

# Ideal Affect

## Cultural Causes and Behavioral Consequences

Jeanne L. Tsai

Stanford University

---

**ABSTRACT**—*Most research focuses on actual affect, or the affective states that people actually feel. In this article, I demonstrate the importance and utility of studying ideal affect, or the affective states that people ideally want to feel. First, I define ideal affect and describe the cultural causes and behavioral consequences of ideal affect. To illustrate these points, I compare American and East Asian cultures, which differ in their valuation of high-arousal positive affective states (e.g., excitement, enthusiasm) and low-arousal positive affective states (e.g., calm, peacefulness). I then introduce affect valuation theory, which integrates ideal affect with current models of affect and emotion and, in doing so, provides a new framework for understanding how cultural and temperamental factors may shape affect and behavior.*

---

Although most people report that they want to feel good (Elliot & Thrash, 2002), people do different things to feel good. Whereas some people ride rollercoasters, listen to pop music, or take stimulants such as cocaine, others sunbathe, listen to classical music, or take narcotics such as heroin. What accounts for these differences in what people do to feel good? Cultural factors may play a role. For instance, Americans are more likely to engage in extreme sports (e.g., inline skating) and are more likely to abuse cocaine (and less likely to abuse opiates) 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). Even within the United States, European Americans are more likely to participate in active sports (e.g., rollerblading) and to use cocaine (relative to opiates) than are Asian Americans (Gobster & Delgado, 1992; Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2006; Tinsley, Tinsley, & Croskeys, 2002).

In this article, I propose that although most people want to feel good, the good feelings that people specifically strive for depend

on the affective states that they value, prefer, and ideally want to feel (*ideal affect*) and that individual and cultural differences in ideal affect account for the differences in mood-producing behaviors (i.e., what people do to feel good or to stop feeling bad) described above. In the first part of this article, I define ideal affect, examine the cultural causes of ideal affect, and discuss the behavioral consequences of ideal affect. In the second part of this article, I introduce affect valuation theory (AVT), which integrates ideal affect with current models of affect and emotion. By distinguishing ideal affect from actual affect, AVT offers new answers to classic questions about the roles that culture and temperament play in daily life.

### WHAT IS IDEAL AFFECT?

Affective states are neurophysiological changes that are often experienced as feelings, moods, or emotions and that can be organized in terms of at least two dimensions: valence and arousal (Feldman Barrett & Russell, 1999; Larsen & Diener, 1992; Russell, 1991; Thayer, 1989; Watson & Tellegen, 1985). The valence dimension corresponds to the feeling of potential environmental gains (positive valence) or losses (negative valence), whereas the arousal dimension corresponds to the feeling that environmental demands require energy and mobilization (high arousal) or allow rest and recuperation (low arousal; Russell, 2003). Studies of self-reported mood, emotional facial expressions, and emotion lexicons suggest that, across cultures, various feeling states can be categorized in terms of these affective dimensions (e.g., Kuppens, Ceulemans, Timmerman, Diener, & Kim-Prieto, 2006; Russell, Lewicka, & Nitt, 1989; Yik & Russell, 2003). For instance, excitement, enthusiasm, and elation can be described as high-arousal positive (HAP) states, and calm, peacefulness, and serenity can be described as low-arousal positive (LAP) states.<sup>1</sup>

In psychology, most research has focused on people's *actual affect*, or the affective states that people actually feel in general

---

Address correspondence to Jeanne L. Tsai, Department of Psychology, Building 420, Jordan Hall, Stanford, CA 94305; e-mail: [jeanne.tsai@stanford.edu](mailto:jeanne.tsai@stanford.edu).

<sup>1</sup>Theorists vary in the labels that they use to describe the octants defined by arousal and valence (Feldman Barrett & Russell, 1999; Larsen & Diener, 1992; Watson & Tellegen, 1985). I refer to the octants simply in terms of high and low arousal and positive and negative valence, as in Table 1.

or in response to a specific event. In contrast, relatively little research has focused on people's *ideal affect*, or the affective states that people strive for or ideally want to feel. Although ideal affect is similar to "attitudes toward emotion" (Ellsworth, 1994; Izard, 1971; Mesquita, Frijda, & Scherer, 1997), "norms regarding emotional experience" (Diener & Suh, 1999; Eid & Diener, 2001), and "feeling rules" (Hochschild, 1983; Wierzbicka, 1994), it also differs from these constructs in important ways. Like attitudes toward emotion, ideal affect involves the evaluation of affective states as positive or negative (Izard, 1971); however, whereas ideal affect involves a clear ranking or ordering of affective states on the basis of preference, attitudes toward emotion do not. Thus, although people may have attitudes about many different affective states, people ideally want to feel only a few. Moreover, because ideal affect is a goal, it has motivational force and therefore may drive behavior more strongly than attitudes. Ideal affect resembles norms regarding emotional experience (i.e., states that people think they should feel and that they think are desirable to others; see Basabe et al., 2000; Diener & Suh, 1999; Eid & Diener, 2001; Kim-Prieto, Fujita, & Diener, 2006; Kuppens et al., 2006; Suh, Diener, Oishi, & Triandis, 1998) and feeling rules ("standards used in emotional conversation"; Hochschild, 1983, p. 18) because all are measuring sticks or reference points against which people may compare their actual affect. However, whereas ideal affect is based on personal preferences, norms regarding emotional experience and feeling rules are based on consensual preferences. In other words, whereas people may agree about what is appropriate to feel or what they should feel, they may differ in the degree to which they endorse those states for themselves. Indeed, participants' reports of ideal affect are only weakly to moderately ( $r \leq .5$ ) correlated with their reports of how they think they should feel (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006).

Because no measure of ideal affect existed when we began our research, Brian Knutson and I developed the affect valuation index (AVI), which samples both actual and ideal affect (the instrument and its psychometric properties are available from the author and are described in Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). To assess ideal affect, the AVI uses a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*all of the time*) and asks respondents to rate how often they would ideally like to feel a variety of states. To assess actual affect, the AVI also asks respondents to rate how often they actually feel those same states. Like other measures of actual mood (e.g., Feldman Barrett, 1996; Larsen & Diener, 1992), the AVI includes a broad range of high- and low-arousal positive, neutral, and negative states (see Table 1). Like actual affect, ideal affect can be assessed at various time intervals, including "right now," "over the course of a typical week," and "on average."

We have administered the AVI to college student samples that vary in terms of national culture (American, East Asian), religion (Christian, Buddhist), and gender (male, female; e.g., Tsai,

TABLE 1

*Octants of the Affective Circumplex and Their Associated States*

Octant of affective circumplex	Abbreviation	Items
High arousal positive	HAP	Enthusiastic, excited, elated
Positive	P	Happy, satisfied, content
Low-arousal positive	LAP	Calm, relaxed, peaceful
Low arousal	LA	Idle, inactive, passive
Low-arousal negative	LAN	Dull, sleepy, sluggish
Negative	N	Sad, lonely, unhappy
High-arousal negative	HAN	Fearful, hostile, nervous
High arousal	HA	Aroused, surprised, astonished

Knutson, & Fung, 2006; Tsai, Miao, & Seppala, 2007; Tsai, Miao, Seppala, Fung, & Yeung, 2007). Across these studies, participants—regardless of their national culture, religion, or gender—report that, on average, they want to feel significantly more positive (i.e., HAP, positive, and LAP) than negative (i.e., high-arousal negative, negative, and low-arousal negative) and that they want to feel more positive and less negative than they actually feel. Figure 1 illustrates these patterns for a sample of European American, Chinese American, and Hong Kong Chinese college students (scores have been ipsatized to control for individual and cultural differences in response styles). These findings are consistent with the handful of studies that have empirically distinguished between desired and experienced mood in Western samples (Feldman Barrett, 1996; Rusting & Larsen, 1995; Vastfjall, Garling, & Kleiner, 2001). In general, how people actually feel differs from how they ideally want to feel.

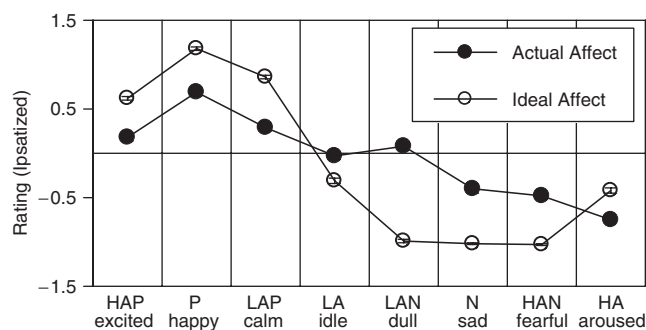


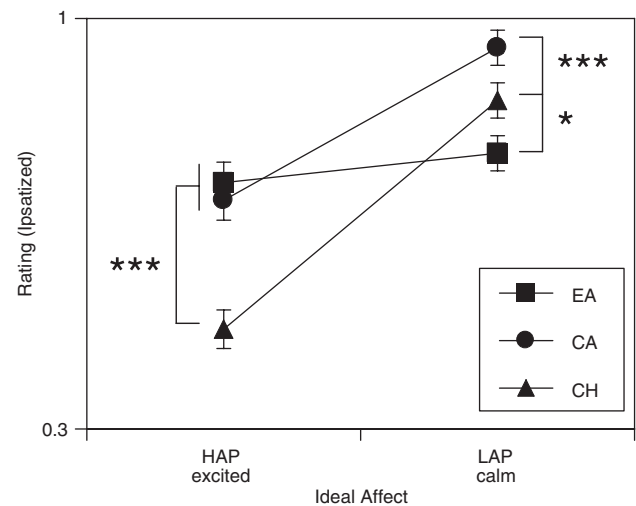
Fig. 1. Actual and ideal affect (ipsatized mean and standard error). Sample items are provided for each octant. Differences between actual and ideal affect are significant at  $p < .001$ . HAP = high arousal positive states; P = positive states; LAP = low arousal positive states; LA = low arousal states; LAN = low arousal negative states; N = negative states; HAN = high arousal negative states; and HA = high arousal states. This figure was adapted from Figure 1 "Cultural Variation in Affect Valuation," by J.L. Tsai, B.K. Knutson, and H.H. Fung, 2006, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, p. 293. Copyright 2006 by American Psychological Association. Adapted with permission.

## WHAT ARE THE CAUSES OF IDEAL AFFECT? THE ROLE OF CULTURE

Although most people report wanting to feel more positive than they actually feel, people vary in terms of the specific states they want to feel. Cultural factors—historically derived and socially transmitted patterns of ideas (e.g., values, norms, beliefs) that are instantiated by practices (e.g., rituals, mores), institutions (e.g., religious, familial), and artifacts (e.g., media; Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952)—may play a particularly important role in determining how people ideally want to feel. Shweder (2003) and Rozin (2003) have argued that cultural factors shape what people view as good, moral, and virtuous. By extension, culture should shape what specific affective states people desire and want to feel. To test this hypothesis, Tsai, Knutson, and Fung (2006) compared the ideal affect of European American college students (who were primarily oriented to American culture), Hong Kong Chinese college students (who were primarily oriented to Chinese culture), and Chinese American college students (who were oriented to both American and Chinese cultures). As illustrated in Figure 2, European Americans reported valuing HAP states significantly more and LAP states significantly less than did their Hong Kong Chinese counterparts. As predicted by their bicultural orientation, Chinese Americans valued HAP states more than did Hong Kong Chinese, but also valued LAP states more than did European Americans.<sup>2</sup>

Similar patterns emerge when we compare participants' open-ended responses to the question, "What is your ideal state?" (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). One European American respondent stated "I just want to be happy. Normally for me that means I would be doing something exciting. I just want to be entertained . . . I just like excitement," whereas a Hong Kong respondent reported, "My ideal state is to be quiet, serene, happy and positive." These group differences in ideal affect are consistent with findings from smaller scale studies that Americans hold more positive attitudes towards excitement states (which Izard, 1971, refers to as "enjoyment-joy") than do Japanese (Izard, 1971) and that Americans prefer to feel enthusiastic more than do Chinese (Sommers, 1984).

