



THE CULTURAL SHAPING OF EMOTION (AND OTHER FEELINGS)

ABSTRACT

How do people's cultural ideas and practices shape their emotions (and other types of feelings)? In this chapter, I describe findings from studies comparing North American (US, Canada) and East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean) contexts. These studies reveal both cultural similarities and differences in various aspects of emotional life. I discuss the scientific and practical importance of these findings, and conclude with directions for future research.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To review the history of cross-cultural studies of emotion
- To learn about recent empirical findings and theories of culture and emotion
- To understand why cultural differences in emotion matter
- To explore current and future directions in culture and emotion research

SUBJECT CONTENT

Imagine that you are traveling in a country that you have never been to before. Everything seems different: the sights, the smells, and the sounds. People are speaking a language you do not understand, and wearing clothes that are different from yours. But they greet you with a smile, and you sense that despite the differences that you observe, deep down inside, these people have the same feelings that you do.

But is this true? While most scholars agree that members of different cultures may vary in the foods they eat, the languages they speak, and the holidays they celebrate, scholars disagree about the extent to which culture shapes people's emotions and feelings (see Key Vocabulary for definitions of *culture*, *emotions*, *feelings*), including what people feel, what they express, and what they do during an emotional event. Understanding how culture shapes people's emotional lives and what impact emotion has on psychological health and well-being in different cultures will not only advance the study of human behavior, but will also benefit multicultural societies. Across a variety of settings---academic, business, medical--people worldwide are coming in greater contact with people from different cultures than their own. In order to communicate and function effectively with people from other cultures, people must understand the ways in which their cultural ideas and practices shape their emotions.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the 1950-60's, social scientists tended to fall into one of two camps. The universalist camp claimed that despite cultural differences in customs and traditions, at a fundamental level, all humans feel similarly. Universalists believed that because emotions evolved in response to the environments of our primordial ancestors, emotions are the same across different human cultures. Indeed, people often describe their emotions as "automatic," "natural," "physiological," and "instinctual," supporting the view that emotions are hard-wired and universal.

The social constructivist camp, however, claimed that despite a common evolutionary heritage, humans evolved to adapt to their environments, and because human environments vary so widely, people's emotions are also malleable and culturally variable. For instance, Catherine Lutz (1988) argued that many Western views of emotion assume that emotions are "singular events situated within individuals" (p. 212), whereas Ifaluk views of emotion focus on "exchanges between individuals" (p. 212). Social constructivists argued that because cultural ideas and practices are all encompassing, people are often unaware of how their feelings are shaped by their cultures, and therefore emotions can feel automatic, natural, physiological, and instinctual, and yet still be primarily culturally shaped.

In the 1970's, Paul Ekman conducted one of the first scientific studies that attempted to address the universalist-social constructivist debate. He and Wally Friesen devised a system to measure people's facial muscle activity, called the Facial Action Coding System [FACS] (Ekman & Friesen, 1978). Using FACS, Ekman and Friesen analyzed people's facial expressions when they were emotional, and identified specific facial muscle movements that were associated with specific emotions (e.g., happiness, anger, sadness, fear, disgust). Ekman and Friesen then took photos of people posing these different emotional facial expressions (Figure 1). With the help of their colleagues at different universities across the world, Ekman and Friesen showed these pictures to members of vastly different cultures, gave them a list of emotion words (translated into the relevant languages), and asked them to match the emotional facial expressions in the photos with one of the emotion words on the list (Ekman & Friesen, 1971; Ekman et al., 1987).

Across cultures, participants "recognized" the emotional facial expressions by matching them with the "correct" emotion words at levels greater than chance, leading Ekman and his colleagues to conclude that there were universally recognized emotional facial expressions. At the same time, they found considerable variability across cultures in recognition rates. For instance, whereas 95% of US participants associated a smile with "happiness," only 69% of Sumatran participants did; similarly, whereas 86% of US participants associated wrinkling of the nose with "disgust," only 60% of Japanese did (Ekman et al., 1987). Ekman and colleagues interpreted this variation as demonstrating cultural differences in "display rules," or rules about what emotions are appropriate to show in a given situation (Ekman, 1972). Indeed, since this initial work, David Matsumoto and his colleagues have demonstrated wide cultural differences in display rules (Safdar et al., 2009).

