ideal LAP	Influence Goals	Adjustment Goals
Actual HAP	—	.40***	-.01	-.21***	.20***	-.13**
Ideal HAP		—	-.12**	-.29***	.23***	-.14**
Actual LAP			—	.26***	.07	-.04
Ideal LAP				—	-.07	.15***
Influence goals	.13**	.17***	.10*	-.08	—	-.36***
Adjustment goals	-.08	-.10*	-.08	.15***		—

Note. Partial correlations between actual affect and goals control for ideal affect; partial correlations between ideal affect and goals control for actual affect. Predicted correlations are in bold. HAP = high arousal positive states; LAP = low arousal positive states.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

repeated measures analysis of covariance, controlling for ideal HAP and LAP. The Group \times Actual Affect Type interaction was not significant, $F(2, 560) = 0.10, ns$. The findings did not change when we did not covary for ideal affect. Thus, the observed differences in ideal affect did not generalize to actual affect.

Group Differences in Interpersonal Goals

To test our second hypothesis regarding cultural differences in interpersonal goals, we conducted a 3×2 (Group \times Goal Type) repeated measures ANOVA. As predicted, the Group \times Goal Type interaction was significant, $F(2, 528) = 57.85, p < .001$. Follow up ANOVAs revealed a significant main effect of group on influence, $F(2, 528) = 61.82, p < .001$, and adjustment goals, $F(2, 528) = 17.92, p < .001$. Planned contrasts revealed that as predicted, European Americans endorsed influence goals more (Cohen’s $d = 1.08, p < .001$) and adjustment goals less (Cohen’s $d = 0.66, p < .001$) than did Hong Kong Chinese (please see Table 2 for means and standard deviations). Also as predicted, Asian Americans reported endorsing influence goals more than Hong Kong Chinese (Cohen’s $d = 0.87, p < .001$). Contrary to prediction, Asian Americans did not differ from European Americans in their endorsement of adjustment goals.

Mediators of Group Differences in Ideal HAP and Ideal LAP

To examine our third hypothesis that group differences in global ideal HAP and ideal LAP were due to differences in global self-reported influence and adjustment goals, respectively, we first conducted pairwise correlational analyses (see Table 3). As predicted, influence goals were positively correlated with ideal HAP, and adjustment goals were positively correlated with ideal LAP.

We then conducted a series of multiple regressions to test the four criteria for mediation for the observed group differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004). Specifically, we examined whether (a) the independent variable (group) was significantly correlated with the outcome variables (ideal HAP, ideal LAP), (b) the independent variable (group) was significantly correlated with the potential mediator (influence goals or adjustment goals), (c) the potential mediator (influence goals, adjustment goals) was significantly correlated with the outcome variable (ideal HAP, ideal LAP), controlling for the independent variable (group), and (d) the me-

diational effect was significant according to the Sobel test. Given moderate correlations between actual affect and ideal affect, we treated actual HAP and actual LAP as covariates. As above, the findings did not change when we did not covary for actual affect.

Ideal HAP. First, we examined whether influence goals mediated the difference in ideal HAP between European Americans and Hong Kong Chinese. We created two dummy variables (Group 1, Group 2) that coded European Americans as the comparison group (Aiken & West, 1996; Cohen & Cohen, 1983). Group 1 compared European Americans with Hong Kong Chinese (European Americans = 0, Asian Americans = 0, Hong Kong Chinese = 1); Group 2 compared European Americans with Asian Americans (European Americans = 0, Asian Americans = 1, Hong Kong Chinese = 0). Both variables were entered simultaneously in the regression analyses. We predicted that the four criteria for mediation would be satisfied for Group 1, but not Group 2 (because previous analyses revealed that Asian Americans and European Americans did not differ in ideal HAP). As predicted: (a) Group 1 was significantly correlated with ideal HAP ($B = -0.10, SE = 0.04, \beta = -.11, t = -2.46, p < .05$), whereas Group 2 was not ($B = 0.001, SE = 0.04, \beta = .002, t = .04, ns$); (b) Group 1 was significantly correlated with influence goals ($B = -0.43, SE = .04, \beta = -.47, t = -10.84, p < .001$), as was Group 2 ($B = -0.10, SE = 0.04, \beta = -.11, t = -2.57, p = .01$); (c) influence goals were significantly correlated with ideal HAP, controlling for Group 1 and Group 2 ($B = 0.13, SE = 0.04, \beta = .14, t = 3.06, p < .01$); and (d) the Sobel test was significant for Group 1 ($-3.11, p < .01$) and Group 2 ($-1.98, p = .05$). Because Group 1 was no longer a significant predictor of ideal HAP when we included influence goals in the regression ($B = -0.05, SE = 0.04, \beta = -.06, t = -1.17, ns$), we conclude that influence goals fully mediated the difference in ideal HAP between European Americans and Hong Kong Chinese.

We then examined whether influence goals mediated the difference in ideal HAP between Asian Americans and Hong Kong Chinese. As above, we created two dummy variables (Group 3, Group 4) that coded Asian Americans as the comparison group. Group 3 compared Asian Americans with Hong Kong Chinese (European Americans = 0, Asian Americans = 0, and Hong Kong Chinese = 1), and Group 4 compared Asian Americans with European Americans (European Americans = 1, Asian Americans = 0, Hong Kong Chinese = 0). We predicted that the four criteria for mediation would be satisfied for Group 3, but not

Group 4 (because previous analyses revealed that Asian Americans and European Americans did not differ in ideal HAP). As predicted, (a) Group 3 was significantly correlated with ideal HAP ($B = -0.10$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = -.11$, $t = -2.47$, $p < .05$), whereas Group 4 was not ($B = -0.001$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = -.002$, $t = -.04$, ns); (b) Group 3 was significantly correlated with influence goals ($B = -0.34$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = -0.37$, $t = -8.23$, $p < .001$), as was Group 4 ($B = 0.10$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = .12$, $t = 2.57$, $p = .01$); (c) influence goals were significantly correlated with ideal HAP, controlling for Group 3 and Group 4 ($B = 0.13$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = .14$, $t = 3.06$, $p < .01$); and (d) the Sobel test was significant for Group 3 (-3.04 , $p < .01$) and Group 4 (1.98 , $p = .05$). Because Group 3 was no longer a significant predictor of ideal HAP when we included influence goals in the regression ($B = -0.05$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = -.06$, $t = -1.20$, ns), we conclude that influence goals fully mediated the difference in ideal HAP between Asian Americans and Hong Kong Chinese.

Ideal LAP. We also examined whether adjustment goals mediated differences in ideal LAP between European Americans and Hong Kong Chinese and between European Americans and Asian Americans. As above, we created two dummy variables (Group 1, Group 2) that coded European Americans as the comparison group. Group 1 compared European Americans with Hong Kong Chinese (European Americans = 0, Asian Americans = 0, Hong Kong Chinese = 1), and Group 2 compared European Americans with Asian Americans (European Americans = 0, Asian Americans = 1, and Hong Kong Chinese = 0). We predicted that all four criteria for mediation would be satisfied for both Group 1 and Group 2. Our predictions were partially supported: (a) Group 1 was significantly correlated with ideal LAP ($B = 0.13$, $SE = 0.03$, $\beta = .16$, $t = 3.66$, $p < .001$), as was Group 2 ($B = 0.11$, $SE = 0.03$, $\beta = .15$, $t = 3.38$, $p = .001$); (b) Group 1 was significantly correlated with adjustment goals ($B = 0.22$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = .27$, $t = 5.68$, $p < .001$), but Group 2 was not ($B = 0.03$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = .04$, $t = 0.80$, ns); (c) adjustment goals were significantly correlated with ideal LAP, controlling for Group 1 and Group 2 ($B = 0.12$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = .13$, $t = 3.04$, $p < .01$); and (d) the Sobel test was significant for Group 1 (2.63 , $p < .01$) but not for Group 2 (0.73 , ns). Because Group 1 remained a significant predictor of ideal LAP after adjustment goals were entered into the equation ($B = 0.10$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = .13$, $t = 2.72$, $p < .01$), we conclude that adjustment goals only partially mediated the difference in ideal LAP between European Americans and Hong Kong Chinese. Contrary to prediction, adjustment goals did not mediate the difference in ideal LAP between European Americans and Asian Americans.