These studies, however, were conducted on adult samples. If the observed differences in ideal affect are cultural, they should be apparent during childhood, when individuals begin to show some signs of socialization. Therefore, we compared the ideal affect of European American, Asian American, and Taiwanese Chinese preschool children between 3 to 5 years of age (when most children show significant emotional understanding; Denham et al., 2002; Ridgeway, Waters, & Kuczaj, 1985). Children were first shown an excited and a calm smile and then asked, "Which would you rather be?" followed by the question, "Which



**Fig. 2.** Cultural differences in ideal affect (ipsatized mean and standard error). EA = European Americans; CA = Chinese Americans; CH = Hong Kong Chinese; HAP = high-arousal positive states; LAP = low-arousal positive states. \* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ . This figure was adapted from Figure 3 "Cultural Variation in Affect Valuation," by J.L. Tsai, B.K. Knutson, and H.H. Fung, 2006, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, p. 300. Copyright 2006 by American Psychological Association. Adapted with permission.

is more happy?". Significantly more European American preschoolers preferred the excited smile and perceived the excited smile as happier than did Taiwanese Chinese preschoolers. Asian American preschoolers fell in between the other two groups. Children were then told a story about two friends who were engaged in the same activity (e.g., swimming, playing the drums, sitting on the swings). One character was described as preferring to engage in the activity (e.g., playing the drums) in an excited way (e.g., "likes to go TAPTAP-TAPPITY-TAP quickly and loudly"), whereas the other was described as preferring to engage in the activity in a calm way (e.g., "likes to go tap-tap-tap slowly and quietly"). After each activity, participants were asked to indicate which character they more closely resembled. European American preschoolers were more likely to say that they were like the character that preferred to engage in the activities in an exciting way than were Taiwanese Chinese preschoolers. Again, Asian American children fell in between the other two groups (Tsai, Louie, Chen, & Uchida, 2007, Study 1). These findings suggest that cultural differences in ideal affect emerge relatively early in life.

Because the group differences in ideal affect described above held even after controlling for self-reports of temperament (e.g., neuroticism, extraversion, sensation seeking) and other individual differences (e.g., regulatory focus) among college students (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006; Tsai, Miao, Seppala, et al., 2007) and teacher's reports of temperament among preschool children (Tsai, Louie, et al., 2007), we conclude that they could not be attributed to temperament. Instead, we predict that these differences in ideal affect are culturally learned.

<sup>2</sup>Because few main effects and no interactions involving gender have emerged in the studies reported in this article, I will not discuss gender further.

## CULTURAL INSTANTIATIONS OF IDEAL AFFECT

How do children and adults learn to value the ideal affect of their cultures? According to Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), cultural ideas are instantiated by prevalent practices, institutions, and artifacts. Through exposure to or engagement in these practices, institutions, and artifacts, people begin to internalize the cultural ideas they reflect. Thus, Americans may learn to value HAP states more and LAP states less than do East Asians because American practices, institutions, and artifacts endorse HAP states more and LAP states less than do those of East Asian cultures. To test this hypothesis, I review the literature comparing American and East Asian communicative practices, religious traditions, and popular media.

### Interpersonal Communication

Verbal and nonverbal exchanges communicate desirable behaviors, thoughts, and feelings (e.g., Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998; Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1996; Minami & McCabe, 1995). For example, anthropologist Wierzbicka (1994, 1999) argues that cheerfulness, enthusiasm, enjoyment, and fun (all HAP states) are central features of mainstream American communicative scripts, as exemplified by the “ubiquitous presence of the word ‘great’ in American discourse, both as a modifier and as a response particle: ‘You look great! Your X (hair, garden, apartment, etc.) looks great! It’s great! That’s great! Great!’” (Wierzbicka, 1994, p. 246). Wierzbicka (1999) further observes that in these scripts, positive states such as fun are associated with activity (i.e., increases in arousal). She suggests that Chinese and Japanese scripts, by contrast, focus on “the need to always pay attention to and anticipate other people’s unexpressed feelings” (Wierzbicka, 1996b, p. 550; also see Wierzbicka, 1996a), which may require low arousal states (Bradley, Codispoti, Cuthbert, & Lang, 2001). Similarly, historian Stearns argues that American parents are strongly encouraged to “ensure a level of entertainment that would ward off boredom” in their children (Stearns, 2003, p. 207), which Wolfenstein (1953) describes as the “fun morality.” Stearns (2003) attributes the emphasis on fun in American child rearing to a larger and “more common realization that . . . having fun was both appropriate and desirable” (p. 170). In support of this claim, Stearns cites the innumerable toys, amusement parks, extracurricular activities, and other forms of entertainment available to children in the United States (Stearns, 2003). Indeed, in one of the only cross-cultural comparisons of the content of bestselling child-rearing manuals, Boocock (1999) observed that American manuals encourage parents to frame daily tasks (e.g., dressing, taking care of toys, and napping) as games more than Chinese manuals do. These descriptions suggest that American parent–child and peer–peer interactions will involve more HAP states and less LAP states than will Chinese and other East Asian parent–child and peer–peer interactions.

### Parent–Child Interaction

It is as if the American mother wanted to have a vocal, active baby, and the Japanese mother wanted to have a quiet, contented baby. (Caudill & Weinstein, 1969, p. 31)

If ideal affect is reflected in parents’ exchanges with their children, then parent–child exchanges in American and other Western cultures should contain more HAP states and less LAP states than should parent–child exchanges in Chinese and other East Asian cultures. Consistent with this hypothesis, American mothers are more likely to stimulate their babies (i.e., increase their levels of arousal) by repositioning, playing, and chatting with them than are Japanese mothers, whereas Japanese mothers are more likely to soothe and quiet their babies (i.e., reduce their levels of arousal) by rocking and lulling them than are American mothers (See also Caudill, 1972; Caudill & Schooler, 1973; Caudill & Weinstein, 1969; Minami & McCabe, 1995; Morikawa, Shand, & Kosawa, 1988). Mother’s vocalizations show a similar pattern: American mothers use melodies that are rising, short, steep, and relatively high in level and range of fundamental frequency to encourage their infants to act and pay attention, whereas Chinese mothers produce more soothing melodies that are falling, prolonged, flattened, and reduced in level and range of fundamental frequency (Papousek, Papousek, & Symmes, 1991). When their children are older, American parents also use more positive emotion (typically defined in terms of HAP states) when interacting with their children as compared with Japanese (Dennis, Cole, Zahn-Wexler, & Mizuta, 2002; Kanaya, Nakamura, & Miyake, 1989; Morikawa et al., 1988), Indonesian (Eisenberg, Liew, & Pidada, 2001), Indian (Rogoff, Mistry, Goncu, & Mosier, 1993), and mainland Chinese parents (Camras, Chen, Bakeman, Norris, & Cain, 2006; Camras, Kolmodin, & Chen, 2005).

Although consistent with our predictions, none of these studies measured ideal affect, and therefore, it is unclear whether cultural differences in parents’ interactions with their children reflect cultural differences in ideal affect. To provide more direct evidence that, in general, adults’ ideal affect influences how they interact with children, Sandler (2005) conducted a study in which female college students were videotaped playing with a baby in a waiting room. Students were asked to sit in the room while the experimenter finished talking to another participant. During this waiting period, a mother, who had already been seated in the waiting room with her 8-month-old female infant when the participant arrived, asked the participant to play with her baby while she used the restroom. The mother returned after a few minutes, at which point the experimenter brought the participant to another room, where she completed the AVI (to assess global actual and ideal affect).

Research assistants who were blind to the hypotheses and to participants’ global ideal affect coded participants’ vocalization and facial expression as they played with the babies. As

predicted, the more participants valued LAP states on average, controlling for how much they actually experienced LAP states, the more they vocally soothed the babies and facially expressed calm. Participants' reported ideal HAP was not significantly correlated with any of these behaviors, perhaps because of restricted variance (because the sample was American). In short, these findings provide direct support for the prediction that adults' interactions with children reflect their ideal affect. We are currently examining whether parents' interactions with their own children reflect this same association.

#### Peer Interaction

In comparison with the literature on parent-child interactions, much less research has compared the affective content of peer interactions across cultures. That said, the work that does exist is largely consistent with cultural differences in ideal affect. One study of children found that European American preschool-age playmates expressed more "shared positive affect" (defined in terms of HAP states; i.e., smiling and laughing) than did Korean American preschool-age playmates (Farver, Kim, & Lee, 1995). Although LAP states were not explicitly coded, the authors did find that Korean Americans showed more neutral affect (emotionally absent, unresponsive) than did European Americans. Because LAP expressions resemble neutral expressions, it is possible that Korean Americans were displaying LAP states as well as neutral states. Similarly, we observed that when discussing an area of conflict in their relationships, European American dating couples showed more HAP states (i.e., humor, happiness) than did Chinese American dating couples, despite similarities in the severity and type of topic discussed (Tsai, Levenson, & McCoy, 2006).

#### Religion

Religion may be another way in which individuals learn to want to feel a specific way (Emmons & Paloutzian, 2003; Silberman, 2005). Religions may socialize their practitioners to value specific affective states explicitly, through rituals and texts about how practitioners ought to act or feel, or implicitly, through sacred writings, paintings, and sculptures that convey models embodying ideal states (e.g., Jesus in the Bible, Buddha in the Lotus Sutra). Given the popularity of Buddhism in many East Asian cultures, including China, and the popularity of Christianity in many Western cultures including the United States (U.S. Department of State, 2004), it is possible that Christianity encourages HAP states more and LAP states less than does Buddhism.

Descriptions of Christianity and Buddhism are consistent with these hypotheses. For instance, comparative religion scholar Huston Smith (1991) describes Jesus as an "energizing power" who used "gigantesque" language and possessed an "extravagance" and "passionate quality," whereas the Buddha is described as "cool," "dispassionate," and "calm" (Smith, 1991, p. 115, p. 217). The Christian heaven, as described in Revela-

tions, contains "flashes of lightning, rumblings, and peals of thunder" (New International Version 4:5), "the roar of rushing waters" (New International Version 14:2), singing angels, loud trumpets and harps, crying, and shouting. By contrast, the Buddhist Nirvana is described as "... the supreme goal and the one and only consummation of our life, the eternal, hidden, and incomprehensible *Peace*" (Conze, 1951, p. 26, as cited in Smith, 1991, p. 115). Christian and Buddhist rituals and practices also appear to reflect different ideal affects (Corrigan, 2004). For example, a national study of worship in American congregations observed that Christian worship includes both *ceremonial* (organ music, responsive reading, choir singing, silent prayer/meditation, and sermons) and *enthusiastic* (jumping, shouting, applause, guitar music, and personal testimony) practices (Chaves, 1999). In contrast, although Buddhist worship involves sermons and chanting, the primary practice is meditation, during which the practitioner is "breathing in and making his whole body calm and at peace" (Hanh, 1998, pp. 14-15).