These findings suggest both cultural similarities and differences in the recognition of emotional facial expressions [although see (Russell, 1994) for criticism of this work]. Interestingly, in the last ten years, increasing research has demonstrated cultural differences not only in display rules, but also the degree to which people focus on the face (versus other aspects of the social context) (Masuda et al., 2008), and the degree to which

people focus on different features of the face (Yuki, Maddux, & Matsuda, 2007) when perceiving people's emotions.

But how does culture shape other aspects of emotional life, such as how people emotionally respond to different situations, how people want to feel, and what makes people happy? Today, most scholars would agree that emotions and other related feeling states are multifaceted, and that both cultural similarities and differences can be found for each facet of emotion. Thus, rather than classify emotions as universal or socially constructed, scholars are attempting to identify the specific ways in which these different aspects of emotional life are similar and are different across cultures. These endeavors are yielding new insights into the cultural shaping of emotion.

CURRENT RESEARCH AND THEORY

Because there are many different cultures of the world and many different facets of emotion, for the remainder of the chapter, I focus on two cultural contexts that have received the most empirical attention by social scientists: North American (e.g., United States, Canada) and East Asian (e.g., China, Japan, and Korea) contexts. Social scientists have focused on North American and East Asian contexts because they differ in obvious ways, including their geographical locations, histories, languages, and religions. Moreover, since the 1980s, large-scale studies have revealed that North American and East Asian contexts differ in their values and attitudes, such as the prioritization of personal vs. group needs (individualism vs. collectivism) (Hofstede, 2001). Whereas North American contexts encourage its members to prioritize personal over group needs (to be "individualistic"), East Asian contexts encourage its members to prioritize group over personal needs (to be "collectivistic").

Cultural Models of Self in North American and East Asian Contexts

In a seminal paper, cultural psychologists Hazel Markus and Shinobu Kitayama proposed that previously observed differences in individualism and collectivism translated into different models of the self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Specifically, they argued that in North American contexts, the dominant model of the self is an independent one, in which being a person means being distinct from others and behaving similarly across situations. In East Asian contexts, however, the dominant model of the self is an interdependent one, in which being a person means being fundamentally connected to others and being responsive to situational demands. For example, in a classic study (Cousins, 1989), American and Japanese students were asked to complete the Twenty Statements Test, in which they were asked to complete the sentence stem, "I am _____" twenty times. Whereas US participants were more likely to complete the stem with psychological attributes (e.g., friendly, cheerful) than Japanese, Japanese participants were more likely to complete the stem with references to social roles and responsibilities (e.g., a daughter, a student) (Cousins, 1989). These different models of the self result in different desired ways of interacting with others. An independent model of self teaches persons to express themselves and to influence others (i.e., change their environments to be consistent with their own beliefs and desires). In contrast, an interdependent model of self teaches persons to suppress their own beliefs and desires and to adjust to others (i.e., change their own beliefs and desires to fit in with their environments (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999; Morling, Kitayama, & Miyamoto, 2002; Weisz, Rothbaum, & Blackburn, 1984).

Markus and Kitayama (1991) argued that these different models of self have important implications for how people in Western and East Asian contexts feel.

Cultural Similarities and Differences in Emotion: Comparisons of North American and East Asian Contexts

Indeed, a considerable body of empirical research suggests that these different models of self shape various aspects of emotional functioning. Next I will describe several ways in which culture shapes emotion, starting with emotional response.

People's Physiological Responses to Emotional Events Are Similar Across Cultures, But Culture Influences People's Facial Expressive Behavior.

