Cultural and Contextual Variations in Ideal Affect

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Cultural and Contextual Variations in Ideal Affect

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Abstract

Most affect research has focused on "actual affect", with relatively limited consideration given to "ideal affect", that is the states that people value and would ideally like to feel (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). The present research investigated sources of variation in ideal affect, particularly focusing on cultural and context-dependent factors that shape affective preferences. Studies 1 and 2 focused on cultural variations in ideal affect, whereas Studies 3, 4 and 5 focused on sources of variation in context-dependent ideal affect. In Studies 1 and 2, I investigated affective preferences in Brazil, Greece Hong Kong, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Zambia. Results demonstrated an effect of cultural variables on ideal affect. Specifically, ideal high arousal positive (HAP) states were predicted by independent self-construal and influence goals, consistent with previous research. Extending previous work, results also found that power distance and beliefs about emotional expression independently predicted ideal HAP. Ideal low arousal positive affect (LAP) was predicted by interdependent self-construal in line with prior findings. Uncertainty avoidance was also an independent predictor of ideal LAP. In investigating context-dependent ideal affect, I focused on assessing whether an influence target's characteristics in an interpersonal persuasion context would affect ideal affect. In Study 3, results demonstrated that knowledge of an influence target's motivational orientation had an effect on preferences for LAP. However this effect was not replicated in Studies 4 or 5. Overall, these 5 studies found some support for previous factors that have been identified in shaping ideal affect, while identifying additional sources of cultural variation and pointing to the possibility that another person may influence affective preferences in an interpersonal situation.

Detailed Abstract

The research presented in this thesis investigates cultural and contextual sources of variation in ideal affect, that is the feeling states that we value and would ideally like to feel (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). Chapter 1 discusses the overall theory guiding my research, Affect valuation theory (Tsai et al., 2006) and outlines the nature of ideal affect. The chapter focuses on cultural sources of variation in general ideal affect, that is how we would like to feel most of the time; and context-dependent ideal affect, that is how we would like to feel in particular contexts (or right now). It suggests that while research has considered sources of variation in both general and ideal affect; there are a number of potential factors that have been omitted in previous research. Specifically, it proposes investigating additional sources of cultural variation in general ideal affect beyond the typical emphasis on individualism and collectivism. For context-dependent ideal affect, previous research highlights the importance of interpersonal goals. However, in interpersonal situations, involving an interaction with another person, the question of whether another person can shape affective preferences has received little attention. Thus, this chapter argues that consideration of this factor as a potential source of variation in interpersonal context-dependent ideal affect is important. The chapter ends with a brief summary of research aims and the five studies reported in the thesis.

Chapter 2 investigates cultural sources of variation in ideal affect and presents findings from two cross-sectional survey studies. Previous research on cultural variation in ideal affect has mostly (with a few exceptions) focused on measuring affective preferences in two cultures that vary along their orientation towards individualism and collectivism, that is North American and East Asian cultures, respectively. Findings

show that comparatively North American culture prefers high arousal positive (HAP) states, e.g., excitement, while East Asian culture prefers low arousal positive (LAP) states, e.g., calm. It is not known whether these patterns of affective preferences generalise to other countries that vary along the individualism–collectivism dimension. In Study 1, I investigated whether findings from North America and East Asia would generalise to the United Kingdom (UK) and Zambia. I measured actual and ideal affect, using the Affect Valuation Index (AVI; Tsai et al., 2006). In addition, to measure orientations towards independent and interdependent selves, participants' self-construals, and psychological embodiments of individualism and collectivism were assessed (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Results demonstrated that there were no country differences in affective preferences as ideal LAP was preferred relative to ideal HAP in both countries. However, for the Zambian sample, interdependent self-construal was associated with ideal LAP.

In order to assess whether other cultural factors influenced ideal affect, I conducted a follow up study. To increase cultural variation in other dimensions beyond individualism and collectivism, I included a sample from Brazil, Greece, Hong Kong and the Netherlands, in addition to students from the UK and Zambia. Thus, the sample was comprised of two individualist cultures (Netherlands and UK), and four collectivist cultures (Brazil, Greece, Hong Kong and Zambia). In addition to assessing self-construal, measures also included cultural values of power distance, masculinity-femininity and uncertainty avoidance. Further, I measured additional factors that might shape affective preferences including interpersonal goals of influence and adjustment, and beliefs about the expression and moderation of emotion. The results demonstrated country variation in ideal affective preferences such that Hong Kong, Netherlands, UK and Zambia demonstrated a preference for LAP relative to HAP, while Brazil and

Greece displayed a preference for HAP relative to LAP. Consistent with previous work, ideal HAP was predicted by influence goals and independent self-construal, and preferences for LAP were predicted by an interdependent self-construal. Further, the results also demonstrated that power distance and beliefs about emotional expression independently predicted ideal HAP. Uncertainty avoidance was an additional independent predictor of ideal LAP. Together the results of Studies 1 and 2 support and extend prior findings for cultural sources of variation in ideal affect.

Chapter 3 presents a series of three studies (3, 4 and 5) that focused on examining sources of variation in context-dependent ideal affect. These studies aimed to test the prediction that in an interpersonal context, knowledge of an influence target's motivational orientation would have an effect on participants' own ideal affect. A secondary aim of the studies was to assess whether preferences for ideal affect would be associated with preferences to engage in affect-inducing activities corresponding to those affective states.

In order to measure whether an influence target would be a source of variation in context-dependent ideal affect, I designed a persuasion task about dental floss where knowledge of an influence target's motivational orientation was manipulated. That is, influence targets were presented as either having a promotion (Promotion condition) or prevention focus (Prevention condition), or no information about the targets' motivational orientation was provided (Control condition).

In Study 3, participants were asked to deliver a persuasive appeal for dental floss to an influence target and rate their actual and ideal affective preferences before delivering the appeal. Thus, preferences were measured during *preparation* of the appeal. The results demonstrated that influence target had an effect on participants'

preferences for LAP, with participants in the promotion condition preferring LAP, relative to HAP, and more than participants in the prevention condition. Although this finding was contrary to prediction, the results demonstrated an effect of influence target on ideal affect. Furthermore, there was a correlation between ideal affect and preferences for engaging in the corresponding affect inducing activities. The relationship was no longer significant when controlling for perceived utility that participants expected the activity would provide for the task.

Using an online vignette, Study 4 sought to replicate and clarify the effects of Study 3. Participants were asked to imagine themselves preparing to deliver a persuasive appeal for dental floss to a target that had either a promotion or prevention focus. The effects of influence target were not replicated as participants' ideal affect did not depend on the influence target. Results provided partial support for Study 3 as valuing ideal HAP was associated with preferences for engaging in HAP inducing activities, although this relationship remained significant even when controlling for perceived utility.

The fifth and final study investigated the effects of an influence target using the same method as Study 3. In addition, a comparison influence task, where participants encouraged an influence target to engage in more physical activity was used. As before, information about the influence target was manipulated. The results of Study 5 did not demonstrate an effect of influence target on participants' own ideal affect. Preferences for ideal HAP were found to be negatively associated with preferences to engage in LAP inducing activities, and this relationship was no longer significant when controlling for perceived utility.

Taken together, Studies 3, 4 and 5 investigated whether an influence target affected preferences for ideal affect as well as measuring utility associated with affect-inducing activities. The studies demonstrated some consistent and discrepant findings.

The thesis concludes with summaries of the main findings. The fourth chapter discusses results in relation to sources of cultural variation in general ideal affect, and sources of variation in context-dependent ideal affect. Overall the studies on cultural variation in ideal affect supported findings from previous research while also presenting additional sources of cultural variation in ideal affect. The studies on context-dependent ideal affect did not provide consistent evidence that an influence target affected ideal affective preferences. The discussion of these findings is followed by considerations of overall limitations of the research and possible areas for future research.

Chapter 1: General Introduction and Thesis Overview

This chapter provides a broad overview of the existing literature relating to research presented in this thesis. It begins by outlining what ideal affect is as well as the functions of ideal affect. The focus then moves on to Affect Valuation Theory, the guiding theory motivating my research. This is followed by exploring sources of variation in ideal affect. The chapter concludes by outlining current gaps in the literature, which leads to the research aims and overall structure of the thesis.

*"I learned that the richness of life is found in **adventure**…it develops self-reliance and independence. Life then teems with **excitement**. There is stagnation only in security"*

William Orville Douglas, United States Supreme Court Justice

*"If you possess…a **calmness** of mind, a degree of **stability** within, then even if you lack various external facilities that you would normally consider necessary for happiness, it is still possible to live a happy… life"*

The Dalai Lama

The Nature of Ideal Affect

We all generally have an idea about what feelings are good, valuable or desirable, whether we would usually prefer to be in a state of peaceful tranquility or seek out excitement and adventure. These feeling states that we value and would ideally prefer (or want) to feel are referred to as "ideal affect"(Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006).

Much research on affect has typically focused on "actual affect", that is, the affective states that people actually feel, with relatively limited consideration given to ideal affect (Tsai, 2007). As a result, an aspect of our emotional life (i.e., the value assigned to an affective state) has been to a large extent ignored, thus providing us with an incomplete account of our emotional lives (Harmon-Jones, Harmon-Jones, Amodio, & Gable, 2011). In order to have a full account of the emotional experience, it would seem essential to consider both actual and ideal affect as they serve different functions, for instance actual affect represents how someone is feeling (e.g., I feel calm), whereas

ideal affect serves as a gauge by which one can evaluate that feeling (Does this feel good? Does this feel right?) (Harmon-Jones et al., 2011; Tsai, 2013)

Affective states are often experienced as feelings, emotions or moods and can be characterised at least in terms of valence and arousal (Russell & Barrett, 1999; Tsai, 2007; Watson & Tellegen, 1985). Valence refers to the evaluative aspect of the affective phenomena (is it positive or negative?)[1] whereas arousal primarily refers to the perception of the bodily activation of that affective state (Barrett, 1998). For example, excitement may be characterized as having positive valence and high arousal, while calm has positive valance and low arousal. Excitement and calm may be seen as different forms of happiness, which is positive in valence but not necessarily high or low in arousal.

Debate persists regarding the definition of "emotion"; it has been defined in a myriad of ways through the use of numerous variables including bodily feedback (James, 1894/1994), cognitive interpretations of arousal (Schacter & Singer, 1962), facial expressions (Ekman, 1992) and action tendencies (Frijda, 1986). While there is no standard definition of an emotion, there is agreement that emotions encompass both psychological and physiological components, are relatively momentary experiences and require direction at something or someone. Thus, Parkinson (1995) characterizes emotions as "evaluative, affective, intentional and short-term states" (p. 9) distinguishing them from moods which, although also affective and evaluative, tend to last longer and do not necessarily emerge as a result of something or someone.

When described in terms of the valence and arousal characterisation, emotion states are referred to as affective states. Although there is some debate about whether

[1] Although see Solomon and Stone (2002) for a critique on the categorization of emotions as positive and negative.

this two-dimensional account captures the full range of emotion (Ekkekakis, 2013; Larsen & Diener, 1992; Russell & Barrett, 1999), at the bare minimum it allows for a parsimonious and pan culturally valid scheme for organizing different affective states (Tsai et al., 2006). For example, across cultures, studies of self-reported mood, facial expressions and emotion lexicons, characterize feeling states in terms of these affective dimensions (Barrett & Russell, 1999; Russell, Lewicka & Nitt, 1989; Tsai, 2007). Therefore, in this thesis I refer both to "affect" and "emotions" and where the term "affect" is used, unless otherwise indicated, it should be taken as referring to specific emotions or feelings rather than moods.

Related Concepts

Some similarities exist between ideal affect and other emotion-related concepts such as "norms regarding emotional experience" (Eid & Diener, 2001), "feeling rules" (Hochschild, 1979) and "attitudes towards emotion" (Harmon-Jones et al., 2011; Izard, 1971). Norms regarding emotional experience consist of social norms and conventions about which affective states are desirable and appropriate[2] (Basabe et al., 2000; Eid & Diener, 2001). Feeling rules are the social guidelines that direct the appropriateness of feelings (Hochschild, 1979). Ideal affect is similar to norms regarding emotional experience and feeling rules, in that they all serve as benchmarks against which people can compare their actual affect. However, whereas norms about emotional experience, and feeling rules, are based on consensual preferences, ideal affect is based on personal

[2] Eid and Diener (2001) conducted a study asking participants "how appropriate or desirable it is to experience certain emotions" and thus conflated appropriateness with desirability. However they address this concern by citing evidence from another study (Mohiyeddini & Eid, 2001) where norms for emotions were addressed on separate scales including an "appropriate" item and a "desirable" item, and found that associations between the two judgements were very high for the different emotions and argued that respondents therefore did not differentiate much between the two.

desirability (Tsai, 2007). In other words, while people may agree on what it is appropriate to feel, individuals differ in the degree to which they value those states for themselves and hence there may be variability within a culture about subscription and adherence to these emotion norms (Tsai, 2007). For instance, ideal and "ought affect" (the affective states that are appropriate to feel) have been found to be only weakly to moderately correlated with each other (Tsai et al., 2006).

Attitudes towards emotions can be regarded as "subjective evaluations that range from good to bad that are represented in memory" (Harmon-Jones et al., 2011, p. 1332). Therefore, like ideal affect, attitudes towards emotion involve the evaluation of affective states as positive or negative. Additionally, both ideal affect and attitudes towards emotions play a role in regulating affective states. However, in contrast to ideal affect, individuals have distinct attitudes toward discrete emotions. Further, Tsai (2007) argues that attitudes towards emotions do not necessarily involve an ordering of these affective states on the basis of desire or preference, that is, even though people may have specific attitudes about different affective states, they typically prefer to only feel a few and would rather avoid others (Tsai, 2007).

It should also be noted that while ideal affect is a terminology coined by Tsai et al. (2006), the conceptual idea of ideal affect as desired affect that people want to feel, can also be seen as being embodied in research on desired mood (Rusting & Larsen, 1995), desired affective state (Augustine, Hemenover, Larsen & Shulman, 2010) and emotion preferences (Tamir, 2009) as such I use the term affective preferences as a collective term encompassing ideal affect, desired affective state, and emotion preferences.

Affect Valuation Theory

Affect Valuation Theory (AVT) is an attempt to integrate affective preferences into current models of affect and emotion (Tsai, 2007). AVT is comprised of three main tenets, outlined below.

How people want to feel (ideal affect) differs from how they actually feel (actual affect)

AVT posits that actual affect and ideal affect are conceptually and empirically two distinct constructs[3]. Although actual and ideal affect share similar characteristics such as that they can both vary over time and in different contexts, they differ in that actual affect tends to be more response based and reflects current states or a predisposition to respond a certain way; while ideal affect is goal based and reflects desired end states in a particular situation or across situations in general (Sims, 2014; Tamir & Ford, 2012; Tsai, 2007).

Although this first premise of AVT may seem rather obvious, the majority of research on affect has focused on actual affect (Tsai & Park, 2014). Prior to the publication of Tsai et al.'s (2006) work on AVT, a few studies had already investigated personally desirable affective experience (e.g., Berlyne, 1960; Mehrabian & Russell, 1974; Mehrabian Wihardja & Ljunggren, 1996; Västfjäll, Gärling & Kleiner, 2001; Zuckerman, 1987) and distinguished actual affect and affective preferences. For example, Rusting and Larsen (1995) measured the relationship between personality and desired mood states by investigating whether individuals varied in the level of stimulation they typically desired based on individual differences in personality. They

[3] As already suggested actual and ideal affect are not the only affective constructs included in AVT; AVT also considers "ought (should) affect" (that is the affective states that you should feel) and "avoided affect" (the affective states that you would prefer to avoid). However there is limited research regarding these two components at present.

asked participants to rate a list of 48 mood adjectives (derived from Larsen & Diener's, 1992, 8 octant emotion circumplex model) twice, once based on the actual frequency of experiencing the mood, and another time based on the desirability of experiencing the mood. Participants were able to clearly differentiate their actual experience of mood from their desired mood states. The results showed that overall people had a general preference for any pleasant mood and absence of negative mood. Additionally, the arousal dimension of mood correlated strongly with personality, specifically extraversion was associated with activated affect. This relates to Eysenck's (1967) personality theory which argued that extraversion was about arousability, as extraverts, who are slow to arouse, crave excitement. The study also found an association with neuroticism and desire for low activation affect, suggesting that arousal seeking does interact with personality traits.

Tsai and colleagues (2006) developed the Affect Valuation Index (AVI; Tsai et al, 2006) as a means of measuring both actual and ideal affect. The measure is based on the affective circumplex presented by Russell (1980), and samples all eight octants of this circumplex (see Figure 1.1.). Tsai et al. (2006) measured actual and ideal affect using the AVI on a sample of European Americans, Asian Americans and Hong Kong Chinese and demonstrated with structural equation modeling that the two -factor model (i.e., actual and ideal affect as two distinct constructs) fit the data better than the single factor model (i.e., actual and ideal affect as the same construct) providing further support for the distinction between these two constructs.

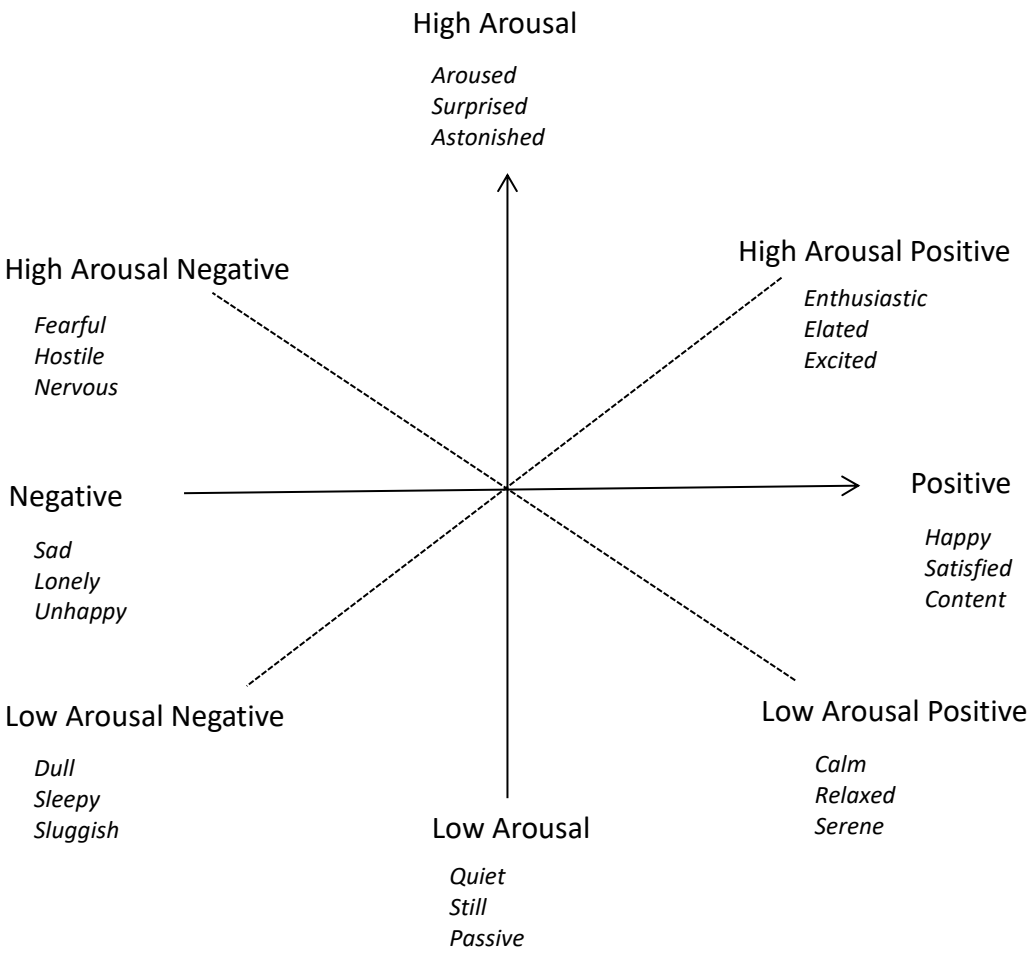


*Figure 1.1***.** Octants of the affective circumplex and associated states. (Adapted from Tsai et al., 2006; Tsai, 2007)

Although it is possible that at times people will feel exactly how they want to feel, empirical work on ideal affect demonstrates that in most cases, there is a discrepancy between actual and ideal affect, that is people want to feel more positive and less negative than they actually do (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, 2007) and these findings tend to be consistent whether people provide global ratings of ideal affect or momentary ratings over the course of a day (Tsai, Sims, Wang & Thomas, 2012; Tsai, 2013). Consequently, by differentiating actual from ideal affect, AVT integrates its theories of affect with theories of affect regulation (Tsai, 2007).

Culture shapes ideal affect

The second tenet of AVT is that culture shapes ideal affect. The majority of people report wanting to feel good (Sommers, 1984), yet the desirability of different positive states may vary across cultures (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000). Studies on cross national differences in values show that culture teaches us what is good, moral and virtuous (Schwartz, 1992; Shweder, 2003). In specific relation to affect, studies on emotion norms and related concepts (Eid & Diener 2001) suggest that cultures also teach us what feelings to strive for or to avoid. Through interacting with parents, teachers, peers, exposure to popular media and even engaging in religious practices (Koopmann-Holm, Sze, Ochs, & Tsai, 2013; Saarni, 1999; Tsai et al., 2006; Tsai, Louie, Chen, & Uchida, 2007; Tsai, 2007), we come to know what affective states are valuable and desirable in our society.

While a large body of research exists on cultural variations in terms of people's values and goals (Roccas & Sagiv, 2002; Schwartz, 1992, 2012), relatively few studies have investigated affective values or goals across cultures (Tsai et al., 2006). Izard (1991) conducted a study asking participants about the emotions they most preferred and found that Americans preferred enjoyment–joy more than English, German, Swedish, French, Greek or Japanese people. In another study, a significantly greater percentage of Americans compared to Chinese reported wanting to experience enthusiasm (i.e., HAP states) (Sommers, 1984). Although these studies placed an emphasis on affective values, and findings indicated cultural variation, the limitation of these studies as a whole is that they did not explicitly measure what aspects of culture accounted for these variations. Furthermore, they did not also rule out other possible sources of variation such as whether differences in ideal affect were based on differences in actual affect, which may then predict ideal affect (Tsai et al., 2006).

Tsai and colleagues have tested the cultural shaping of ideal affect in several studies using a variety of methods. For example, they have assessed cultural variation in ideal affect by measuring Euro-American and Asian American preferences for recreational activities, while also measuring their actual and ideal affect and temperament. Euro-American respondents reported engaging in significantly more active sports than Asian American (Tsai, 2013). Using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), preferences for faces that varied by expression (excited, calm) were found such that across cultures Euro-Americans showed preferences for excited (vs calm) expressions compared to Chinese (Park, Tsai, Chim, Blevins & Knutson, 2015). Cultural differences in affect valuation have also been found to be evident early in life, for example, Tsai, Louie, Chen and Uchida (2007) found that among EA pre-schoolers and Taiwanese Chinese (CH) pre-schoolers, there were cultural differences in preferences for different types of smiles and activities that corresponded with either HAP or LAP in the same pattern that had been observed with undergraduate students. Tsai and colleagues have consistently found that North American participants prefer excitement and enthusiasm (i.e., HAP states) to a greater extent, and calm, peacefulness and other LAP states to a lesser extent than Chinese participants (Tsai, 2007; Tsai, 2013) and that these differences hold even when controlling for temperament and differences in actual affect. The particular factors that mediate cultural differences in ideal affect will be briefly discussed in the section on sources of variation in ideal affect (in this chapter) and further elucidated on in Chapter 2, which specifically focuses on cultural differences in ideal affect.

Ideal affect has psychological, social and behavioural consequences

The final premise of AVT is that ideal affect has a variety of psychological, social and behavioural consequences. Ideal affect serves as a reference point for

people's emotions as well as a guide for behaviour (Tsai, 2007). Studies on affective preferences have found that the discrepancy between what people desire to feel and what they actually feel has significant consequences for subjective well- being (Tamir & Ford, 2009b; Tsai, 2007; Tsai et al., 2006). Furthermore, the representations of the anticipated pleasure and/or utility provided by ideal affect can also help influence decisions people make when interacting with others. For example, the more people value HAP, the more likely they are to perceive an excited person as friendly and likeable (Tsai, 2013). Additionally, valuing LAP can lead you to trust a physician who expresses LAP more (Sims, Tsai, Koopmann-Holm, Thomas, & Goldstein, 2014). Further, people prefer to be in a neutral mood when interacting with a stranger (Erber, Wegner & Therriault, 1996). Lastly, building on control process and affect regulation theories (Carver & Scheier 1982; Larsen, 2000), AVT also argues that when there are discrepancies between actual and ideal affect (especially if they are large), people seek to engage in affect-producing behaviours that elicit their ideal affect in order to reduce this discrepancy. For instance, preferring different types of narcotics (e.g., marijuana to elicit LAP, cocaine to elicit HAP), or music and leisure activities (Tamir & Ford, 2009a; Tsai, 2007). Ideal affective preferences have further been found to have an influence on consumer products (Li, 2011; Tsai, Chim & Sims; 2014), choice of physician (Sims et al., 2014) and even adhering to medications prescribed by physicians (Sims & Tsai, 2014).

To further illustrate the psychological, social and behavioural consequences of ideal affect, Wang (2012) conducted a qualitative study on the functional consequences of ideal affect on 292 Hong Kong Chinese students who were required to answer an open -ended question concerning the circumstances under which ideal affect had the greatest functional significance on their daily activities. Results demonstrated that the

top five categories (each identified by more than 10% of participants) were, interacting with a close one, when encountering others, when sad/depressed/stressed, when encountering difficulties/challenges and when studying/working/thinking. These findings confirm that ideal affect has important implications for our daily lives.

Taking into consideration the three main principles outlined above, AVT therefore argues that ideal affect is different from actual affect, culture plays a significant role in shaping ideal affect and ideal affect occupies a central role in our daily lives. Consequently, ideal affect requires more attention than it has been given by previous researchers. AVT illustrates how cultural ideals and practices can become internalized and embodied, affecting our well-being and motivating our behaviour. By studying ideal affect, we can provide insight into how people's affective preferences can inform a variety of areas in our lives, including our conceptions of mental health, behavioural preferences and even decision making in multiple domains. Ideal affect therefore serves pervasive functions, providing structure and meaning to emotional life (Tsai, 2007).

An additional benefit of AVT is that by clearly distinguishing actual and ideal affect, it also offers alternate ways of answering questions about the role of culture and affective goals on everyday life and provides a means of integrating ideal affect with theories of affect and affect regulation (Tsai, 2007). For example, AVT presents a framework for investigating a number of observed but poorly understood cultural differences (e.g., cross national differences in reported drug use). Furthermore, it can be argued that our desired affective states are really the starting point for the whole process of affect regulation (Augustine et al., 2010; Tamir, 2009). Affect regulation is concerned with the "processes by which people influence which emotions they have, when they have them and how they experience and express these emotions" (Gross,

1998, p. 275). In order to regulate affect, however, you need to decide which affective states to strive for or avoid (Augustine et al., 2010; Tamir, 2009). Thus, to extend our understanding of affect regulation, we need to deepen our understanding of affective preferences.

Sources of Variation in General and Context-Dependent Ideal Affect

Despite the importance of affective preferences to the emotional experience, the extant literature provides relatively few studies in this area, compared to the larger body of affective research. Previous research on affective preferences has largely focused on identifying the various factors that influence affective preferences; from the effects of temperament and personality (Rusting & Larsen, 1995; Tamir & Ford, 2009a), age (Scheibe, English, Tsai, & Carstensen, 2013), the role of culture (Ruby, Falk, Heine, Villa, & Silberstein, 2012; Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006) to the effects of different social and interpersonal goals (Hackenbracht & Tamir, 2010a; Tamir, 2009; Tamir, 2015; Tamir & Ford, 2012; Tsai, Miao, Seppala, Fung, & Yeung, 2007). The primary purpose of my research is to expand on this line of inquiry on sources of variation in affective preferences to address some of the limitations of previous research, as well as suggest additional factors that contribute to variation in ideal affect.

Research on ideal affect can be broadly divided into two areas: general (or global) ideal affect and context-dependent (or context-sensitive or situational or state) ideal affect. In investigating general ideal affect, researchers are primarily interested in the issue of which people generally want to feel certain affective states on average, or most of the time. While at times one may want to feel more sadness (for example at a funeral), most of the time people prefer to feel positive over negative states and hence

general ideal affect primarily involves positive affective states (Tamir & Ford, 2012). These general affective preferences occur independent of context and are assumed to be relatively stable over time (Tamir & Ford, 2012), although it should be noted that some studies have demonstrated that as people age, the relative preference for LAP over HAP increases (Mogilner, Aaker & Kamvar, 2011; Scheibe et al., 2013) .

A number of factors that influence variability in general ideal affect have been observed, notably focusing on personality traits (Rusting & Larsen, 1995) and cultural factors (Ruby et al., 2012; Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006). For context-dependent affective preferences, the role of motives/goals has taken primacy. For the purpose of the work presented in this thesis, I will focus on discussing two sources of variability in ideal affect: cultural values, goals and beliefs, and contextual interpersonal goals.

Cultural values, goals and beliefs

Tsai and colleagues have found cultural variations in ideal affect mainly by measuring affective preferences among European Americans, Asian Americans and Hong Kong Chinese people (Tsai, 2013). Cultural factors, that is, historically derived and socially transmitted patterns of ideas (e.g., values, norms, and beliefs) that are reinforced by practices (e.g., rituals, mores), institutions (e.g., religious, familial) and artifacts (e.g., media) play an important role in influencing how people ideally want to feel (Tsai, 2007).

Social life is complicated and contains a myriad of issues that need to be resolved and coordinated in order to avoid social chaos. One of the critical functions of culture is to provide a system of organisation that helps people to navigate these issues (Matsumoto, Yoo, & Nakagawa, 2008). Culture is concerned with providing an organisational framework for all aspects of life but of particular importance are beliefs,

values and norms that relate to interpersonal relationships and emotions (Matsumoto et al., 2008). For instance, Inkeles and Levinson (1969) point out there are a series of basic relational issues that all cultures have to deal with, such as the concept of the self, which includes the relationship between person and society as well as the individual's concept of masculinity and femininity, the relation with authority and how to resolve conflicts (i.e., expression versus inhibition of emotions). Relatedly, Hofstede (1980) conducted a seminal survey on work values and derived four cultural dimensions and labelled these cultural level values as Individualism-Collectivism, Power Distance, Masculinity-Femininity and Uncertainty-Avoidance.

Individualism –Collectivism considers how an individual relates to the group, whether they put individual concerns over group ones, or group concerns over individual ones, respectively (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1990). On a psychological level, these two dimensions are embodied in independent or interdependent self-construals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994). In a seminal paper, Markus and Kitayama (1991) proposed that previously observed differences in individualism and collectivism translated into different models of the self. 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.

Masculinity-Femininity refers to the extent to which cultures strive for distinction between genders, such that masculine cultures emphasise stereotypical gender behaviour (e.g., girls cry, boys don't), while feminine cultures do not strive for such stark differentiation between men and women (e.g., both girls *and* boys may cry).

Masculine cultures tend to promote dominant values of success, competition and assertiveness, whereas feminine cultures value cooperation and sympathy for the weak (Hofstede, 2011).

Addressing concerns about how people navigate power relations and hierarchies is captured in Power Distance and considers the extent to which people with less power accept inequalities. Cultures that are high on power distance tend to ascribe higher-status more respect and accept inequalities of power distribution, while cultures that score low on this dimension tend to minimise differences in status and encourage a more egalitarian system (Hofstede, 2011; Matsumoto et al., 2008).

The dimension of Uncertainty Avoidance captures a society's tolerance for ambiguous situations, and whether these situations need to be controlled with strict codes, laws and rules (Hofstede, 2011). Cultures that score high on this dimension are associated with greater levels of anxiety (Matsumoto et al., 2008).

To summarise, cultures vary along these dimensions, and as these dimensions make salient certain values and beliefs, they have implications for the governing of social life and emotions. I shall return to further discussion of these dimensions in Chapter 2. Presently, I turn to Tsai and colleagues' studies of culture and ideal affect.

As mentioned previously, Tsai et al. (2006) have found consistent cultural differences in ideal affective preferences between European Americans, Asian Americans and Hong Kong Chinese. As the differences in ideal affect observed in these studies remain even after controlling for personality, Tsai and colleagues argued that these differences in ideal affect are primarily due to culturally learned patterns of being and behaviour. In addition, Ruby et al. (2012) also studied European Canadians, Asian Canadians and Mexicans and again found an influence of culture on ideal affect.

What specific factors explain cultural variation in ideal affect? Tsai et al. (2006) justified their choice of studying European Americans and Hong Kong Chinese as these two groups have been found to differ along dimensions of individualism and collectivism, and related independent and interdependent self-construals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Differences in independence and interdependence also manifest in relative endorsement of interpersonal goals, or how members are encouraged to interact with others; and these differences in interpersonal goals are offered as a partial explanation for the cultural variation in affective preferences (Tsai et al, 2007; Tsai, 2007).