To test empirically whether Christianity values HAP states more and LAP states less than does Buddhism, we compared the affective content of classic Christian (i.e., the Gospels of the Bible) and Buddhist (i.e., the Dhammapada, Lotus Sutra, Diamond Sutra, and Heart Sutra) texts (Tsai, Miao, & Seppala, 2007, Study 2). For each text, we identified each HAP and LAP word and then, on the basis of the context in which the word appeared, coded whether readers were encouraged to feel the state (e.g., "One who is energetic . . . shall rise in glory"), discouraged from feeling the state (e.g., "Be wise, purged of stain and free from passions"), or neither encouraged nor discouraged from feeling the state (e.g., "in a retired and quiet place"). As predicted, Christian texts encouraged HAP states more and LAP states less than did Buddhist texts. These differences were even more pronounced when we compared the affective content of contemporary bestselling Christian and Buddhist self-help books (Tsai, Miao, & Seppala, 2007, Study 3).

To assess whether exposure to Christian and Buddhist texts and practice influences people's ideal affect, we compared the ideal affect of Christian and Buddhist practitioners. As predicted, Buddhist practitioners reported valuing HAP states less and LAP states more than did Christian practitioners, controlling for differences in actual HAP, actual LAP, cultural orientation, and temperament (i.e., neuroticism, extraversion; Tsai, Miao, & Seppala, 2007, Study 1). These findings suggest that exposure to religion may be one way in which cultural values regarding ideal affect are transmitted to individuals.

#### Popular Media

If ideal affect is reflected in widely distributed artifacts, there should be differences in the affective content of popular forms of media such as magazines and children's literature. Specifically, popular magazines and children's literature in the United States should contain more HAP states and less LAP states than do

popular magazines and children's literature in Chinese and other East Asian cultures.

### Magazines

Although previous studies have compared the content of magazine advertisements in different cultural contexts (e.g., Han & Shavitt, 1994; Kim & Markus, 1999), none have examined the affective content displayed in magazine photographs. Therefore, we coded the facial expressions in popular women's magazines in the United States (e.g., *Cosmopolitan*, *Vogue*) and Hong Kong (e.g., *Chinese Cosmopolitan*, *Nano*) using an adapted version of the Facial Action Coding System (Ekman & Friesen, 1978). In this coding scheme, calm smiles were coded as low-intensity expressions that involved the upturning of the lip corners, a closed mouth, and no wrinkling at the corners of the eyes, whereas excited smiles were coded as high-intensity expressions that involved the upturning of the lip corners, opening of the mouth, and wrinkling at the corners of the eyes. As predicted, American women's magazines contained more excited smiles and fewer calm smiles than did Chinese women's magazines. These differences held for men's magazines (e.g., *GQ*, *HIM*) and news magazines (e.g., *Newsweek*, *Next Guy*) as well (Tsai & Wong, 2007).

### Children's Literature

Few studies have compared the affective content of American and East Asian children's literature. Therefore, we (Tsai, Louie, et al., 2007, Study 2) chose the top ten bestselling books for children between the ages of 4 and 8 in the United States and in Taiwan at the beginning and at the end of 2005. We then coded the facial expressions of characters (animals and humans) in the books, again using a system based on the Facial Action Coding System (Ekman & Friesen, 1978). Although American and Taiwanese bestsellers did not differ in the occurrence of smiles, as predicted, characters in the American bestsellers had significantly more excited smiles and significantly bigger smiles than did characters in Taiwanese bestsellers. We also coded the degree to which the activities that the characters engaged in were arousing. Characters in American storybooks engaged in significantly more arousing activities (e.g., running) than did those in Taiwanese storybooks. These findings held for bestselling books at the beginning and at the end of the year, suggesting that these differences are stable over time.

To assess directly whether exposure to these storybooks influenced children's ideal affect, we exposed European American, Asian American, and Taiwanese Chinese preschool children to either an exciting or calm storybook (Tsai, Louie, et al., 2007, Study 3). The exciting storybook depicted a child engaging in various activities in an excited way (e.g., "He likes to bang loudly and fast on the drums"), whereas the calm storybook depicted a child engaging in the same activities in a calm way (e.g., "He likes to bang softly and slowly on the drums"). After the experimenter read the storybook to the children,

children were presented with an excited and a calm smile and were then asked to choose the one they perceived as "more happy." Children were also presented with different pairs of activities (e.g., "a drum that you play slow and soft, tap-tap-tap," or "a drum that you play loud and fast, BOOM-BOOM-BOOM!") and asked to choose which they would prefer to have in their ideal playgrounds. Across cultures, children who were read the exciting storybook were significantly more likely to view the excited face as happy and to choose significantly more exciting activities to put in their ideal playgrounds than were children who were read the calm storybook. These findings support the prediction that one way in which children learn what affective states to value is through their exposure to storybooks.

In summary, the studies described above suggest that communicative practices, religious traditions, and popular media reflect cultural differences in ideal affect. Increasing evidence also suggests that through exposure to and engagement with these practices, institutions, and artifacts, people learn to value specific affective states, although more research is clearly needed.

## SOURCES OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN IDEAL AFFECT

Thus far, I have demonstrated that Americans value HAP states more and LAP states less than do Chinese and members of other East Asian cultures. However, American and East Asian cultures differ in a multitude of ways. What specific aspects of these cultures produce differences in ideal affect? We predict that the cultural differences described above may be due to differences between the cultures in their interpersonal goals or how they encourage their members to interact with others.

The United States and other Western cultures encourage people to place their own needs above others' needs (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1995) and, therefore, to influence and change their social and physical environments to fit their own needs (Morling, Kitayama, & Miyamoto, 2002; Weisz, Rothbaum, & Blackburn, 1984). In contrast, China, Korea, Japan, and other East Asian cultures encourage people to place others' needs (specifically those of ingroup members) above their own and, therefore, to adjust or change their own preferences and behaviors to fit in with those of their ingroup (Morling et al., 2002; Weisz et al., 1984). Indeed, findings from a number of cross-cultural studies support the notion that American culture emphasizes influence more and adjustment less than many East Asian cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 2003). For instance, whereas American mothers expect their children to stand up for their rights and assert themselves at early ages, Japanese mothers expect children to control themselves and comply with rules (Conroy, Hess, Azuma, & Kashiwagi, 1980; Dennis et al., 2002; Hess, Kashiwagi, Azuma, Price, & Dickson, 1980). Different emphases on influence and adjustment are also reflected in preschooler play; whereas European American preschoolers use more directives and reject their partners' play

more than do Korean American preschoolers, Korean American preschoolers agree and cooperate more during play than do their European American peers (Farver & Shin, 1997). Finally, these different emphases are reflected in adult communication; whereas adults in the United States are encouraged to communicate in a direct, active, and clear style, which facilitates influencing others, adults from Korea and Taiwan are encouraged to communicate in a more indirect and ambiguous style, which facilitates accommodation to others' needs (Chua & Gudykunst, 1987; Nomura & Barnlund, 1983; Okabe, 1983; Ting-Toomey et al., 2000; Trubisky, Ting-Toomey, & Lin, 1991).

My colleagues and I predict that cultures (and individuals) with influence goals value HAP states more and LAP states less than do cultures (and individuals) with adjustment goals (Tsai, Miao, Seppala, et al., 2007). Influence and adjustment involve different levels of behavioral activity and, therefore, arousal. To influence others, one must act on others first (e.g., by expressing an opinion, asking others to do something). Indeed, Gifford and O'Conner (1987) observed that during an open-ended group conversation, individuals who exerted more influence were more likely to gesture, initiate acts, and talk than were those who exerted less influence. Similarly, Galinsky, Gruenfeld, and Magee (2003) demonstrated that individuals who were put in influential positions or who were instructed to recall times when they were powerful were more likely to act on their environments (e.g., remove an annoying stimulus) than were those who were not. Because influencing others requires action, and action involves increases in physiological arousal (e.g., heart rate, skin conductance activity; e.g., Bradley et al., 2001; Graham, 1979), influence should be associated with high-arousal states. Consistent with this hypothesis, Mehrabian and Russell (1974) observed that influence was positively associated with high arousal, and Murray and Nakajima (1999) found that influencing others was negatively correlated with relaxing mentally and physically.

In contrast, to adjust to others, one must first wait until others express what they want (e.g., by allowing others to act or talk first, deferring to others to make plans or decisions) before trying to meet their needs (Moskowitz, 1994). Because adjusting to others at least initially requires suspended action, and suspended action involves decreases in physiological arousal, adjustment should be initially associated with low-arousal states. In addition, low-arousal states facilitate attention to environmental stimuli (Bradley et al., 2001).

Because influencing others is associated with high arousal, when people want to influence others, they should value high-arousal states more and low-arousal states less than should people who want to adjust to others. Similarly, cultures that value influence should value high-arousal states more and low-arousal states less than should cultures that value adjustment. However, because most people want to feel good, members of cultures that emphasize influence more should specifically value HAP states more and LAP states less than should members of cultures that emphasize adjustment more.

Consistent with these hypotheses, American–Chinese differences in ideal HAP states and ideal LAP states were mediated by self-reported influence and adjustment goals, respectively (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006; Tsai Miao, Seppala, et al., 2007). However, because these data were correlational, we could not draw any conclusions about causality. Therefore, to further investigate the relationship between interpersonal goals and ideal affect, we conducted a series of experiments to determine whether directly manipulating influence and adjustment goals would alter ideal affect across cultural groups (European Americans, Chinese Americans, and Hong Kong Chinese; Tsai, Miao, Seppala, et al., 2007, Studies 2-4).

In one study, 2 participants were instructed to work together to complete a card-matching task. Both partners were given identical stacks of cards (with a different figure on each card) and an empty grid and were asked to place the cards on the grids in an order that made the most sense to them. Partners were seated on opposite sides of a table that had a screen in the middle so that they could not see each others' cards. Partners were then randomly assigned to either the influencer or adjuster conditions. Participants in the adjuster condition were told to take their cards out of order so that they could put them in the order chosen by their partner. Participants in the influencer condition were then instructed to describe each card to their partners so that their partners could put their cards in the same order. Participants in the adjuster condition were instructed to listen closely to their partners' instructions and to try to "get into the mind set" of their partners. A few minutes into the task, participants were asked to complete measures of how they actually felt and how they ideally wanted to feel at that moment. As predicted, across groups, participants in the influencer condition reported valuing HAP states more and LAP states less than did those in the adjuster condition. Participants did not differ by condition in terms of the degree to which they actually felt HAP or LAP states. There were no significant main effects or interactions involving cultural group for actual or ideal affect.

To ensure that the observed differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP were due to influence and adjustment goals rather than behaviors, we conducted another study. While participants were ostensibly waiting for their partners to arrive for a study of the effects of music on performance, half were told that they would be influencing their partners and the other half were told that they would be adjusting to their partners. We then asked participants to choose either an exciting or calm CD to listen to while they were preparing for their roles. Thus, prior to choosing a CD, participants in the influencer and adjuster conditions differed in their goals but not in their actual behavior. Consistent with our previous findings, across cultural groups, participants in the influencer condition were significantly more likely to choose the exciting CD than were those in the adjuster condition, suggesting that simply having influence or adjustment goals was sufficient to alter ideal affect (there were no significant interactions involving cultural group). Significant

group differences also emerged: European Americans were more likely to choose the exciting CD, Hong Kong Chinese were more likely to choose the calm CD, and Asian Americans fell in between the other two groups. These findings demonstrate that cultural differences in ideal affect generalize to a behavioral measure of ideal affect.

In summary, our findings collectively suggest that at the cultural and situational levels, differences in the valuation of HAP states and LAP states are at least partly due to differences in influence and adjustment goals. This research is the first to use experimental designs to identify the specific aspects of culture associated with the valuation of different affective states. We are currently examining other possible sources of differences in ideal affect. For instance, the degree to which cultures (and people) are oriented toward the past, present, or future (i.e., time orientation) may also influence the degree to which they value HAP and LAP states.