In summary, consistent with the third hypothesis, group differences in ideal HAP were mediated by influence goals, and the difference in ideal LAP between European Americans and Hong Kong Chinese was partially mediated by adjustment goals. Contrary to hypotheses, the difference in ideal LAP between European Americans and Asian Americans was not mediated by adjustment goals, suggesting that other factors play a role in shaping ideal LAP.

Discussion

Overall, the findings from Study 1 supported all three hypotheses. The predicted group differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP

emerged, as did the predicted group differences in influence and adjustment goals. Most important, the majority of group differences in ideal HAP and LAP were mediated by influence and adjustment goals, respectively. Thus, at the global level, cultural differences in ideal affect appear to be due to cultural differences in interpersonal goals. Because the difference between European Americans and Asian Americans in ideal LAP was not mediated by adjustment goals, it is likely that other factors also influence ideal LAP.

The present study was limited in two ways. First, previous findings suggest that in many collectivistic contexts, conceptions of the self are more situationally malleable than in many individualistic contexts (e.g., East Asian cultures). Consequently, global reports are often less reliable in collectivistic contexts compared with individualistic ones (e.g., Choi & Choi, 2002). This may explain why across instruments, the internal consistency estimates were lower for Hong Kong Chinese compared with the other two groups in this study. Thus, it would be important to demonstrate similar associations between interpersonal goals and ideal affect at the situational level. Second, because the present study was correlational in design, we could not draw any conclusions about the causal direction of the observed associations. To address these two limitations, we *experimentally manipulated* influence and adjustment goals in the laboratory to see whether they produced the predicted differences in ideal HAP and LAP.

Studies 2–4: Experimental Manipulations of Influence and Adjustment Goals and Ideal Affect

Several scholars have used experimental manipulations at the situational level to simulate processes that they predict occur at the cultural level (e.g., Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000; Kim, 2002; Lam, Buehler, McFarland, Ross, & Cheung, 2005; Lee, Aaker, & Gardner, 2000). For example, Gardner, Gabriel, and Lee (1999) observed that although Hong Kong Chinese endorse more collectivistic and less individualistic values than European Americans on average, for both groups, priming the independent self increased endorsement of individualistic values, and priming the interdependent self increased endorsement of collectivistic values. In other words, although European Americans and Hong Kong Chinese differ in individualism and collectivism on average, in specific situations, European Americans may behave more like Hong Kong Chinese, and in other situations, Hong Kong Chinese may behave more like European Americans. These findings suggest that although individuals in some cultures may chronically engage in some behaviors more than individuals in other cultures, individuals of all cultures may have the capacity to engage in the behavior in some way. In the following three studies, we used a similar approach to test our hypotheses regarding the links between influence goals and ideal HAP and between adjustment goals and ideal LAP.

Study 2

In Study 2, we manipulated influence and adjustment goals by having dyads work on a card-matching task. Within each dyad, partners were randomly assigned to either the influencer or the adjuster condition. In the middle of the task (while participants were still aiming to influence or to adjust to each other), we

assessed actual and ideal affect. Participants then completed the task. At the end of the task, we administered a self-report measure of influence and adjustment goals as a manipulation check.

Hypotheses

We predicted that across cultural groups, participants in the influencer condition would value HAP more and LAP less than those in the adjuster condition (i.e., the Goal Condition \times Ideal Affect Type interaction would be significant). Although we predicted that the effect of goal condition would hold across cultural groups, we did not have any predictions regarding the interaction of group and goal conditions. Because we were primarily manipulating influence and adjustment *goals*, we did not predict differences in actual HAP or actual LAP.

Method

Participants

Our sample consisted of 30 European American, 28 Asian American, and 32 Hong Kong Chinese female students from top-tier universities in the United States and Hong Kong. Participants were recruited to participate in a “mood and puzzle solving” study with the same procedures and criteria described in Study 1. To meet normality and homogeneity of variance assumptions, we identified participants whose scores were outside the 95% confidence interval of their group mean as outliers (by SPSS) and excluded them from analyses (McClelland, 2000). Each participant was paid for her participation based on university norms (US\$15 for American participants; HK\$80 for Hong Kong participants). There were no significant cultural group differences in age ($M = 20.13$, $SE = 0.27$).

Procedure

Participants were run in dyads. Each dyad comprised participants of the same cultural background (e.g., European Americans were paired with European Americans) to control for the effects of working with someone of a different cultural background. Upon arrival at the laboratory, the experimenter first verified that the participants did not know each other (participants were rescheduled if they did).

Participants were seated at opposite sides of a small table. A small screen was placed in the middle of the table so that participants could only see each other's face and upper body. Participants were then introduced to the experimental task, which was based on Schober and Clark's (1989) task, but altered for the purposes of the study. Participants were given identical sets of 16 cards, with a different geometric figure (tangram) on each card. Participants were also given 12-card sorting frames. Participants were told that their task was to “both end up with 12 of these cards in the same order on your sorting frames.” Participants were then randomly assigned to either the Leader (influencer condition) or Matcher role (adjuster condition). Leaders received the following instructions:

As the Leader, you will choose 12 tangram figures and decide how to order them. Choose an order that makes the most sense to you. Once you have decided on the order of the tangram figures, your job will be

to describe verbally each tangram figure to the Matcher, so that she can come up with the order in which you have put your tangram figures.

When the Matcher thinks she knows which figure you are describing, she will hold up the figure. At that point, you can tell the Matcher whether or not she is correct. If she chooses the incorrect figure, you should re-describe the figure. Do you have any questions?

Matchers received the following instructions:

As the Matcher, your job is to try to put your tangram figures in the same order as the Leader's. You should try to figure out which tangram figure the Leader is describing. Keep in mind that the Leader has placed the tangram figure in an order that makes the most sense to her, so try to think about the Leader's frame of mind when you are trying to figure out what tangram figure she's describing.

If the description the Leader gives you is unclear, you may ask her to clarify her description. When you are certain you know which figure the Leader is describing, you should hold up the figure so that the Leader can tell you whether or not you have the correct figure. Do you have any questions?

The experimenter was in the adjoining room, videotaping the interaction. Three fourths of the way through the task (after the dyad had matched 8 of the 12 cards), the experimenter interrupted the dyad and asked participants to complete the measures of actual and ideal affect (described below). These measures were administered in the middle of the task to ensure that participants had enough time to internalize the goals associated with their respective roles and that the induced goals were still salient and relevant. After completing the affect measures, participants finished the task and then completed the measure of influence and adjustment goals (described below). Participants were debriefed and compensated for their participation.