The United States and other western European cultures generally orient towards individualism, and encourage people to place their own needs above other people's needs (Hofstede, 2001; Tsai, 2007) and as a result, to *influence* their physical and social environments to obtain their needs (Morling, Kitayama, & Miyamoto, 2002). By contrast, in China and other East Asian cultures, the value of putting others' needs above your own, and hence *adjusting* to the social and physical environment, is encouraged (Lam & Zane, 2004; Morling et al., 2002; Morling & Evered, 2006; Tsai, 2007). While we all engage in both influence and adjustment behaviours frequently and both are essential for seamless and satisfying social interactions (Horowitz et al., 2006; Tiedens & Fragale, 2003, Tsai, 2007), findings from other studies indicate that American culture emphasizes influence more and adjustment[4] less than many east Asian cultures (Boiger, Mesquita, Tsai, & Markus, 2012; Markus and Kitayama, 2003; Tsai, 2007; Weisz, Rothbaum & Blackburn, 1984).

[4] In other studies, these two interpersonal goals have been investigated as the concepts of "primary control" and "secondary control".

Tsai and colleagues argue then 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 et al., 2007). Influence and adjustment involve different levels of behavioural activity and therefore arousal. To influence others, one must act on others first, e.g., by expressing an opinion, asking others to do something. Because influencing others requires action, and action involves increases in physiological arousal, influence should therefore be associated with high arousal states (Tsai, 2007).

On the other hand, to adjust to others, one must first allow others to express what they want (e.g., by waiting for others to express themselves first, allowing others to make decisions) before attempting to meet their needs (Tsai, 2007). As adjusting to others at least initially entails suspended action, and suspended action involves decreases in physiological arousal, adjustment should be initially associated with low arousal states (Tsai, 2007). Additionally, low arousal states facilitate attention to environmental stimuli (Schupp, Cuthbert, Bradley, Birbaumer & Lang, 1997), which may be useful when adjusting to what is happening around us.

As influencing others is associated with high arousal states and adjustment is associated with low arousal states, culture and individuals holding these goals should then value high arousal states more and low arousal states less, and low arousal states more and high arousal states less, respectively. However, because most people generally want to feel good, members of cultures that emphasise influence should specifically value HAP states more and LAP states less compared to members of cultures that place greater value on adjustment (Tsai, 2007; Tsai, Miao et al., 2007).

Consistent with these hypotheses, Tsai, Miao et al. (2007) found evidence that group differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP between European Americans and Hong Kong Chinese were mediated by self-reported influence goals and partially mediated by self-reported adjustment goals (Study 1). However, as the data were correlational, no direct inferences about causality could be made, and consequently Tsai, Miao et al. (2007) ran a series of experimental studies (Studies 2 to 4) to mimic cultural values at the situational level, that is by designing situations promoting influence or adjusting goals, and found that when participants were in the influence condition, they valued HAP more, as compared to when participants where in the adjustment condition, who valued LAP more.

To date, the only published paper showing that cultural differences in ideal affect are mediated by influence and adjustment goals uses only European American, Asian American and Hong Kong Chinese samples (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007). It is not yet clear whether other individualist or collectivist cultures show comparable differences. Additionally, there may be other possible sources of variation between cultures that influence ideal affect independently of individualism and collectivism.

For example, Ruby et al. (2012) conducted a study of self-reported ideal affect using European Canadian, Mexican and Hong Kong Chinese samples. Although past research has demonstrated that Mexicans (and people from much of Latin America) are more collectivistic than Americans or Canadians (Hofstede, 1980), there is a growing body of evidence that suggests that the type of collectivism practiced in Mexico is different to the one that is prevalent in East Asia and this is also demonstrated in how emotion is viewed and valued. In contrast to the East Asian normative pressure to suppress or moderate emotional expressions, the opposite norm is evident in Latin American cultures where emotions are seen as promoting social harmony and therefore

the expression and encouragement of emotions is endorsed through the cultural script of *simpatía*, that is the ability to empathise and strive for harmony in interpersonal relationships (Duarte, 2011; Ramírez-esparza, Gosling, & Pennebaker, 2008). In this study, Mexicans rated HAP relatively higher than LAP unlike the Hong Kong Chinese sample. However, one limitation in this study was that influence and adjustment were not measured. In fact, other possible sources of variation were not measured and so it is not clear whether the results depended on cultural scripts about the expression of emotions or on Mexicans being relatively more inclined towards influence goals than adjustment goals.

It should be noted that Tsai (2013) also acknowledges that processes such as acculturation (e.g., a recent immigrant learning how to live in the new host country) and changes in the sociocultural environment can influence ideal affect. For example, the more oriented to American culture Asian Americans are, the more they value excitement states, suggesting that as individuals become more exposed to American culture, the more they value HAP states. In addition, it is possible that biculturals' ideal affect may change depending on whether they are in an American or Asian context, or on whether their Asian or American values are made more or less salient (Perunovic, Heller & Rafaeli, 2007; Tsai, 2013). Changes in the sociocultural environment, such as the occurrence of significant national events that change the concerns of the people, may also have an impact on ideal affect. For example, rapid industrialisation and an infusion of wealth might increase the value of influence, and hence HAP, relative to adjustment and LAP (Tsai, 2013). Thus, in investigating global ideal affect across cultures, it is worth bearing in mind that processes such as acculturation and sociocultural changes in the environment may also play a role in addition to historically derived cultural values, goals and beliefs.

Tsai and colleagues' studies on ideal affect suffer from a common limitation in cross cultural psychological research by focusing on simple binary comparisons between North Americans and East Asians. While Ruby et al. (2012) have attempted to move beyond that typical comparison by including another collectivist group, their study was limited in that it did not directly measure what facets of culture influence ideal affect. Hence in order to overcome these limitations, a section of my thesis (Chapter 2) is devoted to further exploring cultural variation in ideal affect in a number of countries that have not been previously studied on this domain, as well as considering other cultural factors that affect the relationship between culture and ideal affect.

Context-dependent interpersonal motives and goals

Although we hold global ideal affective preferences and can identify on average or overall how we would like to feel, over the course of a day, we typically feel a variety of emotions and relatedly we may also desire to feel in particular ways depending on the specific situations we encounter. For instance, we may typically want to feel excited about the work that we do but during a difficult exchange with a colleague, we may want to feel calm. Or, even though we may generally want to feel happy, in a negotiation setting we may want to upregulate our anger in order to obtain a more effective outcome (e.g., Tamir & Ford, 2012).

What particular context-dependent factors might account for changes in momentary ideal affect? A number of studies have demonstrated the variability of affective preferences depending on particular contexts and related goals and motives (Tamir, 2015). For example people prefer sadness when soliciting help (Hackenbracht & Tamir, 2010b), anger when holding a confrontation goal, and happiness when endorsing a collaboration goal (Tamir & Ford, 2012). As with general ideal affect,

context-dependent ideal affect has also been found to be affected by the interpersonal goals of influence and adjustment.

Tsai, Miao et al. (2007) conducted a series of studies using European American, Asian American and Hong Kong Chinese students, where culturally matched pairs of participants were assigned either to an "influence" condition or an "adjustment" condition. Participant dyads were engaged in a card matching task (Studies 2 and 3) or building blocks task (Study 4) where influencers were told to arrange a set of cards (or build an object) in a personally meaningful order and then to describe the cards (or object) to their partners, while adjusters were told to listen carefully to the instructions of their partner and attempt to put the cards (or blocks) in the same configuration as their partners. Results demonstrated that across cultures, ideal affect varied as a function of the individual's interpersonal goal. When participants endorsed influence goals, they valued HAP more and LAP less, and when they endorsed adjustment goals, they valued LAP more and HAP less. This pattern of results is consistent with the relationship between interpersonal goals and affective preferences previously shown at the cultural level.

As already mentioned, while there are cultural differences in the relative importance placed on influencing versus adjusting to others, Tsai, Miao et al.'s (2007) studies demonstrate that interpersonal goals can be relatively more or less salient depending on the particular context. Across three experimental studies they showed that the chronic endorsement of influence or adjustment goals does not necessarily alter the relationship between that goal and affective preferences at the contextual level. It is, however, possible that the pervasive pattern of general affective preferences may still influence context-dependent ideal affect. Indeed, Tsai, Miao et al.'s (2007) Study 4 found that even though participants assigned to the "influence" condition generally

preferred to listen to HAP inducing music regardless of their cultural background, European Americans were still more like to choose an HAP (*vs* LAP) music compact disc than were Hong Kong Chinese or Asian Americans. It is therefore plausible that there are specific conditions under which cultural and contextual processes do and do not interact (Tsai, Miao et al., 2007).

What are the reasons for preferring certain affective states based on the goals or motives that one holds? A number of explanations are possible. Broadly speaking, people seek out desired affective states in order to attain the benefits that they are expected to offer, either in themselves or as a means to achieving a superordinate outcome (Tamir, 2015; Tamir, Bigman, Rhodes, Salerno, & Schreier, 2014). These benefits may be hedonic or instrumental (e.g., performance motives, social motives) (Tamir, 2015). For instance, someone in an interpersonal influence situation may be motivated to increase excitement to enhance personal pleasure, to make themselves appear more friendly or attractive to others, or to successfully influence another person (Tamir, 2015; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007).

Tsai, Miao et al. (2007) argued that influencing others requires some form of action (e.g., appearing confident, expressing an opinion, asking someone to do something) and therefore involves heightened arousal (Gifford & O'Conner, 1987; Mehrabian & Russell, 1974). Thus, holding influence goals should be associated with high activated affective states, particularly HAP when situations are non-threatening[5]. Similarly, adjustment requires suspended action (at least in the first instance) and therefore involves reduced arousal (Obrist, 1981; Tomaka, Blascovich, Kelsey & Leitten,1993). Thus, holding adjustment goals should be associated with low activated

[5] Tsai, Miao et al. (2007) argue that is entirely plausible that there will be conditions where one wants to feel more negative than positive (e.g. fighting with a competitor) and that in these circumstances, people with influence goals may value high-arousal negative states, such as hostility more than people with adjustment goals.

states. Because particular affective states are involved in *successfully* influencing or adjusting to others, when people endorse influence or adjustment goals, they should come to desire and seek out the affective states associated with successful attainment of those goals, whether consciously or not (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007). Hence preferring certain affective states over others may be related to perceptions of utility of those affective states for attaining performance goals (Tamir, Bigman et al., 2014; Tamir, 2015). For example, evidence from sports psychology has shown that athletes who believe that anger or anxiety can aid performance report increasing their anger or anxiety before a competition (Lane, Beedie, Devonport & Stanley, 2011).

While the existing literature provides strong evidence that motives influence ideal affect, other factors too may potentially play a role in determining context-dependent ideal affect, particularly in interpersonal situations. In interpersonal contexts, affective preferences may depend not only on personal motives but also on factors associated with the person with whom one is interacting. Holding influence and adjustment goals in an interpersonal setting implies influencing someone or adjusting to someone, but the role of this "someone" has received little attention as a source of variation in interpersonal context-dependent affective preferences.

Given that other people are a major factor in the activation of actual affective states (Parkinson, 1996), it is conceivable that they can also influence desired emotional states. Evidence supporting the role of the target of an interaction in influencing affective preferences is scant but Erber et al.'s (1996) research provides some potentially relevant findings. These investigators found that happy and sad participants preferred mood-incongruent rather than mood-congruent stimuli when they expected to interact with a stranger, presumably because they wanted to neutralize previous mood states in preparation for the interpersonal encounter. Nelson (1997) also found that

anticipated social interaction influenced participants' affect preferences. In his study, participants expecting to interact with a sad partner chose to read news headlines that would make them feel more sad, whereas participants expecting to interact with a happy partner chose to read news headlines that would increase their happiness. Thus, people may be motivated to experience similar affective states to those being experienced by an interaction partner. Relatedly, Huntsinger, Lun, Sinclair and Clore (2009) found that participants primed with affiliation goals were more likely to match their emotional experiences to the anticipated emotions of a future interaction partner (*anticipatory mood matching*). Although this study did not directly measure affective preferences it lends support to the notion that people take the qualities of an interaction partner into consideration when engaging in affect regulation.

Taken together these studies reveal that interpersonal goals do play a role in affective preferences. It also seems that the target of an interaction has an effect on affective preferences and affect regulation. With regards to context-dependent influence and adjustment goals, to my knowledge, there is no study to date that has explored whether the target of an interaction influences ideal HAP and ideal LAP preferences. To correct this omission, the main focus of Chapter 3 of this thesis is to explore the effects of the target in an interpersonal influence context. Chapter 3 also provides a more evaluative review of empirical work and possible explanations for variations in context-dependent ideal affect.

Research Aims and Summaries of Studies Conducted

Thus far I have presented a broad overview of the current literature on affective preferences relevant to my research. In summary, the evidence reviewed hitherto

demonstrates the distinction between ideal affect and other related affective phenomena, that AVT provides testable propositions about the nature and functions of ideal affect and that both culture and context play a role in influencing affective preferences, with the sources of cultural variation depending on differences in orientation towards independence and interdependence, and the related goals of influence and adjustment respectively. Additionally, another source of cultural variation may be the cultural beliefs regarding the perceptions of emotions and beliefs about emotional expressivity. Contextual factors that influence affective preferences have so far focused on the mediating role of goals.

The work on ideal affect to date demonstrates the importance of investigating affective preferences as they have a wide range of implications for daily life and behavior. However, a number of questions and clarifications still need to be addressed. Broadly speaking, the main goal of this research was to provide further evidence for the different sources of variation in ideal affect. In order to do this, I focused on both general and context-dependent ideal affect. I focused on cultural variations in general ideal affect by investigating some previously unstudied cultures on the ideal affect domain. I investigated sources of context-dependent ideal affect by using an influence task (specifically a persuasion task/scenario) that incorporated knowledge about the influence target's dispositional motivation.

It should be noted that throughout my studies I particularly focus on variations in ideal LAP and ideal HAP rather than considering affective preferences across the broader circumplex. There are two reasons for this focus. First, it seems clear that most people want to feel good rather than bad across a wide range of contexts. Second, most previous research on this topic has focused on differences between ideal LAP and ideal HAP, so a similar focus allowed me to make direct connections with earlier findings.

Five studies investigating sources of variation in general and context-dependent ideal HAP and ideal LAP are presented in this thesis. Ideal affective preferences have previously been studied using a variety of methods including self-report questionnaires, diary studies and experimental methods, where ideal affect has either been measured by participant ratings or behavioural choices. The studies presented in this thesis use self-report questionnaires (Studies 1 and 2), and vignette (Study 4) as well as laboratory based experiments (Studies 3 and 5). The studies are summarized below in relation to my overarching research aims.

Research aim 1: Sources of variation in ideal affect across cultures

As already mentioned, evidence exists that culture plays a role in shaping ideal affect and that the sources of this variation derive from interpersonal goals and possibly cultural beliefs about the expression of emotion. However, as work in this area has so far largely focused on cultural differences between North Americans and East Asians (with few exceptions), I firstly wanted to test the predictions about factors that influence ideal affect in a number of cultures whose ideal affect preferences have not been investigated before. It is also possible that other cultural factors affect the relationship between culture and ideal affect so I further investigated the influence of other cultural factors.

Chapter 2 of this thesis presents two studies that measured variation in ideal affect across cultures. Study 1 was a questionnaire based study that focused on measuring ideal affect, using the AVI, among students from the United Kingdom and Zambia, two countries that vary on their levels of individualism and collectivism, and sought to determine if differences in self-construal would mediate the relationship between culture and ideal affect.

In Study 2, in addition to the two countries studied in Study 1, I also measured affective preferences among students in the Netherlands, Greece, Brazil and Hong Kong, countries that again varied on their levels of individualism and collectivism, using a self-reported survey. The survey included a number of items that have previously been used to measure affect valuation and cultural values across cultures but also included additional items to measure other cultural aspects such as beliefs about the moderation and expression of emotion. The use of these additional measures was advantageous in that it allowed for analysis of the effects of other cultural factors on ideal HAP and ideal LAP.

Research aim 2: Sources of variation in context-dependent ideal affect

There is growing evidence that holding various goals can influence affective preferences in interpersonal contexts. However, the vast majority of research has not considered the role that another person may have on affective preferences in these contexts; therefore, the second major aim of this research was to investigate the effects of the target on ideal affect in an influence condition. A secondary objective was to also explore the mechanisms by which goals, and potentially influence-target, lead to effects on context-dependent ideal affect.

Chapter 3 presents a series of studies that focused on context-dependent ideal affect by using an influence task, specifically a persuasion task/scenario that incorporated knowledge of the influence target. I chose to use a persuasion task/scenario as I believed that it would provide a highly emotive and engaging context, and participants would be motivated to take the influence target into consideration.

In Study 3, my main goal was to investigate whether ideal affective preferences would remain consistent regardless of interpersonal goals (i.e., holding influence goals)

or if ideal affective preferences would vary as a function of the knowledge one had of the influence target. To do this, I conducted a laboratory based experiment where participants were instructed to deliver a video-recorded persuasive appeal to encourage an influence target to use dental floss. Participants were asked to imagine the influence target as either a person that typically focuses on gains (promotion condition) or avoidance of losses (prevention condition) or no information was given about the target. Because I wanted to focus on the affective states people prefer to feel while *preparing* to influence someone, prior to delivering their persuasive appeal, participants rated both their actual and ideal affect, and their preferences for engaging in various affect-inducing activities.

To extend the results of Study 3, I conducted Study 4 to focus on understanding how an influence target might influence ideal affect. In particular, I investigated whether participants' perceptions about the dispositional personality and trait affect of the influence target mediated the relationship between influence target and ideal affect. Using two vignettes (where the influence target was again described in terms of a promotion or prevention motivational orientation), data were collected using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) and again included participant ratings of actual and ideal affect, preferences for engaging in emotion-inducing activities, as well as ratings of personality, trait affect and context-dependent actual affect and context-dependent ideal affect of the influence target.

Study 5 considered the effects of an influence target on affective preferences as well as whether delivering a different persuasive message would have an effect on context-dependent ideal affect. Similar to Study 3, Study 5 was a controlled experiment that utilised the same dental floss persuasion task but also included a comparison persuasion task, where participants were instructed to deliver a persuasive message to

encourage an influence target to engage in physical activity. Again, influence targets were described as having a promotion or prevention motivational orientation or no information was given about the target's motivational disposition. In addition to all the other measures collected in Studies 3 and 4, I also collected data about the reasons for affective preferences.

Taken as a whole, these studies attempt to further elucidate the various factors that contribute to variation in ideal affect, particularly HAP and LAP. In Chapter 4, I provide a summary of general findings of all the studies, which will integrate emerging themes from my studies. This chapter will also discuss the implications of the results, address limitations and suggest possible avenues for future research.

Chapter 2: Cultural Variations in Ideal Affect

The research reported in this chapter investigated cultural variations in ideal affect and attempted to test previous predictions about the relationships between cultural variables (relating to influence and adjustment goals) and preferences for high arousal positive (HAP) and low arousal positive (LAP) affective states, in addition to assessing effects of additional sources of cultural variation, thereby extending the current body of knowledge on culture and ideal affect. To achieve these aims, I conducted two cross-sectional survey studies comparing samples from different countries. In Study 1, students from the United Kingdom (UK) and Zambia rated their ideal affective preferences. Results showed that both UK and Zambian students preferred LAP to HAP. There was also a positive correlation between interdependent self-construal and ideal LAP in the Zambian sample. In Study 2, participants from Brazil, Greece, Hong Kong, the Netherlands, the UK and Zambia, rated their global ideal affect and cultural values, goals and beliefs. Results revealed an effect of culture on ideal affective preferences, with HAP preferred to LAP by Brazilian and Greek respondents, but LAP preferred to HAP by respondents from Hong Kong, the Netherlands, UK, and Zambia. Additionally, ideal HAP was predicted by independent self-construal and influence goals, consistent with previous work conducted by Tsai and colleagues (2007). Extending previous work, I also found that power distance and beliefs about emotional expression independently predicted ideal HAP. Ideal LAP was predicted by interdependent self-construal in line with prior findings. Uncertainty avoidance was also an independent predictor of ideal LAP. Taken together these two studies provide additional support for sources of variation in ideal affect, while also extending previous research.

What role does culture play in emotional experience? To emotion researchers, the question of whether emotional lives and experiences are similar or different across cultures is important to our understanding of what emotions are and how they function; cross cultural studies on emotional lives can demonstrate not only the malleability of emotional experiences and behaviour but also the interdependence of culture and emotion in constructing meaning and adaptation for members of specific cultures (Boiger, 2013; Mesquita, De Leersynder & Boiger, 2015). Practically the question of how culture influences emotional experience is important in an ever-increasing globalised society where people, whether in business or public sectors, are faced with diversity in organisations, entering new markets, cross-cultural negotiations, delivering psychological interventions from one country to the next, and tailoring communications to specific audiences, to mention a few aspects. For example, in many North American settings, Asian Americans are often thought of as "too quiet" and "reserved" and these low arousal states are often perceived as expressions of disengagement rather than of the East Asian ideal of calm. Indeed, this may be one reason why Asian Americans are often passed up for leadership positions (Tsai, 2013).

Culture is a fundamental aspect of our emotional lives; indeed "emotions are primarily relational processes that shape and are shaped by our relations with other people, therefore social life is the stage on which our emotions acquire meaning and significance" **(**Rodriguez Mosquera, Fischer & Manstead, 2004, p.187). As there exist cultural variations regarding the relational and interpersonal themes that are encouraged and endorsed (to be discussed below), this variability should have an influence on emotional lives across cultures (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2004). Indeed, cultural variation in emotion has been shown in a number of different aspects, such as differences in appraisals (e.g., Mesquita & Ellsworth, 2001), the prevalence and

intensity at which cultures experience different emotional experiences (e.g., Kitayama & Markus, 2000; Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006) as well as norms and ideals for emotions (e.g., Eid & Diener, 2001; Kim-prieto & Eid, 2004; Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006).

In this chapter I investigate cultural variations in ideal affect (i.e., the affective states that people value and would ideally like to feel; Tsai, 2007). I first provide some background on culture and cultural values, before reviewing the existing evidence on cultural variation in ideal affect. I then present current explanations of the sources of cultural variation, which lead to the specific research aims of the two studies reported in this chapter.

Culture and Cultural Values

As discussed in Chapter 1, culture consists of a knowledge system including beliefs, values, norms, attitudes and procedural rules that are instantiated through practices (e.g., rituals), institutions (e.g., family, religion) and artefacts (e.g., media) that are shared by a group of people who have a common history and participate in a common social structure (Basabe et al., 2000; Tsai, 2007). Culture is concerned with providing an organisational framework for all aspects of life but of particular importance are beliefs, values and norms that relate to interpersonal relationships and emotions (Matsumoto et al., 2008). Hofstede (1980) conducted a seminal survey on work values and derived four cultural dimensions and labelled these cultural level values as individualism-collectivism, power distance, masculinity-femininity and uncertainty-avoidance. Later on Hofstede also added two additional dimensions termed long-versus-short-orientation (Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Hofstede, 2011) and

indulgence-versus-restraint (Hofstede, 2011). Hofstede's dimensions have been frequently used as a basis for cross-cultural research (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988; Matsumoto et al.; 2008, Parkinson, Fischer & Manstead, 2005).

As has already been discussed in Chapter 1, Individualism-collectivism is concerned with how an individual relates to the group, whether people put individual concerns over group ones or group concerns over individual ones, respectively (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995). On a psychological level these two dimensions are embodied in independent and interdependent self-construals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Power distance considers the extent to which people with less power accept inequalities. Cultures that are high on power distance tend to ascribe higher-status people with more respect and accept inequalities of power distribution, while cultures that score low on this dimension tend to minimise differences in status and encourage a more egalitarian system (Hofstede, 2011; Matsumoto et al., 2008). Masculinity-femininity refers to the extent to which cultures strive for distinction between genders, and the values associated with genders. For example, masculine cultures emphasise success, whereas, feminine cultures value cooperation (Hofstede, 2011). The dimension of uncertainty avoidance captures a society's tolerance for ambiguous situations, and whether these situations need to be controlled with strict codes, laws and rules (Hofstede, 2011). Cultures that score high on this dimension are associated with greater levels of anxiety (Matsumoto et al., 2008) but also tend to be more emotionally expressive (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988).

As one of the main functions of culture is to provide a system of order, these value systems may have functional significance for how affect is not only experienced but also valued. As a result, I will focus on exploring whether these value dimensions have any influence on ideal affect. Before presenting specific predictions about what

form I think these relationships will take, I first review the existing evidence on cultural differences in ideal affect.

Cultural Variation in Ideal Affect

Cultural diversity in values may have implications for the relationship between culture and emotional life. As discussed in Chapter 1, Affect Valuation Theory (AVT; Tsai et al., 2006) proposes that differences in temperament combined with cultural factors affect how people perceive and interact with their environment and provide an explanation for differences between actual affect (the states that people feel) and ideal affect (the affective states that people value and ideally want to feel; Tsai, 2007).

Tsai, Knutson and Fung's (2006) initial studies on ideal affect compared Euro-American (EA) and Asian American (AA, Study 1), and EA, Chinese American (CA) and Hong Kong Chinese (CH, Study 2) undergraduate students. The rationale for selecting these populations was based on the decades of cross cultural research that have demonstrated that these cultures clearly differ on important cultural variables such as on the dimension of individualism and collectivism and the related psychological constructs of independence and interdependence, which Markus and Kitayama (1991) argue have implications for how society members relate to the environment and to other people. In individualist cultures, with dominant independent self- construal, society members are encouraged to influence their environment and others to meet their needs, whereas in collectivist cultures, that promote an interdependent concept of the self, greater emphasis is placed on adjusting to the environment and to others, in order to fit in with, or belong to, the group (Morling et al., 2002; Tsai, Miao et al., 2007). As successfully influencing others or changing the environment requires a person to act on

others (or the environment), high arousal states help prepare people for action. In contrast, low arousal states facilitate attention to others and the environment, and so allow for social adjustment (Tsai et al., 2006). Consequently, Tsai et al. (2006) predicted that EA students would prefer high arousal positive (HAP) states to a greater extent than AA students and AA students would value low arousal positive (LAP) to a greater extent than EA students, and that these cultural differences would be partially mediated by differences in independent and interdependent self-construal.

To test these predictions, participants completed the Affect Valuation Index (AVI; Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). This questionnaire includes items assessing how participants typically feel over the course of a week (actual affect), and how they would ideally like to feel over the course of a typical week (ideal affect), across all eight octants of the affective circumplex (Russell, 1980). Participants also completed the Self Construal Scale (SCS; Singelis, 1994) to assess independent and interdependent views of the self, and the General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ; Tsai et al., 2000) to measure orientation to either American or Asian cultures.

Results revealed the expected pattern of ideal affective preferences, with EA students showing greater preferences for HAP than AA students and AA students showing greater preferences for LAP than EA students, even when controlling for actual affect scores. However, the expected mediation of these cultural differences by self-construal was not observed. This could be due to the fact that both groups were American, thus restricting the variation in self-construals, or it could indicate that more specific factors of individualism and collectivism, such as interpersonal goals of influence and adjustment, not captured by the SCS, might better account for cultural differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP (Tsai, et al., 2006).

To address the limitations of the first study, Tsai et al. (2006) conducted a follow up study using EA, Chinese American (CA) and Hong Kong Chinese (CH) undergraduate students. As in Study1, participants completed the AVI, the SCS and the GEQ. In addition, they completed the Schwartz Value Inventory (SVI; 1992, 1994) to measure values of physical influence, social influence and social adjustment goals in individualistic and collectivistic cultures, and the NEO Five Factor Inventory (Costa & McCrae, 1992) to measure neuroticism and extraversion. Participants were also given an opportunity to describe how they would ideally like to feel in their own words. The expectation was that EA students would value HAP more and LAP less than CH participants and that CH students would value LAP more and HAP less than EA students.

The results of Study 2 demonstrated that culture played a significant role in determining which affective states were desired, with EA and CA valuing HAP more than CH students, but CH and CA valuing LAP more than EA, across both the different types of measures (i.e., closed responses on the AVI and open-ended responses). Further, group differences in ideal HAP and LAP were mediated by goals related to influencing the physical environment (positively mediated for ideal HAP, negatively mediated for ideal LAP). However, the corresponding pattern for adjustment goals was not observed. The authors argued that this might be due to the fact that the cultural groups did not significantly differ in their endorsement of adjustment goals. The findings also raise the importance of considering other cultural elements that could influence ideal affect, particularly ideal LAP. Furthermore, similarly to Study 1, group differences in ideal affect were not mediated by differences in self-construal. Tsai et al. (2006) offered possible explanations for this finding; in part, they speculated that it might be due either to the lower internal consistency estimates of the measure

(particularly for the Hong Kong sample) or to the fact that only specific aspects of individualism and collectivism (i.e., influence and adjustment goals) mediate group differences in ideal affect.

These two studies presented in Tsai et al. (2006) demonstrated cultural variation in ideal HAP and LAP and provided a good starting point for further research. In order to replicate Tsai and colleagues' findings on ideal affective preferences for HAP and LAP, Seat (2010) investigated affective preferences in a sample of 32 American and 30 Hong Kong Chinese students measuring both ideal affect and participants' tendencies towards independence and interdependence using the Self–Construal Scale (SCS, Singelis, 1994). The results showed independence was positively correlated with greater preferences for HAP, at least for Americans.

Research on ideal affect is still relatively limited and like much of cross-cultural psychology (Cohen, 2007) has focused primarily on comparisons between Asian and Euro-American cultural orientations with a consequence that findings from these studies are assumed to hold true for other kinds of individualist or collectivist cultures (Ruby et al., 2012). To address this limitation of research on ideal affect, Ruby et al. (2012) conducted two studies on preferences for HAP and LAP among Euro- Canadian students, Mexican exchange students and Hong Kong Chinese students (Study 1), and Euro-Canadian, Mexican and Japanese students (Study 2), with a particular interest in exploring how people's preferences for ideal affect would compare among people from different collectivist contexts. Previous research has shown that people in Mexico and much of Latin America, are more collectivist than those in the USA or Canada (Hofstede, 1980). However, how emotion is viewed and valued in these cultures tends to differ from the way emotion is viewed and valued in collectivist East Asia. That is, while in East Asia there are normative pressures to suppress, control or moderate

emotional expressions in order to promote group harmony (Heine, Lehman, Markus & Kitayama, 1999; Soto, Levenson, & Ebling, 2005), the contrasting norm emerges in Latin American cultural contexts, where the value of *simpatía* (Ramirez-Esparzam, Gosling & Pennebaker, 2008; Triandis, Marin, Lisansky & Betancourt, 1984) facilitates interpersonal harmony through the open and lively expression of positive emotion, charm and empathy. Thus Ruby et al. (2012) predicted that the ideal affective preferences in collectivist Mexico would differ from that of collectivist East Asia, with HAP valued more than LAP, in Mexican cultural contexts.

In Study 1, Ruby et al. (2012) sampled Euro-Canadian students, Mexican exchange students and Hong Kong Chinese students, and asked them to rate their ideal affect using the AVI, and focused on within-culture patterns[6]. The results demonstrated that Mexicans showed a significant preference for HAP compared to LAP, with this relative preference significantly different from the Hong Kong Chinese pattern of preferences, but not different from the Euro-Canadian patterns of preferences. Replicating previous research, Euro-Canadians and Hong Kong Chinese differed in their relative preference of HAP to LAP, such that Euro-Canadians significantly preferred HAP to LAP, and Hong Kong Chinese significantly preferred LAP.

One limitation of Ruby et al.'s (2012) initial study is that they studied Mexican exchange students which might explain the similarity of preferences between Euro-Canadians and Mexicans as it could be plausible that these exchange students had similar cultural orientations to Euro-Canadians, due to self-selection or even acculturation effects. In order to address this limitation, Ruby et al.'s (2012) Study 2 also recruited Mexican participants who were studying in Mexico. Furthermore, to

[6] Tsai and colleagues (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007) typically adopt an approach of focusing on directly comparing ideal HAP and LAP across cultures.

examine whether participants in a different East Asian culture would also prefer LAP to HAP, they included participants from Japan. Therefore Ruby et al.'s (2012) Study 2 encompassed Euro-Canadian students, Mexican students studying in Mexico and Japanese students studying in Japan. As in Study 1, participants completed the AVI and the results replicated the findings from Study 1, showing that again Mexicans displayed a significant preference for HAP to LAP, and this pattern of preferences was significantly different from the Japanese students but not the Canadians. Japanese students showed the similar pattern previously observed with Chinese students, with a significantly greater preference for LAP relative to HAP. The Euro-Canadian students in this study showed a slight but non-significant preference for HAP relative to LAP. The lack of significant difference for preferences for HAP compared to LAP, did not replicate the findings from Study 1, or other findings conducted with Euro-Americans by Tsai and colleagues (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007; Tsai, 2007)[7].