### WHAT ARE THE BEHAVIORAL CONSEQUENCES OF IDEAL AFFECT?

Although differences in ideal affect may stem from larger cultural factors (e.g., influence and adjustment goals), over time, the affective states become goals to be pursued in and of themselves. What consequences do these affective goals have for daily life? I propose that people make behavioral choices—consciously or not—based on their ideal affect, including what activities to engage in, what music to listen to, and even what substances to use. Thus, well-documented but poorly understood individual, ethnic, and national differences in various mood-producing behaviors may correspond to differences in ideal affect. Specifically, Americans should engage in activities that elicit HAP states more and those that elicit LAP states less than should members of Chinese and other East Asian cultures. To test this hypothesis, I review the literature on three types of mood-producing behavior that should be associated with ideal affect: leisure activities, music preferences, and drug use.<sup>3</sup>

#### Recreational and Leisure Activities

Across cultures, a central feature of leisure activities is the emotional or sensual experience they evoke (e.g., Driver & Tocher, 1970; Hull, 1990; Hull, Stewart, & Yi, 1992; Lofgren, 1999; Madrigal, 2003; Manfredi, Driver, & Tarrant, 1996; Maslow, 1967; Tinsley & Tinsley, 1986; Vitterso, Vorkinn, & Vistad, 2001). Therefore, people should engage in the activities that elicit the affective states that they desire and want to feel. Supporting this notion, Tinsley and Eldredge (1995) observed that the desire for exertion (versus relaxation) accounted for the majority of the variance in people's engagement in different

leisure activities (e.g., attending plays, playing cards, fishing, hiking, jogging).

Consistent with this prediction, European Americans and Canadians are more likely to view fun and thrills as an important benefit of leisure than are Japanese and Taiwanese (Yoshioka, Nilson, & Simpson, 2002). Among people who use national parks, European Americans are more likely to use bikes and hiking trails than are Asian Americans (Tinsley et al., 2002). Caucasian Canadians are less likely to view wildlife and scenery but are more likely to hike than are Chinese Canadians (Walker, Deng, & Dieser, 2001). Gobster and Delgado (1992) found that European Americans are more likely to engage in "active individual" activities (e.g., jogging, running, rollerblading) and less likely to engage in "passive" activities (e.g., sightseeing and hanging out, picnicking) than are their Asian American counterparts. Indeed, Americans are more likely than Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans to recreationally take on the challenge of conquering the most famous Himalayan peak, Mt. Everest (ExplorersWeb, Inc., 2002). Furthermore, Yu and Berryman (1996) found that as Chinese immigrant adolescents become more acculturated to American culture, they also become more likely to engage in active sports (e.g., basketball) and other outdoor activities (e.g., bicycling).

Because none of these studies explicitly measured ideal affect, it is unclear whether national and ethnic differences in leisure activities are in fact due to differences in ideal affect. Therefore, we asked European Americans and Asian Americans about their recreational and leisure activities, as well as their global ideal and actual affect. Consistent with previous findings, European American college students reported engaging in significantly more active sports than did Asian American college students. In another study, we asked European American, Asian American, and Hong Kong Chinese about their ideal vacations. European Americans and Asian Americans mentioned significantly more activities than did Hong Kong Chinese, and a greater proportion of these activities were physically rigorous (e.g., surfing, running). In addition, European Americans reported more HAP states (e.g., "I would want to explore and do exciting things") and fewer LAP states ("Going to a place where I could totally relax") than did Hong Kong Chinese, although the differences in LAP states were not significant. Asian Americans fell in between these two groups. Furthermore, group differences in the number of activities and the number of HAP states mentioned in participants' descriptions of their ideal vacations were at least partially mediated by participants' ideal HAP and ideal LAP (Tsai, Knutson, & Rothman, 2007). These findings held after controlling for temperament (neuroticism, extraversion) and actual affect.

#### Music Preferences

Several studies have demonstrated that music not only elicits emotional responses (Altenmuller, Schurmann, Lim, & Parlitz,

<sup>3</sup>Of course, there are activities, music, and drugs that elicit different affective states at different time points. I would predict that for these activities, music, and drugs, ideal affect would predict what part of the activity, music, and drug is the most rewarding for a given individual.



2002; Blood & Zatorre, 2001; Krumhansl, 1997) but also that, across cultures, specific sounds and tempos are associated with specific affective states (Balkwill, Thompson, & Matsunaga, 2004; Hevner, 1935; Husain, Thompson, & Schellenberg, 2002; Juslin & Laukka, 2003; Osgood, 1960). Given cross-cultural associations between acoustic properties and emotion and the fact that people often listen to music to alter their affective states (Cohen & Andrade, 2004; Rickard, 2004; Wells, 1990), cultural differences in ideal affect should produce national and ethnic differences in music preferences. Although previous research has examined individual differences in preferences for different music genres (e.g., classical, country western, rock; e.g., Dollinger, 1993; Litle & Zuckerman, 1986; Pearson & Dollinger, 2003; Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003; van Eijck, 2001), few studies have compared genre preferences across cultures. Of the studies that have done so, the findings were consistent with cultural differences in ideal affect. For example, Wells and Tokinoya (1998) observed that, among the different forms of Western music, classical and jazz (which were rated by Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003, as slower and less energetic than other genres) were more popular among Japanese than American adolescents (Wells, 1990). Individual and group differences in music preferences within the same genre should also vary as a function of differences in ideal affect. Indeed, Ho (2004) found that among different pop songs, Hong Kong adolescents preferred those with slower tempos, and Thai adolescents preferred those that were more relaxing. In contrast, Wells (1990) observed that the top three emotions elicited by American adolescents' favorite pop songs were happiness, excitement, and love.

To directly test the hypothesis that ideal affect is related to music preferences within the same musical genre, my colleagues and I (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2007) presented Asian American and European American participants with pairs of calm and exciting classical musical pieces and asked them to select their preferred piece from each pair. Afterwards, participants completed the AVI. Asian Americans chose significantly more calm pieces than did European Americans. Furthermore, within groups, the more that individuals valued LAP states on average, the more likely they were to choose the calm pieces. These associations were significant even after controlling for participants' actual LAP, suggesting that the relationship between how people want to feel and their musical choices holds regardless of how they actually feel on average.

### Drug Use and Abuse

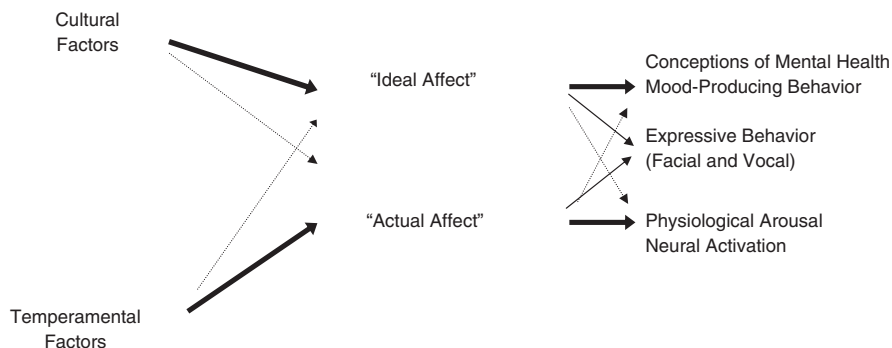
Although there is some variation across individuals, in general, specific drugs elicit specific affective states (deWit, 1998; Gabbay, 2003). For example, for most people, cocaine elicits excitement, whereas heroin elicits calm (deWit, Pierro, & Johanson, 1989; Kennedy, Little, & Scholey, 2004; Panksepp, Knutson, & Burgdorf, 2002). Other drugs like marijuana, nicotine, and alcohol have both stimulating and sedating effects

depending on dosage and time after ingestion (Little, 2000; Russell & Mehrabian, 1975).

Scientists generally agree that the affective states associated with a particular drug are related to its use and abuse (e.g., Alessi, Roll, Reilly, & Johanson, 2002; Khantzian, 1990). People use and then become dependent on drugs that induce positive moods or alleviate negative ones (deWit, 1998; Gabbay, 2003; Jarvik, 1969). Most studies, however, assume that specific affective states such as euphoria and other HAP states are inherently rewarding (e.g., Little, 2000) and that variation in preference for psychoactive drugs is due to how effective the drug is at eliciting a particular affective state for a particular individual (e.g., Chutuape & deWit, 1994; deWit, Uhlenhuth, & Johanson, 1986). However, as suggested by Kaplan (1960, p. 50), it is also possible that differences in drug preference or liking are due to whether or not people value or enjoy the sensations elicited by the drugs. Elaborating on this idea, I propose that individuals will prefer (and therefore, be more likely to try and repeatedly use) drugs that elicit their valued affective state. Thus, Americans should use and abuse stimulants like cocaine and amphetamines more and narcotics like heroin less than should Chinese and members of other East Asian cultures.

In keeping with my prediction, the primary illicit drugs of abuse (on the basis of treatment demand) in the United States are stimulants such as cocaine and amphetamines, whereas the primary illicit drugs of abuse in China are opiates such as heroin (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006). Cultural differences in ideal affect may also explain why rates of cocaine use (relative to opiate use) are higher among European Americans than among Asian Americans (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2006), why European Americans consistently prefer amphetamine over diazepam and other sedatives when given a choice between the two (e.g., Alessi et al., 2002; deWit et al., 1986; Johanson & Uhlenhuth, 1980), and why opiates are often the last drugs to be tried among Western multiple drug users (Pedersen & Skrandal, 1999). Although I have specifically focused on illicit drugs, these predictions should also hold for legal and herbal drugs that reliably elicit HAP and LAP states (e.g., coffee vs. chamomile tea).

Although we have not directly examined whether ideal affect accounts for ethnic or national differences in drug use, we have demonstrated an association between ideal affect and drug use among Americans (Tsai, Knutson, & Rothman, 2007). College students from a large Midwestern university were asked various questions about their recreational use of illicit drugs (i.e., marijuana, ecstasy, cocaine, and heroin). Among college students who reported using these drugs, those who had used cocaine valued LAP states significantly less than those who had not used cocaine, controlling for participants' actual LAP. There were no significant differences in ideal HAP (perhaps because of restricted variance). However, among students who had used cocaine more than once, the greater the discrepancy between their actual and ideal HAP, the more likely they thought



**Fig. 3.** Integrating ideal affect with actual affect in affect valuation theory. Darker lines indicate stronger predicted associations.

they would use cocaine in the future. These findings suggest that the specific drugs that people use and their likelihood of using these drugs in the future are associated with people’s ideal affect.<sup>4</sup>

In summary, although most people may engage in mood-producing behaviors, the specific type of mood-producing behavior that they engage in may vary as a function of their ideal affect. These associations are apparent both at the level of group differences across cultures and at the level of individual differences within a culture.

**INTEGRATING IDEAL AFFECT WITH ACTUAL AFFECT: AFFECT VALUATION THEORY**

Thus far, I have defined ideal affect, proposed that cultural factors shape ideal affect, and provided evidence that differences in ideal affect can account for variation in mood-producing behaviors. When integrated with the existing empirical literature on actual affect, these propositions generate new predictions about how culture, temperament, and affect work together to influence people’s daily emotional lives. As illustrated in Figure 3, these predictions compose the three basic premises of affect valuation theory (AVT): (a) ideal affect differs from actual affect; (b) cultural factors shape ideal affect more than they shape actual affect, whereas temperamental factors shape actual affect more than they shape ideal affect; and (c) discrepancies between actual and ideal affect motivate mood-producing behavior.