How does culture influence people's responses to an emotional event? Studies of emotional responding tend to focus on three facets of emotional response: physiology (e.g., how fast one's heart beats), subjective experience (e.g., whether one feels intensely happy), and facial expressive behavior (e.g., whether one smiles). Although only a few studies have simultaneously measured these different aspects of emotional responding, those that do tend to observe more cultural similarities than differences in physiological responding. For instance, in one study, European American and Hmong American participants were asked to relive different emotional episodes in their lives (e.g., when they lost something or someone that they loved; when something good happened) (Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton, Freire-Bebeau, & Przymus, 2002). At the level of physiological arousal, there were no differences in how European Americans and Hmong Americans responded. At the level of facial expressive behavior, however, there were more differences. When reliving events that elicited happiness, pride, and love, European Americans smiled more frequently and more intensely than did their Hmong counterparts, even though they reported feeling happy, proud, and in love at similar levels of intensity. Similar patterns have emerged in studies comparing European Americans with Chinese Americans during different emotion-eliciting tasks (Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton, Freire-Bebeau, & Przymus, 2002; Tsai, Levenson, & McCoy, 2006; Tsai, Levenson, & Carstensen, 2000). Thus, while the physiological aspects of emotional responding appear to be more similar across cultures, the facial expressive aspects of emotional responding appear to be more different across cultures.

These differences in facial expression during positive events are consistent with findings from cross-cultural studies of display rules, and stem from the models of self described above. In North American contexts that promote an independent self, individuals must express their emotions in order to influence others. In contrast, in East Asian contexts that promote an interdependent self, individuals must control and suppress their emotions in order to adjust to others.

People Suppress Their Emotions Across Cultures, But Culture Influences The Consequences of Suppression For Psychological Well-Being.

If the cultural ideal in North American contexts is to express oneself, then suppressing emotions (not showing how one feels) should have negative consequences in North American contexts. This is the assumption underlying hydraulic models of emotion, in which emotional suppression and repression are thought to impair psychological functioning (Freud, 1910). Indeed, significant empirical work has found suppression to have negative

consequences for psychological well-being in North American contexts (Gross, 1998). However, Jose Soto and his colleagues find that the relationship between suppression and psychological well-being varies by culture. Whereas for European Americans, suppression is associated with higher levels of depression and lower levels of life satisfaction, for Hong Kong Chinese, for whom suppression is needed in order to adjust to others, suppression is not associated with depression or life satisfaction (Soto, Perez, Kim, Lee, & Minnick, 2011).

These findings are consistent with research suggesting that emotional correlates of depression vary between North American and Asian American samples. North American individuals diagnosed with major depression show dampened or muted emotional responses (Bylsma, Morris, & Rottenberg, 2008). For instance, in response to sad and amusing film clips, depressed North Americans respond less intensely compared to their non-depressed counterparts. However, studies by Yulia Chentsova-Dutton and her colleagues show that depressed East Asian Americans (i.e., people of East Asian descent who live in the US) demonstrate similar or increased emotional responding compared to their non-depressed counterparts (Chentsova-Dutton et al., 2007; Chentsova-Dutton, Tsai, & Gotlib, 2010). In other words, in East Asian American samples, individuals diagnosed with major depression did not show dampened emotional responses. Thus, whereas muted responses (which resemble suppression, at least in appearance) are associated with depression in European American contexts, they are not associated with depression in East Asian contexts.

People Feel Good During Positive Events, But Culture Influences Whether People Feel *Bad* During Positive Events.

But what about people's subjective emotional experiences? Do people across cultures experience the same emotions in similar situations? Recent studies suggest that culture influences whether people are likely to feel bad during good events. In North American contexts, people rarely feel bad after experiencing something good. However, a number of research teams have observed that compared to people in North American contexts, people in East Asian contexts are more likely to feel bad and good (or feel "mixed" emotions) during positive events (e.g., feel worried after winning an important competition) (e.g., (Miyamoto, Uchida, & Ellsworth, 2010). This may be because, compared to North American contexts, East Asian contexts engage in more dialectical thinking (tolerate contradiction and change), and therefore, they believe that positive and negative feelings can occur simultaneously. In addition, whereas North American contexts value maximizing positive states and minimizing negative ones, East Asian contexts value a greater balance between positive and negative states (Sims, Tsai, Wang, Fung, & Zhang, 2013).