Ruby et al.'s (2012) study provides initial evidence that a preference for LAP versus HAP is not necessarily consistent for all collectivist cultures, suggesting either that the form of collectivism practised in Latin America differs from that practiced in East Asia and that this impacts on affective preferences, or that ideal affect is not best understood as a product of individualism and collectivism. Although the studies shed light on a different pattern of affective preference in a Latin American context, one of the major limitations of these studies is that they do not measure any cultural variables so it is unclear which aspects of culture play a role in shaping these affective preferences within cultures. It further begs the questions of whether some collectivistic

[7] Although it should be noted that at times Euro-Americans do demonstrate preferences for LAP relative to HAP but regardless it is always found that Euro-Americans value HAP more and LAP less than Hong Kong Chinese and other East Asians (Tsai, 2013).

or individualist cultures value influence or adjustment more, respectively; or whether there are other cultural factors, such as beliefs about the moderation or expression of emotion that shape ideal affect.

More research sampling different countries that vary in their orientation towards individualism and collectivism and measuring other cultural factors is clearly needed to provide some answers to these questions.

Sources of cultural variation in ideal affect

Clearly culture plays a role in shaping ideal affective preferences. What aspects of culture might explain this cultural shaping of ideal affect? Culture is a complex system encompassing norms, values and beliefs and therefore it can be seen as a "package" of variables, meaning that when culture is found to have an effect on behaviour, it is necessary to "unpack" the elements of culture that mediate this effect, and to do this, clearly defined measures need to be included in cultural investigations (Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006; Parkinson et al., 2005; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2004).

With regards to culture's influence on ideal affect, cultural variations in ideal affect are most commonly attributed to interpersonal goals that are endorsed differently in cultures that orient towards individualism or collectivism (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007; Tsai, 2007). Comparing the cultures that Tsai and colleagues have studied, East Asian collectivism involves subdued emotional expressions so as to maintain group harmony, and reflects the culture's emphasis on adjusting to others by suppressing personal needs and changing behaviour to meet the needs of others. Suppressing one's needs and adjusting to others involves, in the first instance, decreases in physiological arousal and so to successfully adjust to others, low arousal affective states are required. In contrast, the individualism expressed in North America emphasizes asserting one's uniqueness

and influencing others to meet your needs. Influence requires an assertion of the self to change others' behaviour, which requires action that is associated with increases in physiological arousal (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007).

Tsai et al. (2006) found initial evidence that physical influence goals mediated cultural differences in ideal HAP; however, that study did not directly measure *interpersonal* goals. In order to clarify the relationship between interpersonal influence and adjustment goals, Tsai and colleagues (2007) conducted a series of studies to investigate the role of influence and adjustment on variation in general ideal affect (Study 1) and context-dependent ideal affect (Studies 2 – 4). For the purpose of this chapter, I will only elaborate on the first study (as the other three studies will be discussed in my chapter on context-dependent ideal affect).

In Study 1, 225 Euro-American, 198 Asian-American and 145 Hong Kong Chinese undergraduate students participated in a survey study where participants completed the AVI and the Circumplex Scale of Interpersonal Values (CSIV; Locke, 2000) which is a measure used to assess interpersonal goals. Results revealed differences in ideal affect consistent with earlier studies (e.g., Tsai et al., 2006), namely that Euro-Americans valued HAP more and LAP less than Hong Kong Chinese, and Asian Americans valued HAP more than Hong Kong Chinese but LAP more than Euro-Americans.

Concerning group differences in interpersonal goals, the results demonstrated a significant interaction between culture and goals, with Euro-Americans endorsing influence goals more and adjustment goals less than Hong Kong Chinese. Asian Americans also endorsed influence goals more than Hong Kong Chinese but contrary to expectations, Asian Americans did not differ from Euro-Americans in their

endorsement of adjustment goals. Finally, Tsai, Miao, et al. (2007) found that the reported cultural differences in ideal HAP were mediated by influence goals and that the reported cultural differences in ideal LAP between Euro-Americans and Hong Kong Chinese were partially mediated by adjustment goals. Contrary to expectation, adjustment goals did not mediate the difference in ideal LAP between Euro-Americans and Asian Americans, suggesting that other cultural factors may also play a role in influencing ideal LAP.

Research on culture's effect on ideal affect has primarily focused on the self and relational goals endorsed in cultures that vary on their orientation towards individualism and collectivism. To my knowledge, no other published studies have investigated whether other cultural dimensions play a role in shaping ideal HAP and LAP. However, a review of the literature on culture and emotion suggests that other cultural factors may indeed have an influence on emotional behaviour. For instance, in cultures high on power distance, members may be less emotionally expressive, as the excessive use of emotional expression may denote a lack of respect (Basabe et al., 2000). Feminine cultures often encourage social sharing and emotional support and thus in these cultures, higher emotionally expressive behaviours could be expected, as Paez and Vergara (1995) found in a cross cultural study comparing Latin American contexts (Mexico and Chile) with European contexts (Belgium and Spain), that the feminine cultures of Chile and Spain reported higher internal reactions and higher expressive behaviour, than the masculine cultures. Furthermore the masculinity-femininity dimension was more important than the individualism-collectivism dimension in accounting for variance in emotional behaviour (Basabe et al., 2000). Cultures that score high on uncertainty-avoidance tend to be more anxious, but also more emotionally expressive, thus emotions are often externalised. In contrast, cultures that score low on this dimension,

tend to have relatively low levels of anxiety and emotions are not generally expected to be expressed, that is emotions are internalised (Basabe et al., 2000).

It would appear that these additional cultural dimensions promote different beliefs or values about the moderation and expression of emotion to fit the dominant cultural models. As suggested, although not directly measured, by Ruby et al. (2012), values concerning the expression of emotion may play a role in influencing ideal affect. One could argue therefore that expressing emotions is associated with higher levels of arousal whereas suppressing or moderation or emotions involves a decrease in arousal levels, thus cultures that promote open expression of emotion may be more likely to prefer HAP and the converse could be found for moderation and ideal LAP.

The Present Studies

In this chapter I present evidence from two cross-sectional survey studies. The main aims of these studies were to identify ideal affective preferences in a number of cultures that had not previously been studied on this measure and identify the aspects of culture that influenced ideal affect. Across studies, I pursued these aims on a total of six cultures that varied along a number of Hofstede's cultural dimensions. In my studies, I intended to move beyond the typical comparison of North Americans and East Asians and included cultures that represented different geographic regions.

In Study 1, I compared actual and ideal affect of students in the United Kingdom and in Zambia, two countries that vary in their orientation towards individualism and collectivism. I also collected ratings of self-construals to explore if any differences that emerged were due to differences in independence and interdependence. To enhance variation of other cultural factors, Study 2 added an additional three cultures that again

varied along individualism and collectivism and other theoretically interesting cultural factors, that is the Netherlands, Greece and Brazil. As a partial replication of the earlier studies by Tsai and colleagues (2006, 2007), I also included a sample of Hong Kong Chinese students, increasing the number of sampled cultures to six.

The six cultural contexts

Individualist cultures. The United Kingdom and the Netherlands are both classified as individualist cultures on Hofstede's (1980) measures. Both also appear to favour a type of *egalitarian* form of individualism that is dominant in Western Europe, which differs from the American style of competitive individualism (Boiger, De Deyne, Mesquita, 2013). Cultural ideals in these Western European nations place emphasis on the individual within a network of equal rights and opportunities. The two countries also rank similarly in terms of power distance, with the UK at 35 (out of 100) and the Netherlands with a value of 38 (Hofstede, 2001). These relatively low scores indicate that these societies believe that inequalities amongst people should be minimized. Although the two countries are very similar in terms of the form of individualism endorsed, and on power distance, they differ on other cultural dimensions. For example, the UK ranks high on the masculinity dimension, which suggests that British culture is highly success oriented and driven, which is a point of contradiction with the British culture of modesty. The Netherlands, in contrast, is a feminine society, and is more geared towards welfare (rather than performance) and interpersonal harmony (Arrindell & Veenhoven, 2002). With regards to uncertainty-avoidance, the UK is a culture that is comfortable with ambiguity according to its relatively low score (35) on this dimension. The Netherlands scores somewhat higher, at 53, demonstrating a slight preference for avoiding ambiguity.

Considering these cultural dimensions, it is possible to make a number of alternative predictions about the pattern of affective preferences that these cultures should display. On the one hand, being individualist cultures, the endorsement of influence goals may be strong and lead to greater preference for HAP. Additionally, as the Netherlands scores low on power distance, slightly more than average on uncertainty-avoidance and is a feminine society, the society may endorse beliefs and values that facilitate the open expression of emotion, which if my assumptions are supported, could further lead to a greater preference for HAP. However, the high scores of the UK on masculinity, and its low scores of uncertainty-avoidance may support observations that link these dimensions to emotional moderation and this may be related to preferences for LAP. Furthermore, previous studies have demonstrated that the value of moderation is important in Dutch culture (Fischer, Manstead, & Mosquera, 1999) and this value might be associated with preferences for LAP.

Collectivist cultures. The collectivist cultures included in this study are Brazil, Greece, Hong Kong and Zambia, who share similar scores on the individualism - collectivism dimension (38, 35, 25 and 35, respectively) and all lean towards high scores on the power distance dimension, implying that hierarchy is important in these societies. The countries also all have close to intermediate scores on masculinity-femininity, with Zambia scoring least at 40 (slight orientation towards feminine society) and Hong Kong and Brazil with values of 57. Brazil scores in between and closer to the midpoint at 49. The variation between those cultural levels is mainly reflected on scores of uncertainty-avoidance with both Brazil and Greece scoring very high (in fact, Greece has the highest score of all the nations on this dimension, at 100), while Zambia is placed at the midpoint, at 50, and Hong Kong has a value of 29, suggesting that these two societies are comfortable with ambiguity (Hofstede, 2010).

In addition to these cultural dimensions, evidence exists concerning emotion expression values and beliefs for Chinese and Latin American cultures. It has been demonstrated that in Chinese culture emotions are viewed as dangerous and emphasis is placed on emotional moderation to promote social harmony over individual expression of emotion (Soto et al., 2005). In Brazil, the Latin-American value of *simpatía* is also displayed, thus the free and open expression of emotion is encouraged and useful for building interpersonal relations (Duarte, 2011).

If the individualism-collectivism dimension primarily drives patterns for affective preferences, then one would expect that the cultures would all demonstrate similar LAP to HAP preferences. However, if we are to consider the importance of other cultural dimensions (specifically uncertainty-avoidance) and beliefs about emotion moderation and expression, then I would expect Hong Kong and Zambia to show similar patterns of affective preferences, that is valuing LAP relative to HAP, and I would expect the opposite pattern to emerge for Brazil and Greece.

In sum, previous work on cultural differences in ideal affect has focused on comparing cultures that vary on the individualism-collectivism dimension. However, as other cultural dimensions have been found to have effects on emotional lives, the main purpose of my studies was to assess if other cultural factors would mediate between-country differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP preferences. To maximize comparability of the samples across cultures, all studies were conducted with student samples. Although one limitation of using student samples is that they may reflect more similarities across cultures, than say representative samples from the general public, any findings of differences may therefore be considered as even stronger support for cultural variation (Boiger, 2013).

Study 1: Ideal Affect in the United Kingdom and Zambia

Study 1 investigated affective preferences in the United Kingdom and Zambia, two previously unstudied individualist and collectivist countries, respectively, on this domain. According to the Hofstede Cultural Measure, the United Kingdom (UK) scores 89 on the individualism scale and Zambia scores 35 (Hofstede, 2010). Hence one of the central aims was to assess (1) whether cross-cultural differences in affect valuation exist between the two countries and (2) whether a similar pattern of ideal affective preferences that has previously been found in North American and Hong Kong Chinese samples would emerge in other individualist and collectivist cultures. The United Kingdom scores highly on individualism and so it could be assumed that an independent self would be more endorsed and that this should be associated with a greater preference for HAP. Relatedly as Zambia is a collectivist culture, an interdependent self should be more encouraged, leading to a relative preference for LAP to HAP. The study therefore predicted the following:

H1. Ideal affect should differ between Zambian and UK students, with UK students showing a relatively greater preference for HAP states over LAP states

H2. Cultural differences in ideal affect should be mediated by differences in self-construals, with independent self-construals leading to relatively greater preference for HAP and interdependent self-construals leading to relatively greater preference for LAP.

Method

Participants

One hundred and two students based at the University of Oxford (UK) and 91 students at the University of Zambia (Zambia) were recruited through their respective Psychology department research schemes and email advertisements, and completed a questionnaire pack. To participate in the study, participants had to have been born in the country in question (UK or Zambia) and have lived in that respective country for at least 16 years. The mean age of the UK students was 20.26 years (*SD* = 2.31), and 79.4% were female. The mean age of Zambian students was 21.5 years (*SD* = 2.45), and 60.4% were female. There were significant country differences in age, F (1, 186) = 12.64, p = .004, η_p^2 = .06, such that Zambians were slightly older than British students. There was also a significant difference in gender, F (1, 192) = 8.60, p = .004, η_p^2 = .04, with more females in the UK sample. However, as the pattern of results did not change when I controlled for age and gender, I do not discuss these differences further.

Measures

A questionnaire pack in English[8] was given to all participants. Prior to distributing the questionnaire, items were piloted on both samples to ensure that the instructions and meanings were clear.

Actual and ideal affect. To measure actual and ideal affect, participants completed the Affect Valuation Index (AVI; Tsai, Knutson & Fung, 2006) which consists of 30 items representing all eight octants of the affective circumplex with additional filler items. This measure is similar to other affect measures such as the

[8] English is the official language of instruction in Zambia.

Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson & Tellegen, 1985). To measure actual affect, participants were asked to rate *"How often you actually have that feeling on average*" on a scale running from 1 (*Never)* to 5 (*All of the time).* To measure ideal affect, a parallel version of the actual affect measure was used, that asked participants to rate *"How often you would ideally like to have that feeling on average*". The order of questions concerning actual or ideal affect was counterbalanced. Consistent with previous studies on ideal affect (Ruby et al., 2012; Tsai et al., 2007), the items that comprised the HAP subscale were "excited", "enthusiastic" and "elated". For LAP, the items that made up the subscale were "calm", "peaceful", "relaxed" and "serene". Reliabilities for subscales of actual and ideal HAP were .81 and .80 for UK participants and .68 and .63 for Zambians. For actual and ideal LAP, Cronbach's alpha scores were .82 and .86 for UK and .75 and .62 for Zambians. Although reliability scores were generally higher in the UK sample, they were adequate in most cases.[9]

Self-Construal. To assess independent and interdependent self-construal, respondents completed a 13-item[10] version of the Self-Construal Scale (SCS; Singelis, 1994) that included items such as "*I prefer to be direct and forthright when dealing with people I've just met"* (independent) and *"I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group"* (interdependent) using a 7-point scale ranging from *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (7). Reliability coefficients (assessed using Cronbach's alpha) for independent and interdependent self-construal were .59 and .72 for Zambian participants and .74 and .83 for UK participants, respectively.

[9] George and Mallery (2003) provide the following as guidelines for interpreting alpha: "_ > .9 – Excellent, _ > .8 – Good, _ > .7 – Acceptable, _ > .6 – Questionable, _ > .5 – Poor, and _ < .5 – Unacceptable" (p. 231).

[10] I chose to use a shorter version of the scale as the questionnaire pack contained a number of measures, and this version of the scale had previously shown good internal consistency (Fernández et al., 2005). In this study, however, a number of factors loaded onto both dimensions and this may have implications for interpretations of findings.

Procedure

Participants from Psychology departments in both countries were invited to complete a paper-based questionnaire in small groups in their departments. Another group of students from across both universities, but from other disciplines, completed an online survey via a webpage link and completed the questionnaire individually[11].

Factor analysis. To determine whether factor structure of the AVI was similar in both countries, I conducted exploratory factor analysis (Principal components, Varimax rotation, constrained to two factor solution) on actual and ideal affect scores using only the items for HAP and LAP, due to the relatively small sample size. Additionally, a pan-cultural factor analysis on the entire dataset was done. The analyses revealed that factor loadings, although not identical, were very similar, thus showing structural similarity.

Raw and ipsatised data analysis. In cross-cultural research, it is often worth considering whether scores obtained in different cultural groups are comparable as there may be issues of measurement equivalence and/or response bias. Response bias is a general term that refers to the systematic tendency to distort responses to rating scales, for example, either by selecting modest or extreme answers, such that observed scores may not capture the true score of the respondent (Fischer, 2004). Response bias in cross-cultural research has been observed in several studies (e.g., Bond & Smith, 1996; Johnson, Kulesa, Cho & Shavitt, 2005; Smith, 2004). As a result, standardising raw scores to reduce unwanted cross-cultural differences that are not due to variables of interest is sometimes recommended (see Fischer, 2004, for a review on advantages and

[11] There were no statistically significant differences on the variables of interest between the two data-collection methods, and thus the data sets were combined and analysed as a whole.

disadvantages of various standardisation procedures[12]). In analysing ideal affect scores, Tsai et al. (2006) ipsatised the scores to adjust for response styles. Ipsatisation is a method of standardising scores within subjects (Hicks, 1970). In order to ipsatise scores, I followed Tsai et al.'s (2006) procedure. That is for each participant; I calculated the overall mean and overall standard deviation of the individuals' responses to all items within the same instrument (e.g., ideal affect measure), subtracted the overall mean from the individuals' raw scores for each item (e.g., ideal excitement) and then divided the difference by the overall standard deviation. I then calculated the mean of the ipsatised items for each affective aggregate (i.e., to make up ipsatised ideal HAP, found the mean of ipsatised ideal enthusiasm, ipsatised ideal excitement, and ipsatised ideal elation; Tsai et al., 2006). I conducted the main analyses on both raw and ipsatised scores, and as the pattern of results were similar, I report only raw scores in the analyses below.

Results

Country difference in actual and ideal affect

To assess country differences in actual and ideal affect, I conducted a 2 (Country: UK *vs.* Zambia) x 2 (Affect Type: Actual Affect *vs.* Ideal Affect) x 2 (Affect State: HAP *vs.* LAP) mixed model ANOVA with Affect Type and Affect State as within-subject factors[13]. There was a significant main effect of Affect Type, F (1, 177)

[12] There is some disagreement concerning how to treat differences in response patterns. Some researchers (e.g., Hofstede, 1980, and Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997, cited in Fischer, 2004) argue that the different patterns of responding are a form of method bias, and hence should be controlled for. Others (e.g., Smith, 2004) argue that differences in response pattern may relate to communication styles relevant to cultural characteristics and hence controlling for response patterns would remove variation that is relevant to culture. These contrasting points do not necessarily have to be mutually exclusive but rather the appropriate approach should be used depending on the research aims (Fischer, 2004).

[13] There are other ways to analyse group differences in ideal affect; Tsai et al. (2006) use a mixed model analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) where actual HAP and actual LAP are included as covariates, which has the effect of partialing

= 204.35, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .54$, with ideal affect scores higher than actual affect scores, when averaged across HAP and LAP ($M_{Ideal} = 3.61$, $SD_{Ideal} = 0.63$, $M_{Actual} = 2.80$, $SD_{Actual} = 0.68$), and a significant main effect of Affect State, F (1, 177) = 111.64, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .39$, with higher scores on LAP than HAP when averaged across actual and ideal affect ($M_{LAP} = 3.44$, $SD_{LAP} = 0.57$, $M_{HAP} = 2.96$, $SD_{HAP} = 0.64$). There was also a significant main effect of Country, F (1, 177) = 21.26, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$, with Zambians showing higher overall affect ratings (aggregated across HAP and LAP, and actual and ideal conditions) than UK students ($M_{Zambians} = 3.39$, $SD_{Zambians} = 0.54$; $M_{UK} = 3.03$, $SD_{UK} = 0.46$). Further, there was a significant interaction between Affect Type and Country, F (1, 177) = 7.25, $p = .008$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, with the UK participants' actual–ideal discrepancies (averaged across HAP and LAP) greater than those of Zambians as indicated in Figure 2.1. Finally, a significant interaction between Affect Type and Affect State was obtained, F (1, 177) = 44.07, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$. The discrepancies in both actual and ideal HAP and LAP were both significant, although this effect was greater for LAP (across both countries, see Figure 2.2). However, the predicted interaction between Country, Affect Type, and Affect State was not significant.

actual HAP from both ideal HAP and ideal LAP, whereas Ruby et al. (2012) conduct a Group x Ideal Affect ANOVA, to avoid this partialing out effect (and thus do not take actual affect into account). I therefore conducted these two alternate analyses, as the main results concerning country differences in ideal affect remained consistent throughout each analysis, I only report findings of this analysis.

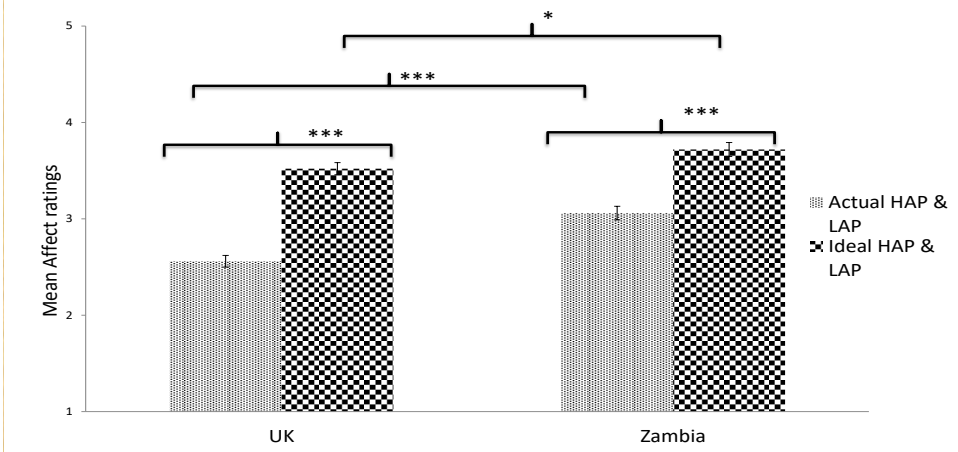


Figure 2.1. Interactive effect of Country and Affect Type on affect ratings. Where HAP = high arousal positive affect and LAP = low arousal positive affect. Error bars indicate the standard error of the mean. **p* < .05, ***p* < .01, ****p* < .001

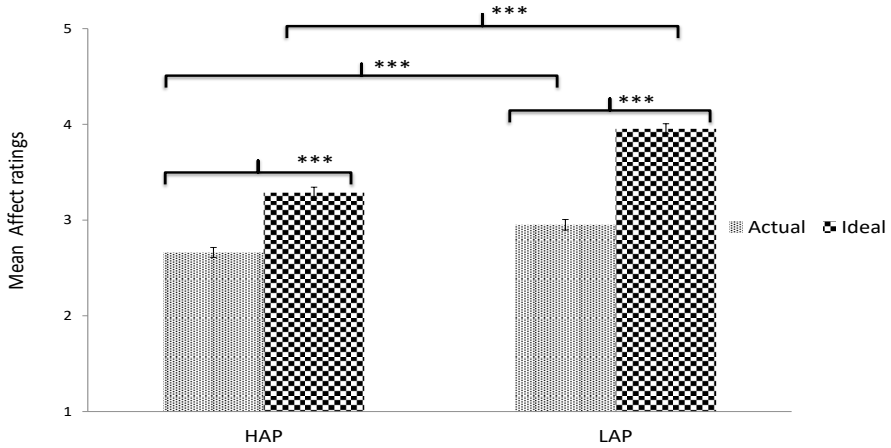


Figure 2.2. Interactive effect of Affect State and Affect Type, on affect ratings. Where HAP = high arousal positive affect and LAP = low arousal positive affect. Scores are aggregated across countries. Error bars indicate the standard error of the mean).
**p* < .05, ***p* < .01, ****p* < .001

Country difference in self-construals

To explore country differences in independent and interdependent self-construal, I conducted a 2 (Country: UK *vs* Zambia) x 2 (Self-Construal: Independent *vs* Interdependent) mixed factorial ANOVA with Country as the between subjects factor. Results revealed a significant interaction between Country and Self-Construal, F (1, 189) = 14.18, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Follow up analysis demonstrated that Zambians did not significantly differ in their orientation towards independence or interdependence ($M_{Ind} = 4.71$, $SD_{Ind} = 1.06$; $M_{Inter} = 4.70$, $SD_{Inter} = 1.10$). Unexpectedly, the UK participants reported a significantly greater orientation towards interdependence than independence ($M_{Inter} = 4.07$, $SD_{Inter} = 0.81$; $M_{Ind} = 3.56$, $SD_{Ind} = 0.82$).

Relationships between ideal affect and self-construal, across and within cultures

Although there were no significant differences on ideal affect based on country, as both cultures preferred LAP relative to HAP, I then investigated relationships between ideal affect and self-construal across cultures and also within-cultures. The relationships between the affective measures and self-construal for the overall sample are indicated in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Means, standard deviations and zero order correlations between actual affect, ideal affect and self- construal variables for overall sample

	Variable	*M (SD)*	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Ideal High Arousal Positive (HAP)	3.27 (0.76)	-	.52***	.43***	.20**	.22**	.22**
2	Ideal Low Arousal Positive (LAP)	3.95 (0.69)			.07*	.24**	.16**	.12**
3	Actual HAP	2.67 (0.76)				.30**	.14**	.09**
4	Actual LAP	2.94 (0.77)					.19**	.16**
5	Independence	4.08 (0.99)						.19**
6	Interdependence	4.21 (0.93)						-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

As indicated in Table 2.1, across cultures, both independent and interdependent self-construals were positively associated with ideal HAP and ideal LAP. To investigate whether there were within-culture variations, for each country separately, I calculated zero –order correlations between ideal affect and self-construal. For the UK sample, neither independence nor interdependence was significantly associated with ideal HAP or ideal LAP. However, for Zambians, interdependence was associated with ideal LAP, r (73) = .31, p = .007. These results suggest that an interdependent self-construal does play a role in ideal affect, but at country level, this was only observed in the Zambian sample.

Discussion

Study 1 investigated whether other individualist and collectivist cultures would have a similar pattern of ideal affective preferences to those found in previous studies comparing North Americans and East Asians. I conducted a cross-cultural survey

comparing students from the United Kingdom and Zambia on their preferences for LAP and HAP. Study 1 was designed primarily to investigate differences in affect valuation between these two countries. The study showed two main cultural differences: the main effect of culture showed that overall Zambians had higher affect ratings across HAP and LAP, and actual and ideal conditions than UK students. In addition, the discrepancy between actual and ideal affect was greater in UK than Zambians. However, the results did not demonstrate a significant difference between relative ideal affect preferences across the two sampled cultures. Unexpectedly, both cultures preferred LAP to HAP states. Thus, the pattern of results for the UK sample differed from the preference for HAP that has been observed in other individualist cultures (e.g., North America).

It is possible that one of the reasons UK students preferred LAP to HAP may have been the timing of the study, as data were collected towards the end of term, nearing exam time, and so UK students may have wished to experience more calming emotions. This was not the case in Zambia, where data was collected in the middle of term, without exam pressure. Even though the AVI does ask respondents to rate how they would want to feel *on average* rather than right now, respondents' current feelings might still have distorted their judgements about general preferences. This raises the importance of considering situational influences on ideal affect. Another possibility is that the preference for LAP relative to HAP may be a result of the difference in the type of individualism experienced in the UK, that is, the more *egalitarian* form of individualism that is prevalent in Western Europe (Boiger et al., 2013) and may reflect more of a relational independence where it is important to be seen as unique and express oneself, but also to build satisfactory interpersonal relationships (Fernández, Paez, & González, 2005). Indeed, scores on the interdependent sub-scale of the self-construal scale were higher than for independent self-construal, although this could have been a

measurement error as the shortened version of the scale used in this study did not produce a clear two factor structure.

While the results did show associations between ideal affect and self-construals in the overall sample, taken as individual countries, an association between interdependent self-construal and ideal LAP, was only found in the Zambian sample, and independence did not correlate with ideal HAP in either country. On one hand, this may suggest that ideal affect is not strongly related to independence or interdependence, or that more specific aspects of individualism and collectivism, such as interpersonal goals of influence and adjustment, might better account for preferences for ideal HAP and ideal LAP. As the two countries were not assessed on their interpersonal goals, it is difficult to conclude whether interpersonal goals better account for affective preferences.

Another plausible explanation for the pattern of affective preferences is that other than self-construal and interpersonal goals, there may be an influence of beliefs about expression and moderation of emotions that may result in preferences for LAP relative to HAP. For example, the British are known for their emotional modesty in comparison to the displays of North Americans or even other Western Europeans. As Darwin pointed out, "Englishmen are much less demonstrative than the men of most other European nations and they shrug their shoulders far less frequently and energetically than Frenchmen or Italians do" (quoted in Tsai & Park, 2013). Again, as no measures were collected concerning the expression or moderation of emotion, I was unable to explore this potential relationship.

These results raise interesting questions for considering more specific aspects of individualism-collectivism (i.e., interpersonal goals) as well as investigating whether other cultural factors and beliefs about emotional moderation and expression might play

a role in influencing ideal affect. To address the limitations of this study, and to further extend findings about ideal affective preferences in other individualist and collectivist cultures, I conducted a follow up study.

Study 2: Sources of Cultural Variation in Ideal Affect

Study 1 investigated affective preferences comparing students from the United Kingdom and Zambia. The results differed from patterns observed in other individualist cultures (e.g., North America), as the UK students unexpectedly preferred LAP relative to HAP. To clarify the implications of these findings and to address some potential limitations of Study 1, I conducted a more extensive follow-up study sampling a wider range of cultures. In order to increase variation in cultures that differed not just on individualism-collectivism, but also on other cultural dimensions as identified by Hofstede (1980), I recruited a sample of participants from the Netherlands, Greece, and Brazil, and as an attempt to partially replicate Tsai and colleagues' findings, from Hong Kong, in addition to recruiting another sample of students from the UK and Zambia.

To investigate whether other cultural factors influenced affective preferences, in addition to self-construal as measured by SCS (Singelis, 1994); participants also completed other measures of cultural dimensions. Furthermore, I also included measures of beliefs about the expression or moderation of emotion. As Ruby et al. (2012) found that although Mexico is considered a collectivist culture, the pattern of ideal affect preferences differed from East Asian cultures, that is, Mexicans displayed greater preference for HAP. A potential explanation for this finding is that in Mexico, the cultural script of *simpatía* promotes harmony through the open and vibrant

expression of emotion. This study provided initial evidence that a preference for LAP relative to HAP is not necessarily common to all collectivist cultures. However, one of the limitations of the Ruby et al. (2012) study is that no measures of beliefs about emotional expression or moderation were collected. Thus, my study aimed to correct this omission.

Using a survey, I investigated cultural variations in general ideal affect, cultural values, interpersonal goals and beliefs about the expression and moderation of emotion. Specifically Study 2 aimed to (1) investigate ideal affective preferences in a number of cultures that differed on Hofstede's cultural dimensions (2) identify sources of cultural variation that influence ideal affective preferences. Based on the cultural profiles outlined, and the results of Study 1, I expected:

H1. The pattern of preference for LAP relative to HAP will be observed in the UK, the Netherlands, Zambia and Hong Kong

H2. The pattern of preference for HAP relative to LAP will be observed in Greece and Brazil

H3. Differences in ideal affective preferences will be mediated by interpersonal goals and beliefs about emotional expression and moderation.

Concerning within culture variations, I also expected that:

H4. Independence, influence goals and holding beliefs about open expression of emotion would be correlated with ideal HAP, while

H5. Interdependence, adjustment goals and holding beliefs about emotion moderation would be associated with ideal LAP.

With regards to power distance, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity, I did not have specific predictions about whether they would shape ideal affect, and included them for exploratory purposes. Although previous research has suggested that these

values might promote particular ways of expressing or moderating emotions (e.g., cultures high on power distance tend to moderate emotional expression more, while cultures high on uncertainty avoidance tend to afford members opportunities to openly express emotions), I did not assume that these aspects would be related to ideal affect.

Method

Participants

One thousand, two hundred and seventy-two undergraduate and postgraduate students from universities in the United Kingdom (UK) (n = 118), the Netherlands (n = 205), Brazil (n = 194), Greece (n = 328), Zambia (n = 98) and Hong Kong (n = 329)[14] participated in a survey on "Emotions and beliefs in everyday life", demographic characteristics from each country are indicated in Table 2.2. Participants in the United Kingdom, Zambia and Hong Kong were informed that by participating in the study they would be eligible to enter a lottery where they could win £60, £40 or £20 (or local currency equivalent). Participants in the Netherlands and Greece were compensated with course credit (the Netherlands sample were also participating in another study unrelated to this study that was being run by a collaborator) and participation for the Brazil sample was purely voluntary (as there were restrictions about compensation and course credit at the universities accessed). To be included in the final sample all participants were required to have been born in that country, have lived in that country

[14] Participants were recruited from universities in Oxford (United Kingdom), Amsterdam (Netherlands), Athens and Thessalonika, (Greece), Sao Paulo (Brazil), Hong Kong (Hong Kong), and Lusaka (Zambia). In the UK, Brazil and Hong Kong, the questionnaire was emailed to the entire student body. Whereas in the Netherlands and Greece, the email was distributed to only Psychology students. In Zambia, the paper based questionnaires were distributed across the university population.
I aimed at an individual sample of n= 100 per country and this was achieved in all but one of the countries. In Zambia, even though 200 questionnaires were distributed, slightly less than half of these were completed. The study included a number of measures and thus made for a lengthy questionnaire and this might have affected the response rate, especially considering that these participants completed the survey using paper and pen.

for at least 16 years and be currently living in that country. Additionally, as the study comprised multiple questionnaires, participants also needed to have completed the majority of the questionnaires, specifically for the main cultural and affective measures.