Instruments

Actual and ideal affect. To assess ideal affect, we had respondents complete a modified version of the Affect Valuation Index (Tsai et al., 2006), in which they were asked to “rate how much you would IDEALLY like to feel” 24 different states “right now.” To assess actual affect, we had respondents rate “how much you ACTUALLY feel” the same states “right now.” A 7-point scale was used to increase the range of possible ratings (pretesting revealed ceiling effects with the 5-point scale used in Study 1). Although all octants of the affective circumplex (Watson & Tellegen, 1985) were sampled, we focused on HAP (i.e., enthusiastic, excited, energetic) and LAP (i.e., calm, peaceful, relaxed). We used energetic rather than elated (which was used in Study 1) because pretesting revealed that this HAP state was more relevant to the experimental task. Internal consistency estimates (based on raw scores) for European Americans, Asian Americans, and Hong Kong Chinese, respectively, were .89, .86, and .90 for actual HAP; .81, .69, and .78 for ideal HAP; .78, .72, and .81 for actual LAP; and .84, .92, and .71 for ideal LAP. As in Study 1, scores were ipsatized to account for potential cultural and individual differences in response style. We then calculated ideal HAP and ideal LAP scores by aggregating the relevant ipsatized items. We followed the same procedure for actual affect. Findings did not change when we used raw scores; therefore, as in Study 1, we only report analyses of ipsatized scores to conserve space.

Manipulation check. At the end of the study, participants completed an abridged version (32-item) of the Circumplex Scale of Interpersonal Values used in Study 1. For influence and adjustment goals, we administered a subset of items used in Study 1. Similar to Study 1, we created aggregates of influence and adjustment goals based on factor analyses conducted on raw scores. The influence goal aggregate included three items, one reflecting asserting the self (i.e., “I appeared confident”) and the other two reflecting changing others (i.e., “I had an impact on my partner,” “My partner respected what I had to say”). The adjustment goal aggregate also included three items, one reflecting suppressing the self (i.e., “I did not reveal what I am really like”) and two reflecting conforming to others (i.e., “I did what my partner wanted me to do,” “I went along with what my partner wanted me to do”). Internal consistency estimates (based on raw scores) for European Americans, Asian Americans, and Hong Kong Chinese, respectively, were .69, .65, and .54 for influence goals and .34, .62, and .65 for adjustment goals. The low alpha of adjustment goals for European Americans is likely due to low variance. As in Study 1, scores were ipsatized to account for potential cultural and individual differences in response style; findings did not change when we used raw scores, and therefore, we report analyses of ipsatized scores only. We predicted that if the manipulation was effective, leaders would endorse influence goals more and adjustment goals less than matchers.

Results and Data Analyses

We first assessed whether the manipulation was effective. We then tested the hypothesis that participants in the influencer condition (leaders) would value HAP more and LAP less than participants in the adjuster condition (matchers) across cultures. Dyad was the unit of analysis (i.e., dyads were treated as subjects). Group (European Americans, Asian Americans, Hong Kong Chinese) was treated as a between-subjects factor, and goal condition (leader, matcher), affect type (HAP, LAP), and goal type (influence, adjustment) were treated as within-subjects factors.

Manipulation Check

To assess whether the experimental manipulation effectively elicited influence and adjustment goals, we conducted a $3 \times 2 \times 2$ (Group \times Goal Condition \times Goal Type) repeated measures ANOVA. As predicted, the Goal Condition \times Goal Type interaction was significant, $F(1, 42) = 56.21, p < .001$. Follow-up analyses revealed that across groups, leaders endorsed influence goals more (leaders = 0.58, $SE = 0.05$; matchers = 0.06, $SE = 0.07$), $F(1, 42) = 29.78, p < .001$, and adjustment goals less than matchers (leaders = $-0.42, SE = 0.07$; matchers = 0.16, $SE = 0.07$); $F(1, 42) = 35.30, p < .001$. There were no significant interactions involving group, suggesting that the manipulation was effective across groups.

Ideal and Actual HAP and LAP

To assess whether the manipulation produced differences in ideal affect, we conducted a $3 \times 2 \times 2$ (Group \times Goal Condition \times Ideal Affect Type) repeated measures ANOVA. As predicted and shown in Figure 1, there was a significant Goal Con-

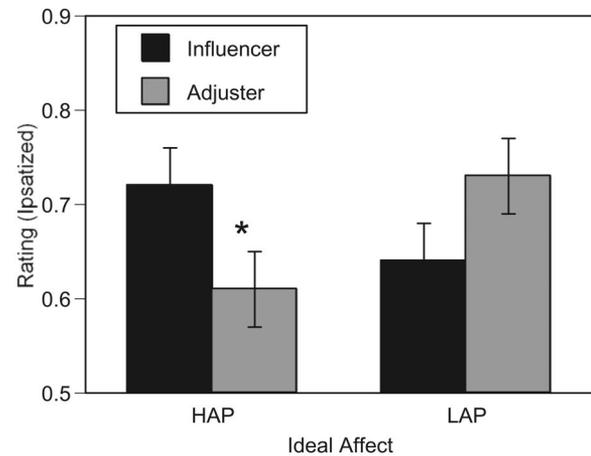


Figure 1. Study 2: Effects of goal condition (influencer, adjuster) on ideal affect across groups. HAP = high-arousal positive states; LAP = low-arousal positive states. * $p < .05$.

dition \times Ideal Affect Type interaction, $F(1, 42) = 4.33, p < .05$. To decompose this interaction, we conducted separate 3×2 (Group \times Goal Condition) repeated measures ANOVAs on ideal HAP and ideal LAP. To ensure that the effects of goal condition on ideal affect held across groups, we included group in our analyses. As predicted, there was a significant main effect of goal condition on ideal HAP, $F(1, 42) = 4.67, p < .05$, Cohen's $d = 0.45$, with leaders valuing HAP significantly more than matchers. Although matchers valued LAP more than leaders, this difference only approached significance, $F(1, 42) = 2.57, p = .12$, Cohen's $d = 0.35$. There were no significant interactions involving group, supporting our prediction that the relationship between interpersonal goals and ideal affect held across cultural groups.

To assess whether the manipulation produced differences in actual affect, we conducted a $3 \times 2 \times 2$ (Group \times Goal Condition \times Actual Affect Type) repeated measures ANOVA. The Goal Condition \times Actual Affect Type interaction was not significant, $F(1, 42) = 1.21, ns$. Thus, experimentally manipulated influence and adjustment goals produced predicted differences in ideal but not actual HAP and LAP.

Discussion

As hypothesized, across cultural contexts, when interacting with another person, participants with influence goals valued HAP more than did participants with adjustment goals. Participants with adjustment goals also valued LAP more than those with influence goals, although this difference only approached significance. These findings lend support to the notion that influence and adjustment goals produce ideal HAP and LAP (and not actual HAP or actual LAP) at the situational level.

Study 2, however, also had some limitations. First, because participants in the influencer and adjuster conditions were labeled as leaders and matchers, respectively, it was possible that the observed differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP were due to participants' representations of leaders and matchers rather than to the experimental manipulation per se. Second, the differences in ideal LAP only approached significance. On the one hand, this was

surprising because the manipulation check suggested significant differences in adjustment goals. On the other hand, although participants in the adjustment condition were required to attend to their partners' demands, they were not explicitly required to suppress their own preferences in order to do so. Indeed, post-hoc comparisons revealed that matchers did not significantly differ from leaders in terms of their goal to suppress the self (i.e., "I did not reveal what I am really like"; leader = -0.98 , $SE = 0.10$; matcher = -0.96 , $SE = 0.07$); $F(1, 42) = .02$, *ns*. Study 3 addressed both of these limitations.