**Ideal Affect Differs From Actual Affect**

Most scholars view affective states (which include moods and emotions) as responses, outcomes, or consequences of and/or feedback about goal attainment. For example, in process theories of emotion (e.g., Lazarus, 1991; Levenson, 1994), emotions occur in response to an event that has some meaning for the organism. Similarly, in theories of self-regulation (Carver &

Scheier, 1990a, 1990b; Higgins, 1987, 1997, 2001; Higgins, Grant, & Shah, 1999), affective states occur when individuals are moving toward their goals faster or slower than expected or when individuals succeed or fail at meeting their goals. In contrast, AVT argues that affective states are themselves goals to be pursued. In this regard, AVT resembles some theories of mood regulation (e.g., Erber & Erber, 2001; Larsen, 2000). Thus, the first premise of AVT argues that both conceptually and empirically, actual affect differs from ideal affect.

To test this hypothesis, we conducted structural equation modeling on self-reports of actual and ideal affect in culturally diverse samples to compare two nested models: one that treated actual and ideal affect as two separate factors (e.g., actual HAP and ideal HAP) and another that treated actual and ideal affect as a single factor (e.g., HAP). Analyses revealed that across culturally diverse samples, the two-factor model provided a better fit than did the single-factor model (e.g., Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). These findings hold for global as well as for momentary reports obtained with experience-sampling methods (Tsai, Thomas, Park, Hong, Ip, & Chu, 2007). Thus, by distinguishing actual affect from ideal affect, AVT integrates theories of affect and emotion with theories of mood regulation. In addition, AVT broadens both to include cultural and temperamental factors, as described below.

**Cultural Factors Shape Ideal Affect More Than Actual Affect; Temperamental Factors Shape Actual Affect More Than Ideal Affect**

Although most theories acknowledge that cultural and temperamental factors shape affective states, few, if any, specify how. In part, this is because the cross-cultural literature on emotion is mixed, with some studies finding more cultural differences than similarities in emotion (e.g., Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000; Kleinman & Good, 1985; Levy, 1983; Lutz, 1988; Mesquita & Kurasawa, 2002; Potter, 1988; Scollon, Diener, Oishi, & Biswas-Diener, 2004; Shweder & Haidt, 2002; Wierzbicka, 1994) and others finding more cultural similarities than differences (e.g., Breugelmans et al., 2005; Ekman et al., 1987; Haidt

<sup>4</sup>Very few participants reported using heroin, and therefore, we could not examine the relationship between ideal affect and heroin use.

& Keltner, 1999; Hejmadi, Davidson, & Rozin, 2000; Moore, Romney, Hsia, & Rusch, 1999; Oishi, 2002; Scherer, 1997; Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton, Friere-Bebeau, & Przymus, 2002). Moreover, when ethnic or national differences are observed, it is often unclear whether they are due to cultural factors, temperamental factors (i.e., individual differences in emotional reactivity and regulation that appear early in life and that remain relatively stable across the life span; Kagan, 1998), or both. Indeed, decades of empirical research clearly suggest that temperamental factors (namely, neuroticism and extraversion) account for at least 50% of the variance in self-reported actual affect across cultures.<sup>5</sup> Thus, it is possible that temperamental factors account for at least some of the observed ethnic and national differences in actual affect (Costa & McCrae, 1980; David, Green, Martin, & Suls, 1997; Diener & Lucas, 1999; Gross, Sutton, & Ketelaar, 1998; Lykken & Tellegen, 1996; McCrae, Costa, & Yik, 1996; Rusting & Larsen, 1997; Schimmack, Radhakrishnan, Oishi, Dzikoto, & Ahadi, 2002).

By distinguishing between actual and ideal affect, AVT offers a way of integrating cultural and temperamental factors into one unified theory of emotion. Whereas temperamental factors may play a particularly important role in shaping actual affect, cultural factors may play a particularly important role in shaping ideal affect. Therefore, although cultural and temperamental factors may both influence actual and ideal affect, cultural factors may shape ideal affect more than actual affect, and temperamental factors may shape actual affect more than ideal affect. Consistent with this hypothesis, across our studies (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006; Tsai, Miao, Seppala, et al., 2007), cultural factors (i.e., measures of influence and adjustment goals) account for greater variance in ideal affect than in actual affect, controlling for temperamental factors (i.e., neuroticism, extraversion). In contrast, temperamental factors account for greater variance in actual affect than in ideal affect, controlling for cultural factors (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006; Tsai, Miao, Seppala, et al., 2007). This latter finding is supported by findings from other studies as well (Kuppens et al., 2006; Rusting & Larsen, 1997).

AVT also provides one way of explaining why the cross-cultural literature on emotion is so mixed. Studies that document more cultural differences than similarities may be primarily tapping into processes related to ideal affect (e.g., practices, rituals, representations), whereas studies that document more cultural similarities than differences may be primarily tapping into processes related to actual affect (e.g., physiology). Furthermore, by identifying culture as one source of variation in ideal affect, AVT provides one way of explaining why although most people want to feel good, people want to feel good in different ways.

### Discrepancies in Actual and Ideal Affect Motivate Mood-Producing Behavior

Why do some people jump out of planes, climb rocks, and ride waves to feel good, whereas others meditate, practice yoga, and get massages? Although most theories of affect and emotion focus on expressive behavior (e.g., smiling, frowning, yelling) or coping behaviors (e.g., running away from a predictor), few include mood-producing behaviors. AVT argues that ideal affect predicts the specific mood-producing behaviors that people engage in, especially when the discrepancy between their actual and ideal affect is large (i.e., when people are far from their ideal states). Thus, ideal affect serves not only as a measuring stick against which to compare one's actual affect but also as a guide for behavior.

The notion that people attempt to reduce discrepancies between their actual and ideal affect by engaging in mood-producing behavior builds on control process and mood regulation theories (e.g., Carver & Scheier, 1982, 1990a, 1990b; Larsen, 2000). Control process theory suggests that individuals attain lower order goals in order to achieve higher order ones (Carver, Lawrence, & Scheier, 1999). Similarly, AVT predicts that if individuals are not able to achieve their ideal affect immediately, then they initially seek states that approximate their ideal affect. For instance, if an individual feels extremely negative but wants to feel a HAP state, she may first engage in behavior that reduces her negative feelings and brings her to a neutral state (e.g., by withdrawing from the situation, sleeping all day). After she is in a neutral state, she may then engage in behaviors that are likely to elicit her ideal affective state (e.g., by listening to exciting music, partying all night long).

In some cases, engagement in mood-producing behaviors may effectively reduce the discrepancy between actual and ideal affect, and individuals may continue to engage in the same behavior until the discrepancy becomes negligible or at least tolerable. Individuals may begin to engage in specific mood-producing behaviors on a regular, ongoing basis to maintain their mood and to minimize future discrepancies between their actual and ideal affect (e.g., by exercising on a daily basis or by drinking a glass of wine every evening). In other cases, however, engaging in a specific mood-producing behavior may not alter actual affect as desired. A sky dive may not go smoothly, and a walk in the park may be ruined by mosquitoes. Moreover, people may mispredict how activities will influence their actual affect (Gilbert & Wilson, 2000). Thus, the discrepancy between actual and ideal affect may remain large. Individuals may switch to alternative mood-producing behaviors until their actual affect moves closer to their ideal affect, or individuals may have to settle for states that only approximate their ideal states. For instance, individuals in negative moods who value HAP states, but who do not have the opportunity to engage in HAP-eliciting activities may instead settle for highly aroused states. Of course, it is possible that individuals

<sup>5</sup>The link between temperament and actual affect also holds when non-self-report measures of actual affect are used (e.g., Canli et al., 2001; Cook, Hawk, Davis, & Stevenson, 1991; Knutson & Bhanji, 2006).

may not be able to reduce the discrepancy between their actual and ideal states at all; in these cases, individuals may wait until circumstances allow them to engage in more effective mood-producing behaviors (e.g., going to a bar at the end of the workday), or they may even begin to adjust their ideal affect to match their actual affect.

In summary, AVT begins to integrate ideal affect with current theories of affect, self-regulation, and mood regulation. Specifically, AVT predicts that: (a) ideal affect differs from actual affect; (b) cultural factors shape ideal affect more than actual affect, whereas temperamental factors shape actual affect more than ideal affect; and (c) when there are large discrepancies between people's actual and ideal affect, they actively try to reduce those discrepancies by engaging in specific behaviors that elicit their ideal affect. Although the premises of AVT have received compelling empirical support, more research is clearly needed to further test these hypotheses.

### CURRENT DIRECTIONS

My colleagues and I are currently testing the boundary conditions of AVT. In one series of studies, we are examining how ideal affect influences different components of actual emotional responding (our predictions are indicated in Figure 3). We have observed that cultural factors shape expressions of positive emotion more than temperamental factors do (Tsai, Levenson, & McCoy, 2006). Specifically, when European Americans and Asian Americans report experiencing the same intensity of positive emotion, European Americans smile more intensely and frequently than do Asian Americans. These differences in expressive behavior may be due to differences in ideal affect. Thus, ideal affect may predict expressive behavior more than does actual affect. In contrast, immediate autonomic or neural responses may reflect actual affect more than ideal affect and, therefore, may be less influenced by culture. Indeed, across several studies, we have observed few, if any, significant differences in autonomic reactivity between European Americans and Asian Americans (Tsai & Levenson, 1997; Tsai, Levenson, & Carstensen, 2000; Tsai, Levenson, & McCoy, 2006). Examining how ideal affect influences emotional response will also potentially advance our understanding of the overlap between actual and ideal affect.

In a second series of studies, we are exploring how ideal affect changes across the life span. Given the significant changes in goals and relationships that occur across the life span (Carstensen, Issacowitz, & Charles, 1999), we expect ideal affect to change as well. For example, as people approach the end of life, they may attach less value to states associated with influence (i.e., HAP states) and more value to states associated with adjustment (i.e., LAP states). Furthermore, several studies have demonstrated that individuals are better able to control their emotions as they age (Gross et al, 1997; Labouvie-Vief, Hakim-Larson, DeVoe, & Schoeberlein, 1989; Lawton, Kleban,

Rajagopal, & Dean, 1992), suggesting that the discrepancy between actual and ideal affect may decrease across the life span. We are also examining how age-related social and biological changes interact with cultural factors to alter ideal affect.

Finally, we are examining the implications of AVT for clinical and other applied contexts. For example, ideal affect may shape conceptions of mental health and illness. Because most mental health assessment instruments have been developed in the United States, they may reflect the affective ideals of American culture. For example, in Bradburn's (1969) Affect Balance Scale (one of the most popular measures of subjective well-being), items sampling positive affect refer to HAP and/or influence states (e.g., feeling "things are going your way," "being pleased about having accomplished something," feeling "proud because someone complimented you on something you had done," feeling "excited or interested in something," and feeling "on top of the world," p. 56). Although these items may provide relevant indices of mental health in cultural contexts that value HAP states, they may be less useful in cultures that place lesser value on HAP states. Thus, we are examining whether other instruments developed in the United States contain more HAP than LAP content and, if so, what impact this has on their utility in contexts that value LAP states more.