In exploring whether the countries differed on sample composition, I found that there was a main effect of Country on all the demographic characteristics but as the pattern of results did not change after controlling for all these characteristics, they will not be discussed further.

Table 2.2

Sample Characteristics for Study 2

Variable	UK (*n* = 118)	Netherlands (*n* = 205)	Greece (*n* = 328)	Brazil (*n* = 194)	Zambia (*n* = 98)	Hong Kong (*n* = 329)
Gender (% female) ***	69.5	76.6	87.2	36.1	46.9	70.2
Age (*M* and (SD)) ***	22.57 (4.29)	20.25 (2.23)	23.51 (4.98)	29.46 (6.39)	26.88 (5.47)	20.47 (3.49)
SES: Did one or more of your parents go to college or university? (% yes) ***	72.9	71.7	57	53.1	90.1	39.8
Race (%) ***	Caucasian (89.9), Bi/Multiracial (7.6), Other (2.5)	Caucasian (89.3), Bi/Multiracial (7.8), Other (2.9)	Caucasian (80.3), Bi/Multiracial (19.7)	Caucasian (62.9%), Hispanic/Latino (13.4%), Bi/Multiracial (19.1%), Pacific Islander (1.5%)	Black/African (98), Other (2)	Asian (98), Other (2)
Religion (%) ***	Catholic (11.9), Protestant (18.6), Buddhist (.8)	Catholic (13.7), Protestant (11.2), Buddhist (.5)	Catholic (1.2), Protestant (1.8), Buddhist (.3), Greek Orthodox (62.8)	Catholic (38.7), Protestant (12.9), Buddhist (1.0)	Catholic (22.4), Protestant (64.3)	Catholic (9.1), Protestant (22.5), Buddhist (7.3) other (21)

Note: Values of age are represented by means (with standard deviation in parentheses)

Only Christian and Buddhist religious values are reported since these religions have been related to ideal affect in previous literature

** p< .05, **p< .01, ***p<.001*

Measures[15]

Translation. For Greek, Dutch and Portuguese samples, all instruments were translated into the official language of those countries and then back-translated into English by two bilingual postgraduate psychology students for each country. Disagreements on translations were rare and resolved following discussion.

Actual and ideal affect. Consistent with Study 1, participants rated their actual and ideal affect using the AVI (Tsai, et al., 2006) and the same items comprised the HAP and LAP subscales. Order of presentation of actual and ideal affect was counterbalanced. The scales showed adequate internal consistency estimates in most countries, however for Zambia, actual HAP was a bit low, (α = .51), and for Greece, ideal LAP was also less than .70 (α=.55), see Table 2.3.

Cultural values. To assess independent and interdependent self-construals, as in Study 1, participants completed the SCS (Singelis, 1994); although this time I used the 24-item version in an attempt to improve reliability. Internal consistency estimates are reported in Table 2.2. In addition to the SCS, participants also completed the Cultural Values Scale (CVSCALE: Yoo, Donthu & Lenartowicz, 2011) a 26-item five-dimensional scale of individual cultural values that assesses Hofstede's cultural dimensions at the individual level. Although the scale has not yet been widely used by researchers, it shows adequate reliability, validity and across-sample generalisability. For the purpose of my study, I focused on the dimensions of power distance, which includes items such as "*People in higher positions should make decisions without consulting people in lower positions"*), uncertainty avoidance (e.g., "*It is important to*

[15] The measures described here are most relevant to the findings discussed. I also collected data about both positive and negative life events based on the Life Experience Survey (Sarason, 1976). However, as there were some inconsistencies with participant responses in the different cultural groups, I excluded this measure from my analyses.

have instructions spelled out in detail so that I always know what I am expected to do"), and masculinity (e.g., *"There are some jobs that a man can always do better than a woman"*). These statements were rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree)* to 7 (*Strongly agree*).

Influence and adjustment goals. To measure influence and adjustment goals, participants completed the 32-item Circumplex Scale of Interpersonal Values (CSIV32: Locke, 2000), which assesses agentic (influence) and communal (adjustment) values and has been used to measure interpersonal goals in previous research (e.g., Locke, 2003; Tsai et al., 2007). Participants used a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all important to me*) to 5 (*Extremely important to me*), to rate the importance of different interpersonal goals. Based on previous research (Tsai et al., 2007) and on exploratory factor analysis on the raw scores I identified the items related to influence that loaded on the same factor. The items that comprised the influence aggregate were, *"I appear confident*," *"I am unique", "I have an impact on them,"* and *"They listen to what I have to say".* The adjustment aggregate was comprised of three items, i.e., *"I go along with what they want", "I do not reveal what I am really like"*, and *"I do what they want me to do".* In most cases, internal consistency estimates were adequate, but were low in the Greek sample as indicated in Table 2.3.

Beliefs about emotion moderation and expression. As I was interested in measuring whether beliefs participants had about emotion moderation and expression influenced affective preferences, I developed a 15 item measure asking participants to rate their beliefs about emotions on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*) that included statements about emotional expression (e.g., *"I believe in the free and open expression of emotion"* and emotional moderation (e.g., *"I believe in exercising reserve and self-restraint in expressing emotions").*

Table 2.3.

Internal Consistency Estimates

	Cronbach's α					
Variable	UK	Netherlands	Greece	Brazil	Zambia	Hong Kong
Actual High arousal Positive (HAP)	.74	.76	.70	.74	.51	.76
Ideal HAP	.70	.72	.64	.69	.60	.74
Actual Low arousal Positive (LAP)	.85	.69	.69	.81	.60	.78
Ideal LAP	.74	.66	.55	.74	.72	.80
Independence	.70	.63	.63	.63	.64	.74
Interdependence	.82	.72	.70	.70	.73	.77
Power distance	.77	.78	.80	.69	.71	.80
Uncertainty avoidance	.78	.80	.83	.69	.77	.80
Masculinity	.72	.70	.73	.73	.68	.70
Influence	.64	.57	.32	.66	.63	.70
Adjustment	.66	.62	.44	.59	.56	.69
Emotion Moderation	.52	.58	.71	.56	.62	.70
Emotion Expression	.70	.70	.72	.59	.63	.67

Procedure

Participants from all countries, except Zambia, completed an online survey using Qualtrics, while Zambian participants were given a paper-based questionnaire to complete individually. For UK, Hong Kong and Zambia samples, the questionnaire was administered in English, whereas for Brazil, Greece and the Netherlands, the questionnaire was translated into their official language of instruction (Portuguese, Greek and Dutch, respectively). Translated questionnaires were back translated.

Factor analysis. As with study 1, I conducted exploratory factor analyses (Principal components, Varimax rotation, constrained to two factor solution) on actual and ideal affect scores using items for HAP and LAP, on each country separately, and also as a whole. The analyses revealed that across all countries, factor loadings, although not identical, were very similar, and comparable to the factor loadings for the pancultural analysis, thus showing structural similarity.

Raw and ipsatised data analysis. Similarly to Study 1, I ipsatised scores on the AVI and computed ipsatised scores for actual and ideal HAP and LAP. I conducted my analyses on both raw and ipsatised scores, and as the pattern of results remained similar for both raw and ipsatised scores, I report only analyses of raw scores here.

Results

Country differences in actual and ideal affect

To assess country differences in actual and ideal affect, I conducted a 6 (Country: UK *vs* Netherlands *vs* Brazil *vs* Greece *vs* Zambia *vs* Hong Kong) x 2 (Affect Type: Actual Affect *vs.* Ideal Affect) x 2 (Affect State: HAP *vs*. LAP) mixed model analysis of variance (ANOVA) with Affect Type and Affect State as within-subject

factors. There was a significant main effect of Affect Type, F (1, 1220) = 1705.95, p < .001, η_p^2 = .58, with ideal affect scores higher than actual affect scores, when averaged across HAP and LAP (M_{Ideal} = 3.72, SD_{Ideal} = 0.59, M_{Actual} = 2.88, SD_{Actual} = 0.66), and a significant main effect of Affect State, F (1, 1220) = 27.11, p < .001, η_p^2 = .02, with higher scores on LAP than HAP averaged across actual and ideal (M_{LAP} = 3.34, SD_{LAP} = 0.5, M_{HAP} = 3.26, SD_{HAP} = 0.58). Further, there was a significant interaction between Affect Type and Country, F (5, 1220) = 64.53, p < .001, η_p^2 = .21, with participants' actual–ideal discrepancies (averaged across HAP and LAP) greatest in the Brazilian sample, and least in the Hong Kong sample. The Affect State and Affect Type interaction that was significant in Study 1 was not significant in this study. However, there was a significant interaction between Affect State and Country, F (5, 1220) = 10.88, p < .001, η_p^2 = .04.

To decompose the Affect State x Country interaction, I conducted a simple main effects analysis with Bonferroni correction to ascertain which countries showed differences between HAP and LAP scores averaged across actual and ideal affect. The results demonstrated that the HAP-LAP difference was significant for UK, Dutch, Greek and Hong Kong participants but not for Brazilians or Zambians, with the UK, Dutch and Hong Kong students scoring significantly higher on LAP than HAP, but Greek participants scoring significantly higher on HAP than LAP (see Figure 2.3).

The two-way interaction between Affect State and Country was qualified by a significant three-way interaction between Country, Affect Type and Affect State, F (5, 1220) = 35.80, p < .001, η_p^2 = .13. To decompose this interaction, I conducted 2 (Affect Type) x 2 (Affect State) repeated measures ANOVAs for each country separately,

comparing whether differences in HAP and LAP applied to both actual and ideal affective types.

The two-way interaction between Affect Type and Affect State was found to be significant for UK (F (1, 105) = 18.17, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$), Netherlands (F (1, 204) = 4.20, $p = .042$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$), Greece (F (1, 316) = 150.72, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .32$) and Brazil (F (1, 193) = 9.17, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$). In the UK and the Netherlands, significant differences between HAP and LAP were only observed for ideal affect, where both countries preferred LAP to HAP. In Brazil, too, significant differences between HAP and LAP were only observed for ideal affect, but in the opposite direction to the UK and Netherlands. Lastly, for Greece, there were differences between HAP and LAP for both actual and ideal affect. For actual affect, Greeks reported experiencing more LAP than HAP, but for ideal affect, Greeks (like Brazilians but unlike UK or Netherlands participants) preferred HAP to LAP (see Figures 2.4a-f).

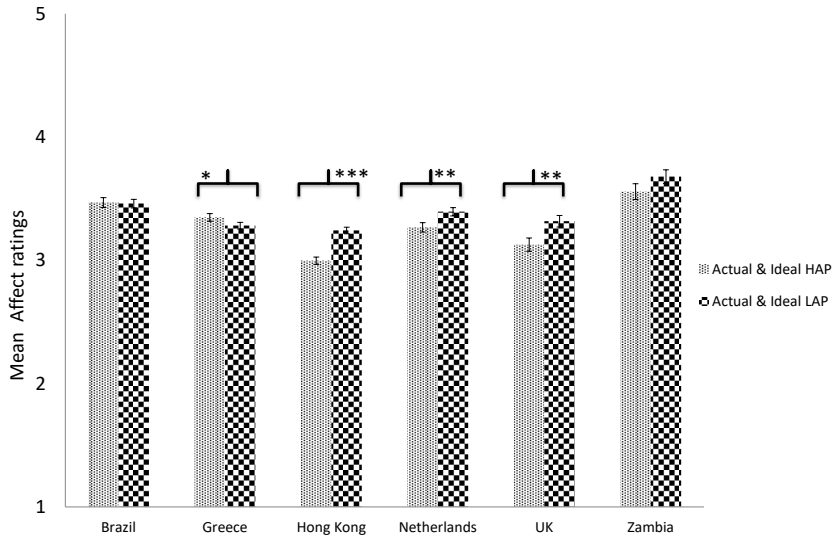


Figure 2.3. Interactive effect of Country and Affect State on affect ratings. Where HAP = high arousal positive state and LAP = low arousal positive state. Higher ratings indicate higher scores on the AVI, and actual and ideal affect are aggregated across both HAP and LAP. Error bars indicate the standard error of the mean. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

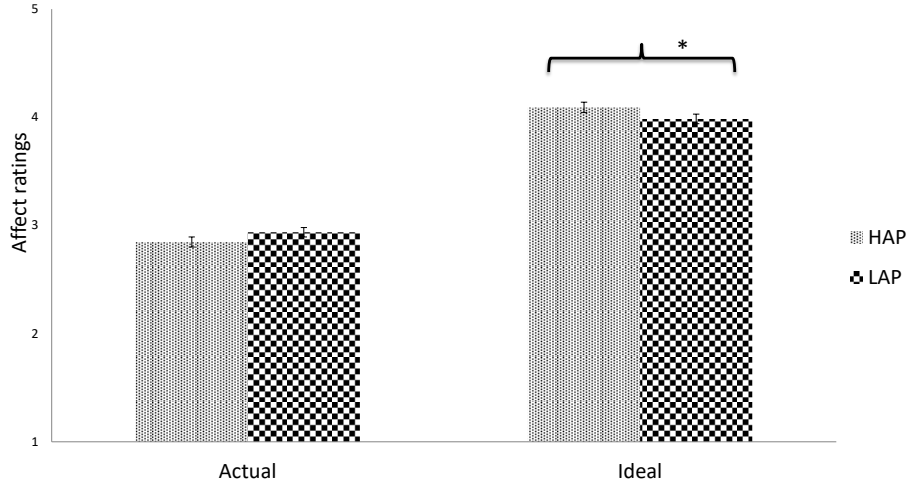


Figure 2.4a. Interaction between Affect State and Affect Type for Brazil. HAP = high arousal positive state, LAP = low arousal positive state. Error bars indicate the standard error of the mean. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

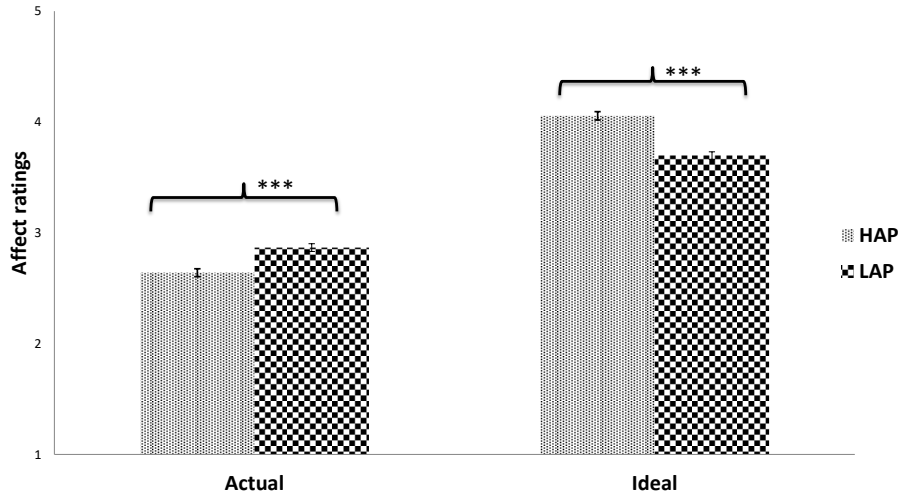


Figure 2.4b. Interaction between Affect State and Affect Type for Greece. HAP = high arousal positive state, LAP = low arousal positive state. Error bars indicate the standard error of the mean. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

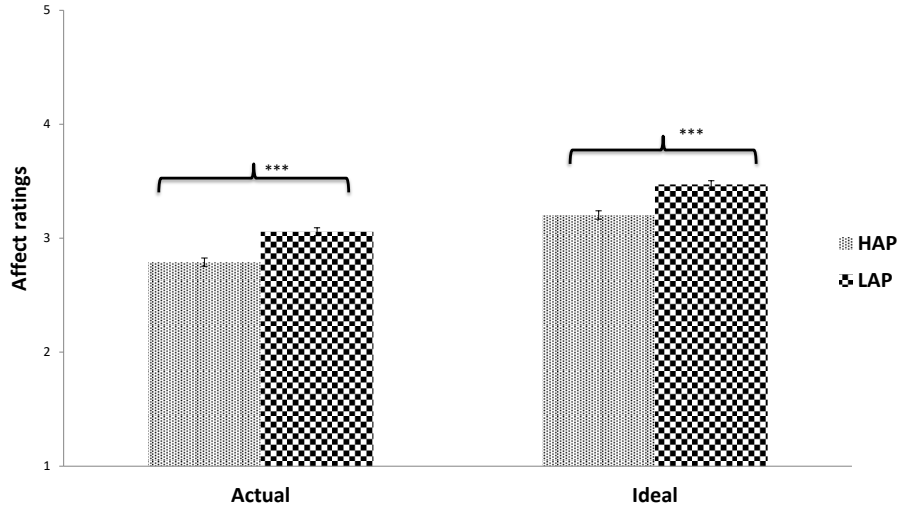


Figure 2.4c. Interaction between Affect State and Affect Type for Hong Kong. HAP = high arousal positive states, LAP = low arousal positive state. Error bars indicate the standard error of the mean. * $p <$ .05, ** $p <$ .01, *** $p <$ .001

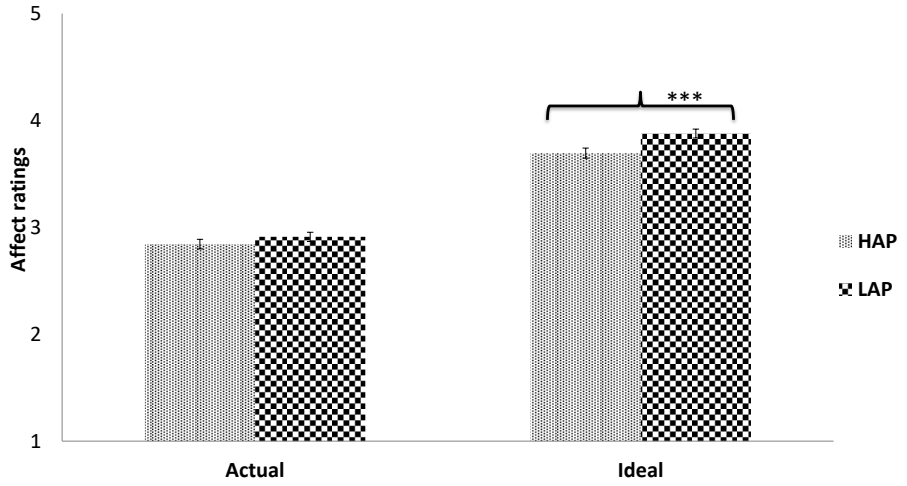


Figure 2.4d. Interaction between Affect State and Affect Type for Netherlands. HAP = high arousal positive state, LAP = low arousal positive state. Error bars indicate the standard error of the mean. * $p <$ .05, ** $p <$ .01, *** $p <$ .001

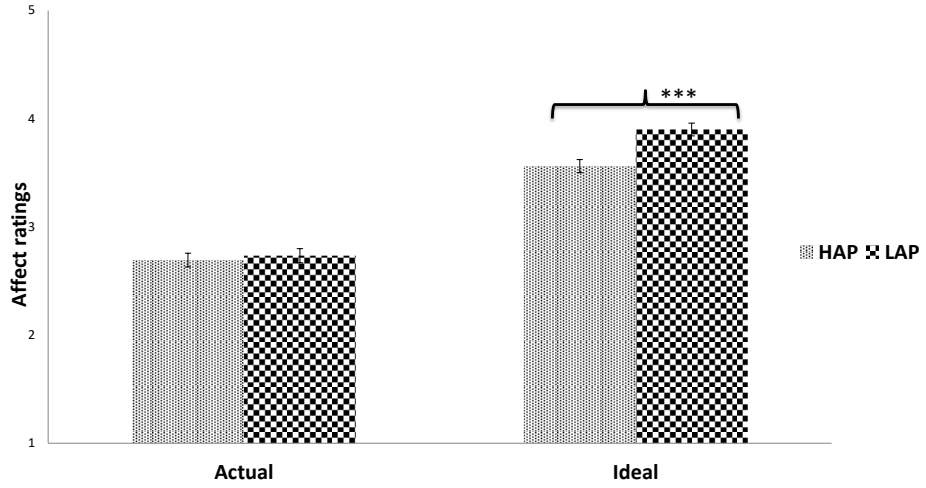


Figure 2.4e. Interaction between Affect State and Affect Type for UK. HAP = high arousal positive state, LAP = low arousal positive state. Error bars indicate the standard error of the mean. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

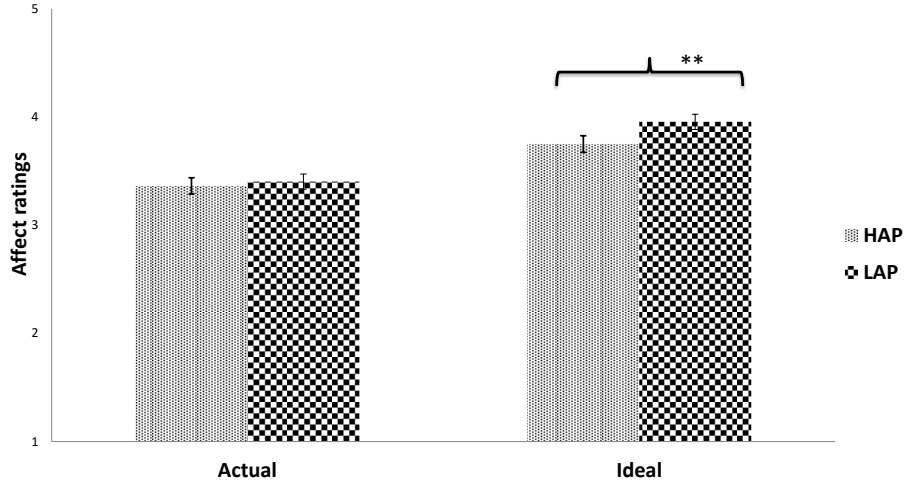


Figure 2.4f. Interaction between Affect State and Affect Type for Zambia. HAP = high arousal positive state, LAP = low arousal positive state. Error bars indicate the standard error of the mean. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Country differences in cultural values

To explore country differences in cultural values, I conducted a 6 x 2 (Country x Self-Construal) mixed factorial ANOVA with Country as the between-subjects factor and Self-Construal as the within-subjects factor. Results demonstrated that there was a significant interaction between Country and Self-Construal, F (1, 1221) = 12.70, $p <$ .001, η_p^2 = .05. Follow-up analyses demonstrated that participants in the Netherlands oriented significantly more towards independence than interdependence. The opposite pattern was observed for the Hong Kong participants. However, differences in orientation towards independence and interdependence were not significant for the remaining four countries. Country comparisons for independence and interdependence were also conducted. Means, standard deviations and the differences between countries are reported in Table 2.4.

I further conducted one-way ANOVAs on power distance, masculinity and uncertainty avoidance with Country as the between-subjects factor. As reported in Table 2.4, there were significant country differences for all of these measures. Consistent with what has been observed on a national culture level, Hong Kong scored highest on power distance, significantly differing from all the other cultures. Surprisingly scores on power distance in the UK were significantly less than in the Netherlands, which contrasts with recorded country level data. For masculinity, again, Hong Kong had the highest ratings, which supports country level data but the Netherlands again significantly differed from the UK on this measure, reporting higher levels of masculinity than the UK, which is another difference from the recorded country level scores. Lastly, all countries scored highly on uncertainty avoidance. Zambia scored significantly highest on this measure, demonstrating a strong tendency towards uncertainty avoidance, whereas according to country level data, Zambians only

show a slight tendency in this direction. However, Greece also had significantly high levels of uncertainty avoidance, which is consistent with country level data.

Country differences in influence and adjustment goals

To measure whether countries differed in their endorsement of influence relative to adjustment goals, I conducted a 6 x 2 (Country x Goal Type) repeated measures ANOVA with Goal Type as the within-subjects factor. There was a main effect of Goal Type, F (1, 1222) = 666.28, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .35$, such that on average, influence goals were endorsed more than adjustment goals ($M_{\text{Influence}} = 3.28$, $SD_{\text{Influence}} = 0.64$; $M_{\text{Adjustment}} = 2.66$, $SD_{\text{Adjustment}} = 0.75$). There was also a main effect for Country F (5, 1222) = 46.75, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$. Finally, there was a significant interaction between Country and Goal type, F (5, 1222) = 37.28, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$. Figure 2.5 shows that the relative greater endorsement of influence than adjustment goals was significant for all countries, but the difference was largest for Greece and smallest for Hong Kong.

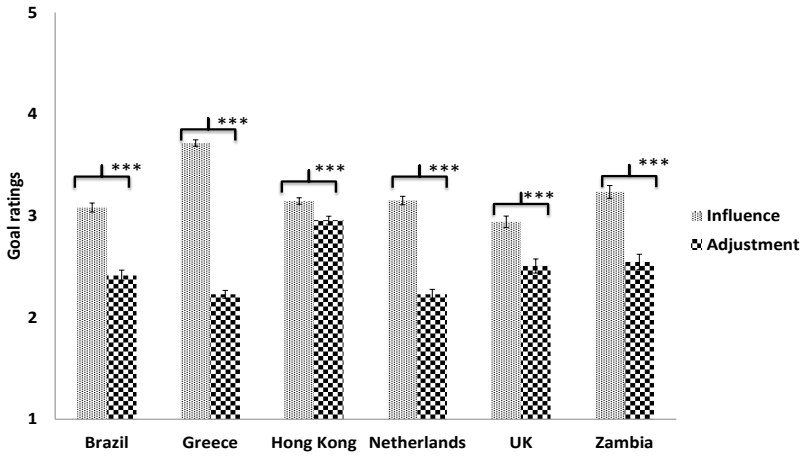


Figure 2.5. Interactive effect between Country and Goal Type. Error bars indicate the standard error of the mean). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 2.4

Country differences in cultural values

	UK	Netherlands	Greece	Brazil	Zambia	Hong Kong
Variable						
Independence***	4.62 (0.74)	4.74 (0.59)	4.87 (0.64)	4.85 (0.67)	5.14 (0.76)	4.47 (0.66)
Interdependence***	4.72 (0.80)	4.45 (0.65)	4.94 (0.68)	4.73 (0.66)	5.13 (0.82)	4.76 (0.67)
Power Distance***	2.05 (0.81)	2.40(0.96)	2.18 (0.99)	2.06 (0.82)	2.35 (1.19)	2.93 (1.07)
Masculinity***	2.44 (1.17)	3.14 (1.19)	2.90 (1.30)	2.94 (1.26)	3.61 (1.14)	3.90 (1.06)
Uncertainty Avoidance***	4.87 (0.92)	4.99 (0.84)	5.40 (0.98)	4.96 (0.83)	5.96 (0.87)	4.84 (0.83)

Note. Means and Standard deviations in parentheses

**p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001*

Country differences in beliefs about emotion expression and moderation

To assess whether countries differed in their beliefs about expressing or moderating emotions (emotion belief), I conducted a 6 x 2 (Country x Emotion Belief) repeated measures ANOVA with Emotion Belief as the within-subjects factor. There was a main effect of Emotion Belief, F (1, 1124) = 153.80, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$, such that on average, emotional expression was preferred relative to emotional moderation ($M_{\text{Expression}} = 5.31$, $SD_{\text{Expression}} = 1.02$; $M_{\text{Moderation}} = 4.79$, $SD_{\text{Moderation}} = 0.86$) and a main effect for Country, F (5, 1124) = 153.80, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$. There was also a significant interaction between Country and Emotion Belief, F (5, 1124) = 153.80, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$. Figure 2.6 shows that the relative endorsement of expression relative to moderation was significant for all countries except for Zambia and Hong Kong, and again was largest for Greece.

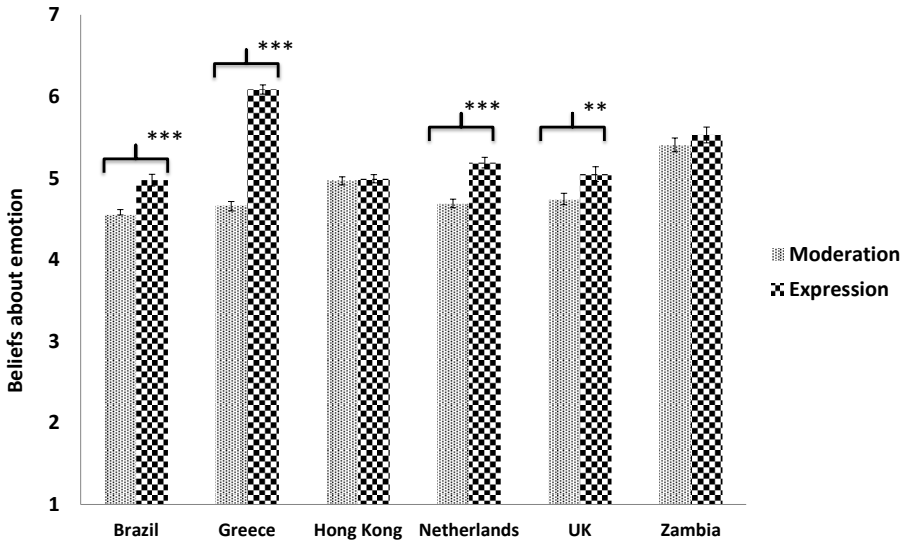


Figure 2.6. Interactive effect between Country and Emotion Belief. Error bars indicate the standard error of the mean. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Cultural differences in ideal affect controlling for cultural variables

To test whether the measured cultural variables were sufficient to account for cultural differences in ideal HAP and LAP, I conducted an analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) with Country, Affect Type and Affect State, including all measured cultural variables as covariates in the analysis. The results demonstrated that the 3-way interaction between Country, Affect Type and Affect State remained significant, F (5, 1220) = 21.30, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$, suggesting that the measured cultural values cannot fully account for the reported differences in ideal affect, but leaving open the possibility of partial mediation.

Relationships between ideal affect and cultural variables, across and within cultures

In order to investigate which cultural values were associated with ideal affect, I conducted correlational analysis on cultural and ideal affect variables for the entire sample (see Table 2.5).

Table 2.5

Zero order correlations among affect and cultural variables for overall sample

	Variable	*M (SD)*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	Ideal High Arousal Positive (HAP)	3.71 (0.75)	-	.43**	.32**	.06*	.26**	.26**	.29**	-.03	.19**	-.17**	.12**	-.06	.29**
2	Ideal Low Arousal Positive (LAP)	3.73 (0.64)			.07*	.24**	.16**	.12**	.02	-.07**	-.22**	-.17**	.15**	.06*	.09**
3	Actual HAP	2.84 (1.21)				.30**	.14**	.09**	.08**	.04	-.01	.06*	.07*	.06	.12**
4	Actual LAP	2.96 (0.63)					.19**	.16**	.01	.06*	.06*	.11**	.11**	.14**	.05
5	Independence	4.74 (0.69)						.19**	.31**	-.08**	-.07*	-.02	.14**	.12**	.33**
6	Interdependence	4.78 (0.71)							.11**	.30**	-.06**	.09**	.39**	.26**	.16**
7	Influence	3.28 (0.64)								.34**	.08**	.06*	.23**	.10**	.43**
8	Adjustment	2.66 (0.75)									.22**	.23**	.20**	.15**	.05
9	Power Distance	2.41 (1.04)										.46**	.02	.07*	-.20**
10	Masculinity	3.23 (1.30)											.11**	.20**	-.09**
11	Uncertainty-Avoidance	5.11 (0.93)												.26**	.21**
12	Emotion-Moderation	4.80 (0.86)													.10**
13	Emotion-Expression	5.31 (1.02)													-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The results demonstrated that for ideal HAP, a number of cultural variables were correlated; independence, interdependence, influence goals, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and emotion expression were all positively correlated with ideal HAP, r (1243) = .12 to *r* (1243) = .29, all *ps* <.01. There was also a negative association observed for masculinity, *r* (1243) = -.17, *p* <.05.

For ideal LAP, positive relationships were observed for independence, interdependence, uncertainty avoidance, emotion moderation and emotion expression, *r* (1243) = .06 to *r* (1243) = .16, all *ps* <.05. Surprisingly, a sight negative correlation was found for adjustment goals. Power distance and masculinity were also negatively correlated with ideal LAP, *r* (1243) = -.07 to *r* (1243) = -.22, all *ps* <.05.