Study 3

Study 3 was similar to Study 2, with a few modifications. To ensure that differences in ideal affect were not due to participants' representations of leaders and matchers, we referred to the roles as "A" and "B." To simulate the suppression of personal preference among adjusters, prior to receiving any instruction about the task, we asked *both* participants to put their cards "in an order that made the most sense to them." Participants randomly assigned to the adjuster condition were then asked to take their cards out of their own order so that they could place the cards in the order determined by their partner.

Hypotheses

As in Study 2, we hypothesized that across cultural groups, participants in the influencer condition would value HAP more and LAP less than those in the adjuster condition (a significant Goal Condition \times Ideal Affect Type interaction).

Method

Participants

A sample of 32 European American, 30 Asian American, and 32 Hong Kong Chinese female undergraduates participated in a "mood and puzzle solving study" for pay based on university norms (US\$15 for American participants; HK\$80 for Hong Kong participants). Participants were recruited with the same criteria as in Study 1. To meet normality and homogeneity of variance assumptions, we identified participants whose scores were outside the 95% confidence interval of their group mean as outliers (by SPSS) and excluded them from analyses (McClelland, 2000).

Procedure

As in Study 2, participants were run in dyads. The procedures were similar to those of Study 2 with a few changes. As stated above, prior to receiving any task instruction, participants were first asked to put their cards in an order that made the most sense to them. To reduce the length of the task, participants were given 9-card sorting frames and identical sets of 11 cards (rather than 12-card sorting frames and sets of 16 cards as in Study 2). The participants were randomly assigned to either Role A or Role B (A referred to the influencer condition in half of the sessions and to the adjuster condition in the other half). Participants in the adjuster condition were asked to take their cards out of their own order, in preparation for putting their cards in their partner's order. Approximately two thirds of the way through the task (when participants

reached the 7th card), the experimenter interrupted the dyad and asked participants to complete the actual and ideal affect measures. Participants finished the task and then completed the self-report measure of influence and adjustment goals as a manipulation check.

Instruments

Actual and ideal affect. As in Study 2, we administered an abridged version of the AVI. Internal consistency estimates for European Americans, Asian Americans, and Hong Kong Chinese were, respectively, .91, .87, and .89 for actual HAP; .76, .93, and .67 for ideal HAP; .84, .70, and .20 for actual LAP; and .82, .64, and .69 for ideal LAP. The low alpha for actual LAP among Hong Kong Chinese was likely due to low variance.

Manipulation check. As in Study 2, we administered an abridged version of the Circumplex Scale of Interpersonal Values (32 items). As in Studies 1 and 2, based on factor analyses conducted on raw scores, we created aggregates of influence and adjustment goals. The influence goals aggregate was comprised of two items (i.e., "my partner listens to what I have to say" and "I have an impact on my partner"); the adjustment goals aggregate was comprised of four items (i.e., "I do what my partner wants," "I do not get in my partner's way," "I go along with what my partner wants," and "I do not let my partner know what I am thinking or feeling"). Internal consistency estimates for European Americans, Asian Americans, and Hong Kong Chinese were .73, .67, and .52 for influence goals and .65, .63, and .66 for adjustment goals, respectively.

As in Studies 1 and 2, we ipsatized scores for the affect and interpersonal goal measures to account for possible cultural and individual differences in response styles. We conducted analyses on both raw and ipsatized scores, but because the findings were similar for raw and ipsatized scores, we report analyses of ipsatized scores only.

Results and Data Analyses

As in Study 2, dyad was the unit of analysis, and therefore, group (European Americans, Asian Americans, Hong Kong Chinese) was treated as a between-subjects factor; goal condition (influencer, adjuster), goal type (influence, adjustment), and affect type (HAP, LAP) were treated as within-subjects factors.

Manipulation Check

To assess whether the experimental manipulation effectively elicited influence and adjustment goals, we conducted a $3 \times 2 \times 2$ (Group \times Goal Condition \times Goal Type) repeated measures ANOVA. As predicted, the Goal Condition \times Goal Type interaction was significant, $F(1, 44) = 43.52$, $p < .001$. Follow-up analyses revealed that across groups, participants in the influencer condition endorsed influence goals more (influencer = 0.77 , $SE = 0.09$; adjuster = 0.05 , $SE = 0.10$); $F(1, 44) = 38.04$, $p < .001$, and adjustment goals less (influencer = -0.18 , $SE = 0.05$; adjuster = 0.27 , $SE = 0.07$); $F(1, 44) = 27.71$, $p < .001$, than participants in the adjuster condition. There were no significant interactions involving group, suggesting that the manipulation was effective in eliciting influence and adjustment goals across groups.

Ideal and Actual HAP and LAP

To assess the effects of influence and adjustment goals on ideal affect, we conducted a $3 \times 2 \times 2$ (Group \times Goal Condition \times Ideal Affect Type) repeated measures ANOVA. As predicted and as shown in Figure 2, there was a significant Goal Condition \times Ideal Affect Type interaction, $F(1, 44) = 6.57, p < .05$. To decompose this interaction, we conducted separate 3×2 (Group \times Goal Condition) repeated measures ANOVAs on ideal HAP and ideal LAP. As predicted, there was a significant main effect of goal condition on ideal HAP, $F(1, 44) = 4.29, p < .05$; Cohen's $d = 0.45$, with participants in the influencer condition valuing HAP significantly more than participants in the adjuster condition. Also as predicted, there was a significant main effect of goal condition on ideal LAP, $F(1, 44) = 4.42, p < .05$; Cohen's $d = 0.39$, with participants in the adjuster condition valuing LAP significantly more than participants in the influencer condition. There were no significant interactions involving group for any of these analyses, supporting the prediction that the links between interpersonal goals and ideal affect would hold across cultural groups.

To assess whether the experimental manipulations produced differences in actual HAP or LAP, we conducted a $3 \times 2 \times 2$ (Group \times Goal Condition \times Actual Affect Type) repeated measures ANOVA. As in Study 2, the Goal Condition \times Actual Affect Type interaction was not significant, $F(1, 44) = 1.20, ns$. Thus, the influencer and adjuster conditions altered ideal HAP and LAP, but not actual HAP or LAP.

Discussion

As in Study 2, participants in the influencer condition valued HAP significantly more than those in the adjuster condition across groups. Also as in Study 2, participants in the adjuster condition valued LAP more than those in the influencer condition; however, unlike Study 2, these differences were significant. In this study, we did not use the leader or matcher terms, and therefore, the observed differences in ideal affect could not be attributed to participants'

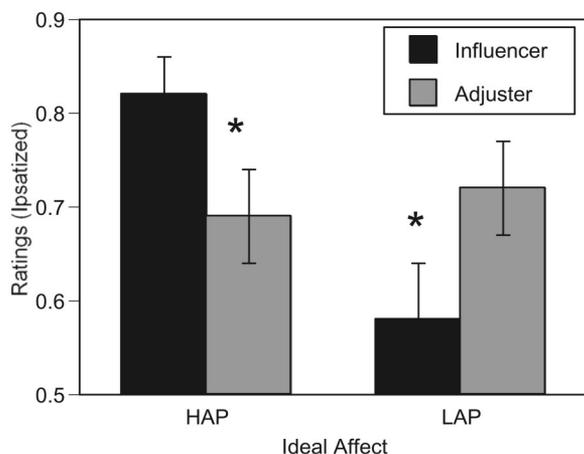


Figure 2. Study 3: Effects of goal condition (influencer, adjuster) on ideal affect across groups. HAP = high-arousal positive states; LAP = low-arousal positive states. * $p < .05$.

notions of what affective states leaders and matchers should value. As in Study 2, the experimental manipulations altered ideal HAP and LAP, but not actual HAP or LAP.