Again, these differences can be linked to cultural differences in models of the self. An interdependent model encourages people to think about how their accomplishments might affect others (e.g., make others feel bad or jealous). Thus, experiencing negative emotions during positive events may prevent people from expressing their excitement and standing out too much as well as keep individuals in sync with the people around them. An independent model encourages people to express themselves and stand out, so when something good happens, there is no reason to feel bad.

So far, I have reviewed work that demonstrates cultural similarities in physiological response and in the ability to suppress emotion, but cultural differences in facial expressive

behavior and the likelihood of experiencing negative states during positive events. Next, I discuss how culture shapes people's ideal or desired states.

People Want to Feel Good Across Cultures, But Culture Influences The Specific Good States People Want to Feel (Their "Ideal Affect").

Everyone wants to feel positively, but cultures vary in the specific types of positive affective states (see Key Vocabulary, Figure 2) that people want to feel. Whereas people in North American contexts want to feel excited, enthusiastic, energetic, and other "high arousal positive" states more than people in East Asian contexts, people in East Asian contexts want to feel calm, peaceful, and other "low arousal positive" states more than people in North American contexts (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). These cultural differences have been observed in young children between the ages of 3 and 5, college students, and adults between the ages of 60 and 80 (Tsai, Louie, Chen, & Uchida, 2007; Tsai, Sims, Thomas, & Fung, 2013), and are reflected in widely distributed cultural products. Wherever you look in American contexts-- women's magazines, children's storybooks, company websites, and even Facebook profiles (Figure 3)--you will find more open excited smiles (a la Julia Roberts) and fewer closed calm smiles (a la Buddha) than in Chinese contexts (Tsai, 2007; Tsai, Louie, et al., 2007; Chim, Moon, Ang, Tsai, 2013).

Again, these differences in ideal affect are related to the independent and interdependent selves described above. Independent selves want to influence others. Influencing others requires action (or doing something), and action involves high arousal states. In contrast, interdependent selves want to adjust to others. Adjusting to others requires suspending action and attending to others, which both involve low arousal states. Thus, the more that individuals and cultures want to influence others (as they do in North American contexts), the more they value excitement, enthusiasm, and other high arousal positive states, and the more that individuals and cultures want to adjust to others (as they do in East Asian contexts), the more they value calm, peacefulness, and other low arousal positive states (Tsai, Miao, Seppala, Fung, & Yeung, 2007).

Because ideal affect functions as a guide for behavior and as a way of evaluating one's emotional states, cultural differences in ideal affect can result in different emotional lives. For example, in several studies, we have observed that people engage in activities (e.g., choose recreational activities, listen to music) that are consistent with their ideal affect, and therefore, cultural differences in leisure activities (e.g., whether people prefer to skydive or relax on a beach) may be due to cultural differences in ideal affect (Tsai, 2007). In addition, people base their conceptions of well-being and happiness on their ideal affect. For example, European Americans are more likely to define well-being in terms of feeling excited and other high arousal positive states, whereas Hong Kong Chinese are more likely to define well-being in terms of feeling calm and other low arousal positive states. Indeed, among European Americans, the less people are able to experience the high arousal positive states they value, the more depressed they are, whereas among Hong Kong Chinese, the less people are able to experience the low arousal positive states they value, the more depressed they are (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006).

People Base Their Happiness on Similar Factors Across Cultures, But Culture Influences the Weight Placed on Each Factor.