As the sample was relatively culturally diverse, and some of the patterns observed might be similar or dissimilar in individual countries, I also investigated which factors influenced ideal affective preferences *within-cultures*. I conducted zero-order correlational analyses for each country separately.

None of the cultural variables measured significantly correlated with ideal HAP in the Zambian sample. However, consistent with the overall pattern, in the UK, Netherlands, Greece, Brazil and Hong Kong, both influence goals and emotion expression were significantly positively correlated with ideal HAP. A significant positive relationship between independent self-construal and ideal HAP was only observed in the UK, Greek and Hong Kong respondents.

For ideal LAP, in Brazil, there were no significant associations for any of the cultural variables measures. Interdependent self-construal was found to positively correlate with ideal LAP in the UK, Greek and Hong Kong samples. Power distance was negatively

associated with ideal LAP in both the Netherlands and Greece. Both masculinity and uncertainty avoidance were negatively correlated with ideal LAP in Zambia. However, no significant correlations were found for adjustment goals within-cultures.

Predictors of ideal HAP and ideal LAP

To identify which particular cultural values predicted cultural differences in ideal affect, I conducted a stepwise multiple regression analysis on all cultural variables and ideal affect, controlling for country. I created dummy codes for each country separately and entered them in the first step of the regression model. Each of the country comparisons had significant effects on both ideal HAP and ideal LAP, even after controlling for the cultural predictors that were subsequently entered in the equation. This extends the results of the ANCOVA and shows that none of the differences between any pair of countries was fully accounted for by the measured cultural variables.

Five of the cultural variables explained additional independent variance in ideal HAP[16], (R_2 = .29, F (10, 1041) = 42.01, p < .001). Influence goals were the strongest predictor (B = .20, SE =.04, β = .17, p < .001). Emotional expressivity also independently predicted ideal HAP, (B = .09, SE =.02, β = .12, p < .001), as did independence (B = .08, SE =.03, β = .07, p = .015), power distance (B = -.06, SE =.02, β = -.08, p = .008), and interdependence (B = .06, SE =.03, β = .06, p = .042).

For ideal LAP[17], four of the cultural variables explained additional independent variance in ideal LAP, (R_2 = .15, F (9, 1052) = 21.17, p < .001). Interdependence was the strongest predictor, (B = .09, SE =.03, β = .10, p = .003), and power distance (B = -.08, SE

[16] The results presented here are of model 6.
[17] The results presented here are of model 5

=.02, β = .13, $p < .001$), uncertainty avoidance (*B =.08, SE* =.02, β = .11, $p = .001$), and independence (*B* = .07, *SE* =.03, β = .07, $p = .02$) also independently predicted ideal LAP.

Discussion

In Study 2, I conducted a cross-sectional survey on six countries whose orientation towards individualism and collectivism varied, primarily to test predictions and extend findings from Tsai and colleagues (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007). I measured preferences for ideal HAP and LAP, and further assessed cultural differences in these preferences. Specifically, I investigated effects of self–construal (i.e., independence and interdependence), and endorsement of influence and adjustment goals, on ideal HAP and ideal LAP. To extend findings from previous research, I also included additional cultural variables of power distance, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance and beliefs about the expression and moderation of emotion that I developed for this study. The study showed cultural differences in preferences for ideal affect, in varying patterns. I replicated the preferences for LAP to HAP in both UK and Zambia that I had observed in Study 1. Furthermore, the results also revealed significant predictors of cultural differences in ideal affect that both support and extend prior findings.

Previous studies on individualist cultures, such as Euro-American and Euro-Canadian (Ruby et al., 2012; Tsai et al., 2006), have observed a preference for HAP to LAP. However, in this study, consistent with my first hypothesis, the two individualist countries (the UK and the Netherlands) both preferred LAP relative to HAP. Furthermore, the preference for LAP to HAP that has been observed in East-Asian cultures did not hold true for all the collectivist cultures studied. While both Zambia and Hong Kong did show a

preference for LAP relative to HAP, Greece and Brazil showed the reverse pattern, that is preferring HAP to LAP, supporting my second hypothesis.

The UK's preference for LAP over HAP supports findings from my first study, and suggests that they were not due to current life demands (i.e., exam anxiety) but instead reflect a general preference. There are a number of factors that might explain the pattern of preferences. Although the Netherlands and the UK both rank highly on Hofstede's dimension of individualism, it may be that the individualism practiced in these two countries takes a different form than that practiced in North America. In the UK in particular, it was interesting to note that participants scored higher on interdependence than independence (although not significantly so, in contrast to findings from Study 1). This may reflect more of an *egalitarian* type of individualism.

Brazil and Greece were the only two countries that demonstrated a preference for HAP relative to LAP, in contrast to the other two collectivist countries, Hong Kong and Zambia, who displayed the expected preference for LAP over HAP. What factors might account for the pattern of preferences in Brazil and Greece? Ruby and colleagues (2012) found a similar HAP relative to LAP preference in Mexico, another collectivist culture, and posited that the cultural value of *simpatía* endorsed in Mexico (and other Latin American countries), encourages the free and vibrant expression of emotion, as a means of promoting interpersonal harmony. This might explain the preference for HAP in Brazil, as beliefs about emotional expression were found to be significantly positively associated with ideal HAP. Preferences in Greece might be driven by endorsement of influence goals and beliefs about emotional expression, indeed Greece scored highest of all countries on these

measures, although had low reliability on the influence goals measure and so it could reflect a measurement error as well.

The pattern of preference for LAP relative to HAP was expected for Zambia and Hong Kong. That Zambians ideally wanted to feel more LAP relative to HAP replicates the pattern observed in Study 1. However, contrary to my first study, I did not observe a relationship between ideal LAP and interdependence in my Zambian sample, instead ideal LAP was negatively correlated with uncertainty avoidance. The pattern of preference for LAP over HAP shown in Hong Kong replicates previous findings. Within-culture correlations showed that for the Hong Kong sample, interdependence was positively associated with ideal LAP.

To clarify which cultural variables significantly predicted ideal HAP and ideal LAP, I ran a series of regression analysis. The results demonstrated that influence goals, emotion expression, independence, power distance and interdependence were all significant independent predictors of ideal HAP. For ideal LAP, the significant independent predictors were interdependence, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and independence. These results lend some support to predictions concerning the contributions of independence and influence goals (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007) and values associated with emotion expression (Ruby et al., 2012) in shaping ideal HAP, and confirm that interdependence is associated with ideal LAP (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006). However, one point of departure from previous studies (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007) concerns adjustment goals. In the overall sample, adjustment goals were significantly *negatively* correlated with ideal LAP, although the value of this correlation was rather low. Furthermore, adjustment goals were not significantly correlated with ideal LAP within cultures. Additionally, I did not find any

support for associations between beliefs about emotion moderation and preferences for ideal LAP.

A possible explanation for this is that participants mostly tended to endorse influence goals relative to adjustment goals, and preferred emotional expression to emotional moderation (and this difference was significant in all but Zambia and Hong Kong). This may have attenuated variance in these measures leading to lower correlations. These similarities between respondents may reflect the homogenising effects of being at university. For example, previous studies have suggested that people with college degrees are more likely to value influence behaviour than those without (Snibbe & Markus, 2005). Future studies on more diverse samples will be needed to measure whether these cross-cultural similarities and differences generalise to other samples.

The results of the study also extend previous findings by demonstrating that additional cultural variables such as power distance and uncertainty avoidance also predict ideal affect. Although the particular aspects that affect this relationship are unclear, it will be important to conduct further studies to clarify what particular features of these cultural dimensions drive the relationship between affective preferences. However, it is also important to note that the cultural variables I measured did not fully account for cultural differences in ideal affect, despite their significant associations with this variable. This implies that there must be other unmeasured cultural or noncultural factors that also shape affective preferences, such as ecological and socio-political factors (Berry, 1976; Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 2002).

Another issue to consider is that the scores obtained on the cultural values in this study did not always reflect the existing country-level survey data. It is possible that this

may be due to the nature of the student sample, as students may not be representative of the broader general public. An additional possibility is that these values have changed on a national level since the original data were collected. The Hofstede data on which these values were based are now several decades old, dating back to a time before most the sample were born. Furthermore, culture has been found to interact with socioeconomic factors, and as countries evolve in this respect, so too may their cultural values. Future research will need to address the question of how closely individual level values reflect national culture values.

As a final note, although this study replicated and demonstrated some interesting new findings with regards to the cultural shaping of ideal affect, the results should be interpreted with caution, considering my use of self-report measures of cultural variables. Indeed, several psychologists have criticised self-report measures of cultural constructs for their less than ideal psychometric properties (e.g., Heine, Lehman, Peng & Greenholtz, 2002). Although the scales used to measure cultural variables had internal consistency scores of at least .60 in most of my national samples, there were some exceptions. Greece had particularly low reliability estimates for ideal LAP, and influence and adjustment goals. Internal consistency estimates for adjustment were also low in Zambia, and Brazil. The estimates for emotion moderation were also below .60 in UK, Netherlands and Brazil. Future research is therefore needed to substantiate these results with measures showing better reliability. As Poortinga and Van de Vijver (1987) argue, it is essential to separate the substantive variable, that is the aspects that reflect true cultural influence, from the method related variables.

These concerns also apply to findings that both independence and interdependence significantly predict ideal HAP and ideal LAP. Concerns exist about the validity and reliability of self-construal scales. Self-construals are a common way of measuring and explaining cross-cultural differences (Kam, Zhou, Zhang & Ho, 2012; Levine et al., 2003), but debate exists about the validity of these measures for explaining the theoretical constructs originally proposed by Markus and Kitayama (1991). Levine and colleagues (2003) reported a meta-analysis of published cross-cultural self-construal research that casts some doubts on the validity of these measures, as they were found to be multidimensional and highly unstable within and across cultures. Indeed, in my own studies (Study 1 in particular), I did not find a clear two-factor structure corresponding to the postulated factors of independence and interdependence. Research continues on the measurement of self-construal and more is clearly needed if self–construal theory is to remain a dominant framework for explaining cross cultural differences.

General discussion

Overview of Findings

Studies 1 and 2 consisted of cross-cultural research on five countries whose ideal affect preferences have not previously been studied, and Hong Kong, as a partial replication of previous findings. The countries that comprised the sample varied in their orientation towards individualism and collectivism, but also varied on other cultural values measured by Hofstede's dimensions. In this section, I present findings that replicated previous work

conducted on ideal affect by Tsai and colleagues (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007) and Ruby and colleagues (2012), as well as new findings. In both studies, self-report measures of actual and ideal affect, and other cultural variables were measured. Overall, cultural differences in preferences for ideal affect were found, and were predicted both by established factors such as independence, influence goals and interdependence, and by novel factors, specifically beliefs about emotional expression, power distance and uncertainty avoidance.

Replications of pre-existing findings

Ideal affect differs from actual affect. It is not too surprising that across both Studies 1 and 2 people wanted to feel differently (i.e., more positively) from how they actually felt across all sampled cultures.

Preferences for LAP to HAP in East Asian cultures (i.e., Hong Kong). The pattern of preference for LAP relative to HAP in East Asian samples has been well documented in previous studies, and Study 2 showed further support for this. The preferences for LAP to HAP, appears in part to be driven by interdependence self-construal.

Preferences for HAP to LAP in Latin American cultures. Ruby et al. (2012) presented the first evidence of affective preferences outside of North America and East Asian, when they presented results showing preference for HAP relative to LAP in Mexico. Brazil's preference for HAP relative to LAP replicates this pattern. Furthermore, by explicitly measuring beliefs about the expression of emotion, I was also able to lend some credence to the assertion that this preference may, in part, be influenced by the cultural value of *simpatía* that is observed in many Latin American cultures. Future studies

comparing other Latin American countries and directly measuring values and behaviours associated with *simpatía* may further clarify this proposition.

Ideal HAP and LAP are associated with self-construal, and influence goals. Tsai and colleagues (2006) argued that differences in self-construal should predict differences in ideal HAP and LAP. Although Tsai et al. (2006) did not find that either independence or interdependence directly mediated the effect of culture on ideal affect in their initial studies, Seat (2010) found an association between independence and ideal HAP in a North American sample. In Study 2, I found that of the cultural variables I measured, influence goals were the strongest independent predictor of ideal HAP, replicating Tsai, Miao, et al. (2007). However, I also found that independence explained further variance in ideal HAP, suggesting that the effect of independent self-construal on ideal HAP is not wholly mediated by influence goals. Furthermore, my results also demonstrated within-culture associations, such that for all cultures except for Zambia, influence goals were significantly correlated with ideal HAP. In Study 1, I found that interdependence was associated with ideal LAP in a Zambia sample. Additionally, I also found within-culture associations between interdependence and ideal LAP for the UK and Hong Kong samples in Study 2. Moreover, interdependence significantly predicted ideal LAP for the sample as a whole, after controlling for country effects.

In summary, most of the established findings concerning culture's effect on ideal affect were replicated.

Novel findings

The studies reported here had two main purposes; to establish ideal affective preferences in previously unreported cultures; and to identify additional sources of

variation in affective preferences. The summaries of findings pertaining to these aims are reported below.

Not all individualists and collectivists are the same when it comes to ideal affect. One of the major limitations of a good portion of cross-cultural research is the overreliance on comparisons between North American and East Asian cultural contexts (Cohen 2009), with the consequence that findings from these contexts are often generalised to other individualist and collectivist cultures (Ruby et al., 2012). By collecting data from five novel cultures, I was able to extend or unsettle conclusions from previous research.

Of the novel collectivist cultures I studied, only Zambia demonstrated the preference for LAP relative to HAP that has been observed previously in East Asia. In contrast, both Brazil and Greece preferred HAP to LAP. The Brazil findings provide a replication of the pattern of affective preference observed in another Latin American culture (i.e., Mexico) as discussed above. However, the finding for Greece is not comparable to any published report that I know of. While Greece is considered part of Western Europe (Schwartz, 2006), it does seem to differ culturally from other Western European cultures. It might be interesting to consider whether other countries geographically close and culturally similar to Greece (e.g., Italy) would also display similar patterns for affective preferences.

Other cultural factors shape ideal affect. Similar to its reliance on the standard comparison between North American and East Asian cultures, cross-cultural research has also been prone to focus exclusively on the individualism-collectivism dimension. Based on Hofstede's cultural dimensions, I also investigated whether the dimensions of power distance, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity influence ideal affect. Power distance was

found to predict cultural differences in both ideal HAP and ideal LAP. Future research is needed to replicate this effect and, if successful, to unpack what specific aspects of power distance could be shaping affective preferences, particularly as power distance was negatively associated with both ideal HAP and ideal LAP.

Uncertainty avoidance was also found to be a significant predictor of ideal LAP. Although uncertainty avoidance has been found to be associated with emotional expression (Basabe et al., 2000), this factor was not a significant independent predictor of ideal LAP. However cultures that score high on uncertainty avoidance also tend to experience more anxiety and neuroticism and as a result tend to prefer strong systems and controls, similarly to having strong needs for safety and security (Basabe et al., 2000). It is possible then, that this aspect of uncertainty avoidance might lead to preferences for ideal LAP. Future research is needed to identify what specific aspects of this cultural dimension shape ideal affect.

Cultures also vary in terms of their norms, values and beliefs about the moderation and expression of emotion. I reasoned that these norms might predict affective preferences and based on the regression analysis found that belief about emotional expression was a significant independent predictor of ideal HAP. I did not find the corresponding pattern for beliefs about emotional moderation, but this may be a reflection of the homogeneity of student samples, as across samples, all participants endorsed the expression of emotion than of the moderation of it. Again, this is an avenue for future investigation.

Implications

To my knowledge, this is the first study to measure ideal HAP and LAP in five distinct geographic and cultural regions. My studies replicated a number of effects that have previously been reported, as well as revealing novel findings. The results of these studies have several implications for the area of culture and affective relationships.

Debate continues about whether emotion researchers should be studying affective states or discrete emotions. Within-country factor analysis of actual and ideal HAP and LAP items generally supported pleasure and arousal dimensions with HAP items loading on one factor and LAP items loading on another. Tsai et al. (2006) and others have argued that the advantage of this two-dimensional model of affective structure is that it allows for a parsimonious organisation of affective states. While discrete emotions allow for considering the unique features of emotional states, problems may also arise in cross-cultural research, as different cultures can ascribe different meanings to the same word (Parkinson, et al., 2005). Consequently, I would argue that taking the pleasure-arousal approach to identifying cross-cultural differences and similarities on particular aspects of emotional lives is a valid approach.

My results also show the importance of moving beyond individualism-collectivism in cross-cultural research, which is an important aspect of developing cross cultural psychology (e.g., Cohen, 2009; Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006). By investigating a diverse group of countries that varied along a number of cultural values, I was able to provide some initial evidence that power distance and uncertainty avoidance independently predict ideal affect. These results suggest that it is worth considering how other cultural factors shape affective preferences. Culture is a multidimensional variable and cultures that orient towards

individualism and collectivism also endorse other cultural values and beliefs. The limitation of a number of cross-cultural studies that have focused on two country comparisons on one main dimension is the neglect of considering this multidimensionality of culture (Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006). Indeed, as Schwartz (2006) argues, cultural value orientations are not necessarily orthogonal but interdependent, thus it is worthwhile to study several cultures that vary along different dimensions to improve our understanding on the cultural shaping of affective preferences.

Limitations and future directions

The present studies have a number of limitations that present opportunities for future research. Firstly, these surveys rely on cross-sectional data and thus do not establish causal relationships between variables. Neither do they measure any behavioural consequences of variations in ideal affect. Future research should therefore aim to experimentally manipulate the novel predictors identified in this area (e.g., emotional expression) to assess effects on affective preferences.

As has already been mentioned, self-report measures can present problems, particularly in cross-cultural research. For example, responses on self-reports might reflect cultural styles themselves. For instance, Ramirez-Esparza, Gosling and Pennebaker (2008) found that when Hispanics provide self-report ratings of *simpatía*, they typically score lower than non-Hispanics yet show more *simpatía*–related behaviours in a social interaction task. These differences between scores based on self-reports and actual behaviours were not explained by translation artifacts or response-style biases such as acquiescence or mid response style, but rather by the modesty associated with *simpatía.* Thus, in my studies, I

cannot rule out the possibility that responses to the questionnaires also reflected aspects of culture. The results would be further strengthened by including other sources of measurement such as behavioural measures, and measures derived from social interactions (McCrae, 2005; Mui, Goudbeek, Swerts, & Wijst, 2013).

A further limitation of my studies is that I examined cultural differences by comparing countries. This is not an uncommon approach to take in cross-cultural research but does present some problems (Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006; Matsumoto et al., 2008). Although geographical regions/countries have shared history and often have shared culture, they also share other non-cultural variables such as shared genetics, socioeconomic status, climate and population density, and each of these is argued to have an influence on psychological processes (Cohen, 2009; Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006). Furthermore, within cultures, there can also be considerable variations in cultural practices. For example, in countries such as Brazil and Zambia, there is such a diversity of ethnic-cultural groupings that these different sub-cultures may also vary from each other in endorsement of affective preferences. Although I measured cultural values at the individual level to assess which specific aspects of culture predicted ideal affect, future studies could also investigate cultural differences in ideal affect based on other sub-cultural classifications that might vary by ethnicity and religion and consider other noncultural factors to assess if they contribute to variance in ideal affect.

Another issue related to sampling is my use of student samples. Although for the purposes of cross-cultural research, it is beneficial to use comparable samples (e.g., students), the limitation is that the samples may be more similar than dissimilar to each other and thus reduce variation between cultures (Oyserman, Koon & Kemmelmeier,

2002). More research is needed on diverse samples within these geographic regions to see if results replicate.

Consistent with the bulk of research that has been conducted on ideal affect, my studies focused on ideal HAP and ideal LAP. These are of course not the only affective states that people may wish to feel and it would be worthwhile to consider whether there are cultural differences in valuations of other octants of the affective circumplex. Relatedly, while most of the time people want to feel positive, there may be times that people would prefer to feel other states based on a specific context (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007). Tsai and colleagues (2007) have found evidence that the interpersonal goals of influence and adjustment are associated with preferences for HAP and LAP at the contextual level; it would be worth asking whether the additional sources of variation identified in my study (e.g., emotional expression) interact with context-dependent ideal affect.

In my studies, I focused on measuring cross-cultural differences organised by Hofstede's (1980) cultural dimensions. While this is a popular framework to guide cross-cultural research, it is of course, not the only approach to take in cross cultural research. For example, Schwartz (1992, 2012) presents a theory of basic values that are recognised across cultures and reflect the motivations that each value expresses. While there is some overlap between Schwartz and Hofstede's dimensions, there are also differences, and Schwartz's scheme might allow for more finely tuned characterisations of cultures. For instance, one of the limitations of my studies is that I did not identify what aspects of power distance or uncertainty avoidance drive ideal affect preferences. These general dimensions may therefore need further unpacking. Schwartz (2012) describes the higher order value of conservation, which is a motivation to preserve and protect the *status quo.* This value might

be more endorsed in countries that orient towards uncertainty avoidance as it includes values of tradition and conformity. This value endorsement might lead people to endorse ideal LAP.

Lastly, the studies presented in this chapter were mainly focused on observing affective patterns across and within cultures and identifying additional sources of variation in ideal affect. I did not attempt to provide evidence concerning the socialisation of these values and ideal affect. Tsai and colleagues (2007) have demonstrated cultural differences in the promotion of affective states in popular children's books; obviously, these are not the only pathways to socialisation. Future studies could investigate social interactions and the shaping of ideal affect (e.g., parent-child, and peer-peer) and the pathways by which people come to learn to associate certain values with affective states.

Conclusion

The primary purpose of the studies described in this chapter was to replicate and extend findings on sources of variation in ideal affect in a sample of six countries that varied in geography and cultural orientation. The results replicated a number of previous findings concerning sources of variation in ideal affect, such as the importance of influence goals as a predictor of ideal HAP. Additionally, the results also demonstrated some novel findings; beliefs about emotional expression, power distance and uncertainty avoidance were all found to predict ideal affect.

As far as I am aware, the studies presented here are the first to include additional cultural dimensions applied to the study of ideal affect. Additionally, I have not come across any reports documenting the patterns of preferences for ideal HAP and LAP in

Brazil, Greece, the Netherlands, the UK and Zambia. These studies shed some light on the cultural shaping of affective preferences in these countries and afford opportunities for future comparisons with other cultures that share similar cultural characteristics to assess if findings will be replicated.

A final note: although my studies have focused on the cultural shaping of affective preferences, I do not claim that the relationship between culture and affect operates unidirectionally. Indeed, while culture has influences on emotional lives, our emotional lives are also a way of "doing culture" (Boiger, 2013; Mesquita et al., in press).

Chapter 3: Context-Dependent Ideal Affect

The research reported in this chapter investigated context-dependent ideal affect, specifically the effects of the motivational orientation of the target of influence on ideal affective preferences. Across three experiments, I investigated whether ideal affect varied depending on whether the influence target was described as having a prevention or promotion motivational focus. In the first of these studies (Study 3), participants were instructed to deliver a video-recorded persuasive appeal to encourage an influence target to use dental floss. Knowledge of influence target's motivational orientation was manipulated such that there were three conditions, influence target that focused on gains (Promotion Condition), who focused on avoidance of losses (Prevention Condition), or no information about the target (Control Condition). In line with expectations, ideal affect varied as a function of a target's motivational orientation. To clarify the relationship between ideal affect and influence target, I conducted a follow up study (Study 4) using an online vignette. Contrary to Study 3, ideal affect did not depend on Influence Target. In order to further disentangle the discrepant findings between Study 3 and Study 4, I ran Study 5, using the same experimental task used in Study 3 and a comparison task, where participants were asked to deliver a persuasive appeal to encourage physical activity. Consistent with Study 4, in the dental floss persuasion task, there was no effect of influence target on ideal affect. The Influence Target also did not have an effect in the physical influence task. Across tasks and Influence Target conditions, participants reported higher ratings attributing their reasons for affective preferences to enhanced performance on the task, rather than to considerations that focused on the Influence Target.

Generally, we all have some idea about how we would like to feel on average, or most of the time, and these generalised affective preferences may be linked to our personality (Augustine, Hemenover, Larsen, & Shulman, 2011; Rusting & Larsen, 1995), as well as culture (Eid & Diener, 2001; Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006). Indeed the findings reported in Chapter two showed that culture influences general ideal affect, that is the affective states that we value and would ideally like to feel (Tsai, 2007).

While our ideal affect is fairly stable over time, it is also subject to variation depending on context. Our daily lives are filled with situations that require us to modulate our emotional experience, for example interacting with a difficult person, trying to make a friend feel better, engaging in a negotiation, asking for help. How we would ideally like to feel in these specific situations can be regarded as context-dependent (or context-sensitive) affective preferences (e.g., Kim, Ford, Mauss, & Tamir, 2014).

In this chapter I focus on sources of variation in context-dependent ideal affect, particularly investigating the effects of another person on own ideal affect in an interpersonal influence context. I first present a review of the evidence on context-dependent ideal affect, and then address sources of variation in shaping context-dependent ideal affect, particularly in interpersonal situations. I then give an overview of the studies presented in this chapter.

Context-dependent ideal affect

The variability of affective preferences across situations has been demonstrated in both intrapersonal and interpersonal contexts; for example, some runners who wish to

improve their performance might prefer to upregulate their anger (Lane, Beedie, Davenport & Stanley, 2011), whereas people may wish to experience and show more sadness when soliciting help from others (Hackenbracht & Tamir, 2010b). Although a number of studies have investigated context-dependent emotional preferences focusing on discrete emotions such as anger, fear and happiness (e.g., Ford & Tamir, 2012; Tamir, Chiu, & Gross, 2007; Tamir & Ford, 2012), to my knowledge, only three studies have specifically investigated context-dependent ideal HAP and ideal LAP, and these are the ones that I will focus on for the purpose of reviewing context-dependent ideal affect.

Tsai, Miao, Seppala, Fung and Yeung (2007) conducted a series of studies using European American, Asian American and Hong Kong Chinese students to test the relationship between interpersonal goals and ideal affect. The main purpose of the studies was to demonstrate that influence and adjustment goals that had been found to have on effect on cultural valuations of ideal HAP and ideal LAP, would produce similar effects in contextual levels where influence and adjustment goals were manipulated. Additionally, the researchers also hoped that by using a mixed cultural group of participants, they could demonstrate that even though people may have preferences for general ideal affect, when in specific situations, people would behave in more similar ways regardless of culture if the context demanded it, and thus context-dependent ideal affect could be made more salient than general ideal affect.

As with their studies on cultural variation in ideal affect, Tsai and colleagues (2007) focused on influence and adjustment[18] goals as specific interpersonal goals that encourage

[18] These goals are also sometimes referred to as primary and secondary control goals, respectively (e.g. Rothbaum, Weisz & Synder, 1982).

particular affective states. Specifically, they argued that different affective states are involved in *successfully* influencing or adjusting to others. When people endorse influence or adjustment goals, they should come to desire the affective states associated with *successful* attainment of those goals.

According to Tsai, Miao, et al. (2007), influence involves asserting the self and changing others. To evoke influence, people must first establish that their own needs and wishes are special and unique. This may be achieved, for example, by appearing confident and self-assured. The second aspect of influence involves changing other people's thoughts, opinions or behaviour and requires additional action from the person doing the influencing, for example, directly asking someone to do something or expressing an opinion. This additional action in turn involves increases in heightened arousal. For example, it has been observed that during an open-ended group discussion, people who were more influential demonstrated more active behaviours, such as speaking more, using more gestures, than those who were lower in influence (Gifford & O'Connor, 1987). Additionally, influence has been found to be positively associated with arousal (Mehrabian & Russell, 1974) and negatively associated with relaxing mentally and physically (Murray & Nakajima, 1999). Because influencing others involves high arousal states, Tsai, Miao, et al. (2007) predicted that individuals endorsing influence goals would also desire high arousal states.

By contrast, adjusting to others, at least in the first instance, involves suppressing the self and trying to fit in with others (Morling et al., 2002). Individuals must subdue their own individuality (e.g., by keeping their thoughts and preferences to themselves), and this suppression of the self involves decreases in physiological arousal (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007). In addition, it is important to be aware of one's environmental stimuli. Thus, Tsai

and colleagues predicted that when people wanted to adjust to others (i.e., endorse adjustment goals) they should value low arousal states.

To test these predictions experimentally[19] culturally matched pairs of participants (who did not know each other) were assigned either to an "influence" or an "adjustment" condition across three studies (Studies 2 – 4; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007). In Study 2, Euro-American, Asian American and Hong Kong Chinese female students participated in a card-matching task. Members of each dyad were seated at opposite ends of the table, and were given identical sets of cards containing figures. Participants in the influence condition were told to decide how to order their cards in a way that made the most sense to them, and then verbally describe each card to the participants who were in the adjustment condition, so that the matcher could arrange the cards in the same order as the leader. "Adjusters"[20] on the other hand, were informed that their job was to try and put their cards in the same order as the "Influencers", and to keep in mind that the leader placed the cards in an order that made sense to her, so they should think about the leader's frame of mind when trying to figure out which cards the leader was describing. Participants completed the Affect Valuation Index (AVI; Tsai, Knutson & Fung; 2006) to measure actual and ideal affect in the late stages of performing the task. Once the task was fully complete, they rated influence and adjustment goals using the Circumplex Scale of Interpersonal Values (CSIV; Locke, 2000). The results demonstrated that across cultural contexts, participants in the influence goal condition showed stronger preferences for HAP than participants in the adjustment goal

[19] The first study reported in this paper was a survey study that has already been described in the preceding chapter and thus is not discussed here.

[20] I use the terms "Adjusters and Influencers" for ease of discussion. These terms were not used by the researchers, who instead used the terms "Matcher and Leader" and "Person B and Person A" (Study 3)

condition. Participants with adjustment goals also valued LAP more than those with influence goals, although this difference was not statistically significant.

As the differences in ideal LAP were not quite significant, the authors attributed this null finding to the lack of explicit instructions to Adjusters encouraging them to suppress their own preferences. In order to address this limitation, Tsai, Miao, et al. (2007) conducted a follow up study again with Euro-American, Asian-American and Hong- Kong Chinese students. Study 3 used a similar card-matching task but strengthened the adjustment condition. All participants initially received instructions to arrange the cards in a manner that was meaningful to them. That way when participants in the adjustment condition received their instructions to arrange their cards to match influencers, they would have to suppress their personal preference so that they could arrange their cards to conform to the influencer. The measures used in this study were the same as in the previous study. Results of Study 3 demonstrated that, as in Study 2, participants in the influencer condition valued HAP more than participants in the adjuster condition across all cultural groups. Also, participants in the adjuster condition significantly preferred LAP more than participants in the influencer condition.

These two studies demonstrated that ideal HAP and ideal LAP were preferred based on experimentally manipulated influence and adjustment goals. However, both studies were limited in that participants completed the affect measures, after they had already engaged in an influencing or adjusting manner, thus offering up the possibility that the observed differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP were not due to *goals* but rather to differences in *behaviour*.

To tease apart the effects of goals and behaviours, and also to test whether observed preferences for HAP and LAP would extend to behavioural choices that reflect HAP and LAP, Tsai, Miao, et al. (2007) conducted a further study (Study 4). In this fourth study, Euro-American, Asian American and Hong Kong Chinese students were told that they would be participating in the study with another person who was yet to arrive (in reality there was no other participant). After a few minutes, participants were informed that they would review the experimental task while waiting for the other participant to arrive. Participants received similar instructions as in Studies 2 and 3, but this time about building blocks (i.e., to arrange building blocks). Participants only received the instructions but were not engaged in the task. After receiving the instructions, participants were subjected to a short wait and thereafter were told that as the other participant hadn't arrived, they could listen to music, "which has been shown to be good for increasing your performance in this task". The participant was given a choice of two music compact discs that corresponded to HAP or LAP, developed for the study. The HAP CD was titled *Soundsplash* and had on its cover a man surfing, being closely followed by a large wave. The back of the CD had fictitious music reviews that described the CD as "high energy, lively jives" and "this will totally get you invigorated". The LAP CD was titled, *Windchants*; its cover showed a man meditating on a rock overlooking a bay. The fictitious reviews given were, "relaxing tunes" and "guaranteed to chill you out". The participant was asked to "choose the CD that will help you most in your role". After the participant made their choice, the experiment was concluded.

Results demonstrated that as with the self-report measures, participants in the influencer conditioner were more likely to choose the HAP (*vs* LAP) CD than were

participants in the adjuster condition. As participants chose the CDs while they were *preparing* to influence or adjust, these findings are taken to demonstrate the link between ideal affect and goals rather than behaviours. Furthermore, the study also showed preferences for affect-inducing activities depending on interpersonal goals.

The studies reported above provide evidence that while cultures may have dominant preferences for influencing or adjusting, at the contextual level, these motives can be made more salient and produce corresponding preferences for HAP and LAP respectively. One of the limitations of these studies is the reliance on American and Asian cultures. This raises the question of whether holding influence (or adjustment) goals would produce the same pattern of HAP and LAP preference in other cultures. Another limitation of these studies is that they do not consider whether ideal affect would depend on whom one was influencing (or adjusting) to. As influence and adjustment represent *interpersonal* goals, one could argue that the role of the other person in these interpersonal contexts is worth investigating.