This research may reveal how ideal affect influences treatment compliance. For example, individuals who value LAP states may be relatively disinclined to comply with treatments that have more stimulating effects, and individuals who value HAP states may be relatively disinclined to comply with treatments that have more calming effects. Such speculation may explain why clinicians in Seattle are less likely than clinicians in Nagasaki and Shanghai to prescribe tranquilizers (relative to antidepressants) for depressed patients (Linden et al., 1999). It may also explain why American bipolar patients have lower rates of lithium treatment compliance than do Hong Kong Chinese bipolar patients (Keck, McElroy, Strakowski, Bourne, & West, 1997; Lee, 1993) and why Hong Kong Chinese bipolar patients are less likely than American bipolar patients to attribute their noncompliance to factors such as loss of assertiveness and missing "highs." Mismatches in ideal affect between clinicians and patients may also explain why Asian Americans are more likely to discontinue involvement in psychotherapy prematurely than are European Americans (Sue, Fujino, Hu, Takeuchi, & Zane, 1991). Psychotherapists may be consciously or unconsciously encouraging their patients to experience affective states that they do not value, which may result in a lack of rapport and patients' sense that therapy is not for them. If ideal affect does predict treatment response, clinicians could begin to tailor therapeutic interventions to patients' ideal affect. For example, smokers who enjoy the stimulating effects of nicotine might benefit from a prescription of rollerblading as an alternative activity, whereas smokers who seek the calming effects of nicotine might benefit more from a prescription of meditation.

## CONCLUSION

Why do people do different things to feel good? In this article, I argue that people do different things to feel good because they differ in their ideal affect. The first part of this article described what ideal affect is, argued that cultural factors shape ideal affect, and provided evidence that differences in ideal affect account for variation in mood-producing behaviors. The second part of the article described AVT, which incorporates ideal affect into current models of affect and emotion. Specifically, AVT distinguishes ideal affect from actual affect, considers the relative impact of cultural and temperamental factors on ideal affect and actual affect, and proposes that discrepancies between actual and ideal affect motivate mood-producing behavior.

To illustrate these points, I focused on comparisons between American and Chinese and other East Asian cultures. These findings clearly demonstrate that American culture values HAP states more and LAP states less than do Chinese culture and other East Asian cultures. These cultural differences in ideal affect are reflected in interpersonal communication, religious texts, magazines, and children's literature. Moreover, cultural differences in ideal affect may explain why Chinese and other East Asians are less likely to engage in physically rigorous activities, listen to loud music, and abuse stimulant drugs than are their American counterparts.

Understanding the value of LAP states in many East Asian cultures may cause us to reconsider previous assumptions about affect and emotion in East Asian cultures. For example, stereotypes of East Asians as "stoic," "inhibited," and "unexpressive" abound. However, rather than reflect a lack of emotion, East Asians may be expressing culturally valued LAP states. Future research may reveal other cultural misunderstandings that originate from cultural differences in ideal affect.

In this article, I have proposed that ideal affect plays a central role in daily life and, therefore, deserves increased attention by scientists and clinicians alike. Ideal affect illustrates how cultural ideas and practices become internalized and embodied and how they drive behavior (often outside individuals' conscious awareness). Indeed, the role of ideal affect may remain hidden or invisible to members of the same culture. But despite its hidden nature, ideal affect serves pervasive functions. Ideal affect operates as a measuring stick that helps people evaluate and interpret their own (and others') affective experiences. Ideal affect also serves as a guide that directs people's behavioral choices. As such, ideal affect provides structure, continuity, and meaning to people's emotional lives.

**Acknowledgments**—I thank Felicity Miao and Jennifer Louie for their library assistance and research in preparing this article and Laura Carstensen, Yulia Chentsova-Dutton, Carol Dweck, Jennifer Eberhardt, Lisa Feldman-Barrett, Jon Haidt, Chip Heath, Brian Knutson, Hazel Markus, Batja Mesquita, Richard

Shweder, Lee Ross, Ewart Thomas, Larissa Tiedens, the Culture and Emotion Lab, and the Stanford Culture Collab for their extremely thoughtful and helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article.

## REFERENCES

- Alessi, S.M., Roll, J.M., Reilly, M.P., & Johanson, C.E. (2002). Establishment of a diazepam preference in human volunteers following a differential-conditioning history of placebo versus diazepam choice. *Experimental and Clinical Psychopharmacology*, *10*, 77–83.
- Altenmuller, E., Schurmann, K., Lim, V.K., & Parlitz, D. (2002). Hits to the left, flops to the right: Different emotions during listening to music are reflected in cortical lateralization patterns. *Neuropsychologia*, *40*, 2242–2256.
- Balkwill, L.L., Thompson, W.F., & Matsunaga, R. (2004). Recognition of emotion in Japanese, Western, and Hindustani music by Japanese listeners. *Japanese Psychological Research*, *46*, 337–349.
- Basabe, N., Paez, D., Valencia, J., Rime, B., Pennebaker, J., Diener, E., & Gonzalez, J.L. (2000). Sociocultural factors predicting subjective experience of emotion: A collective level of analysis. *Psicothema*, *12*, 55–69.
- Blood, A.J., & Zatorre, R.J. (2001). Intensely pleasurable responses to music correlate with activity in brain regions implicated in reward and emotion. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, USA*, *98*, 11818–11823.
- Boocock, S. (1999). Social prisms: An international comparison of childrearing manuals. *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, *8*, 5–33.
- Bradburn, N.M. (1969). *The structure of psychological well-being*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Bradley, M.M., Codispoti, M., Cuthbert, B., & Lang, P.J. (2001). Emotion and motivation: I. Defensive and appetitive reactions in picture processing. *Emotion*, *1*, 276–298.
- Breugelmans, S.M., Ambadar, Z., Vaca, J.B., Poortinga, Y.H., Setiadi, B., Widiyanto, P., & Philippot, P. (2005). Body sensations associated with emotions in Raramuri Indians, rural Javanese, and three student samples. *Emotion*, *5*, 166–174.
- Camras, L., Chen, Y., Bakeman, R., Norris, K., & Cain, T.R. (2006). Culture, ethnicity, and children's facial expressions: A study of European Americans, Mainland Chinese, Chinese American, and Adopted Chinese girls. *Emotion*, *6*, 103–114.
- Camras, L.A., Kolmodin, K.E., & Chen, Y. (2005). *Mothers' self-reported emotional expression and attitudes toward childrearing in Mainland Chinese, Chinese American, and European American families*. Manuscript submitted for publication
- Canli, T., Zhao, A., Desmond, J.E., Kang, E., Gross, J., & Gabrieli, J.D. (2001). An fMRI study of personality influences on brain reactivity to emotional stimuli. *Behavioral Neuroscience*, *115*, 33–42.
- Carstensen, L.L., Isaacowitz, D., & Charles, S.T. (1999). Taking time seriously: A theory of socioemotional selectivity. *American Psychologist*, *54*, 165–181.
- Carver, C.S., Lawrence, J.W., & Scheier, M.F. (1999). Self-discrepancies and affect: Incorporating the role of feared selves. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *25*, 783–792.
- Carver, C.S., & Scheier, M.F. (1982). Control theory: A useful conceptual framework for personality-social, clinical, and health psychology. *Psychological Bulletin*, *92*, 111–135.

- Carver, C.S., & Scheier, M.F. (1990a). Origins and functions of positive and negative affect: A control process view. *Psychological Review*, 97, 19–35.
- Carver, C.S., & Scheier, M.F. (1990b). Principles of self-regulation: Action and emotion. In E.T. Higgins & R.M. Sorrentino (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation and cognition: Foundations of social behavior* (Vol. 2, pp. 3–52). New York: Guilford Press.
- Caudill, W. (1972). Tiny dramas: Vocal communication between mother and infant in Japanese and American families. In W.P. Lebra (Ed.), *Transcultural research in mental health* (pp. 25–48). Honolulu, HI: University Press of Hawaii.
- Caudill, W., & Schooler, C. (1973). Child behavior and child rearing in Japan and the United States: An interim report. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 157, 323–338.
- Caudill, W., & Weinstein, H. (1969). Maternal care and infant behavior in Japan and America. *Psychiatry*, 32, 12–43.
- Chaves, M. (1999). *How do we worship?* Herndon, VA: Alban Institute.
- Chua, E., & Gudykunst, W. (1987). Conflict resolution styles in low- and high-context cultures. *Communication Research Reports*, 4, 32–37.
- Chutuape, M.A., & deWit, H. (1994). Relationship between subjective effects and drug preferences: Ethanol and diazepam. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 34, 243–251.
- Cohen, J.B., & Andrade, E.B. (2004). Affective intuition and task-contingent affect regulation. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31, 358–367.
- Conroy, M., Hess, R.D., Azuma, H., & Kashiwagi, K. (1980). Maternal strategies for regulating children's behavior: Japanese and American families. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 11, 153–172.
- Conze, E. (1951). *Buddhism: Its essence and development*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Cook, E.W., Hawk, L.W., Davis, T.L., & Stevenson, V.E. (1991). Affective individual differences and startle reflex modulation. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 100, 5–13.
- Corrigan, J. (Ed.). (2004). *Religion and emotion: Approaches and interpretations*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 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.
- Denham, S.A., Caverly, S., Schmidt, M., Blair, K., DeMulder, E., Caal, S., et al. (2002). Preschool understanding of emotions: Contributions to classroom anger and aggression. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 43, 901–916.
- Dennis, T.A., Cole, P.M., Zahn-Waxler, C., & Mizuta, I. (2002). Self in context: Autonomy and relatedness in Japanese and U.S. mother-preschooler dyads. *Child Development*, 73, 1803–1817.
- deWit, H. (1998). Individual differences in acute effects of drugs in humans: Their relevance to risk for abuse. In C.L. Wetherington & J.L. Falk (Eds.), *Laboratory behavioral studies of vulnerability to drug abuse* (pp. 176–187). Rockville, MD: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
- deWit, H., Pierro, J., & Johanson, C.E. (1989). Reinforcing and subjective effects of diazepam in nondrug-abusing volunteers. *Pharmacology Biochemistry & Behavior*, 33, 205–213.
- deWit, H., Uhlenhuth, E.H., & Johanson, C.E. (1986). Individual differences in the reinforcing and subjective effects of amphetamine and diazepam. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 16, 341–360.
- Diener, E., & Lucas, R. (1999). Personality and subjective well-being. In D. Kahneman, E. Diener, & N. Schwarz (Eds.), *Well-being: The foundations of hedonic psychology* (pp. 213–229). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Diener, E., & Suh, M. (1999). National differences in subjective well-being. In D. Kahneman, E. Diener, & N. Schwarz (Eds.), *Well-being: The foundations of hedonic psychology* (pp. 434–450). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Dollinger, S.J. (1993). Research note: Personality and music preference: Extraversion and excitement seeking, or openness to experience? *Psychology of Music*, 21, 73–77.
- Driver, B.L., & Tocher, S.R. (1970). Toward a behavioral interpretation of recreation engagements with implications for planning. In B.L. Driver (Ed.), *Elements of outdoor recreation planning* (pp. 9–31). Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms Mich.
- Eid, M., & Diener, E. (2001). Norms for experiencing emotions in different cultures: Inter- and intranational differences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 869–885.
- Eisenberg, N., Cumberland, A., & Spinrad, T.L. (1998). Parental socialization of emotion. *Psychological Inquiry*, 9, 241–273.
- Eisenberg, N., Liew, J., & Pidada, S. (2001). The relations of parental emotional expressivity with quality of Indonesian children's social functioning. *Emotion*, 1, 116–136.
- Ekman, P., & Friesen, W. (1978). *Facial action coding system: A technique for the measurement of facial movement*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Ekman, P., Friesen, W., O'Sullivan, M., Chan, D., Diacyanni-Tarlatzis, I., Heider, K., et al. (1987). Universals and cultural differences in the judgments of facial expressions of emotion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53, 712–717.
- Elliot, A., & Thrash, T.M. (2002). Approach-avoidance motivation in personality: Approach and avoidance temperaments and goals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 804–818.
- Ellsworth, P. (1994). Sense, culture, and sensibility. In S. Kitayama & H. Markus (Eds.), *Emotion and culture: Empirical studies of mutual influence* (pp. 23–50). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Emmons, R., & Paloutzian, R.F. (2003). The psychology of religion. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 54, 377–402.
- Erber, M.W., & Erber, R. (2001). The role of motivated social cognition in the regulation of affective states. In J. Forgas (Ed.), *Affect and social cognition* (pp. 275–289). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- ExplorersWeb, Inc. (2002). All Mount Everest summiters. Retrieved August 22, 2005, from <http://www.adventurestats.com/tables/allsum.htm>
- Farver, J.M., Kim, Y.K., & Lee, Y. (1995). Cultural differences in Korean and Anglo American preschoolers' social interaction and play behaviors. *Child Development*, 66, 1088–1099.
- Farver, J.M., & Shin, Y.L. (1997). Social pretend play in Korean- and Anglo-American preschoolers. *Child Development*, 68, 544–556.
- Feldman Barrett, L. (1996). Hedonic tone, perceived arousal, and item desirability: Three components of self-reported mood. *Cognition & Emotion*, 19, 47–68.
- Feldman Barrett, L., & Russell, J.A. (1999). The structure of current affect: Controversies and emerging consensus. *Psychological Science*, 8, 10–14.