What factors make people happy or satisfied with their lives? I have already reviewed findings suggesting that suppression and discrepancies between how people actually feel and how they ideally want to feel are associated with depression. But happiness is based on other factors as well. For instance, Virginia Kwan and her colleagues found that while European Americans and Hong Kong Chinese samples both based their life satisfaction on how they felt about themselves (self-esteem) and how their relationships were doing (relationship harmony), European Americans based their life satisfaction more on self-esteem than relationship harmony, whereas Hong Kong Chinese based their life satisfaction equally on both (Kwan, Bond, & Singelis, 1997). Consistent with these findings, Oishi and colleagues found in a study of 39 nations that self-esteem was more strongly correlated with life satisfaction in more individualistic nations than in more collectivistic ones (Oishi, Diener, Lucas, & Suh, 1999). With respect to emotions, Suh and colleagues found that in individualistic cultures, people's life satisfaction was based on their emotions more than norms for life satisfaction (i.e., how satisfied with one's life an ideal person should be), whereas in collectivistic cultures, people's life satisfaction was based on both emotions and norms (Suh, Diener, Oishi, & Triandis, 1998). Similarly, Curhan and colleagues have recently found that feeling negative is more strongly associated with poor mental and physical health in American than in Japanese contexts (Curhan et al., 2013).

Again, these findings are consistent with cultural differences in models of the self. In North American contexts with independent selves, feelings about the self matter more, whereas in East Asian contexts with interdependent selves, feelings about the self matter as much as or even less than feelings about others.

WHY DO CULTURAL SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN EMOTION MATTER?

Uncovering cultural similarities and differences in emotion is obviously critical to understanding of emotions in general, and the malleability of emotional processes more specifically. Given the central role that emotion plays in communication, understanding cultural similarities and differences in emotion is also critical to preventing miscommunications and misunderstandings that may have unintended but detrimental consequences for certain ethnic groups in the United States. For instance, across a variety of North American settings, Asian Americans are often characterized as too "quiet" and "reserved," and these low arousal states are often misinterpreted in North American contexts as expressions of disengagement rather than of the East Asian ideal of calm. Consequently, Asian Americans may be perceived as "cold," "stoic," and "inscrutable," contributing to stereotypes of Asian Americans as "perpetual foreigners" (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Indeed, this may be one reason Asian Americans are often overlooked for top leadership positions (Hyun, 2005).

In addition to averting cultural misunderstandings, understanding cultural similarities and differences in emotion may teach individuals about other paths to psychological health and well-being. For instance, findings from a recent series of studies suggests that calm states are easier to elicit than excitement states, suggesting that one way of increasing happiness in cultures that value excitement may be to increase the value placed on calm states (Chim, Tsai, Hogan, & Fung, 2013).

CURRENT DIRECTIONS IN CULTURE AND EMOTION RESEARCH

What About Other Cultures?

In this brief review, I focused primarily on comparisons between North American and East Asian contexts because most work in cultural psychology and culture and emotion has focused on these comparisons. However, there are obviously a multitude of other cultural contexts in which differences in emotion likely exist. For example, although Western contexts are similar in many ways, specific Western contexts (e.g., American vs. German) also differ from each other in substantive ways related to emotion (Koopmann-Holm & Matsumoto, 2011). Thus, future research examining other cultural contexts is needed. These studies may also reveal other dimensions or models that have broad implications for emotion. In addition, because more and more people are being raised with multiple cultures (e.g., for many Chinese Americans, Chinese immigrant culture at home, mainstream American culture at school), more work is needed to examine how people negotiate and integrate these different cultures in their emotional lives (for examples, see (De Leersnyder, Mesquita, & Kim, 2011; Perunovic, Heller, & Rafaeli, 2007).

How Are Cultural Differences in Beliefs About Emotion Transmitted?