In the next section, I elaborate further on sources of variation in context–dependent ideal affect, particularly focusing on the relationship between goals and ideal affect, and also raising questions about whether an interaction partner can play a role in shaping context-dependent ideal affect in an interpersonal context.

Sources of variation in context-dependent ideal affect

As the above studies show, particular contexts facilitate context-dependent ideal affect. What shapes these preferences?

As demonstrated by Tsai, Miao, et al. (2007), holding influence and adjustment goals shape context-dependent ideal HAP and ideal LAP. Indeed other studies not directly focused on ideal HAP and LAP have also found this relationship between goals and affective preferences, such as preferences for anger when holding a confrontation goal, and happiness when endorsing a collaboration goal (Tamir & Ford, 2012).

Broadly speaking, people tend to regulate their affective states for two main reasons, either to increase pleasure and minimize pain (hedonic, see Higgins, 2014) or to obtain some utility (instrumental, see Tamir, 2009). In other words, desired affective states may be desired for their own sake or desired in order to help advance another superordinate goal (Tamir, 2015; Tamir, Bigman, Rhodes, Salerno, & Schreier, 2014). In the latter case, affective regulation is instrumental rather than directly hedonic (Tamir, 2009).

Various motives may underlie instrumental regulation, including performance motives, which refer to people's desire to attain valued outcomes as a result of their own activities (Forbes, 2011). In other words, people want to optimize their performance and affective states can help them to achieve this (Tamir, 2015). In Tsai, Miao, et al.'s (2007) studies, it would seem that performance motives were activated. Once in a role of either "influencer" or "adjuster" and working on a task, participants who wanted to influence or adjust to someone, also preferred affective states, that is HAP and LAP, respectively, that would help them perform in their role. Furthermore, the instrumental benefits of these affective states were made explicit in their fourth study when participants were told that "listening to music has been shown to increase your performance in the task".

In social situations, social motives may also play a role in instrumental affect regulation. For example, people may be motivated to experience affective states to attain social benefits such as to have influence over others (Fischer, Manstead, Evers, Timmers & Valk, 2004; Tamir, 2015).

It is also plausible that in certain interpersonal situations, both performance and social motives may be activated. For instance, in eliciting support for charity causes, people both want to perform well (i.e., raise money) as well as change behaviour in others (i.e., get people to donate money). Indeed, Hackenbracht and Tamir (2010) found that when participants wanted to obtain help from others, they preferred to increase their own sadness because of its perceived instrumental and persuasive benefits.

While the existing literature provides evidence that various motives influence affective preferences, other factors may also play a role in shaping context-dependent ideal affect, particularly in interpersonal contexts. In interpersonal situations, affective preferences may not only depend on personal motives of the individual, but also on factors that are associated with the person whom one is interacting with (Tamir 2015). However, to date, the role of the other person as a source of variation in interpersonal context-dependent preferences has received little attention.

Evidence supporting the role of the target of an interaction in shaping affective preferences is limited but there are a few studies that could shed light on this relationship. For example, Erber, Wegner and Therriault (1996) conducted a study (Experiment 2) on mood neutralization, that is, "a readiness for involvement in interaction that suspends or erases prior mood" (p. 756). Participants' moods were first manipulated through exposure

to cheerful or sad music. All participants were then informed that they would be interacting with another partner, and information about the partner's mood was described as being positive, neutral or negative. Participants were then given a list of newspaper headlines and asked to rank order their preference for 12 stories based on headlines. These newspaper articles were affective in nature and thus could be viewed as affect (specifically mood) inducing preferences. The results revealed a significant interaction between participants' mood and the alleged mood of the partner, such that the mood of the partner was found to influence preferences for newspaper articles, specifically the degree of mood neutralization people sought. That is, when interacting with a partner in a neutral mood, participants demonstrated mood neutralization, and neutralization was also strong when sad participants expected to interact with a happy partner. However, mood neutralization was not found under two specific instances; that is when participants expected to interact with someone who was in the same mood as they were (possibly suggesting some kind of a "mood matching" effect) and also when happy participants expected to interact with someone sad: in this case, participants tried to maintain or even strengthen the positive mood.

Nelson (1997) conducted a study on mood regulation prior to social interaction as an attempt to replicate Erber et al.'s (1996) findings. Nelson's main hypothesis was that participants expecting to interact with a partner in an opposite mood would prefer mood incongruent newspaper headlines. The study followed a similar procedure to that used by Erber et al. (1996) but found little support for mood neutralization. Participants expecting to interact with a sad partner chose to read news headlines that would make them feel sadder, whereas participants expecting to interact with a happy partner chose to read news

headlines that would increase their happiness. Thus, people may be motivated to experience similar affective states to those being experienced by an interaction partner.

Relatedly, Huntsinger, Lun, Sinclair and Clore (2009) also investigated the effects of an interaction partner's moods on participants' own moods. More specifically they investigated whether holding *affiliation goals* (based on the desire to get along with and have a smooth interaction, Sinclair & Huntsinger, 2006) would encourage participants to match their own experiences to the anticipated mood of a future interaction partner, thus demonstrating *anticipatory mood matching.* Across three studies, participants expected to interact with someone in a positive or negative mood, and in each of the studies, affiliative motivation was manipulated, while evidence of mood matching was assessed using self-report measures. The results of the studies demonstrated anticipatory mood matching. Participants shifted their moods to become more similar to the apparent mood of the partner; however, this mood matching only occurred when participants endorsed affiliation goals.

Although these studies all focused on moods, rather than affective states more generally, and manipulated information about an interaction partner's current mood (rather than ideal mood), they do lend support to the notion that people take the qualities of an interaction target into consideration when engaging in affect regulation (i.e., trying to reduce the discrepancy between their actual and desired state). Furthermore, the use of newspaper headlines in Erber et al (1996) and Nelson (1997) demonstrates that people will prefer affect-inducing activities to elicit their desired mood.

In terms of context-dependent ideal affect, there is direct evidence that ideal HAP and ideal LAP are related to goal pursuit (that is influencing or adjusting). However, what is not known is whether these preferences will vary as a function of specific knowledge about the person with whom one is interacting with. Evidence from other studies on mood neutralisation and matching suggests that this may be possible. The studies reported in this chapter therefore sought to investigate whether ideal affective preferences are consistently based on goal endorsement (specifically influence goals) or whether they vary as function of specific characteristics of an influence target.

The Present Studies

What affective states do people prefer or value when they attempt to influence others? According to Tsai, Miao, et al. (2007) when people and cultures hold influence goals, HAP states, such as excitement and enthusiasm are more valued. The present studies focused on influence goals associated with persuasion, a type of influence that involves communicators trying to convince other people to change their attitudes or behaviours through transmission of a message (Perloff, 2003). Do people making persuasion attempts also value HAP states over LAP states, such as calm? Or on the other hand, are people more inclined to value different affective states based on knowledge about the target of influence? In particular, do persuaders try to achieve a fit between their affective preferences and the target's motivational orientation?

While Tsai, Miao, et al.'s (2007) studies demonstrated strong associations between ideal affect and goals, as the primary purpose of my study was to measure the effects of an

influence target on ideal affect, I felt that a task that more actively encouraged participants to focus on a Target would be more fitting to answer my research questions. Therefore, drawing on research that has been conducted on persuasion and regulatory fit (as outlined below), I conducted a series of three studies (Studies 3 – 5) utilising a health behaviour persuasion task/scenario that incorporated knowledge of an influence target's motivational orientation.

Persuasion and regulatory fit

Persuasion is a particular type of social influence that involves changing individuals' attitudes by exposing them to certain information (Olson & Zanna, 1993). It is also one of the areas of social influence that has a close relationship with affect (Van Kleef, Van Doorn, Heerdink, & Koning, 2011). Indeed even Aristotle advanced the use of emotion in the process of influencing others' attitudes and beliefs (Parkinson, 1996).

Most of the research on persuasion and affect has focused on the intrapersonal effects of affect, for instance the relationship between affect and processing fluency (see Petty, Cacioppo & Kasmer, 2015). From an interpersonal perspective, studies have demonstrated that facial expressions can be used as affective primes (Van Kleef et al., 2011). Related to this, emotional expressions are also linked to influencing attitudes and behaviour, as evidenced by the work on emotional labour (Côté & Hideg, 2011; Hochschild, 1979; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Emotional labour involves the deliberate display of emotions as part of the work role, and people tend to adopt either one of two routes to displaying these expressions, namely "surface acting" or "deep acting" (Grove & Fisk, 1989; Hochschild, 1983). Surface acting entails "faking" affective displays whereas

deep acting involves the actual modification of inner states to match outward expressions (Grandey, 2003). Persuasion attempts are often highly emotive and tend to include the deliberate expression of emotion in order to obtain a reaction in a target (Parkinson, 1996).

Not only research psychologists but also lay people believe that affect can have an impact on the persuasion process (e.g., Friestad & Wright, 1995). Based on the various relationships that have been observed between persuasion and affect and the supposition that non-experts also view affect as an important tool in persuasion, I chose to use a persuasion task to provoke influence goals. I anticipated that participants would think about what emotions they wanted to experience and express during this influence task. For example, wanting to express a particular emotion can sometimes lead people to want to experience that emotion too (as in the case with "deep acting," e.g., Hochschild, 1983). Although it is possible for people to want to express negative emotions such as fear in certain kinds of persuasive appeal, I anticipated that the present persuasion task would elicit more positive affective preferences due to its relatively nonthreatening nature (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007).

One of the recent strides in persuasion research involves the utilization of regulatory fit theory (Higgins, 2000, 2005), a theory of goal pursuit that focuses on the relation between the motivational orientation of an individual and the way that person pursues that goal (i.e., the strategic means used for goal pursuit). Regulatory fit may also refer to the individual's motivational orientation and the desired end state being pursued (Cesario, Higgins, & Scholer, 2008). The central idea of regulatory fit is that a person's motivational orientation leads to preferences for particular strategies to achieve goals, and when these strategies are used, the individual experiences *regulatory fit*, which creates an effect of

feeling right for the individual. This "feeling right" creates a feeling of congruency that allows for processing fluency and positive evaluations of the message (Cesario, Grant & Higgins, 2004; Lee & Aaker, 2004) and this therefore influences the effectiveness of a persuasive appeal.

Regulatory fit can apply to any motivational orientation with a preferred manner of goal pursuit, but most of the research to date has focused on regulatory focus. Regulatory focus theory (Higgins, 1997) describes two self-regulatory systems, namely promotion focus and prevention focus. Promotion-focused individuals see goals as hopes and aspirations, and are concerned with advancement. A prevention-focused person sees goals as duties and obligations, and is concerned with safety. These different regulatory systems are also reflected in the different goal-pursuit strategies people employ, such that typically promotion-focused individuals prefer and experience regulatory fit if they adopt an eager strategy, while prevention-focused individuals prefer and experience fit by embracing vigilance. Although both promotion- and prevention-focused people are working on successful goal pursuit and experience pleasure from obtaining this pursuit, the type of pleasure that occurs varies. Promotion-related success elicits affective states such as elation, whereas prevention-related success leads to relaxation (Higgins, 2001; Molden, Lee & Higgins, 2008).

With regards to persuasion, Cesario and Higgins (2008) provided evidence that regulatory fit could be achieved through a source's physical non-verbal style of message delivery to convey a sense of eagerness or a sense of vigilance that fit with the target's orientation. For example, making broad, open movements and speaking more quickly

conveyed a sense of eagerness, while making precise gestures and speaking slowly, conveyed vigilance.

Borrowing from regulatory fit theory, I reasoned that when people are given specific information about an influence target it evokes a *tailored* persuasive appeal. Message tailoring involves customizing persuasive messages and delivery of those messages to a target's characteristics (Cesario & Higgins, 2008; Hirsch, Kang & Bodenhausen, 2012). Thus, people may wish to achieve some kind of congruence between the affective manner in which they persuade someone and the judgements they make about the target.

Lastly, I chose to focus on a persuasive task relating to dental floss as regulatory fit has been applied to a number of persuasion scenarios but has been found to be particularly beneficial in promoting health behaviours (e.g., Latimer et al., 2008; Uskul, Sherman, & Fitzgibbon, 2009). In addition, dental floss is a relatively non-threatening health situation. I expected that the nature of the task itself would not be so unfamiliar that it would lead participants to feel uncomfortable or elicit negative (e.g., anxious) affective states. I also did not expect that participants would hold polarized attitudes towards dental floss, which otherwise could have had an influence on their performance in the task.

Study summaries and aims

In all studies (Studies 3 – 5), I used a persuasion task encouraging use of dental floss, or physical activity (Study 5) where participants were asked either to deliver a persuasive appeal (Studies 3 and 5) or to imagine that they would be a delivering a persuasive appeal (Study 4) to encourage a particular person whose motivational

orientation was known (Motivational Orientation). To manipulate knowledge of the influence target's Motivational Orientation, in all of the studies, I provided information about whether a target focused on gains (Promotion focused) or avoiding losses (Prevention focused) and in Studies 3 and 5, I also included a Control condition, where no information was provided about the influence target's motivational orientation.

Across the studies, participants rated their actual and ideal affect using the Affect Valuation Index (AVI; Tsai, Knutson & Fung, 2006). I also assessed preferences for affect-inducing activities. I included this aspect of preferences to engage in affect-inducing activities, to measure the relationship between ideal affect and behavioural choices, as also investigated by Tsai et al. (Study 4, 2007). For my affect-inducing activities, I asked participants to rate preferences for engaging in three activities (e.g., listening to music, recalling a past memory, watching a video) that corresponded to different affective states (i.e., HAP, LAP). Asking participants to rate preferences for engaging in different affect-inducing activities to measure affective preferences has previously been done in a study on interpersonal goal pursuit in negotiations (Tamir & Ford, 2011). I expected that for both ideal affect and affect-inducing activities, knowledge of the Influence Target would lead to a variation in affective preferences. I also expected that affective preferences would be associated with preferences to engage in the activities that would elicit that affective state, e.g., preferring HAP would lead participants to rate higher preferences for HAP-inducing activities such as listening to music "that would get you invigorated".

Furthermore, to assess whether preferences for affect inducing activities would be driven by the perception of usefulness of the activity for the task, I also included a measure of perceived utility. Tamir, Salerno, Rhodes and Schreier (2012) found support for the

hypothesis that people want to experience affective states that are useful in certain contexts by demonstrating that people want to experience emotions they believe will improve their performance. Indeed, evidence from sports psychology has shown that athletes who believe that anger or anxiety can aid performance report increasing their anger or anxiety before a competition (Lane, Beedie, Devonport & Stanley, 2011). I therefore expected that ideal affect would be associated with the corresponding affect-inducing activities, and that this relationship would at least be partially mediated by the expected utility of the task.

In Studies 4 and 5, I also included measures of the influence target's affective states and perceptions of personality as a means of teasing apart what specific aspects of the Influence Target would affect the relationship between ideal affect and Influence Target.

Finally, in Study 5, I also included a comparison health-persuasion task that involved encouraging a particular person to be more physically active. The purpose of this additional manipulation was to determine whether ideal affective preferences would vary depending on the type of influence task, and if effects of Influence Target would also be replicated in this additional task. I expected that the type of ideal affect preferred in the physically active task would differ overall from the dental floss task, but the effects of Influence Target would be similar.

Study 3: Effects of Influence Target's Motivational Orientation

Study 3 investigated whether affective preferences in an interpersonal influence context (specifically a tailored persuasion scenario) would vary as a function of the influence target's motivational orientation. Participants were informed that they would deliver a persuasive appeal to encourage a particular person to use dental floss. Participants were randomly allocated to one of three conditions based on influence targets' Motivational Orientation (Promotion, Prevention or Control). Participants rated their actual and ideal affect, as well as preferences to engage in certain affect-inducing activities and perceptions of utility of those activities.

I predicted the following:

H1. Ideal affective preferences will differ depending on the influence target's supposed motivational orientation, with participants attempting to influence Promotion-Focused Targets preferring greater HAP and lower LAP than control participants, and participants attempting to influence Prevention-Focused Targets preferring lower HAP and greater LAP than control participants.

Relatedly

H2. Preferences for affect-inducing activities will differ depending on the influence target's supposed motivational orientation, with participants attempting to influence Promotion-Focused targets showing a greater preference for HAP-inducing activities and a lower preference for LAP-inducing activities than control participants, and participants attempting

to influence Prevention-Focused targets showing a lower preference for HAP-inducing activities and a greater preference for LAP-inducing activities than control participants.

I also wished to assess the extent to which ideal affect and affect-inducing activities were related to each other, and to determine whether their relationship depends on the perceived utility of engaging in those activities for the influence task.

Method

Pilot study

Prior to conducting the study, the method was piloted to ensure that instructions were clear and participants did not guess the true nature of the study. Participants completed the study and were not able to deduce the study objectives. Based on feedback from the pilot, instructions were modified to ensure clarity.

Participants

Forty-eight participants (33 females and 15 males, M_{Age} = 21.54, SD = 4.93), comprising 3 equal groups of 16 participants per condition, completed the study. Forty-one participants were students (both undergraduates and post graduates), three were in full- or part-time employment and two were unemployed. More than half of the sample were Caucasian (68.8%) and the remainder were Asian (14.6%), Black (2.1%), multiracial or classified themselves as "other" (12.5%).

Participants were recruited in a number of ways; psychology undergraduate students who were part of the Research Participation Scheme (RPS) were invited to

participate in the study for course credit. Other participants were recruited by poster, email and internet advertisements. These participants were compensated with £10 for their time.

Design

The study utilised a between-subjects design, with influence target's Motivational Orientation as the three-level between subjects factor. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three groups defined by the information provided about the influence target's motivational orientation, which was described as Promotion-Focused, Prevention-Focused, or was not specified (Control). The main dependent measures were participants' ideal affect (HAP and LAP) scores, and their reported preferences for HAP- or LAP-inducing activities. Other dependent measures concerned the perceived utility of several emotion-inducing activities. Effects of participants' own regulatory focus on the dependent measures were also investigated.

Measures[21]

Actual and ideal affect. To measure actual and ideal affect, participants completed a modified version of the Affect Valuation Index (AVI; Tsai et al., 2006; Tsai et al., 2007) which consists of 30 items representing all octants of the affective circumplex as well as some filler items. Participants were asked to *"Indicate to what extent you feel this way right now, that is, at this present moment" (actual affect) and "To what extent you would ideally like to feel this way, right now, that is, at this present moment"* on a scale running from 1

[21] The measures reported are the ones most relevant to the study. Other measures were included but are not directly relevant to the hypotheses being reported here.

(*Not at all/Very slightly*) to 5 (*Extremely*). Although all octants were measured, in this study, I focused on HAP (enthusiastic, excited, and energetic) (Actual α =.74, Ideal α = .67) and LAP (calm, peaceful, relaxed)[22] (Actual α = .83, Ideal α = .81).

Affect inducing activities. Participants were presented with a list of 12 affect inducing activities that were described as "*preparatory activities that might improve your performance on the task"* and were asked to "*indicate the extent to which you would prefer to engage in these activities"*. The activities were based on previous activities used in Tsai et al. (2007) and described in Tamir and Ford (2011). To increase reliability of the affect – inducing preferences, three different types of activities were chosen to correspond to each of HAP and LAP, and an additional 6 activities were selected to embody neutral and anger affective states as filler items (again 3 each). Participants rated on a 1 (*Not at all)* to 7 (*Extremely)* Likert scale *"the extent to which they would prefer to engage in these activities right now, if given the choice"*. **A**ctivities included, ***"****Listening to a CD called Soundsplash, which contains high energy international lively jives, which will totally get you invigorated"* (HAP, α = .66), *"Recalling a past memory where you felt angry"* (Anger, α = .60), "*Watching a short video clip of abstract shapes and colour bars"* (Neutral, α = .56)*, "Listening to a CD called Windchants which contains international relaxing tunes, guaranteed to chill you out"* (LAP, α = .69).

Perceived utility of affect-inducing activities. In order to gauge whether participants would prefer to engage in certain activities because they believed they would be useful in their persuasive appeal, participants were given the same list of affect-inducing activities (HAP α = .68, LAP α = .80, Anger α = .74 and Neutral α = .50) and asked to *indicate how*

[22] The HAP and LAP aggregates are derived from Tsai et al. 2007.For HAP in particular, for the nature of the task "energetic" was deemed to be more appropriate than "elated", which has been used in previous studies.

USEFUL you felt the activity would be in improving your performance on the task, again rating the activities on a 7 point Likert Scale (1 = *Not at all Useful,* 7 = *Useful).*

Regulatory Focus. Participants' own regulatory focus was measured using the General Regulatory Focus Measure (GRFM; Lockwood et al., 2002), a measure that has been used in a number of studies on regulatory focus. The GRFM consists of 18 items, with 9 items measuring promotion focus such as "*I frequently imagine how I will achieve my hopes and aspirations"* (α = .90) and 9 items assessing prevention focus for example, *"In general, I am focused on preventing negative events in my life"* (α = .88). Participants rated the extent to which the statements were true of them on a 9-point scale running from "*Not at all true of me*" (1) to "*Very true of me*" (9).

Dental Floss Messages. Participants were informed that they would be recording a video message to encourage an Influence Target to use dental floss. To help participants deliver their message, and to ensure that they could correctly match the Influence Target's orientation to the message frame, they were given messages about dental floss framed as either gains or avoidance of losses to match promotion and prevention focus respectively. These messages were derived from Sherman et al. (2006) and contained messages such as "*Consistent good flossing leads to more healthy gums and bones that support the teeth", "Those who floss regularly are 3 times more likely to have healthier teeth with no cavities"* (Promotion focused) or "*If you don't floss your teeth daily, particles of food remain in the mouth, collecting bacteria, which causes bad breath" "Those who don't floss are 3 times as likely to suffer from cavities"* (Prevention focused).

Procedure

Participants signed up to take part in a study on "*Persuasion and Health Communication*" and were sent an email link to complete a pre-lab session online survey using the independent web-based service, Qualtrics (http://www.qualtrics.com), a popular online research platform. The questionnaire contained demographic information and measures of regulatory focus. The questionnaire also contained information about dental flossing to check for participants who had extreme views on dental flossing. Participants completed the questionnaire a minimum of 3 days before coming in to complete the laboratory based part of the study.

After a minimum of 3 days, participants were invited to the social psychology laboratory in the Experimental Psychology department to record a persuasive video message about using dental floss. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three Influence Target conditions (i.e., Promotion, Prevention or Control) when they came into the laboratory.

Participants were then informed that they would record a video message to encourage a particular person to use dental floss, and that the video message was to be between 30 seconds and 2 minutes long. Participants were also given an information sheet containing the dental floss messages framed as either promotion or prevention messages, and informed that they should choose which messages to use based on the knowledge of the person they were influencing (in the Promotion and Prevention conditions) or based on their preference (in Control condition).

Specifically, participants received instructions that included the following[23]:

[23] Full instructions are available in the Appendix.

Now, I'd like you to prepare to deliver your persuasive appeal to encourage dental flossing.

You are delivering your appeal to a person who may see this video and who typically focuses on the positive outcomes (Promotion)

Your task is to communicate your message by recording a video message (of between 30 seconds and 2 minutes) that may be seen by this person.

You have been given a list of arguments that you can use in your message delivery - but before that, I would like you to provide some ratings of emotions and behaviour.

For the Prevention condition, participants were informed that the person focuses on avoiding negative outcomes, and no information about the target was given in the Control condition. Participants were then informed that before delivering the video message they would be asked to complete a brief questionnaire about their feelings in that moment (using the AVI). Participants also rated affect-inducing activities that they would prefer to engage in that that they thought would improve their performance on the task.

After completing the affect and affect-inducing activity measures, participants were given up to 10 minutes of practice time to allow them to become comfortable with the message that they would record. They then selected which messages they would use in their appeal and recorded their video message.

Once participants had recorded the video message, they completed a brief set of questions concerning the utility of the affect-inducing activities. At the end of the study, participants were fully debriefed and compensated for their participation.

Equipment and set up[24]. The study was conducted by using one cubicle with a 19-inch computer monitor and PC and digital video camera set up on a tripod behind the monitor. The pre-and post-task questionnaires were delivered by computer and participants entered their responses using the computer keyboard.

Results:

Preliminary results

Means, standard deviations and correlations between the main dependent variables used in the Study are presented in Table 3.1

Manipulation Check: Choice of dental floss messages

In order to check that participants were correctly able to identify the motivational orientation of the target and whether participants matched the choice of dental floss

[24] Participants' video messages were recorded and the length of time that participants spent recording their video message was analysed. On average, participants in the control condition spent the least amount of time recording their video message (*M* = 63.2 seconds), followed by participants in the promotion condition (*M*= 65.2 seconds,) and lastly participants in the prevention condition spent the most time recording their video message, (*M* =77.2 seconds). The difference between time spent recording the video message was not statistically significant between any conditions.

It had also been my intention that the videos would provide an additional measure of emotionally expressive behaviour, however there were some problems with video quality and lack of reliability between raters and so this data was excluded from the final analyses.

message to the influence target's Motivational Orientation, I first computed the total number of promotion and prevention messages used in each of the conditions, and then conducted a 3 (Motivational Orientation: Promotion *vs* Prevention *vs* Control) x 2 (Message Choice: Promotion *vs* Prevention) repeated measures ANOVA with Message Choice as the within-subjects factor. Neither of the main effects of Motivational Orientation or Message Choice were significant. However, there was a significant interaction between Motivational Orientation and Message Choice, F (2, 43) = 45.26, $p <$ .001, η_p^2 = .69. Follow up analysis demonstrated that participants in the Promotion condition used significantly more promotion-focused messages (M = 4.80, SD = 1.67) than participants in the Control group (M = 1.87, SD = 1.51) and Prevention condition (M = 0.79, SD = 1.79), but the difference in use of promotion-focused messages was not significant between Control and Prevention groups. In addition, more prevention-focused messages were used by participants in the Prevention condition (M = 4.79, SD = 1.42) than by participants in the Control (M = 3.20, SD = 1.78) or Promotion (M = 1.07, SD = 1.07) conditions, and these differences were significant across all conditions.

Table 3.1
Means, standard deviations and correlations for main dependent variables, for the overall sample

Variable	*M (SD)*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.Ideal High arousal positive (HAP)	3.64 (0.76)	-	.53***	.46**	.32*	.31*	-.16	.25	-.09
2.Ideal Low arousal positive (LAP)	4.29 (0.86)		-	.37*	.46**	.18	.36*	.09	.06
3.Actual HAP	2.49 (0.73)			-	.37**	.34*	.09	.22	.03
4.Actual LAP	3.06 (0.85)				-	.16	-.03	.11	-.12
5.HAP Activities	4.30 (1.38)					-	.36*	.49**	.01
6.LAP Activities	4.19 (1.36)						-	.29*	.42*
7.Utility of HAP Activities	4.55 (1.19)							-	.29*
8.Utility of LAP activities	4.41 (1.36)								-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Differences in actual and ideal affect

To assess whether Motivational Orientation had an effect on participants' actual and ideal affect, I conducted a 3 (Motivational Orientation: Promotion *vs* Prevention *vs* Neutral) x 2 (Affect Type: Actual *vs* Ideal) x 3 (Affect State: HAP *vs* LAP) mixed analysis of variance, with repeated measures on the latter two factors. There was a significant main effect of Affect Type, F (1, 45) = 170.68, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .79$, with ideal affect scores higher than actual affect (M_{IDEAL} = 3.97, SD_{IDEAL}= 0.71, M_{ACTUAL} = 2.77, SD_{ACTUAL}= 0.65) averaged across all conditions. There was also a main effect of Affect State, F (1, 45) = 43.38, p = <. 001, $\eta_p^2 = .49$, with LAP rated as significantly higher than HAP (M_{LAP} = 3.67, SD_{LAP} = 0.73, M_{HAP} = 3.06, SD_{HAP} =0.63). There was also a significant 3-way interaction between Motivational Orientation, Affect Type and Affect State, F (2, 45) = 5.51, p = <. 05, $\eta_p^2 = .20$

The main effect of Affect Type was qualified by a significant interaction between Motivational Orientation and Affect State, F (2, 45) = 6.48, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$. Follow up simple effects analysis demonstrated that ideal HAP and ideal LAP differed significantly from one another in both the Promotion and Prevention conditions but not the Control condition. Consistent with predictions, in the Prevention condition, ideal LAP was preferred relative to ideal HAP (M_{LAP} = 4.19, SD_{LAP} = 0.87, M_{HAP} = 3.71, SD_{HAP} =0.80). Unexpectedly, ideal LAP was also preferred relative to ideal HAP in the Promotion condition (M_{LAP} = 4.85, SD_{HAP} =0.27, M_{HAP} = 3.69, SD_{HAP} =0.54). Furthermore, comparing the effects of Motivational Orientation on preferences for HAP and LAP revealed that for

HAP, Motivational Orientation had no effect, yet for LAP, contrary to predictions, participants in Promotion condition significantly preferred LAP more than participants in both the Prevention and Control condition. Preferences for LAP did not significantly differ between Prevention and Neutral conditions (see Figure 3.1).

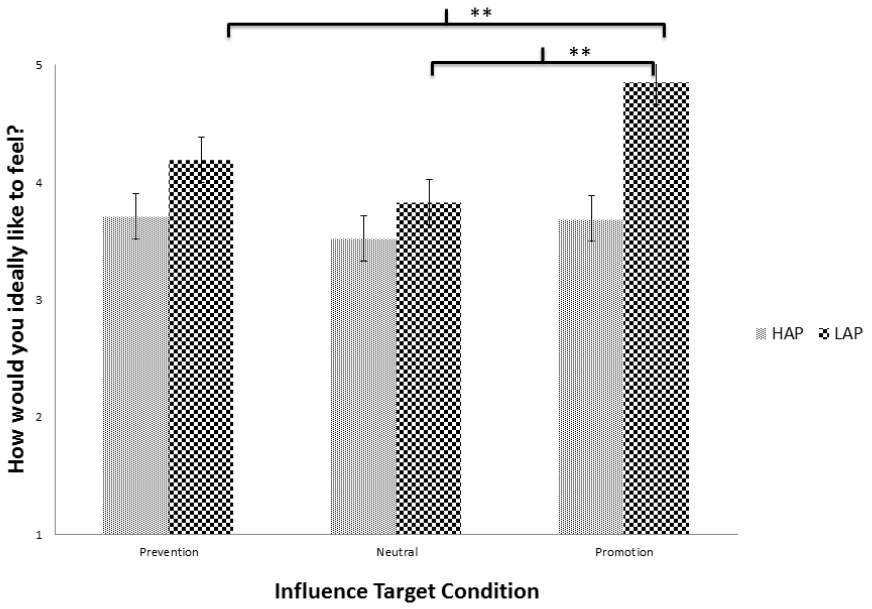


Figure 3.1. Interactive effect of Influence Target's Motivational Orientation and Ideal Affect. HAP = high arousal positive, LAP = low arousal positive Error bars indicate standard error of the mean. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$

For Actual Affect, the interaction between Motivational Orientation and Affect State was not significant, F (2, 45) = 1.09, p = .35, η_p^2 = .05.

In order to ensure that the three experimental conditions did not vary on any other actual affective measures (e.g., experiencing more high arousal negative affect), a multivariate analysis of variance was performed on all the subscales of the AVI, and

produced no significant effects. Taken together, these results demonstrate that Motivational Orientation predicted differences in ideal HAP and LAP but not for actual affect.

Differences in affect inducing activities

I predicted that participants would prefer to engage in emotion-inducing activities that would match their ideal affect. To assess if this was the case, I ran a mixed model ANOVA with Motivational Orientation as a between subjects factor, and Affect Activity (HAP *vs* LAP) as a within subjects' factor. Neither the main nor interaction effects of Affect Activity and Motivational Orientation were significant, in contrast to the self-report ratings of affective preferences.

Relationship between ideal affect preferences and affect- inducing activities

To test if there was a relationship between ideal affective preferences and affect inducing activities in general, correlations were performed collapsed across conditions. Results demonstrated that there was a significant association between ideal HAP and HAP inducing activities, r (48) = .31, p = .032. There was also a significant association between ideal LAP and LAP inducing activity r (48) = .36, p =.026. However, none of the other affect-inducing activities were correlated with either ideal HAP or ideal LAP. To determine whether this relationship was mediated by the perceived usefulness of the activity for the persuasive appeal, I ran a regression analysis predicting HAP activity preference based on ideal HAP controlling for perceived utility of the HAP activities, and a regression analysis predicting LAP activity preference based on ideal LAP, controlling for perceived utility of

the LAP activities. When perceived utility was added into the model, neither ideal HAP nor ideal LAP was a significant predictor, suggesting that ideal affect was not an independent predictor of activity preferences, but that perceived utility mediates this relationship.