- Gabbay, F. (2003). Variations in affect following amphetamine and placebo: Markers of stimulant drug preference. *Experimental and Clinical Psychopharmacology*, *11*, 91–101.
- Galinsky, A.D., Gruenfeld, D.H., & Magee, J.C. (2003). From power to action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *85*, 453–466.
- Gifford, R., & O'Conner, B. (1987). The interpersonal circumplex as a behavior map. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *52*, 1019–1026.
- Gilbert, D.T., & Wilson, T.D. (2000). Miswanting: Some problems in the forecasting of future affective states. In J.P. Forgas (Ed.), *Feeling and thinking: The role of affect in social cognition* (pp. 178–197). Paris: Cambridge University Press.
- Gobster, P.H., & Delgado, A. (1992). Ethnicity and recreation use in Chicago's Lincoln Park: In-park user survey findings. In P. Gobster (Ed.), *Managing urban and high-use recreation settings*. (General Technical Report NC-163, pp. 75–81). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture.
- Gottman, J., Katz, L.F., & Hooven, C. (1996). Parental meta-emotion philosophy and the emotional life of families: Theoretical models and preliminary data. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *10*, 243–268.
- Graham, F. (1979). Distinguishing among orienting, defense, and startle reflexes. In H.D. Kimmel, E.H. van Olst, & J.F. Orlebeke (Eds.), *The orienting reflex in humans: An international conference sponsored by the Scientific Affects Division of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (pp. 137–167). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Gross, J.J., Carstensen, L.L., Pasupathi, M., Tsai, J.L., Gottestsam, K., & Hsu, A.Y.C. (1997). Emotion and aging: Changes in experience, expression, and control. *Psychology and Aging*, *12*, 590–599.
- 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.
- Haidt, J., & Keltner, D. (1999). Culture and facial expression: Open-ended methods find more expressions and a gradient of recognition. *Cognition & Emotion*, *13*, 225–266.
- Han, S.P., & Shavitt, S. (1994). Persuasion and culture: Advertising appeals in individualistic and collectivistic societies. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *30*, 326–350.
- Hanh, T.N. (1998). The four foundations of mindfulness. In J. Smith (Ed.), *Breath sweeps mind: A first guide to meditation practice* (pp. 13–16). New York: Riverhead Books.
- Hejmadi, A., Davidson, R.J., & Rozin, P. (2000). Exploring Hindu Indian emotion expressions: Evidence for accurate recognition by Americans and Indians. *Psychological Science*, *11*, 183–187.
- Hess, R.D., Kashiwagi, K., Azuma, H., Price, G.G., & Dickson, W.P. (1980). Maternal expectations for mastery of developmental tasks in Japan and the United States. *International Journal of Psychology*, *15*, 259–271.
- Hevner, K. (1935). The affective character of the major and minor modes in music. *American Journal of Psychology*, *47*, 103–118.
- Higgins, E.T. (1987). Self-discrepancy: A theory of relating self and affect. *Psychological Review*, *94*, 319–340.
- Higgins, E.T. (1997). Beyond pleasure and pain. *American Psychologist*, *52*, 1280–1300.
- Higgins, E.T. (2001). Promotion and prevention experiences: Relating emotions to nonemotional motivational states. In J. Forgas (Ed.), *Handbook of affect and social cognition* (pp. 186–211). London: Erlbaum.
- Higgins, E.T., Grant, H., & Shah, J. (1999). Self-regulation and quality of life: Emotional and non-emotional life experiences. In D. Kahneman, E. Diener, & N. Schwartz (Eds.), *Well-being: The foundations of hedonic psychology* (pp. 244–266). New York: Russell-Sage.
- Ho, W.C. (2004). A cross-cultural study of preferences for popular music among Hong Kong and Thai youth. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, *7*, Article 1. Retrieved June 15, 2005, from <http://www.immi.se/intercultural/>
- Hochschild, A.R. (1983). *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hull, R.B. (1990). Mood as a product of leisure: Causes and consequences. *Journal of Leisure Research*, *22*, 99–111.
- Hull, R.B., Stewart, W.P., & Yi, Y.K. (1992). Experience patterns: Capturing the dynamic nature of a recreation experience. *Journal of Leisure Research*, *24*, 240–252.
- Husain, G., Thompson, W.F., & Schellenberg, E.G. (2002). Effects of music tempo and mode on arousal, mood, and spatial abilities. *Music Perception*, *20*, 151–171.
- Izard, C.E. (1971). *The face of emotion*. New York: Meredith Corporation.
- Jarvik, M.E. (1969). Drugs and arousal. In B.P. Rourke (Ed.), *Explorations in the psychology of stress and anxiety* (pp. 43–48). Don Mills, Ontario, Canada: Longman.
- Johanson, C.E., & Uhlenhuth, E.H. (1980). Drug preference and mood in humans: Diazepam. *Psychopharmacology*, *71*, 269–273.
- Juslin, P.N., & Laukka, P. (2003). Communication of emotions in vocal expression and music performance: Different channels, same code? *Psychological Bulletin*, *129*, 770–814.
- Kagan, J. (1998). *Galen's prophecy: Temperament in human nature*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Kanaya, Y., Nakamura, C., & Miyake, K. (1989). Cross-cultural study of expressive behavior of mothers in response to their 5-month old infants' different emotion expression. *Annual Report*, *11*, 25–31.
- Kaplan, M. (1960). *Leisure in America: A social inquiry*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Keck, P.E., McElroy, S.L., Strakowski, S.M., Bourne, M.L., & West, S.A. (1997). Compliance with maintenance treatment in bipolar disorder. *Psychopharmacology Bulletin*, *33*, 87–91.
- Kennedy, D.O., Little, W., & Scholey, A.B. (2004). Attenuation of laboratory-induced stress in humans after acute administration of Melissa officinalis (lemon balm). *Psychosomatic Medicine*, *66*, 607–613.
- Khantzian, E.J. (1990). Self-regulation and self-medication factors in alcoholism and the addictions: Similarities and differences. In M. Galanter (Ed.), *Recent developments in alcoholism: Combined alcohol and other drug dependence* (pp. 255–271). New York: Plenum Press.
- Kim, H., & Markus, H.R. (1999). Deviance or uniqueness, Harmony or conformity? A cultural analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *77*, 785–800.
- Kim-Prieto, C., Fujita, F., & Diener, E. (2006). *Culture and patterns of emotional experience*. Unpublished manuscript.
- 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.

- Kleinman, A., & Good, B. (1985). *Culture and depression: Studies in the anthropology and cross-cultural psychiatry of affect and disorder*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Knutson, B., & Bhanji, J. (2006). Neural substrates for emotional traits? The case of extraversion. In T. Canli (Ed.), *Biology of personality and individual differences* (pp. 116–132). New York: Guilford Press.
- Kroeber, A.L., & Kluckhohn, C. (1952). *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology* (Vol. 47). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Krumhansl, C. (1997). An exploratory study of musical emotions and psychophysiology. *Canadian Journal of Experimental Psychology*, *51*, 336–352.
- Kuppens, P., Ceulemans, E., Timmerman, M.E., Diener, E., & Kim-Prieto, C. (2006). Universal intracultural and intercultural dimensions of the recalled frequency of emotional experience. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *37*, 491–515.
- Labouvie-Vief, G., Hakim-Larson, J., DeVoe, M., & Schoeberlein, S. (1989). Emotions and self-regulation: A life span view. *Human Development*, *32*, 279–299.
- Larsen, R.J. (2000). Toward a science of mood regulation. *Psychological Inquiry*, *11*, 129–141.
- 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.
- Lawton, M.P., Kleban, M., Rajagopal, D., & Dean, J. (1992). Dimensions of affective experience in three age groups. *Psychology and Aging*, *7*, 171–184.
- Lazarus, R. (1991). *Emotion and adaptation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, S. (1993). The prevalence and nature of lithium noncompliance among Chinese psychiatric patients in Hong Kong. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, *181*, 618–625.
- Levenson, R.W. (1994). Human emotion: A functional view. In P. Ekman & R.J. Davidson (Eds.), *The nature of emotion: Fundamental questions* (pp. 123–126). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Levy, R.I. (1983). Self and emotion. *Ethos*, *11*, 128–134.
- Linden, M., Lecrubier, Y., Bellantuaro, C., Benkert, O., Kisely, S., & Simon, G. (1999). The prescribing of psychotropic drugs by primary care providers: An international collaborative study. *Journal of Clinical Psychopharmacology*, *19*, 132–140.
- Litle, P., & Zuckerman, M. (1986). Sensation seeking and music preferences. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *7*, 575–577.
- Little, H.J. (2000). Alcohol as a stimulant drug. *Addiction*, *95*, 1751–1753.
- Lofgren, O. (1999). *On holiday: A history of vacationing*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lutz, C.A. (1988). *Unnatural emotions: Everyday sentiments on a Micronesian atoll and their challenge to Western theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lykken, D., & Tellegen, A. (1996). Happiness is a stochastic phenomenon. *Psychological Science*, *7*, 186–189.
- Madrigal, R. (2003). Investigating an evolving leisure experience: Antecedents and consequences of spectator affect during a live sporting event. *Journal of Leisure Research*, *35*, 23–48.
- Manfredo, M.J., Driver, B.L., & Tarrant, M.A. (1996). Measuring leisure motivation: A meta-analysis of the Recreation Experience Preference Scales. *Journal of Leisure Research*, *28*, 188–213.
- 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: Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (Vol. 49, pp. 18–74). Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- Marquand, R. (2005, June 14). Even pop culture must get a stamp of approval in China. *Christian Science Monitor*. Retrieved August 1, 2005, from <http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0614/p01s02-woap.html>
- Maslow, A. (1967). Lessons from the peak-experiences. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, *3*, 120–135.
- McCrae, R., Costa, P., & Yik, M. (1996). Universal aspects of Chinese personality structure. In M. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology* (pp. 189–207). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mehrabian, A., & Russell, J.A. (1974). *An approach to environmental psychology*. Boston: MIT Press.
- Mesquita, B., Frijda, N.H., & Scherer, K. (1997). Culture and emotion. In J.W. Berry, P.R. Dasen, & T.S. Saraswathi (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* (2nd ed., Vol. 2, pp. 255–297). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Mesquita, B., & Karasawa, M. (2002). Different emotional lives. *Cognition & Emotion*, *16*, 127–141.
- Minami, M., & McCabe, A. (1995). Rice balls and bear hunts: Japanese and North American family narrative patterns. *Journal of Child Language*, *22*, 423–445.
- Moore, C.C., Romney, A.K., Hsia, T.L., & Rusch, C.D. (1999). The universality of the semantic structure of emotion terms: Methods for the study of inter- and intracultural variability. *American Anthropologist*, *101*, 529–546.
- Morikawa, H., Shand, N., & Kosawa, Y. (1988). Maternal speech to prelingual infants in Japan and the United States: Relationships among functions, forms, and referents. *Journal of Child Language*, *15*, 237–256.
- 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.
- Moskowitz, D. (1994). Cross-situational generality and the interpersonal circumplex. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *66*, 921–933.
- Murray, C., & Nakajima, I. (1999). The leisure motivation of Japanese managers: A research note on scale development. *Leisure Studies*, *18*, 57–65.
- Nomura, N., & Barnlund, D. (1983). Patterns of interpersonal criticism in Japan and the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *7*, 1–18.
- Oishi, S. (2002). The experiencing and remembering of well-being: A cross-cultural analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *28*, 1398–1406.
- Okabe, R. (1983). Cultural assumptions of East and West: Japan and the United States. In W. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Intercultural communication theory* (pp. 21–44). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Osgood, C.E. (1960). The cross-cultural generality of visual-verbal synesthetic tendencies. *Behavioral Scientist*, *160*, 146–169.
- Panksepp, J., Knutson, B.K., & Burgdorf, J. (2002). The role of emotional brain systems in drug addiction: A neuroevolutionary perspective. *Addiction*, *97*, 459–469.
- Papousek, M., Papousek, H., & Symmes, D. (1991). The meanings of melodies in motherese in tone and stress languages. *Infant Behavior and Development*, *14*, 415–440.