In summary, findings from Studies 2 and 3 support our predictions that across cultures, influence and adjustment goals produce differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP at the situational level. These studies, however, were limited in several ways. First, we elicited influence and adjustment goals by having participants behave in an influencing or adjusting way. Therefore, it was possible that the observed differences in ideal HAP and LAP were due to differences in influence and adjustment behaviors rather than goals. Second, the assessments of ideal affect were based on self-report. Thus, it remains unknown whether the associations between influence goals and ideal HAP and between adjustment goals and ideal LAP generalize to behavioral measures of ideal affect. Indeed, the third premise of AVT proposes that people make behavioral choices that reflect their ideal affect. Finally, Studies 2 and 3 were conducted on women, and therefore, we do not know whether the observed findings generalize to men. To address these limitations, we conducted a fourth and final study.

Study 4

To separate the effects of interpersonal behaviors from those of interpersonal goals, we told participants to *prepare* either to influence or to adjust to their partners. To examine whether our findings generalized to behavioral measures of ideal affect, we gave participants a choice between listening to HAP or LAP music. Finally, we conducted the study on men as well as women to see whether the links between influence goals and ideal HAP and between adjustment goals and ideal LAP generalize across genders.

Hypotheses

We predicted that regardless of their cultural grouping or gender, participants in the influencer condition would be more likely to choose HAP (vs. LAP) music than participants in the adjuster condition (i.e., the main effect of goal condition would be significant).

Method

Participants

A sample of 47 European Americans (55.3% female, 44.7% male), 45 Asian Americans (46.7% female, 53.3% male), and 48 Hong Kong Chinese (54.2% female, 45.8% male) undergraduates participated in a "music and performance" study for pay based on university norms (US\$10 for American participants, HK\$50 for Hong Kong participants). Participants were recruited using the same criteria and methods as those used in the previous studies.

Procedure

When participants arrived at the lab, they were told that they would be participating in the study with another person, who had not yet arrived (in actuality, there was no other participant). After a few minutes, the experimenter told the participant that they would begin reviewing the experimental task while they waited for the other participant to arrive. Participants were randomly assigned

to either the influencer or adjuster conditions. Participants in the influencer condition were given the following instructions:

Your job will be to first build an object of your choice using all of the building blocks provided. Then, you will explain to your partner how she (he) should build your object. You will need to give clear and precise directions to your partner so that she (he) can follow them accurately. You can watch your partner's progress and give her (him) feedback on the work that she (he) is doing. However, you will not show your object to your partner at any time. If your directions are unclear, your partner may ask you to clarify. It is really important that you give precise instructions to your partner so that you can lead her (him) in building the object as efficiently as possible.

Participants in the adjuster condition were given the following instructions:

Your partner will build an object using all of the building blocks available to her (him). Your job will be to follow your partner's directions and build her (his) object using the set of building blocks in front of you. You will need to pay close attention to what your partner tells you so that you can follow her (his) directions accurately. Your partner will watch your progress and give you feedback on what you are doing. Please refrain from talking but if your partner's directions are unclear, you can ask her (him) to clarify her (his) directions by saying, "can you please clarify your directions." It is really important that you carefully attend to your partner's instructions precisely so that you can follow them and build the object as efficiently as possible.

Experimenters asked participants whether they understood their roles (all participants reported understanding the instructions).

A few minutes later, the participant was told that because the other participant had not yet arrived, she (he) could begin listening to music, which "has been shown to be good for increasing your performance in this task." The participant was presented with two music compact discs (CDs; described below) and asked to "choose the CD that will help you most in your role." Participants were debriefed and compensated for their participation.

Instruments

Behavioral measure of ideal affect. Participants were asked to choose between two CDs, developed for the present study. The HAP CD was titled *Soundsplash*; its cover depicted a man surfing and being closely followed by a large wave. The back of the CD cover contained fictitious music reviews, such as "High energy, lively jives—Music Internationale" and "This will totally get you invigorated—Music Dish." The LAP CD was titled, *Windchants*; its cover depicted a man meditating on a rock overlooking a bay. The back of this CD cover also contained fictitious music reviews, such as "Relaxing tunes—Music Internationale" and "Guaranteed to chill you out—Music Dish."

The front of the CD covers (i.e., without the music reviews) were pretested on a separate sample of 16 European American, 13 Asian American, and 17 Hong Kong Chinese undergraduates to ensure that the *Soundsplash* CD was primarily associated with HAP and that the *Windchants* CD was primarily associated with LAP. Participants were shown the CD covers and asked, "To what extent do you think listening to *Soundsplash* would make you feel each of the following emotions?" Participants were asked the same question for *Windchants*. Participants used a 5-point scale (ranging

from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*) to rate how much the CDs elicited HAP (enthusiasm, excitement, energetic), LAP (calm, peacefulness, relaxation), high-arousal negative (fear, nervousness), low-arousal negative (dull, sluggishness), and negative (unhappy, sad) states. Participants' responses were ipsatized to control for response style differences.

We conducted 3×2 (Group [European American, Asian American, Hong Kong Chinese] \times CD [*Soundsplash*, *Windchants*]) ANOVAs that revealed that as predicted, *Soundsplash* elicited significantly more HAP ($Soundsplash = 1.04$, $SE = 0.09$; $Windchants = -0.64$, $SE = 0.06$); $F(1, 43) = 243.71$, $p < .001$, and less LAP ($Soundsplash = 0.16$, $SE = 0.08$; $Windchants = 1.71$, $SE = 0.05$); $F(1, 43) = 101.73$, $p < .001$, than did *Windchants*. Pairwise t tests also revealed that across cultures, *Soundsplash* elicited HAP more than any other affective state ($p < .001$), and *Windchants* elicited LAP more than any other affective state ($p < .001$). There were no significant main effects or interactions involving group.

Results and Data Analysis

Participants were run in individual sessions, and therefore, individual was the unit of analysis. Group, CD choice, gender, and goal condition were treated as categorical variables. Because there were three groups, we created two dummy variables (Group 1, Group 2) that coded European Americans as the reference group (Aiken & West, 1996; Cohen & Cohen, 1983). Group 1 compared European Americans with Hong Kong Chinese (European Americans = 0, Asian Americans = 0, Hong Kong Chinese = 1); Group 2 compared European Americans with Asian Americans (European Americans = 0, Asian Americans = 1, and Hong Kong Chinese = 0). To assess the effects of interpersonal goals on ideal affect, we conducted a binary logistic regression, regressing CD choice (0 = LAP, 1 = HAP) onto Group 1, Group 2, gender (0 = female, 1 = male), and goal condition (0 = adjuster, 1 = influencer) at the first step, Group 1 \times Goal Condition and Group 2 \times Goal Condition at the second step, Group 1 \times Gender and Group 2 \times Gender at the third step, Goal Condition \times Gender at the fourth step, and Group 1 \times Goal Condition \times Gender and Group 2 \times Goal Condition \times Gender at the fifth step. None of the interactions significantly contributed to the model, and therefore, they are not discussed further.

Analyses revealed that the model was significant at the first step, $\chi^2(4, N = 140) = 18.06$, $p < .001$. As predicted, goal condition was a significant predictor of CD choice ($B = 1.28$, $SE = 0.38$, Wald = 11.39, $p < .001$): Participants in the influencer condition were 3.59 times more likely to choose the HAP (vs. LAP) CD than participants in the adjuster condition. This difference is illustrated in Figure 3.