Discussion

Study 3 primarily investigated whether preferences for ideal affect in a novel interpersonal influence task would be stable regardless of whom one was influencing, or whether ideal affect would vary as a function of knowledge of an influence target's motivational orientation. As predicted, the results demonstrate that Motivational Orientation had an effect on participants' ratings on ideal affect, but not in the expected direction for participants with a Promotion focused target. Surprisingly participants in the Promotion condition were more likely to prefer LAP to HAP and furthermore they preferred LAP more than participants in the Prevention and Control conditions. In contrast to the ideal affect measures, preferences to engage in affect-inducing activities did not depend on Motivational Orientation. However, collapsed across conditions, evidence was found for an association between ideal HAP and preferences to engage in HAP inducing activities, and this relationship was no longer significant when controlling for perceived utility of engaging in those activities to improve performance on the task.

The results of the self-report affect measures lend some support to the notion that affective preferences vary depending on whom one is interacting with in an interpersonal context, although the related affect-inducing measures did not show this pattern. It is possible that the affect-inducing measures did not elicit the same effect as participants were

only asked to rate how much they would like to engage in that activity, without actually being given an option to engage in it.

Although there was an effect of Motivational Orientation, the predicted effect for Promotion focused targets was not in the expected direction. It is possible that Promotion focused targets were perceived by participants as more difficult to persuade than prevention targets leading to a tendency for participants to desire relatively calmer states (LAP). However, this explanation is not supported by the results for actual affect which revealed no differences in tension in preparation for the task. An alternative explanation is that participants may have perceived the Promotion-focused target as already being in an excited state, leading to a desire to calm that target down by experiencing and expressing LAP. If this speculative explanation is correct, then rather than trying to achieve a direct match with influence target's motivational orientation, participants may have been trying to achieve a complementary fit, compensating for the perceived qualities of the target. However, as I did not measure perceptions of the influence target or even ratings of the influence target's actual and ideal affect, I was unable to test this.

A further limitation of Study 3 is that while I assumed that being in a role of delivering a persuasive appeal would elicit influence goal; I did not directly measure whether participants actually endorsed influence, more than say adjustment, goals. As participants had to deliver a tailored appeal and take another person into consideration before delivering their appeal, it is possible that in this mixed motive situation, both influence and adjustment were equally elicited. This might explain why across conditions, ideal LAP was preferred relative to ideal HAP, in contrast to previous findings that found

an association between context-dependent influence goals and ideal HAP. Study 4 addressed some of these limitations.

Study 4: The Role of Person Judgements on Preferences for ideal HAP and ideal LAP

The results of Study 3 demonstrated that influence target's motivational orientation had an effect on participants' ideal affective preferences; however, it was unclear whether perceptions of the target's personality, or affective states (both actual and ideal) mediated this effect. Furthermore, it was unclear whether participants in Study 3 really did endorse influence goals more than adjustment goals as intended. To clarify the effects of influence target's motivational orientation and ensure that being in a persuasive role genuinely did facilitate influence goals, I conducted Study 4.

In this study, I used vignettes to investigate the role of person judgements on preferences for ideal HAP and ideal LAP. Specifically Study 4 aimed to: (1) replicate the effects of Motivational Orientation on ideal affect found in study 3; (2) clarify whether judgements made about the influence target's personality and affective states mediated this relationship; and (3) confirm that participants really did endorse influence goals. Based on Study 3's findings, I expected that ideal affect would vary as a function of the influence target's Motivational Orientation, with participants in Promotion focused condition preferring greater LAP based on judgements of Target as being "excited". I also

investigated whether Motivational Orientation would have an effect on affect-inducing activities in this study, and if any such effect would be mediated by perceived utility of the activity.

Method

Participants

Participants were 294 adults recruited through Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) system. MTurk is a public website, where users known as "workers" can undertake tasks created by "requesters". In order to participate in the study, workers had to have an approval rate of 90% and were paid $0.25 for completing the study. To be included in the final data set, participants also had to successfully pass three attention checks. Because nearly half of the participants did not adequately pass the attention checks, the final sample consisted of 153 adults (47.1% female, M_{Age} = 35.83, SD_{Age} = 11.87). The majority (50.3%) had completed an undergraduate or professional degree and 37.9% had completed masters or doctoral studies. More than half of the sample was employed (75.8%). Respondents were from India (62.7%), the United States (26.1%) and the remaining 11.2% were comprised of people from 12 other countries.

Design:

The study utilised a between-subjects design, with target's motivational orientation as the two-level between subjects factor. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two

groups: Promotion-Focused Target (Promotion) or Prevention-Focused Target (Prevention). In this study, I did not include a control condition. The main dependent measures were participants' ideal affect (HAP and LAP), and their preferences for HAP- or LAP-inducing activities. Other measures included perceived utility of affect-inducing activities and person judgements of the target.

Measures

Manipulation Checks. In the previous laboratory study, I assumed that participants would endorse influence goals as a result of having to deliver a persuasive appeal but did not directly measure influence goals. To test that assumption, in this study I used a shortened and modified version of the Circumplex Scale of Interpersonal Values (CSIV; Locke, 2000) to measure influence goals (e.g., *It is important to me that I have an impact on the person listening to my persuasive appeal)* relative to adjustment goals (e.g., *It is important to me that I do not reveal what I am really like during the persuasive appeal*).

Furthermore, to ensure that participants also correctly identified the Motivational Orientation of the target as being either promotion or prevention focused, participants rated the extent to which they agreed that certain words or expressions described the target's personality on a scale of 1 to 9 (1 = *Not at all*, 9 = *A whole lot)*. The words and expressions characterized prevention (e.g., risk averse) and promotion focus (risk seeking) orientations (Promotion-focused $\alpha = .90$ and Prevention-focused $\alpha = .81$).

Actual and ideal affect. As in Study 3, actual and ideal affect were measured using the Affect Valuation Index (AVI; Tsai et al., 2006). The wording was slightly modified to

reflect the hypothetical situation of the vignette. Participants were asked to *"imagine how you would actually feel when preparing to make the persuasive appeal" (actual affect)* and "*imagine how you would ideally like to feel when preparing to make the persuasive appeal" (ideal affect)* on a scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all/very slightly*) to 5 (*Extremely*). Again, I focused on actual and ideal HAP and LAP and all aggregates had good internal consistency (actual HAP α = .71, ideal HAP α = .69, actual LAP α = .87 and ideal LAP α = .79).

Affect- Inducing Activities. As in Study 2, participants were presented with the same list of affect inducing activities developed for the study, and again I focused on HAP and LAP activities (HAP activities α = .74; LAP activities α = .78).

Perceived utility of affect inducing activities. Similar to Study 2, participants rated perceived utility of affect inducing activities on a 7-point Scale (1 = *Not at all Useful,* 7 = *Useful)* (HAP utility α = .67, LAP utility α = .75).

Perceptions of the Target. Participants were asked to imagine what the target would actually feel and ideally want to feel while watching the persuasive appeal, using a corresponding version of the AVI. For ideal affect, I measured both HAP and LAP (HAP α = .80, LAP α = .82). For actual affect, in addition to measuring HAP (α = .80) and LAP (α = .82), I also included measures of high arousal negative affect (HAN), i.e., fearful, nervous, anxious (α = .83). Participants also rated perceptions of the target's dispositional affective states as being generally "anxious" or "excited" (these latter were included as items on ratings of the Target's personality).

Dental Floss Messages. As in Study 3, I used the selection of messages derived from Sherman et al. (2006) about dental flossing that differed on whether they were framed as a promotion or prevention message. Participants rated on a scale of 1 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Extremely*) the likelihood of using each message in their persuasive appeal.

Procedure

The study was advertised on MTurk as a study of *Persuasion and Health Communication,* and was linked to an online survey on Qualtrics. Participants were then shown one of two vignettes, as described below.

You are about to read a description of a situation involving a persuasion task. Please read this description carefully, imagining that you are the person who has the task of persuading someone else to do something. In other words, you are the Persuader in the situation. There will be some questions about the situation and your perceptions of it afterwards. Please answer these questions as if you were really in this situation and involved in the task.

Participants then received the descriptions of the influence target's Motivational Orientation, with the same manipulations as in Study 3 for the Prevention and Promotion conditions. Following the Motivational Orientation descriptions, participants were reminded to, "*Imagine yourself preparing to deliver your persuasive appeal to this person"* and the influence goal was further made salient by including a statement that read "*Your goal is to influence this person to use dental floss."*

After reading the vignette, participants were asked to rate the likelihood of using either prevention or promotion messages about dental flossing in their persuasive appeal. They also completed the modified CSIV to measure endorsement of influence or adjustment goals, their own actual and ideal affect, preferences for and perceived utility of activities, ratings of characteristics of the target, and ratings of the target's actual and ideal affect.

Results

Preliminary results

Means, standard deviations and correlations among the main dependent variables are shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2

Means, standard deviations and correlations for key dependent variables of overall sample for Study 4

Variable	*M (SD)*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1.Ideal high arousal positive (HAP)	3.58 (0.74)	-	.41***	.63***	.24**	.30**	.07	.15	.07	.40***	.17*	.32***	.24**	.01	.05	.05
2.Ideal low arousal positive (LAP)	3.75 (0.76)		-	.39***	.49***	.50	.09	.10	.09	.28**	.44**	.23**	.36***	.16	.09	.04
3.Actual HAP	3.29 (0.93)			-	.55***	.24**	.13	.16	.03	.50***	.48***	.55***	.30***	.03	-.04	.16
4.Actual LAP	3.60 (0.86)				-	.28**	.26**	.15	.10	.33***	.45***	.48***	.07	.71***	-.03	.30***
5.HAP Activities	4.13 (1.46)					-	.67*	.79***	.52***	.13	.18	.31***	.39***	.30***	.21*	.39***
6.LAP Activities	4.39 (1.40)						-	.53***	.76***	.04	.17*	.19*	.31***	.21*	.08	.31***
7.Utility of HAP Activities	4.79 (1.29)							-	.60***	.11	.16	.25**	.33***	.19*	.15	.34**
8.Utility of LAP activities	4.87 (1.28)								-	.02	.21*	.08	.23***	.11	.11	.16
9.Target's Ideal HAP	3.40 (0.85)									-	.45***	.57***	.34***	-.09	-.04	.18**
10.Target's Ideal LAP	3.56 (0.86)										-	.23***	.50***	.03	.07	.03
11.Target's Actual HAP	3.01 (0.99)											-	.68***	-.01	-.10	.04***
12.Target's Actual LAP	3.22 (1.01)												-	.03	.02	.38***
13.Target's Actual high arousal negative (HAN)	2.57 (1.06)													-	.45***	.15
14.Target perceived as Anxious	5.28 (2.23)														-	.14
15.Target perceived as Excited	5.02 (2.08)															-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Manipulation Checks

Target's regulatory focus. To assess the strength of the manipulation, I assessed whether participants correctly perceived the target as being more promotion-focused in the Promotion condition and as being more prevention-focused in the Prevention condition. I ran a 2 (Motivational Orientation: Prevention *vs* Promotion) x 2 (Regulatory Focus: Prevention *vs* Promotion) mixed model ANOVA with the former as the between-subjects factor. As expected, the interaction between Motivational Orientation and Regulatory Focus was significant, F (1, 151) =83. 97, p <.001, η_p^2 = .37, with participants in the Prevention condition rating their target as being more prevention than promotion focused (M_{Prev} = 6.39, SD =1.26, M_{Promo} = 5.19, SD = 1.43). Participants in the Promotion condition perceived their target as being more promotion than prevention focused (M_{Promo} = 6.39, SD = 1.26, M_{Prev} = 4.83, SD = 1.78). These results confirm that the manipulation of the knowledge of influence target's motivational orientation was successful.

Endorsement of goals. To ensure that participants did indeed endorse influence goals, I assessed whether participants in general endorsed influence goals relative to adjustment. There was a significant difference in goals F (1,151) = 62.37, p <0.001, η_p^2 = .29). Across conditions, influence goals (M = 6.67, SD = .89) were endorsed more than adjustment goals (M = 4.97, SD = .87). As expected there was no significant interaction between goals and condition, suggesting that regardless of the target, participants endorsed influence goals more than adjustment goals.

Choice of dental floss messages. Promotion and prevention messages were aggregated to form separate promotion and prevention scores. To assess whether

participants matched promotion and prevention messaged to the Motivational Orientation, I ran a 2 (Motivational Orientation) x 2 (Message Choice: Promotion vs Prevention) mixed model ANOVA with the latter as the within-subjects factor. There was a significant interaction between Motivational Orientation and Message Choice, F (1,151) = 31.04, p <0.001, η_p^2 = .17. Participants in the Promotion condition used significantly more promotion messages (M= 5.69, SD = 0.89) than participants in the Prevention condition (M = 5.02, SD = 1.31). The use of prevention messages did not significantly differ between conditions; even though participants in the Prevention condition (M = 5.56, SD = 0.96) did use slightly more prevention messages than those in the promotion group (M= 5.27, SD = 0.99), this difference fell marginally short of conventional significance levels (p = .07). Although the number of prevention messages did not significantly differ between groups, this may be related to the nature of dental flossing and the perception of it as generally being associated with avoiding losses.

Differences in actual and ideal affect

To test whether there were differences in actual and ideal affect across conditions, I conducted a 2 (Motivational Orientation: Prevention *vs* Promotion) x 2 (Affect Type: Actual *vs* Ideal) x 2 (Affect State: HAP *vs*. LAP) mixed model ANOVA with repeated measures on the second and third factors. There was a significant main effect of Affect Type, F (1, 151) = 16.24, p < .001, η_p^2 = .10, with ideal affect scores higher than actual affect scores, when averaged across conditions and affective states (M_{IDEAL} = 3.72, SD_{IDEAL} = 0.66, M_{ACTUAL} = 3.44, SD_{ACTUAL} = 0.79). There was also a significant main effect of

Affect State, F (1, 151) = 17.11, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$, with LAP significantly preferred to HAP ($M_{LAP} = 3.72$, $SD_{LAP} = 0.77$, $M_{HAP} = 3.44$, $SD_{LAP} = 0.74$). A significant interaction between Affect Type and Affect State was also observed, F (1, 151) = 6.97 $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Follow up simple effects demonstrated that ratings of LAP were significantly higher than ratings of HAP for both actual and ideal affect. However, unlike in Study 3, the interaction with Motivational Orientation was not significant.

Differences in affect-inducing activities

In order to test whether participants would differ in their preferences for affect inducing activities depending on the Motivational Orientation, I ran a mixed model ANOVA with Motivational Orientation, as between-subjects factor and included Affect Activity (HAP *vs* LAP) as the within-subjects factor. There was a main effect of Affect Activity, F (1, 151) = 6.88, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, such that across conditions, LAP inducing activities were significantly preferred to HAP inducing activities ($M_{LAP} = 4.39$, $SD_{LAP} = 1.40$, $M_{HAP} = 4.13$, $SD_{HAP} = 1.46$), exhibiting a similar pattern to the ideal affect measures.

Relationship between ideal affect preferences and affect-inducing activities

To test relationships between ideal affective preferences and affect inducing activities, I checked for associations collapsed across both conditions. Results showed a significant association between ideal HAP and HAP-inducing activities, r (153) = .30, $p < .01$, but the association between ideal LAP and LAP-inducing activities was not significant.

To determine whether the relationship between ideal HAP and HAP-inducing activities was mediated by the perceived usefulness of the HAP-inducing activities for the persuasive appeal, regression analysis was performed. Unlike in Study 3, the partial correlation between ideal HAP and HAP-inducing activities remained significant, even after controlling for perceived usefulness of the activities.

Perceptions of Target

Target's actual and ideal affect. I also assessed whether perceptions of the target's ideal affect would vary across conditions using a similar mixed model 2 (Motivational Orientation) x 2 (Target's Affect Type) x 2 (Target's Affect State) ANOVA to those used above. There was a significant main effect of Target's Affect Type, F (1, 151) = 32.64, $p <$ .001, η_p^2 = .19, and this was qualified by a significant interaction between Motivational Orientation, and Affect Type, F (1, 151) = 10.14, p =.002, η_p^2 = .07, such that the difference between Target's actual and ideal affect averaged across HAP and LAP, was larger for the Prevention-focused target ($M_{\text{T_ACTUAL}}$= 2.79, SD_{T_ACTUAL} = 0.97, $M_{\text{T_IDEAL}}$ = 3.39, $SD_{\text{T_IDEAL}}$ = 0.80) than for the Promotion-focused target ($M_{\text{T_ACTUAL}}$= 3.43, SD_{T_ACTUAL} = 0.69, $M_{\text{T_IDEAL}}$ = 3.60, $SD_{\text{T_IDEAL}}$ = 0.69). Contrary to participants' own affective state preferences, there was no main effect for Target's Affect State. As with participants' own actual and ideal affect, the interaction between Motivational Orientation, and Target's Affect Type and Target's Affect State was not significant.

I also conducted a one-way ANOVA on participants' perceptions of the Target as being in a state of high arousal negative (HAN e.g., anxious). The main effect of

Motivational Orientation was significant, F (1, 151) = 11.78, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, such that Prevention-focused targets were perceived as having higher HAN than Promotion-focused targets (M_{PREV}= 2.84, SD_{PREV} = 1.06, M_{PROMO} = 2.25, SD_{PROMO} = 0.98)

Target's dispositional anxiousness and excitability. To test perceptions of Target's trait anxiousness and excitability, I ran two one-way ANOVAs on perceptions of excitability and anxiousness. Targets in the Prevention condition were perceived as being more anxious than targets in the Promotion condition, F (1, 151) = 27.43, $p < 0.01$, η_p^2 = .15 ($M_{Prevention}$ = 6.16, SD = 2.06, $M_{Promotion}$ = 4.36, SD = 2.20; whereas targets in the Promotion condition were considered as being more excited than targets in Prevention condition, F (1, 151) = 5.33, $p < 0.05$, η_p^2 = .03 ($M_{Promotion}$ = 5.44, SD = 2.01, $M_{Prevention}$ = 4.65, SD = 2.19).

Discussion

Study 4 included more direct manipulation checks than those used in Study 3 relating to endorsement of goals and perceptions of influence target's motivational orientation. Participants' responses to these items confirmed that the manipulation was successful. Participants across both conditions scored higher on influence goals than on adjustment goals. In addition, participants were also able to correctly identity their target as being more prevention- or promotion-focused consistent with their experimental condition.

As in Study 3, results demonstrated a main effect of ideal affect, such that across conditions, ideal LAP was significantly more preferred than ideal HAP, and this pattern of

results was also found for preferences for affect-inducing activities. Similarly to Study 3, ideal HAP was correlated with HAP-inducing activities, yet this relationship remained significant even when controlling for perceived utility of the activity. Furthermore, the association between ideal LAP and LAP-inducing activities was not significant. However, unlike in Study 3, influence target's motivational orientation did not have an effect on ideal affective preferences.

Although participants made the expected judgements about the target's personality and emotion (i.e., promotion focused targets were rated as being generally more excited, prevention focused targets as being both generally anxious and also in a state of anxiousness while watching the video), these factors did not have an effect on preferences for ideal affect. One possible reason might lie in my use of vignettes. Vignettes are an inexpensive tool that allows respondents to consider hypothetical situations and have been used in a variety of ways such as in surveys, as part of interviews, and to collect experimental data (Collet & Childs, 2011). While vignettes are a popular tool and have been argued to be an efficient and effective way of collecting information about how people would act in real life situations, they may not fully capture all important aspects of social experience (Collet & Childs, 2011; Parkinson & Manstead, 1993) particularly when participants are asked to *imagine* experiencing a specific situation. Indeed, studies comparing results between vignettes and laboratory experiments suggest that the two are not always experienced in the same way (e.g., Collet & Childs, 2011). Physically engaging in a process (even a simulated one) is experienced differently to merely imagining it.

To address questions I had about whether the specific nature of the influence task influenced preferences for LAP rather than HAP, and to follow up my questions about what

aspects of the Target affected the relationship between Influence Target and Ideal Affect, I conducted a further follow-up study.

Study 5: Effects of Influence Task and Target's Motivational Orientation

In Studies 3 and 4 I investigated the effects of a target's motivational orientation on context-dependent ideal affect when individuals attempted to influence the target to use dental floss. In Study 3, participants preferred LAP to HAP, and this preference was greater for participants in the Promotion condition, thus demonstrating an effect of knowledge of the Influence Target's motivational orientation on ideal affective preferences.

To further clarify the nature of this relationship, I ran Study 4 on Amazon's Mechanical (MTurk) Platform, which utilised an online vignette that asked people to imagine the same scenario as Study 3, with Promotion and Prevention focused targets only. In addition, participants were asked to give ratings about perceptions of the target (e.g., ratings of excitability and anxiousness). Consistent with Study 3, across conditions, participants significantly preferred greater LAP to HAP; however, contrary to Study 3, knowledge of the target's motivational orientation did not influence ideal affective preferences. This may have been due to decreased involvement in an online procedure involving no physical activity or possibility of interpersonal contact (even through a video-mediated forum).

Study 5 sought to replicate and extend findings, while addressing some of the limitations of the previous studies. Specifically, Study 5 attempted to replicate the main findings that (i) greater LAP is preferred to HAP in a dental floss persuasion task (ii) knowledge of an influence target's motivational orientation will influence ideal affective preferences. Additionally, as Study 4 did not demonstrate the predicted effects of Motivational Orientation on ideal affect, I further wanted to clarify the relationship that had been observed in Study 3. Finally, in Study 3 I found a relationship between ideal affect and affect-inducing activities, which was no longer significant when controlling for perceived utility of the activities. In Study 4, the relationship between ideal HAP and HAP inducing activities remained significant even when controlling for perceived utility. It may be possible then that participants' preferences for engaging in affect-inducing activities might also be driven by the anticipated pleasure that activity would provide, thus I also included a measure of "liking" for the affect-inducing activities.

As preference for LAP relative to HAP was observed in both Studies 3 and 4, I wanted to see if this preference would remain while delivering a persuasive appeal on physical activity. I expected that in this task, participants should prefer HAP relative to LAP, as a message on physical activity would elicit greater associations with arousal.

Lastly, to ascertain if people's ideal affect was more related to performance motives, or social influence motives, I included a measure of reasons for ideal affect that related to task enhancement (e.g., it would make me feel better and perform better on the task) and related to target (e.g., based on expected emotional reactions I thought the other person would have).

Specifically then, I expected to replicate the findings from Studies 3 and 4, in that LAP would be preferred overall in the dental task. I also expected that the use of an experimental task (as in Study 3) would make the influence target's motivational orientation more salient than in Study 4's vignette and thus the finding of affective preferences dependent on influence target from Study 3 would be replicated. I further predicted that these differences would be mediated by perceptions of the target and reasons related to the target.

For both dental floss and physical activity, I predicted that:

H1. Participants would select their persuasive messages on the basis of presented information about the target's motivational orientation

H2: Ideal affect would vary as a function of knowledge of the target's motivational orientation

H3. Ideal affect would be related to emotion-inducing activities (i.e., across conditions, those preferring LAP would also prefer activities that emphasize LAP and vice versa for HAP)

H4. The relationship between ideal affect and the types of activities people prefer to engage in, would be mediated by both the perceived usefulness of the activity and liking/enjoyment of engaging in that activity.

Method

Participants

Ninety participants (58 females) with a mean age of 22.38 years (*SD* = 4.19) completed this study. The majority of participants were full time undergraduate and graduate students (79.8%), while 10.1% were in full time employment and the remaining participants were in part time education (2.2%), part time employment (4.2%), unemployed (2.2%) and other (1.1%). More than half of the sample were Caucasian (68.9%) and the remainder were Asian (17.8%), Black (6.7%), multiracial (2.2%) or classified themselves as "other" (4.4%).

Participants were recruited in a number of ways; psychology undergraduate students who were part of the Research Participation Scheme (RPS) were invited to participate in the study for course credit. Other participants were recruited by posters and through the Oxford Research Participation (ORP) Scheme. These participants were compensated with £10 for their time.

Design

The study utilised a 2 (Influence task: dental floss *vs* physical activity) x 3 (Motivational Orientation: Promotion *vs* Prevention *vs* Control) x 2 (Ideal Affect: HAP *vs* LAP), mixed factorial design with Ideal affect as the within subjects factor. The main dependent measures were participants' ideal affect (HAP and LAP) and their preferences for HAP- and LAP-inducing activities. Other measures were perceived utility of affect-inducing activities and liking of affect-inducing activities. I also measured participants'

impressions of the target as potential mediators of the effects of Motivational Orientation on ideal affect.

Measures

Manipulation Checks. Consistent with the vignette study, I included the same manipulation check to ensure that influence goals were endorsed more than adjustment goals, using the Circumplex Scale of Interpersonal Values (CSIV; Locke, 2000). In addition, I also included the same items that measured Target's regulatory focus (Promotion focused $\alpha = .87$ and Prevention-focused $\alpha = .82$).

Actual and ideal affect. As in Studies 3 and 4, actual and ideal affect were measured using the Affect Valuation Index (AVI; Tsai et al., 2006). I focused on the HAP aggregates (actual HAP $\alpha = .81$, ideal HAP $\alpha = .83$) and LAP aggregates (actual LAP $\alpha = .68$ and ideal LAP $\alpha = .62$).

Affect-Inducing Activities. Similarly to Studies 3 and 4, participants were presented with the same list of affect inducing activities developed for the study, and again I focused on HAP and LAP activities (LAP activities, $\alpha = .73$, HAP activities, $\alpha = .61$).

Perceived utility of affect inducing activities. Again, as in the previous studies, participants rated perceived utility of affect-inducing activities on a 7 point Likert Scale (1 = *Not at all Useful,* 7 = *Useful)* (HAP utility $\alpha = .67$, LAP utility $\alpha = .75$).

Perceptions of the Target. Consistent with Study 4, participants rated their perceptions of the target's context-dependent actual and ideal affect (using a corresponding

version of the AVI). Again, I focused on HAP and LAP for ideal affect (ideal HAP α = .90, ideal LAP α = .92) and HAP, LAP and HAN for actual affect (actual HAP α = .85, actual LAP α = .85, actual LAN α = .84). Participants also rated perceptions of the target's dispositional affective states as being generally "anxious" or "excited".

Expected success of experiencing and expressing affect. To assess whether participants would associate different affective states with improving performance on the task, after they had engaged in the persuasive appeal, I asked to them to rate their expectations of success if they had experienced and expressed more LAP (i.e., calm) or more HAP (i.e., excitement) on a 7-point scale (1 = *Less success,* 7 = *More success).*

Reasons for ideal affect. To assess what reasons participants gave for their ideal affective preferences, nine different reasons were given, that related to task enhancement and of these, I aggregated reasons relating to enhancement of task performance (e.g., *"…expectation that it would make me more confident and improve my performance when delivering my message"*), α = .92 and reasons relating to the target (e.g., "*…expectations I had about the other person's emotional reactions"*), α = .85

Perceived pleasure/enjoyment of affect inducing activities. In order to gauge whether participants would prefer to engage in certain activities merely because they liked the activity, participants were given the same list of affect-inducing activities and asked to *indicate how much PLEASURE and ENJOYMENT [they] would derive from engaging in the activity,* again rating the activities on a 7 point Likert Scale (1 = *Not at all pleasurable and enjoyable,* 7 = *Extremely pleasurable and enjoyable*).

Influence task messages. As in Studies 3 and 4, I used the selection of messages derived from Sherman et al. (2006) about dental flossing that were framed either as promotion or prevention messages. In addition, I also included three neutral messages about dental floss derived from the NHS Choices website. There were seventeen messages in total, which included statements such as "*According to dentists the most reliable way to promote great breath, in addition to regular brushing, is to floss your teeth regularly*" (Promotion), "*If you don't floss your teeth daily, particles of food remain in the mouth, collecting bacteria which causes bad breath*" (Prevention) and "*Flossing only takes a few minutes out of your day and you can incorporate it into daily hygiene practices*" (Control). Participants were asked to select messages for their persuasive appeal, based on knowledge of the person they were influencing.

In this study, I also included an additional influence task using a set of messages based on encouraging a target to engage in physical activity. Similarly to the dental flossing condition, participants were provided with pre-selected messages that differed along the lines of whether they were framed as promotion or prevention statements, as well as three neutral items. Messages were derived from McKay-Nesbitt, Bhatnagar and Smith (2013) and the NHS choices website. The messages included statements such as "*physical activity promotes health by strengthening your heart and lungs*" (Promotion), "*when you are physically inactive, it is hard to burn off calories,*" "*the less you exercise the fewer calories you burn. This means you are more likely to have weight problems"* (Prevention), and "*choose recreational pursuits that involve physical activity, like playing games like ultimate Frisbee"* (Control).

Procedure

The procedure used in this study was similar to that used in Study 3, with the additional manipulation of Physical Task. Hence after participants completed their pre-task online survey via web link (Qualtrics), they were invited to come in to complete the laboratory based part of the study.

After the minimum three-day period had elapsed, participants were invited to the social psychology laboratory in the experimental psychology department to record a persuasive video message about dental floss or physical activity. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the six experimental conditions when they came into the laboratory.

Participants were informed that they would record a video message to encourage a particular person to use dental floss or engage in physical activity, and that the video message was to be between 30 seconds and 2 minutes long. Participants were also given an information sheet containing both promotion and prevention framed messages about dental flossing or physical activity and they needed to select which messages to use based on their knowledge of the person they were influencing.

Specifically, participants were provided with the same instructions as in Study 3, except that each person description was preceded by a statement that stated that the appeal should be delivered to a first-year undergraduate student at the University of Oxford who does not engage in the target behaviour often, as indicated in the amended instructions below:

Now, I'd like you to prepare to deliver your persuasive appeal to encourage dental flossing/ physical activity.

You are delivering your appeal to a first-year undergraduate student at the University of Oxford, who does not frequently use dental floss/engage in physical activity

This person typically focuses on positive outcomes of behaviour (Promotion)/ avoiding the negative outcomes of not doing the behaviour (Prevention).

Participants were then informed that their task was to communicate their appeal by recording a video message that might be seen by this person, but before delivering the video message they would complete a brief questionnaire about their feelings in that moment (using AVI). Participants also rated affect-inducing activities that they would wish to engage in that they thought would improve their performance on the task.

After completing the affect and affect-inducing activity measures, participants were given up to 10 minutes of practice time before they delivered their video message.

Once participants had recorded their message, they completed questions about their perceptions of the target's personality and affective states, the utility of the affect-inducing activities, the amount of pleasure and enjoyment they would derive from engaging in the affect inducing activities, and how successful they believed their appeal would be if they experienced and expressed more calming emotions, and more energetic emotions. After completing these measures participants were debriefed and compensated for their participation.

Results

Preliminary results

The means, standard deviations and correlations for main dependent variables in the study are displayed in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3.

Means, standard deviations and correlations for dependent variables Study 5

Variable	*M (SD)*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1.Ideal high arousal positive (HAP)	4.02 (0.91)	-	.33**	.28**	-.04	-.09	-.25*	.12	-.09	.30**	.02	-.02	.01	.06	.22*	.10
2.Ideal low arousal positive (LAP)	4.11 (0.76)		-	.09	.22*	.03	.09	.07	.17	.27**	.25**	-.05	.10	.02	.15	.06
3.Actual HAP	2.60 (0.99)			-	.15	.09	.05	-.04	.12	.21*	.16	.27*	.16	.22*	.13	-.03
4.Actual LAP	2.80 (0.92)				-	.02	.04	-.01	-.04	.21*	.26*	.29**	.19	.03	-.02	-.07
5.HAP activities	4.19 (1.37)					-	.54***	.43***	.15	.01	-.11	.30**	-.03	.04	.11	-.07
6.LAP activities	3.91 (1.41)						-	.11	.36***	.04	.04	.38***	.21*	-.13	.01	.04
7.Utility of HAP activities	4.47 (1.81)							-	.34**	-.11	-.30**	.09	.28**	-.02	.07	-.03
8.Utility of LAP activities	3.68 (1.63)								-	-.04	-.04	.05	.09	-.06	.01	.01
9.Target's Ideal HAP	3.81 (1.02)									-	.36**	.34**	.13	-.17	-.17	.23*
10.Target's Ideal LAP	3.36 (1.09)										-	.23*	.51***	-.16	-.14	.03
11.Target's Actual HAP	2.57 (0.94)											-	.36**	-.09	-.03	.07
12.Target's Actual LAP	2.60 (0.89)												-	-.25*	-.21*	.18
13.Target's Actual high arousal negative (HAN)	1.49 (0.97)													-	.55**	-.13
14.Target perceived as Anxious	4.58 (2.27)														-	-.02
15.Target perceived as Excited	3.98(1.92)															-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Manipulation Checks

Perceptions of target's motivational orientation. To assess the success of the motivational orientation manipulation, I assessed whether participants correctly perceived the target as being more promotion-focused in the Promotion conditions and as being more prevention-focused in the Prevention conditions. There were significant differences in perceptions of the targets' motivational orientation in the predicted pattern; that is participants in the Promotion conditions (regardless of task) perceived the target as being more promotion-focused than participants in either Control or Prevention groups, F (2, 84) = 49.07, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .54$ ($M_{Promo} = 6.07$, $SD = .94$, $M_{Cont} = 5.25$, $SD = 1.17$, $M_{Prev} = 3.75$, $SD = 1.39$). Similarly participants in the Prevention conditions perceived the target as being more prevention-focused than participants in Control or Promotion groups, ($M_{Prev} = 6.22$, $SD = 1.33$, $M_{Cont} = 4.79$, $SD = 1.29$, $M_{Promo} = 3.84$, $SD = 1.08$).