According to Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), cultural ideas are reflected in and reinforced by practices, institutions, and products. To illustrate this point in the context of cultural differences in ideal affect, we demonstrated that bestselling children's storybooks in the United States contained more exciting and less calm content (smiles and activities) than did bestselling children's storybooks in Taiwan (Tsai, Louie, et al., 2007). We then randomly assigned European American, Asian American, and Taiwanese Chinese preschoolers to read either stories with exciting content or stories with calm content. Across cultures, the kids who read the stories with exciting content were more likely to value excited states, whereas those who read the stories with calm content were more likely to value calm states. These findings suggest that immediate exposure to storybook content altered children's ideal affect. More studies are needed to assess whether a similar process occurs when children and adults are chronically exposed to these types of cultural products and to examine other ways in which cultural ideas regarding emotion are transmitted (e.g., via interactions with parents and teachers).

Could These Cultural Differences Be Due to Temperament?

An alternative explanation for the cultural differences in emotion described above is that the group differences are due to temperamental factors; i.e., biological predispositions to respond in a certain way. Could it be that European Americans are just more emotional than East Asians because of their genetic differences? Indeed, most models of emotion acknowledge that temperament and culture both play roles in emotional life, and yet few if any models indicate how. Although there may be genetic differences in founder populations (migrants from a population who leave to create their own societies), we believe that differences in emotion described above are primarily due to cultural factors. For instance, in our theoretical framework, Affect Valuation Theory, we propose that cultural factors shape how people ideally want to feel (their "ideal affect") more than how they actually feel (their "actual affect"), whereas temperamental factors shape actual more than ideal affect (Tsai, 2007) (see Figure 4). To test this hypothesis, European American, Asian American, and Hong Kong Chinese participants completed measures of temperament (neuroticism, extraversion), actual affect (which have been strongly associated with temperament), ideal

affect, and influence and adjustment cultural values. The differences in ideal affect (described above) emerged after controlling for differences in temperament and actual affect, suggesting that they were not due to temperamental factors (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006). Moreover, whereas temperamental factors were more strongly associated with actual affect than ideal affect, cultural factors were more strongly associated with ideal affect than actual affect. Not all of the studies described above have ruled out a temperamental explanation, however, and therefore, more studies are needed to rule out the possibility that the observed group differences are due to genetic factors instead of or in addition to cultural factors. In addition, future studies should examine whether the links between temperament and various aspects of emotional functioning might vary across cultures, and how cultural and temperamental factors interact to shape emotion.

SUMMARY

Based on studies comparing North American and East Asian cultural contexts, there is clear evidence for both cultural similarities and differences in emotional functioning, and most of the differences can be traced to different cultural models of the self. Future research is needed to reveal the myriad of other ways in which culture shapes people's emotional lives.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What cultural ideas and practices related to emotion were you exposed to when you were a child? What cultural ideas and practices related to emotion are you currently exposed to as an adult? How do you think they shape your emotional experiences and expressions?
2. How can researchers avoid inserting their own beliefs about emotion in their research?
3. Most of the studies described above are based on self-report measures. What are some of the advantages and disadvantages of using self-report measures to understand the cultural shaping of emotion? How might the use of other behavioral methods (e.g., neuroimaging) address some of these limitations?
4. Do the empirical findings described above change your beliefs about emotion? How?
5. Imagine you are a manager of a large American company that is beginning to do work in China and Japan. How will you apply your current knowledge about culture and emotion to prevent misunderstandings between you and your Chinese and Japanese employees?

KEY VOCABULARY

Culture: Shared, socially transmitted ideas (e.g., values, beliefs, attitudes) that are reflected in and reinforced by institutions, products, and rituals.

Feelings: A general term used to describe a wide range of states that include emotions, moods, traits and that typically involve changes in subjective experience, physiological responding, and behavior. *Emotions* typically occur on the order of seconds, whereas *moods* may last for days, and *traits* are tendencies to respond a certain way across various situations.

Affect: Feelings that can be described in terms of two dimensions, the dimensions of arousal and valence (Figure 3). For example, high arousal positive states refer to excitement, elation, and enthusiasm. Low arousal positive states refer to calm, peacefulness, and relaxation. Whereas “actual affect” refers to the states that people actually feel, “ideal affect” refers to the states that people ideally want to feel.