Group 1 ($B = 0.99$, $SE = 0.45$, Wald = 4.86, $p < .05$) and Group 2 ($B = 0.92$, $SE = 0.46$, Wald = 4.08, $p < .05$) were also significant predictors of CD choice: European Americans were 2.70 times more likely to choose the HAP (vs. LAP) CD than Hong Kong Chinese and 2.51 times more likely to choose the HAP (vs. LAP) CD than Asian Americans. These differences are also illustrated in Figure 3. We conducted similar analyses with a different set of dummy variables that treated Asian Americans as the reference group to assess whether Asian Americans and Hong Kong Chinese differed in their choice of CD; analyses revealed

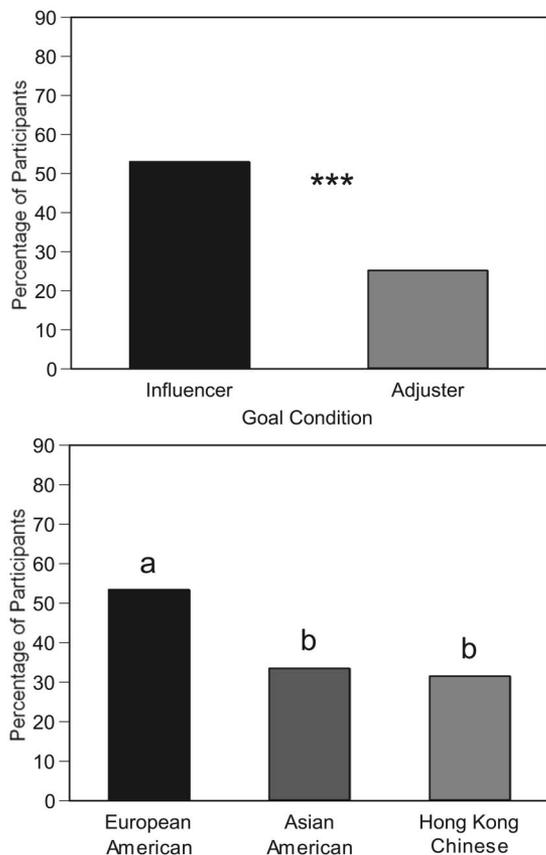


Figure 3. Study 4: Effect of goal condition (influencer, adjuster) on percentage of participants who chose high-arousal positive over low-arousal positive CD choice (top); effect of group on percentage of participants who chose high-arousal positive over low-arousal positive CD choice (bottom). *** $p < .001$. Different letters indicate significant differences ($p < .05$).

that they did not ($B = 0.07$, $SE = 0.46$, $Wald = .02$, ns). Gender was not a significant predictor of CD choice.

Discussion

As predicted, across cultural groups and genders, participants in the influencer condition were more likely to choose the HAP (vs. LAP) CD than were participants in the adjuster condition. Because participants made these choices *before* they actually interacted with another person (i.e., while they were preparing to influence or adjust), these findings most directly illustrate the link between influence and adjustment *goals* and ideal HAP and LAP and cannot be attributed to the different behavioral demands of the influencer and adjuster roles. Moreover, these findings suggest that the proposed links between interpersonal goals and ideal affect hold for behavioral as well as self-report measures of ideal affect.

A significant group difference in CD choice also emerged: Regardless of goal condition or gender, European Americans were more likely to choose the HAP (vs. LAP) CD than were Hong Kong Chinese and Asian Americans. These findings are consistent with previous work (Tsai et al., 2006; Tsai, Louie, et al. 2007).

In summary, Studies 2–4 established that when experimentally and situationally induced, influence and adjustment goals produce differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP across cultures.

General Discussion

In this article, we tested the hypothesis that people and cultures that aim to influence others value HAP states more and LAP states less than people and cultures that aim to adjust to others. We found support for this hypothesis in four studies that varied in their levels of analysis, samples, and methods. Our findings suggest that people with influence goals value HAP more and LAP less than people with adjustment goals at both the global (Study 1) and situational levels (Studies 2–4). Because there were no significant Gender \times Group interactions in Studies 1 and 4, our findings also suggest that these associations hold for both men and women. Finally, our results suggest that influence and adjustment goals produce differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP when self-report (Studies 1–3) and behavioral (Study 4) measures of ideal affect are obtained.

Consistent with previous findings and our predictions, European Americans and Asian Americans valued HAP more than did Hong Kong Chinese, whereas Asian Americans and Hong Kong Chinese valued LAP more than did European Americans. Although not the focus of our present studies, one could also examine whether the cultural groups differed in their valuation of HAP *relative to* LAP. Here we also observed patterns that are generally consistent with previous findings (Tsai et al., 2006; Tsai, Louie, et al., 2007): In Studies 1 and 4, Asian Americans and Hong Kong Chinese valued LAP more than HAP, and in Study 4, European Americans preferred HAP slightly more than LAP. However, one finding contradicted previous work: In Study 1, European Americans valued LAP more than HAP. Although we await further replication before interpreting this finding, it suggests that cultural differences in the valuation of ideal HAP and ideal LAP may be more stable than cultural differences in the valuation of ideal HAP *relative to* ideal LAP.

Although we found the predicted cultural differences in ideal affect and interpersonal goals, interesting cultural similarities also emerged. In Study 1, all participants endorsed influence goals more than adjustment goals. Moreover, in all of the studies, the links between influence goals and ideal HAP and between adjustment goals and ideal LAP held across cultures, and there were no interactions involving culture. Thus, although we found evidence in support of our predicted cultural differences, we also observed striking cultural similarities. These similarities may reflect the homogenizing effect of attending college. For example, previous studies suggest that individuals with college degrees are more likely to endorse influence behaviors than individuals without college degrees (Snibbe & Markus, 2005). Indeed, the similarity of the samples in terms of academic attainment, occupational status, and stage of life may explain why we could easily manipulate influence and adjustment goals to induce ideal HAP and ideal LAP across cultures. Future studies should examine whether our findings generalize to more diverse community samples.

In addition to identifying the specific factors that account for cultural differences in ideal affect, our findings contribute to the existing literature in several ways. Although several scholars have documented differences in various emotional phenomena between

individualistic and collectivistic contexts (e.g., Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000; Mesquita & Karasawa, 2002), the present findings are among the first to move beyond cross-national comparisons by examining the specific aspects of individualism and collectivism that produce such differences. Our findings also extend existing research on influence and adjustment goals to include Hong Kong Chinese and Asian American samples.

More generally, our findings add to an increasing literature that suggests that processes that occur at the cultural level may mimic processes that occur at the situational level. Indeed, we found that across cultures, when individuals had influence goals they valued HAP more and LAP less than when they had adjustment goals. These findings suggest that cultural differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP at the global level may be due to cultural differences in the frequency of influence and adjustment cues in American and Hong Kong Chinese environments. In other words, European Americans and Asian Americans may be continuously primed to want to influence others more than Hong Kong Chinese, and therefore, European and Asian Americans value HAP more than Hong Kong Chinese. Similarly, Hong Kong Chinese may be continuously primed to want to adjust to others more than European Americans, and therefore, Hong Kong Chinese value LAP more than European Americans. Because the effects of the experimental manipulations on ideal affect were similar across the different cultural groups, our findings also suggest that the chronic endorsement of a specific goal does not necessarily alter the relationship between that goal and ideal affect at the situational level. On the one hand, this finding may seem to contradict arguments that cultural ideas and practices influence situational processes. On the other hand, it is possible that there may be specific conditions under which cultural and situational processes do and do not interact.