- Pearson, J.L., & Dollinger, S.J. (2003). Music preference correlates of Jungian types. *Personality and Individual Differences, 36*, 1005–1008.
- Pedersen, W., & Skrandal, A. (1999). Ecstasy and new patterns of drug use: A normal population study. *Addiction, 94*, 1695–1706.
- Potter, S.H. (1988). The cultural construction of emotion in rural Chinese social life. *Ethos, 16*, 181–208.
- Rentfrow, P.J., & Gosling, S.D. (2003). The Do Re Mi's of everyday life: The structure and personality correlates of music preferences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84*, 1236–1256.
- Rickard, N.S. (2004). Intense emotional responses to music: A test of the physiological arousal hypothesis. *Psychology of Music, 32*, 371–388.
- Ridgeway, D., Waters, E., & Kuczaj, S.A. (1985). Acquisition of emotion-descriptive language: Receptive and productive vocabulary norms for ages 18 months to 6 years. *Developmental Psychology, 21*, 901–908.
- Rogoff, B., Mistry, J., Goncu, A., & Mosier, C. (1993). Guided participation in cultural activity by toddlers and caregivers. *Monographs of the Society for Research on Child Development, 58*, v–179.
- Rozin, P. (2003). Five potential principles for understanding cultural differences in relation to individual differences. *Journal of Research in Personality, 37*, 273–283.
- Russell, J.A. (1991). Culture and the categorization of emotions. *Psychological Bulletin, 110*, 426–450.
- Russell, J.A. (2003). Core affect and the psychological construction of emotion. *Psychological Review, 110*, 145–172.
- 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.
- Russell, J.A., & Mehrabian, A. (1975). The mediating role of emotions in alcohol use. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 36*, 1508–1536.
- Rusting, C.L., & Larsen, R.J. (1995). Moods as sources of stimulation: Relationships between personality and desired mood states. *Personality & Individual Differences, 18*, 321–329.
- Rusting, C.L., & Larsen, R.J. (1997). Extraversion, neuroticism, and susceptibility to positive and negative affect: A test of two theoretical models. *Personality and Individual Differences, 22*, 607–612.
- Sandler, J. (2005). *Affect valuation, culture, and play with infants*. Unpublished master's thesis, Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA.
- Scherer, K.R. (1997). The role of culture in emotion-antecedent appraisal. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73*, 902–922.
- Schimmack, U., Radhakrishnan, P., Oishi, S., Dzokoto, V., & Ahadi, S. (2002). Culture, personality, and subjective well-being: Integrating process models of life satisfaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*, 582–593.
- Scollon, C.N., Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Biswas-Diener, R. (2004). Emotions across cultures and methods. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 35*, 304–326.
- Shweder, R.A. (2003). *Why do men barbeque? Recipes for cultural psychology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Shweder, R.A., & Haidt, J. (2002). The cultural psychology of the emotions: Ancient and new. In R.A. Shweder (Ed.), *Why do men barbeque? Recipes for cultural psychology* (pp. 51–63). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Silberman, I. (2005). Religion as a meaning system: Implications for the new millennium. *Journal of Social Issues, 61*, 641–663.
- Smith, H. (1991). *The world's religions: Our great wisdom traditions*. San Francisco: Harper Collins.
- 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.sigma.com/displayindustryarticle.cfm?articleid=29457>
- Stearns, P. (2003). *Anxious parents: A history of modern childbearing in America*. New York: New York University Press.
- Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2006). *2005 National survey of drug use and health (Office of Applied Statistics)*. Rockville, MD: Author.
- Sue, S., Fujino, D.C., Hu, L., Takeuchi, D.T., & Zane, N. (1991). Community mental health services for ethnic minority groups: A test of the cultural responsiveness hypothesis. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 59*, 533–540.
- Suh, E.M., Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Triandis, H. (1998). The shifting basis of life satisfaction judgments across cultures: Emotions versus norms. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 482–493.
- Thayer, R.E. (1989). *The biopsychology of mood and arousal*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ting-Toomey, S., Yee-Jung, K., Shapiro, R.B., Garcia, W., Wright, T.J., & Oetzel, J. (2000). Ethnic/cultural identity salience and conflict styles in four U.S. ethnic groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 24*, 47–81.
- Tinsley, H.E.A., & Eldredge, B.D. (1995). Psychological benefits of leisure participation: A taxonomy of leisure activities based on their need-gratifying properties. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 42*, 123–132.
- Tinsley, H.E.A., & Tinsley, D.J. (1986). A theory of the attributes, benefits, and causes of leisure experience. *Leisure Sciences, 8*, 1–45.
- Tinsley, H.E.A., Tinsley, D.J., & Croskeys, C.E. (2002). Park usage, social milieu, and psychosocial benefits of park use reported by older urban park users from four ethnic groups. *Leisure Sciences, 24*, 199–218.
- Triandis, H. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Trubisky, P., Ting-Toomey, S., & Lin, S.L. (1991). The influence of individualism-collectivism and self-monitoring on conflict styles. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 15*, 65–84.
- Tsai, J.L., Chentsova-Dutton, Y., Friere-Bebeau, L., & Przymus, D.E. (2002). Emotional expression and physiology in European Americans and Hmong Americans. *Emotion, 2*, 380–397.
- Tsai, J.L., Knutson, B.K., & Fung, H.H. (2006). Cultural variation in affect valuation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*, 288–307.
- Tsai, J.L., Knutson, B., & Rothman, A. (2007). *The pursuit of ideal affect: Variation in mood-producing behavior*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Tsai, J.L., & Levenson, R.W. (1997). Cultural influences on emotional responding: Chinese American and European American dating couples during interpersonal conflict. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 28*, 600–625.
- Tsai, J.L., Levenson, R.W., & Carstensen, L.L. (2000). Autonomic, expressive, and subjective responses to emotional films in older and younger Chinese American and European American adults. *Psychology and Aging, 15*, 684–693.

- Tsai, J.L., Levenson, R., & McCoy, K. (2006). Cultural and temperamental variation in emotional response. *Emotion, 6*, 484–497.
- Tsai, J.L., Louie, J., Chen, 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 Christianity and Buddhism: Religious differences in ideal affect. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 33*, 409–421.
- Tsai, J.L., Miao, F.F., Seppala, E., Fung, H.H., & Yeung, D.Y. (2007). Influence and adjustment goals: Sources of cultural differences in ideal affect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 92*, 1102–1117.
- Tsai, J.L., Thomas, E., Park, C., Hong, J., Ip, P., & Chu, A. (2007). *Affect valuation theory: Similarities and differences across the life span*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Tsai, J.L., & Wong, Y. (2007). *Socialization of ideal affect through magazines*. Unpublished manuscript.
- United Nations Office for Drug and Crime. (2006). *2006 world drug report: Vol. 2. Statistics*. New York: United Nations Publications.
- U.S. Department of State. (2004). *International religious freedom report for 2004*. Retrieved April 19, 2005, from <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2004/index.htm>
- van Eijck, K. (2001). Social differentiation in musical taste patterns. *Social Forces, 79*, 1163–1184.
- Vastfjall, D., Garling, T., & Kleiner, M. (2001). Does it make you happy feeling this way? A core affect account of preference for current mood. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 2*, 337–354.
- Vitterso, J., Vorkinn, M., & Vistad, O. (2001). Congruence between recreational mode and actual behavior—A prerequisite for optimal experiences? *Journal of Leisure Research, 33*, 137–159.
- Walker, G.J., Deng, J., & Diesler, R.B. (2001). Ethnicity, acculturation, self-construal, and motivations for outdoor recreation. *Leisure Sciences, 23*, 263–283.
- 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.
- Wells, A. (1990). Popular music: Emotional use and management. *Journal of Popular Culture, 24*, 105–117.
- Wells, A., & Tokinoya, H. (1998). The genre preferences of Western popular music by Japanese adolescents. *Popular Music & Society, 22*, 41–54. Retrieved June 15, 2005, from [http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_m2822/is\\_1\\_22/ai\\_54033280](http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2822/is_1_22/ai_54033280)
- Wierzbicka, A. (1994). Emotion, language, and cultural scripts. In S. Kitayama & H. Markus (Eds.), *Emotion and culture: Empirical studies of mutual influence* (pp. 133–196). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1996a). Contrastive sociolinguistics and the theory of “cultural scripts”: Chinese versus English. In M. Hellinger & U. Ammon (Eds.), *Contrastive sociolinguistics* (pp. 313–344). New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1996b). Japanese cultural scripts: Cultural psychology and “cultural grammar.” *Ethos, 24*, 527–555.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1999). *Emotions across languages and cultures: Diversity and universals*. Paris: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolfenstein, M. (1953). The emergence of fun morality. *Journal of Social Issues, 7*, 10–15.
- Yik, M., & Russell, J.A. (2003). Chinese affect circumplex: I. Structure of recalled momentary affect. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 6*, 185–200.
- Yoshioka, C.F., Nilson, R., & Simpson, S. (2002, February). A cross-cultural study of desired psychological benefits to leisure of American, Canadian, Japanese, and Taiwanese college students. *Cyber Journal of Applied Leisure and Recreation Research*. Retrieved August 1, 2005, from [www.info.gov.hk/hkfacts/lc-e.pdf](http://www.info.gov.hk/hkfacts/lc-e.pdf)
- Yu, P., & Berryman, D.L. (1996). The relationship among self-esteem, acculturation, and recreation participation of recently-arrived Chinese immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Leisure Research, 28*, 251–273.