Independent self: A model or view of the self as distinct from others and as stable across different situations. The goal of the independent self is to express and assert the self, and to influence others. This model of self is prevalent in many individualistic, Western contexts (e.g., the United States, Australia, Western Europe).

Interdependent self: A model or view of the self as connected to others and as changing in response to different situations. The goal of the interdependent self is to suppress personal preferences and desires, and to adjust to others. This model of self is prevalent in many collectivistic, East Asian contexts (e.g., China, Japan, Korea).

OUTSIDE RESOURCES

For videos related to culture and emotion:

- Experts In Emotion Series, Dr. June Gruber, Department of Psychology, Yale University
 - http://www.yalepeplab.com/teaching/psych131_summer2013/expertseries.php
(link to general website of series)
 - YouTube link to Tsai’s description of cultural differences in emotion:
<http://youtu.be/T46EZ8LH8Ss>
- The Really Big Questions “Culture and Emotion”, Dr. Jeanne Tsai:
<http://youtu.be/RQaEaUwNoiw>
The Really Big Questions “What are emotions?”
http://www.trbq.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=16&Itemid=43 (interview with Paul Ekman, Martha Nussbaum, Dominique Moisi and William Reddy, also other materials)
- Social Psychology Alive – link to video on our website
<http://psychology.stanford.edu/~tsailab/PDF/socpsychalive.wmv>

For sample websites related to culture and emotion:

- Stanford Culture and Emotion Lab: <http://www-psych.stanford.edu/~tsailab/index.htm>
Acculturation and Culture Collaborative at Leuven:
<http://ppw.kuleuven.be/home/english/research/cscp/acc-research>
Culture and Cognition at the University of Michigan: <http://culturecognition.isr.umich.edu/>
Weslyan Culture and Emotion Lab: <http://culture-and-emotion.research.wesleyan.edu/>
Penn State Culture, Health, and Emotion Lab:
<http://www.personal.psu.edu/users/m/r/mrm280/sotosite/>
Georgetown Culture and Emotion Lab: <http://georgetownculturelab.wordpress.com/>

For additional (non-academic) reading:

- Hazel Markus: “Clash: 8 Cultural Conflicts That Make Us Who We Are”
Eric Weiner: “The Geography of Bliss”
Eva Hoffmann: “Lost in Translation: Life in a New Language”
Ed Diener and Robert Biswas-Diener: “Happiness: Unlocking the Mysteries of Psychological Wealth”

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Figure 1. Stimuli from studies by Ekman and colleagues.