Limitations and Future Directions

The present studies have a number of limitations that generate important directions for future research. First, although we demonstrated links between interpersonal goals and ideal affect at the situational and cultural levels, it would be important to examine these links longitudinally within subjects. For instance, researchers might track recent Chinese immigrants over time to examine whether they begin to value influence more and adjustment less as they acculturate to American culture and whether such changes in interpersonal goals cause changes in their ideal affect.

Second, our studies focused on the early stages of influence and adjustment (i.e., when people were *preparing* to influence or adjust to others). Future studies might examine the ideal affective states associated with different stages of influence and adjustment, and the changes in ideal affect that occur as a function of the specific people individuals are trying to influence or to whom they are trying to adjust. Third, we focused on American and East Asian cultural contexts. Future studies should examine whether our findings hold for other individualistic and collectivistic cultures (e.g., English and Mexican cultures) and whether other cultural factors (e.g., time orientation, power distance or tightness or looseness) account for variation in ideal affect.

Finally, because our previous studies find that on average, people want to feel more positive than negative, we focused on the valuation of positive states. However, there are obviously circum-

stances (e.g., fighting with a competitor) under which people may want to feel negative. Under these conditions, people with influence goals may value high-arousal negative states (e.g., hostility) more and low-arousal negative states (e.g., dullness) less than people with adjustment goals. Although we did not find differences in ideal high-arousal negative or low-arousal negative in any of the present studies, we suspect this was because the tasks used in these studies were relatively nonthreatening. Future studies that place participants in more threatening or offensive situations may reveal variation in the valuation of high- and low-arousal negative affective states.

In conclusion, our findings suggest that previously observed cultural differences in ideal high-arousal and low-arousal positive states are due to influence and adjustment goals. Across and within cultures, people who aim to influence others value high-arousal positive states more and low-arousal positive states less than people who aim to adjust to others. These findings take us one step closer to understanding the specific mechanisms underlying cultural differences in how people ideally want to feel.

References

- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1996). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator–mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *51*, 1173–1182.
- Brislin, R. (1970). Back translation for cross-cultural research. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *1*, 186–216.
- Carver, C. S., & Scheier, M. F. (1982). Control theory: A useful conceptual framework for personality-social, clinical, and health psychology. *Psychological Bulletin*, *92*, 111–1135.
- Carver, C. S., & Scheier, M. F. (1990). Origins and functions of positive and negative affect: A control process view. *Psychological Review*, *97*, 19–35.
- Cheung, G. W., & Rensvold, R. B. (1999). Testing factorial invariance across groups: A reconceptualization and proposed new method. *Journal of Management*, *25*, 1–27.
- Cheung, G. W., & Rensvold, R. B. (2000). Assessing extreme and acquiescence response sets in cross-cultural research using structural equation modeling. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *31*, 187–212.
- Chirkov, V., Ryan, R. M., Kim, Y., & Kaplan, U. (2003). Differentiating autonomy from individualism and independence: A self-determination theory perspective on internalization of cultural orientations and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *84*, 97–110.
- Choi, I., & Choi, Y. (2002). Culture and self-concept flexibility. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *28*, 1508–1517.
- Cohen, J., & Cohen, P. (1983). *Applied multiple regression/correlation analyses for the behavioral sciences* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Costa, P. T., & McCrae, R. R. (1980). Influence of extraversion and neuroticism on subjective well-being: Happy and unhappy people. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *38*, 668–678.
- David, J. P., Green, P. J., Martin, R. P., & Suls, J. (1997). Differential roles of neuroticism, extraversion, and event desirability for mood in daily life: An integrative model of top-down and bottom-up influences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *73*, 149–159.
- Eid, M., & Diener, E. (2001). Norms for experiencing emotions in different cultures: Inter- and intra-national differences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *81*, 869–885.
- Emmons, R., & Diener, E. (1985). Personality correlates of subjective well-being. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *11*, 89–97.
- Feldman Barrett, L., & Russell, J. A. (1999). The structure of current

- affect: Controversies and emerging consensus. *Psychological Science*, 8, 10–14.
- Fischer, R. (2004). Standardization to account for cross-cultural response bias: A classification of score adjustment procedures and review of research in JCCP. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 35, 263–282.
- Floyd, M. F. (1998). Getting beyond marginality and ethnicity: The challenge for race and ethnic studies in leisure research. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 30, 3–22.
- Frazier, P., Tix, A. P., & Barron, K. E. (2004). Testing moderator and mediator effects in counseling psychology research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 51, 115–134.
- Gardner, W. L., Gabriel, S., & Lee, A. Y. (1999). “I” value freedom, but “we” value relationships: Self-construal priming mirrors cultural differences in judgment. *Psychological Science*, 19, 321–326.
- Gifford, R., & O’Conner, B. (1987). The interpersonal circumplex as a behavior map. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52, 1019–1026.
- Gomez, R., Cooper, A., & Gomez, A. (2000). Susceptibility to positive and negative mood states: Test of Eysenck’s, Gray’s, and Newman’s theories. *Personality & Individual Differences*, 29, 351–366.
- Gross, J. J., Sutton, S., & Ketelaar, T. (1998). Relations between affect and personality: Support for the affect-level and affective reactivity views. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24, 279–288.
- Heckhausen, J., & Schulz, R. (1995). A life-span theory of control. *Psychological Review*, 102, 284–304.
- Hong, Y., Morris, M. W., Chiu, C., & Benet-Martinez, V. (2000). Multi-cultural minds: A dynamic constructivist approach to culture and cognition. *American Psychologist*, 55, 709–720.
- Horowitz, L., Wilson, K. R., Turan, B., Zolotsev, P., Constantino, M., & Henderson, L. (2006). How interpersonal motives clarify the meaning of interpersonal behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 10, 67–86.
- Izard, C. E. (1971). *The face of emotion*. New York: Meredith.
- Johnson, T., Kulesa, P., Cho, Y., & Shavitt, S. (2005). The relation between culture and response styles: Evidence from 19 countries. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36, 264–277.
- Kim, H. S. (2002). We talk, therefore we think? A cultural analysis of the effect of talking on thinking. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 828–842.
- Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., & Kurokawa, M. (2000). Culture, emotion, and well-being: Good feelings in Japan and the United States. *Cognition & Emotion*, 14, 93–124.
- Kroeber, A. L., & Kluckhohn, C. (1952). Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions. *Harvard University, Papers Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology*, 47, 223.
- Lam, K., Buehler, R., McFarland, C., Ross, M., & Cheung, I. (2005). Cultural differences in affective forecasting: The role of focalism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31, 1296–1309.
- Larsen, R. J., & Diener, E. (1992). Promises and problems with the circumplex model of emotion. In M. S. Clark (Ed.), *Review of personality and social psychology: Emotion* (pp. 25–59). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Leary, T. (1957). *The interpersonal diagnosis of personality*. New York: Ronald.
- Lee, A. Y., Aaker, J. L., & Gardner, W. L. (2000). The pleasures and pains of distinct self-construals: The role of interdependence in regulatory focus. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 1122–1134.
- Libby, W., Lacey, B. C., & Lacey, J. L. (1973). Pupillary and cardiac activity during visual attention. *Psychophysiology*, 10, 270–294.
- Little, T. D., Miyashita, T., Karasawa, M., Mashima, M., Oettingen, G., Azuma, H., & Baltes, P. (2003). The links among action-control beliefs, intellectual skill, and school performance in Japanese, U.S., and German school children. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 27, 41–48.
- Locke, K. (2000). Circumplex scales of interpersonal values: Reliability, validity, and applicability to interpersonal problems and personality disorders. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 75, 249–267.
- Locke, K. (2003). Status and solidarity in social comparison: Agentic and communal values and vertical and horizontal directions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 619–631.
- Markus, H., & Kitayama, S. (2003). Models of agency: Sociocultural diversity in the construction of action. In V. Murphy-Berman & J. Berman (Eds.), *Cross-cultural differences in perspectives on the self: Vol. 49. Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (pp. 18–74). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Marquand, R. (2005, June 14). Even pop culture must get a stamp of approval in China. *The Christian Science Monitor*. Retrieved August 1, 2005, from <http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0614/p01s02-woap.html>
- McClelland, G. H. (2000). Nasty data: Unruly, ill-mannered observations can ruin your analysis. In H. T. Reis & C. M. Judd (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in social and personality psychology* (pp. 393–411). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mehrabian, A., & Russell, J. A. (1974). *An approach to environmental psychology*. Boston: MIT Press.
- Mesquita, B., & Karasawa, M. (2002). Different emotional lives. *Cognition & Emotion*, 16, 127–141.
- Morling, B., & Evered, S. (2006). Secondary control reviewed and defined. *Psychological Bulletin*, 132, 269–296.
- Morling, B., Kitayama, S., & Miyamoto, Y. (2002). Cultural practices emphasize influence in the United States and adjustment in Japan. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28, 311–323.
- Morris, C. W. (1956). *Varieties of human value*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Morris, C., & Jones, L. V. (1955). Value scales and dimensions. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 51, 523–535.
- Moskowitz, D. (1994). Cross-situational generality and the interpersonal circumplex. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66, 921–933.
- Mullen, M. R. (1995). Diagnosing measurement equivalence in cross-national research. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 26, 573–596.
- Murray, C., & Nakajima, I. (1999). The leisure motivation of Japanese managers: A research note on scale development. *Leisure Studies*, 18, 57–65.
- Obrist, P. A. (1981). *Cardiovascular psychophysiology: A perspective*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Ojanen, T., Gronroos, M., & Salmivalli, C. (2005). An interpersonal circumplex model of children’s social goals: Links with peer-reported behavior and sociometric status. *Developmental Psychology*, 41, 699–710.
- Parsons, O. A., & Schneider, J. M. (1974). Locus of control in university students from Eastern and Western societies. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 42, 456–461.
- Ployhart, R. E., & Oswald, F. L. (2004). Applications of mean and covariance structure analysis: Integrating correlational and experimental approaches. *Organizational Research Methods*, 7, 27–65.
- Rothbaum, F., Weisz, J. R., & Snyder, S. S. (1982). Changing the world and changing the self: A two process model of perceived control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 42, 5–37.
- Russell, J. A. (1991). Culture and the categorization of emotions. *Psychological Bulletin*, 110, 426–450.
- Russell, J. A., Lewicka, M., & Nitt, T. (1989). A cross-cultural study of a circumplex model of affect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57, 848–856.
- Rusting, C. L., & Larsen, R. J. (1997). Extraversion, neuroticism, and susceptibility to positive and negative affect. *Personality & Individual Differences*, 22, 607–612.
- Schimmack, U., Radhakrishnan, P., Oishi, S., Dzokoto, V., & Ahadi, S. (2002). Culture, personality, and subjective well-being: Integrating pro-