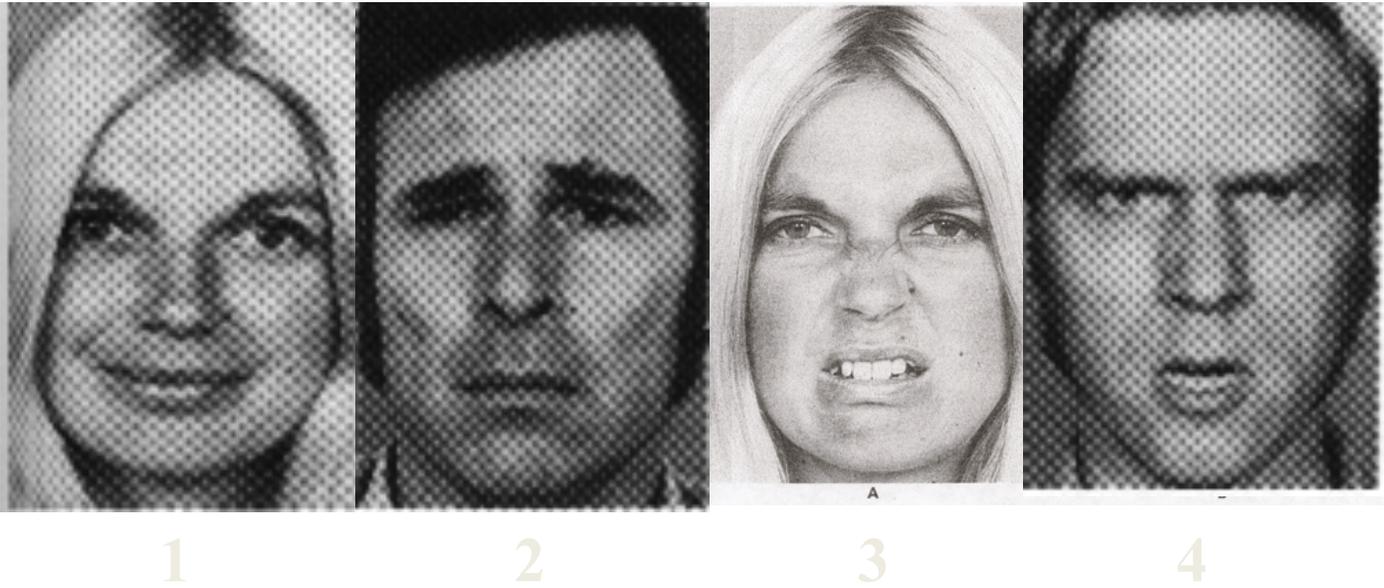
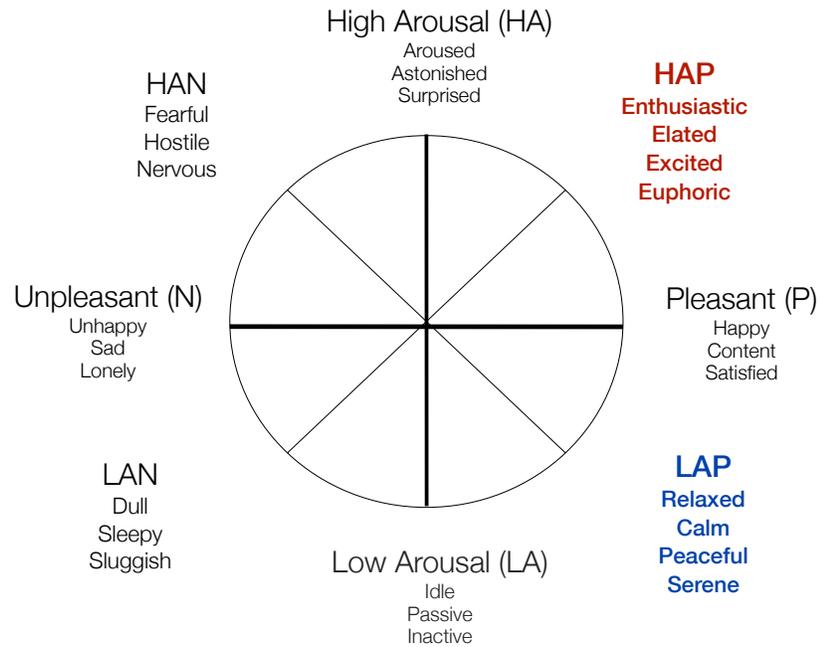


Figure 2. Two dimensional map of affect.

Two-Dimensional Map of Affective States



Adapted from Feldman Barrett & Russell (1999); Larsen & Diener (1992); Russell (1991); Thayer (1989); Watson & Tellegen (1985)

Figure 3. Sample Hong Kong Chinese (left) and European American (right) Facebook pages.



Dannii

Wall Info

Basic Information

Networks:

Birthday:

Personal Information

Activities:

Interests:

Favorite Music:

Favorite Quotations:

[View Photos of Dannii \(27\)](#)

[Send Dannii a Message](#)

[Poke Dannii](#)



Christian

Wall Info

Basic Information

Networks:

Sex:

Birthday:

Hometown:

Personal Information

Activities:

Interests:

Favorite Music:

Favorite Quotation

[Send Christian a Message](#)

[Poke Christian](#)

Figure 4. Affect valuation theory. Darker lines indicate stronger predicted relationships.