- cess models of life satisfaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 582–593.
- Schober, M., & Clark, H. (1989). Understanding by addressees and overhearers. *Cognitive Psychology*, 21, 211–232.
- Schupp, H. T., Cuthbert, B. N., Bradley, M. M., Birbaumer, N., & Lang, P. J. (1997). Probe P3 and blinks: Two measures of affective startle modulation. *Psychophysiology*, 34, 1–6.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25, pp. 1–65). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Shweder, R. (2003). *Why do men barbecue?: Recipes for cultural psychology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Smith, P. (2004). Acquiescent response bias as an aspect of cultural communication style. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 35, 50–61.
- Snibbe, A., & Markus, H. (2005). You can't always get what you want: Educational attainment, agency, and choice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88, 703–718.
- Sommers, S. (1984). Adults evaluating their emotions: A cross-cultural perspective. In C. Z. Malatesta & C. E. Izard (Eds.), *Emotion in adult development* (pp. 319–338). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Sporting Goods Manufacturers Association. (2005). *Press release: Extreme sports: Ranking high in popularity*. Retrieved August 1, 2005, from <http://www.sgma.com/displayindustryarticle.cfm?articleid=29457>
- Thayer, R. E. (1989). *The biopsychology of mood and arousal*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Tiedens, L., & Fragale, A. R. (2003). Power moves: Complementarity in dominant and submissive nonverbal behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 558–568.
- Tomaka, J., Blascovich, J., Kelsey, R. M., & Leitten, C. L. (1993). Subjective, physiological, and behavioral effects of threat and challenge appraisal. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65, 248–260.
- Tsai, J. L., Knutson, B., & Fung, H. H. (2006). Cultural variation in affect valuation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 288–307.
- Tsai, J. L., Louie, J., Chen, E. E., & Uchida, Y. (2007). Learning what feelings to desire: Socialization of ideal affect through children's storybooks. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 33, 17–30.
- Tsai, J. L., Miao, F. F., & Seppala, E. (2007). Good feelings in Buddhism and Christianity: Religious differences in ideal affect. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 33, 409–421.
- Tsai, J. L., & Wong, Y. (2006). *Socialization of ideal affect through women's magazines*. Manuscript in preparation.
- United Nations Office for Drug and Crime. (2006). *2006 world drug report: Vol. 2. Statistics*. New York: United Nations Publications.
- van de Vijver, F. J. R., & Leung, K. (1997). Methods and data analysis of comparative research. In J. W. Berry, Y. H. Poortinga, & J. Pandey (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Vol. 1 Theory and method* (pp. 259–300). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Watson, D., & Tellegen, A. (1985). Toward a consensual structure of mood. *Psychological Bulletin*, 98, 219–235.
- Weisz, J., Rothbaum, F., & Blackburn, T. C. (1984). Standing out and standing in: The psychology of control in America and Japan. *American Psychologist*, 39, 955–969.
- Wiggins, J. S. (1979). A psychological taxonomy of trait-descriptive terms: The interpersonal domain. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37, 395–412.
- Yik, M., & Russell, J. A. (2003). Chinese affect circumplex: I. Structure of recalled momentary affect. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 6, 185–200.

Received January 23, 2006

Revision received December 27, 2006

Accepted January 2, 2007 ■

Low Publication Prices for APA Members and Affiliates

Keeping you up-to-date. All APA Fellows, Members, Associates, and Student Affiliates receive—as part of their annual dues—subscriptions to the *American Psychologist* and *APA Monitor*. High School Teacher and International Affiliates receive subscriptions to the *APA Monitor*, and they may subscribe to the *American Psychologist* at a significantly reduced rate. In addition, all Members and Student Affiliates are eligible for savings of up to 60% (plus a journal credit) on all other APA journals, as well as significant discounts on subscriptions from cooperating societies and publishers (e.g., the American Association for Counseling and Development, Academic Press, and Human Sciences Press).

Essential resources. APA members and affiliates receive special rates for purchases of APA books, including the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, and on dozens of new topical books each year.

Other benefits of membership. Membership in APA also provides eligibility for competitive insurance plans, continuing education programs, reduced APA convention fees, and specialty divisions.

More information. Write to American Psychological Association, Membership Services, 750 First Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002-4242.