In sum, participants were able to correctly identify their target's manipulated motivational orientation. Additionally, the results were not contaminated by influence task, showing that regardless of whether participants were giving an influence message about dental floss or physical activity, the target's motivational orientation was correctly identified.

Endorsement of influence goals. In order to ensure that participants held influence goals, I assessed whether participants endorsed influence goals relative to adjustment goals. There was a significant difference in goals, F (1, 82) = 125.57, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .61$), with greater levels of influence goals ($M = 5.77$, $SD = .82$) than adjustment goals ($M = 3.49$, $SD = .1.58$) across conditions. As intended there was no significant interaction between goals, task and target orientation suggesting that

regardless of the task or the target, participants endorsed influence goals more than adjustment goals.

*Choice of messages***.** To confirm that Motivational Orientation predicted the choice of messages participants used, promotion, prevention and neutral messages for each influence task were aggregated to form separate promotion, prevention and neutral message scores. Mixed analyses of variance were conducted with Motivational Orientation as the between subjects variable and Message Type (Promotion *vs* Prevention *vs* Neutral) as the within subjects variable. These analyses were conducted on each task separately as the messages were not directly equivalent across the two Influence Task conditions.

In the dental floss task, there was a significant main effect of message type, F (2, 40) = 32.61, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .45$, with prevention messages selected more than promotion messages, across Motivational Orientation conditions ($M_{dental_prev} = 3.53$, $SD = 1.89$, $M_{dental_promo} = 2.59$, $SD = 2.08$). There was also a significant interaction between Message Type and Motivational Orientation, F (4, 40) = 18.02, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .48$. An analysis of simple effects showed that participants in the promotion group used significantly more promotion focused messages ($M = 4.79$, $SD = 1.67$) than participants in the neutral group ($M = 2$, $SD = 1.30$) and prevention condition ($M = 1$, $SD = 1$). Similarly, more prevention messages were used by participants in the prevention group ($M = 4.73$, $SD = 1.75$), than neutral ($M = 3.56$, $SD = 1.89$) and promotion ($M = 2.50$, $SD = 1.83$) conditions. Lastly for neutral messages, more neutral messages were used in the neutral condition ($M = 1.43$, $SD = .76$) compared to both promotion ($M = 1.21$, $SD = 1.12$) and prevention ($M = .73$, $SD = .70$) conditions.

In the physical activity task, there was a main effect of Message Type, F (2, 42) = 30.89, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .42$ with promotion messages selected more than prevention messages across target-orientation conditions ($M_{physical_promo} = 3.91$, $SD = 2.45$, $M_{physical_prev} = 2.67$, $SD = 2.56$). There was also a significant interaction between Message Type and Motivational Orientation, F (4, 42) = 31.09, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .59$. Simple effects analysis demonstrated that participants in the promotion group used significantly more promotion focused messages ($M = 5.93$, $SD = 1.28$) than participants in the neutral group ($M = 4.20$ $SD = 1.47$) and prevention condition ($M = 1.60$, $SD = 2.19$). Similarly, more prevention messages were used by participants in the prevention group ($M = 5.07$, $SD = 2.22$), than neutral ($M = 2.13$, $SD = 1.85$) and promotion ($M = .80$, $SD = 1.42$) conditions, but these differences were not significantly different for control and promotion conditions. Lastly for neutral messages, there were no significant differences between conditions. These results demonstrate that the target motivational orientation manipulation produced the expected pattern of message choice selections for both tasks.

Differences in actual and ideal affect

In order to assess whether ideal affect varied as a function of Influence Task and Motivational Orientation, I conducted a 2 (Influence Task: Dental *vs* Physical) x 3 (Motivational Orientation: Promotion *vs* Prevention *vs* Neutral) x 2 (Affect Type: Actual *vs* Ideal) x 2 (Affect State: HAP *vs* LAP) mixed factorial ANOVA with the latter two factors as the within subjects factors[25]. There was a main effect of Affect Type, F (1, 84) = 234.53, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .74$ such that across all conditions and averaged across

[25] I also ran this analysis controlling for gender and participants' own regulatory focus. As adding these factors as separate controls did not change the pattern of results, I only report the results without the controls.

HAP and LAP, ideal affect (M = 4.06, SD = 0.72), was rated at higher levels than actual affect (M = 2.70 SD = 0.68). The main effect of Affect type was qualified by an interaction between Affect Type and Influence Task, F (1, 84) = 4.58, p = .035, η_p^2 = .05, the discrepancy between actual and ideal affect was higher for participants in the Dental Floss task then for participants in the Physical Activity Task (see Figure 3.2). The predicted 4 –way interaction between Influence Task, Motivational Orientation Affect Type and Affect State was not significant, F (2, 84) = 2.58, p = .082, η_p^2 = .06. All other main effects and interactions were also non-significant (*ns*).

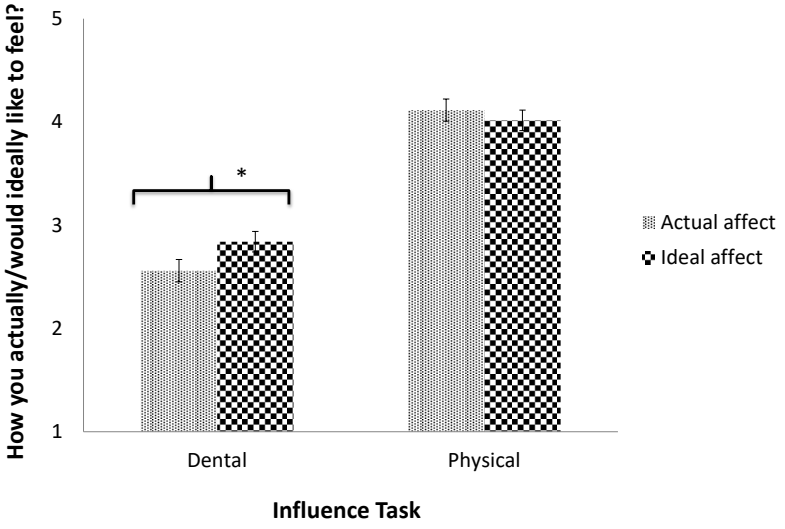


Figure 3.2. Interactive effect of Affect Type and Influence Task. Error bars indicate standard error of the mean. *p < .05. **p < .01

Reasons for ideal affective preferences

To assess whether reasons given for affective preferences differed by Influence Task and Motivational Orientation, I conducted a 2 (Influence Task) x 3 (Motivational

Orientation) x 2 (Reasons: Task Enhancement *vs* Target Focused) mixed factors ANOVA. There was a main effect of reason type, F (1, 84) = 114.50, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .58$ ($M_{\text{Reasons_task}} = 5.44$ $SD = 1.55$, $M_{\text{Reasons_person}} = 3.58$, $SD = 1.55$), demonstrating that across conditions, participants were more focused on whether or not the affective state would help them feel more confident and appear more persuasive, rather than taking the particular aspects of the Target in to consideration.

Differences in affect inducing activities

In order to ascertain whether there would be differences in preferences for affect-inducing activities, I ran a mixed model ANOVA with Influence Task and Motivational Orientation as between subject factors, and Affect Activity (HAP *vs* LAP) as the within subjects factor. There were no significant main effects of Influence Task or Motivational Orientation or any interaction effects between any of the variables. There was a significant main effect of Affect Activity, F (1, 84) = 3.92, $p = .049$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, with participants preferring to engage in HAP inducing activities ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 1.37$) than LAP activities ($M = 3.91$, $SD = 1.41$) across conditions, contrary to findings from Study 4.

Relationships between ideal affect and affect-inducing activities

To test relationships between ideal affective preferences and affect inducing situations, I checked for associations collapsed across conditions. Results showed a significant negative association between ideal HAP and LAP-inducing activities, r (90)

= -.25, p = .02, but none of the other associations between ideal affect and affect inducing activities were significant.

To determine whether the negative relationship between ideal HAP- and LAP-inducing activities was mediated by the perceived usefulness and expected enjoyment/pleasure of the LAP-inducing activities for the persuasive appeal, regression analysis was performed. The partial correlation between ideal HAP and LAP-inducing activities remained significant when controlling for expected pleasure/enjoyment of the LAP activities, but the partial correlation between ideal HAP and LAP-inducing activities was not significant when controlling for perceived utility of the LAP activities.

Perceptions of Target

Target's actual and ideal affect. I also measured whether the perceptions of the target's actual and ideal HAP and LAP would vary across conditions. There was a significant main effect of Target's Affect Type, F (1, 84) = 112.67, p = <. 001, η_p^2 = .57, and further a significant interaction between Target's Affect Type and Affect State, F (1, 84) = 31. 46, p = <.001, η_p^2 = .27. Across task and influence target conditions, the differences between actual and ideal affect were significant for both HAP and LAP, although this difference was greater for HAP (M_{ACTUAL} = 2.33, SD_{ACTUAL} = .86, M_{IDEAL} = 3.81, SD_{IDEAL} = .92) than LAP (M_{ACTUAL}= 2.80, SD_{ACTUAL} = .92, M_{IDEAL} = 3.36, SD_{IDEAL} = 1.09). No other main effects or interaction effects were significant.

With regards to perceptions of the target's actual high arousal negative state (HAN), I conducted a univariate analysis with Influence Task and Motivational Orientation as the between subject factors. There was a significant main effect of

Influence Target on perceptions of actual HAN, F (2, 84) = 9.68, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$, where Prevention focused targets were perceived as experiencing significantly more HAN than both Control and Promotion focused targets, but perceptions of Target' state HAN did not significantly differ between the latter two groups ($M_{\text{Prevention}} = 2.54$ $SD = 0.92$, $M_{\text{Control}} = 1.86$, $SD = 1.00$, $M_{\text{Promotion}} = 1.57$, $SD = 0.70$).

Perceptions of targets' dispositional anxiousness and excitability. I also ran two univariate ANOVAs on perceptions of anxiousness and excitability with Influence Task and Motivational Orientation as the between subjects factors. Across both tasks, Prevention focused targets were perceived as being more anxious in general than targets with a Neutral and Promotion focused orientation, F (2, 84) = 16.86, $p < 0.01$, $\eta_p^2 = .27$ ($M_{\text{Prevention}} = 6.20$, $SD = 2.16$, $M_{\text{Control}} = 4.20$, $SD = 1.86$, $M_{\text{Promotion}} = 3.33$, $SD = 1.81$). However, there were no significant differences in perceptions of excitability depending on target.

Expected success

I investigated how successful participants believed they would have been if they experienced and expressed more calming emotions and more energetic emotions by running a mixed factorial ANOVA with Influence Task x Motivational Orientation and Expected Success (More HAP *vs* More LAP). There was a significant main effect of Expected Success, F (1, 84) = 15.29, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$, with participants overall expecting that if they had experienced and expressed more HAP that they would have been more successful in their persuasive attempt. This main effect was qualified by a significant interaction between Influence Task and Expected Success, F (1, 84) = 5.82, $p < .05.$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$, such that participants in the Physical influence task significantly

expected that experiencing and expressing more HAP states would result in greater success than experiencing and expressing LAP states (see Figure 3.3 for relevant means).

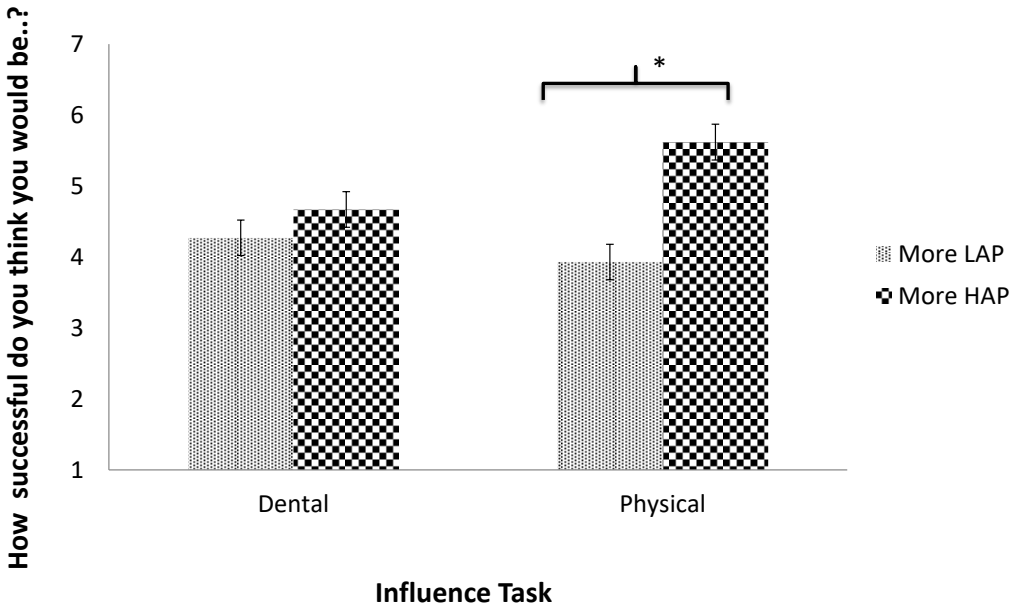


Figure 3.3. Interactive effect of Influence Task and Expected Success. HAP= high arousal positive affect, LAP = low arousal positive affect. Error bars indicate standard error of the mean. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$

Discussion

Study 5 sought to replicate and extend findings from Studies 3 and 4. I used the same dental floss persuasion task as in Study 3 and further included a comparison physical activity influence task. As in Study 4, I included specific manipulation checks

of endorsement of goals and perceptions of the influence target's regulatory focus. Across both conditions, participants rated influence goals higher than adjustment goals. Additionally, participants correctly perceived their target as being more prevention- or promotion-focused consistent with their experimental condition. Correspondingly, participants selected the appropriately framed persuasive messages depending on their influence target in both dental floss and physical activity conditions.

The primary purpose of this study was to investigate what factors might account for the effects of an influence target's motivational orientation on ideal affect. However, contrary to Study 3, in neither the dental floss nor physical activity task did Motivational Orientation have an effect. One possible reason why Motivational Orientation did not have an effect on ideal affective preferences in this study may be the relatively small sample size. However, judging by participants stated reasons for their ideal affective preferences, they seemed to be thinking more about overall task performance rather than focusing specifically on the target of influence. In this study, a number of factors might have contributed to this. One is that I changed the manipulation, such that compared to Study 3, where participants were asked to deliver their appeal to a person whose motivational orientation varied, in Study 5, I explicitly mentioned that the target of influence was a first-year University of Oxford student. It is possible that explicitly mentioning who the target was may have had an effect because in Study 3, it is not clear who participants were thinking of when they were delivering their persuasive appeal (e.g., they may have thought about a friend or familiar person who fit that description and this may have unintentionally activated affiliation motivation). As I did not include any measures relating to this factor, it is unclear whether participants were more motivated to affiliate with their influence target than in Study 5.

Another potentially relevant difference between studies relates to the sample. Study 5's sample included a greater proportion of participants from outside the University environment than Study 3's sample, and so perhaps by specifying it was a University of Oxford student, participants focused on that aspect and this may have triggered other effects, for example more concern for self-presentation. This does not necessarily discount an effect of influence target *per se,* but the particular aspects of the target that I manipulated were not what participants focused on. Indeed, reasons for ideal affect relating to task enhancement included items such as, "…*In order to make me appear more confident in the persuasive appeal"* suggesting that self–presentation might have been a factor.

Contrary to both studies 3 and 4, the results did not indicate a significant preference for either self-reported LAP or HAP across conditions. However, for preferences for affect-inducing activities, there was a significant main effect of Affect Activity such that across influence task and target, participants reported wanting to engage in more HAP activities than LAP activities, which was contrary to both studies 3 and 4. For participants in the physical influence task in particular, they felt that experiencing and expressing more HAP would make them more successful in their persuasive appeal, suggesting that participants may have associated HAP as being more useful for success. However, unlike in studies 3 and 4, the relationship between ideal HAP and HAP-inducing activities was not significant. Although the significant negative relationship between ideal HAP and LAP-inducing activities remained significant when controlling for pleasure and liking, it was no longer significant when controlling for perceived utility of the LAP-inducing activities.

Concerning perceptions of the influence target's actual and ideal affect, as well as their general anxiousness and excitability, there were no effects of influence task.

Across tasks, participants thought that targets would experience more LAP than HAP while watching the persuasive appeal, but would want to experience more HAP than LAP, regardless of motivational orientation. However, for state HAN (i.e., anxiousness), prevention-focused targets were rated as being more anxious than promotion-focused or neutral targets. Similarly, for general anxiety, prevention-focused targets were also perceived as being generally more anxious than promotion- or prevention-focused targets. There were no significant differences in perceptions of targets' general levels of excitement. The results partially support findings from Study 4 regarding perceptions of the target.

General Discussion

The primary purpose of the studies reported in this chapter was to test whether affective preferences would be consistent based on endorsement of influence goals, or if ideal affect would vary as a function of knowledge of an influence target's motivational orientation. I developed a novel persuasion task that was designed to measure these effects. Consistent and discrepant findings across studies are highlighted below. Possible explanations, limitations and future directions are also discussed.

Overview of findings

Ideal affective preferences: consistent or dependent on influence target?

In Study 3, I designed a novel interpersonal *tailored* persuasion task on dental floss that I reasoned would not only elicit influence goals but also motivate participants to take the knowledge of the Influence target's motivational orientation into consideration when delivering their persuasive appeal. The main purpose of the task was to elicit both performance and social motives and measure the effects of influence target's motivational orientation on ideal affect.

Contrary to relationships that have been observed between influence goals and ideal affect in other studies of context-dependent ideal affect (Tsai et al., 2007), overall participants wanted to feel more LAP than HAP. This is consistent with patterns of affective preference I found in my cross-cultural studies (Studies 1 and 2) and so may reflect preferences for general ideal affect. A further possibility was that as the study required participants to take the target into consideration, it was possible that the task elicited both influence and adjustment goals. The endorsement of adjustment goals could then potentially have motivated participants to prefer more LAP. As I did not measure either influence or adjustment goals, it was not clear what goals participants endorsed. The results, however, also demonstrated a significant interaction between influence target's motivational orientation and ideal affect, suggesting that participants' ideal affect did, in part, depend on the characteristics of the target, although not in the direction I had predicted. For both promotion- and prevention-focused targets, participants wanted to feel more LAP than HAP. One possible explanation for these results concerns participants' perceptions of the targets. In particular, promotion focused targets may have been perceived as being too excited and needed calming

down. As I did not measure any aspects about the target, it was unclear what aspects of the target were driving the relationship between ideal affect and influence target.

I ran Study 4 as an attempt to address these limitations. Results demonstrated that overall more influence goals were endorsed relative to adjustment goals. Furthermore, participants were able to correctly identify their target as being in a promotion or prevention focus, and that prevention focused targets were generally more anxious than promotion targets, and promotion focused targets generally more excited than prevention focused targets. Despite these perceptions, ideal affect did not depend on the influence target. I posited that the lack of effect of influence target on ideal affective preferences might have been due to using a vignette design, as asking participants to imagine a situation is not necessarily the same as having participants physically engage in a task (Collett & Childs, 2011). Across conditions, however, ideal LAP scores were significantly higher than ideal HAP scores, consistent with the finding from Study 3. Even though participants endorsed influence goals more than adjustment goals, I reasoned that perhaps this preference for LAP over HAP was as a result of general affective preferences or the nature of the influence task itself. It is possible that HAP states are not considered conducive to the use of dental floss.

To address my concerns about the vignette method, I conducted Study 5, a laboratory based experiment, using the same dental floss task as in Study 3. To further ascertain whether the relative preference of LAP over HAP found in both studies 3 and 4 was a result of the nature of the influence task, I included a comparison influence task where participants were instructed to deliver a persuasive appeal to encourage an individual to be more physically active. Again, participants endorsed influence goals more than adjustment goals and correctly perceived their influence target with the relevant motivational orientation. However, contrary to Study 3, participants' ideal

affective preferences did not depend on the influence target. In fact, when rating their reasons for their ideal affect, participants significantly rated reasons that related to task enhancement higher than reasons relating to the target. Although the two experiments were very similar, I did make a slight change to the manipulation, where participants were given more information about the target of influence (that is that the target was a University of Oxford student). This might have triggered other motivations, such as concerns about self-presentation. As I did not measure any aspects of social motivation in Study 3, it is unclear whether participants in that study were more motivated to take the characteristics of the influence target into consideration, and the effects of various motives need to be clarified in further studies.

Preferences for affect-inducing activities

A secondary purpose of the studies reported here was to investigate if there would be a relationship between ideal affect and affect-inducing activities. Affect Valuation Theory predicts that ideal affect has behavioural effects such that wanting to feel either LAP or HAP will lead individuals to choose to engage in activities that elicit those states (Tsai, 2007). Furthermore, affect-inducing activities have been used as a measure of affective preferences in previous studies (Nelson, 1997; Tamir & Ford, 2012; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007). In all studies, I asked participants to select which activities they would most like to engage, and measured preferences overall and as a function of influence target. In all of the studies, collapsed across experimental conditions, ideal HAP was associated with affect–inducing activities. In Studies 3 and 4, there was a positive relationship between ideal HAP and HAP-inducing activities, in Study 5, there was a negative association with ideal HAP and LAP-inducing activities. In both Studies 3 and 5, these relationships were non-significant when controlling for perceived utility of the activities for the task.

In none of the studies did influence target have an effect on affect-inducing activities. However, in Study 4, participants reported wanting to engage in more LAP-inducing activities, in contrast to Study 5, where participants expressed wanting to engage in more HAP inducing activities. Only in Study 4, did affect-inducing preferences follow the same pattern of results as the ratings of ideal LAP.

It is possible preferences to engage in affect-inducing activities in Study 4 exhibited the same pattern as the ratings of ideal affect, as a reflection of general ideal affective preferences, especially as participants were not physically engaged in the task itself. Indeed, the majority of the sample was from India (62.7%), a country that orients towards collectivism and a number of collectivist (not all) cultures do exhibit a relative preference for LAP to HAP. Tsai and colleagues (2007) found that even though participants in an influence condition preferred to listen to HAP-inducing music across both influence and adjustment conditions, Euro-Americans chose to listen to HAP-inducing music more than Asian Americans and Hong Kong Chinese participants, suggesting that general affective preferences can still exert effects even in specific contexts. However, as I am not aware of any studies reporting ideal affect in India, and as the measure did ask participants to imagine how they would want to feel in that situation, this is merely a speculation, and raises a further limitation of the vignette study.

Overall the results suggest that ideal affect is associated with affect-inducing activities. However, these results were not always in a consistent direction, i.e., as in Study 5. Again, this might reflect a general limitation of the method, as participants were merely asked to *rate their preferences to engage in certain activities, if given a choice* rather than actually being given a choice to engage in those activities. Stronger

effects might be found if participants actually had the option to engage in the affect-inducing activities.

Limitations and future directions

The studies described above were a test of sources of variation in context-dependent ideal affect, and relied on novel persuasion tasks I developed specifically for this study. In light of that, there were a number of limitations. I have already alluded to the limitations of using vignettes. Here, I will focus mainly on the limitations of the laboratory experiments although most of the limitations I present can be generalised to all the studies reported in this chapter.

Firstly, my task was quite different from the tasks used in Tsai and colleagues (2007) and this poses challenges for direct comparability. Was my task the best task for activating influence goals? Holding an influence goal entails the desire to shape external circumstances or to change others' needs to accommodate your own desires (Heine, 2001; Iyengar & Lepper; 1999, Wang, 2010). Even though participants endorsed influence goals more strongly than adjustment goals[26], how strongly motivated were participants to influence their targets? Although persuasion is a form of *social influence,* my participants derived no direct benefits from the persuasion appeal. In fact, the benefit of the appeal was mainly a benefit for the influence target rather than the participant. Participants in my study did not have to assert their own needs or wishes; nor did they obtain any benefit for their performance. They did not receive any

[26] Although I only measured influence and adjustment goals, I am not assuming that those are the only motives that participants might have had. Indeed a range of other social motives may have existed, such as self-presentation. As I did not measure any other motives or goals, it remains to be seen what other motives might be activated in similar tasks.

objective feedback (i.e., whether targets were persuaded by the appeal) or reward. I am of the opinion that one way of more clearly investigating whether influence goals would have an effect in another interpersonal context, is to increase participants' motivation either by ensuring that their needs or wishes are asserted and/by including some objective reward and feedback.

A further limitation of the studies concerns the need to take to take the influence target into account, which may be related to the issue raised above. An improvement to the method would include more deliberately manipulating a social motive, such as affiliation, to see whether effects would be strengthened. In addition, the fact that participants were recording a video message that may or may not have been seen by the target might have further reduced the perceived significance of the influence target. A stronger manipulation might be to lead participants either to believe that they would actually be involved in an interaction, or to have them actually interact with a target. Relatedly, there may also be differences observed for influence target, not just based on their characteristics but based on who they are, that is family, a friend, a work colleague or classmate, a stranger. Indeed, people are more motivated when interacting with a person with whom they are familiar.

I chose to use characteristics of the target based on regulatory focus. Even though there are some relationships between regulatory focus and ideal affect (Wang, 2010) and ideal affect does have a motivational component, these regulatory orientations are not affective in and of themselves. I believe a more direct test of whether ideal affect was dependent on characteristics of a target (or interaction partner) would be to use *affective* characteristics. Indeed, there is evidence that demonstrates that people are more likely to choose physicians whose affective attributes match their own ideal affect (Sims et al., 2013) and perceive people who match their ideal affect as more

friendly (Moon et al., 2011). Future studies should therefore use affective characteristics to describe targets.

Lastly, the task was designed to be a performance-related task, but it relied on an assumption that people would have associations about the effectiveness of specific affective states to improve performance on the task. While I assessed expectancies for success in Study 5, and found that for the physical influence task, participants did associate more HAP with greater success, this was after they had already engaged in the task, and thus might have reflected an association with the influencing behaviours. Further investigations of expectations people have about affective states and outcomes might be considered. In addition, a possible modification to this task (or another influence task) might also involve explicitly communicating links between affective states and outcomes. Indeed, Tamir et al. (2015) found that leading people to expect an emotion to be useful increased their motivation to experience that emotion.

A final word on limitations of the study is that the sample size in both laboratory experimental studies was relatively small, which may have implications for the significance of effects. Future studies will be required to investigate these effects on a larger sample size.

Conclusion

The main aim of the studies reported here was to contribute to the literature on sources of variation in context-dependent ideal affect, by assessing the effects of an influence target on ideal affect. Ideal affect is essentially an *affective goal*, that represents a desired state either to be achieved in and of itself or as a means to achieve a

superordinate goal (Tamir, 2015; Tsai, 2007). Thus, affective preferences can be *instrumental* in achieving desired outcomes. A number of studies have already demonstrated that particular goals are associated with preferences for specific affective states (e.g., Augustine et al., 2011; Hackenbracht & Tamir, 2010; Tamir & Ford, 2012) and specifically for my topic of focus, influence and adjustment goals have been identified as a source of variation in context-dependent HAP and LAP (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007). However, what has not been investigated so far is whether ideal affect varies as a function of the person one is attempting to influence or the person to whom one is adjusting. My main reasoning was that in order to be more effective at influencing in the persuasive appeal, participants would adopt an affective approach that would be more tailored to perceptions of the influence target's motivational orientation and associated desired affective state.

To my knowledge, the studies presented here are the first to investigate the effects of a target (or interaction partner) on ideal HAP and LAP. Although consistent findings for the effects of influence target were not found, the limitations discussed above suggest possible reasons for this and thus, in my opinion, do not discount the possibility that other people may shape affective preferences. Taking into consideration the limitations discussed and refining the method might more clearly demonstrate these effects and thus future research is needed to clarify what role, if any, others have in shaping context-dependent ideal affect.

Chapter 4: Conclusions and Implications

This chapter summarises the main findings in accordance with central research aims of this thesis. I then discuss these findings in relation to Affect Valuation Theory (Tsai, Knutson & Fung, 2006) and within the broader context of affect regulation. I conclude by discussing limitations of the research conducted and suggest future directions to expand research in this area.

The aim of this thesis was to investigate cultural and contextual sources of variation in ideal affect, that is the feeling states that we value and would ideally like to feel (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006). While most research on affect has typically focused on the actual states that people feel, "actual affect", relatively little research has investigated ideal affect, thus providing an incomplete account of our emotional lives. Of the limited studies investigating ideal affect, the majority have focused on identifying various factors that influence affective preferences, considering the effects of temperament and personality (e.g., Rusting & Larsen, 1995; Tamir & Ford, 2012), culture (Tsai et al., 2006) and goals (or motives, Tamir, 2015). My thesis builds on this line of investigation by focusing on cultural and contextual sources of variation in general and context-dependent ideal affect, respectively. General ideal affect refers to how we would like to feel most of the time, or on average, whereas context-dependent ideal affect is concerned with how we would like to feel, *right now*.

My research was framed by Affect Valuation Theory (AVT), a theory that attempts to integrate affective preferences into current models of affect and emotion (Tsai, Louie, et al., 2007). AVT organises affective states in terms of valence and arousal based on the circumplex model of affect (e.g., Russell, 1980), and clusters affective states into eight octants that vary in their combinations of pleasure and arousal. My research focused on variations in ideal high arousal positive (HAP) and low arousal positive (LAP) states. I chose to focus on these states rather than considering affective preferences across the broader circumplex for two main reasons. Firstly, it is evident that people mostly want to feel good rather than bad across a wide of contexts. Secondly, the majority of research that has been conducted in this area has focused on differences between ideal HAP and ideal LAP, and so a similar focus enabled me to compare my findings with prior research.

This thesis can be viewed as comprised of two clusters of studies in terms of focus; in Chapter 2, I report two studies that focused on cultural sources of variation in general ideal affect. In Chapter 3, I present three experiments that investigated sources of variation in context-dependent ideal affect.

In the following section, I provide an overview of the main findings of each chapter along the two main research aims of this thesis. I then discuss the contributions of this work, particularly in relation to Affect valuation theory and affect regulation more broadly. This discussion is followed by concluding remarks that focus on the overall limitations of my research and possible future directions.

Overview of main findings

Sources of cultural variation in general ideal affect

The first aim of this thesis was to investigate sources of variation in ideal HAP and LAP across several cultures whose affective preferences have not previously been studied. Previous research investigating variations in ideal affect has largely focused on comparisons between individualist North America and collectivist East Asia (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007) with few exceptions (Ruby et al., 2012). As a result, it was not clear whether cultural factors that influence ideal affect in those contexts would generalise to other cultures that varied along the dimension of individualism-collectivism. Furthermore, as the majority of these studies had focused on comparisons based on individualism and collectivism, and their related psychological constructs of independent and interdependent self-construals, it remained to be seen whether other cultural factors played a role in the shaping of general affective

preferences. By including a wider range of cultures that varied along the levels of individualism and collectivism, according to Hofstede's (1980) dimensions, and by measuring additional cultural variables, I was able to evaluate the generality of previously reported effects and expand on earlier work in this area.

Study 1 constituted a first attempt at showing cultural variation in two novel individualist and collectivist countries. The primary purpose was to determine if relationships that had previously been observed would replicate. I sampled university students from the United Kingdom (UK) and Zambia, and asked them to rate their actual and ideal affect, using the Affect Valuation Index (AVI, Tsai et al., 2006) as well as their orientation towards independent and interdependent self–construals. I predicted that if ideal affect was primarily driven by individualism and collectivism, then the UK students would show a greater preference for HAP relative to LAP, whilst the Zambian students would show a greater preference for LAP relative to HAP.

The results of the study did not support this predicted cultural difference in affective preferences as both British and Zambian students significantly preferred LAP relative to HAP. The results were contrary to what had been observed in European American samples (who also orient towards more individualism), where HAP is preferred more and LAP less in comparison to East Asian cultures. This raised questions about whether the way of *doing* individualism in the UK contrasted from that in North America. Indeed, as others have observed, the type of individualism emphasised in Western Europe is more of an *egalitarian* individualism that emphasises a more relational independence (Boiger, 2013). Indeed, using the Singelis Self-Construal Scale (SCS; Singelis, 1994), I found that UK students significantly oriented more toward interdependence compared to independence (although I shall present some caveats related to the measurement of self-construal in my discussion on limitations).

Although this was the case, on investigating the association between self-construal and ideal affect, within cultures, I did not find a correlation between interdependence and ideal LAP for the British sample. For the Zambians, however, interdependence was positively associated with ideal LAP, suggesting that, at least for the Zambian sample, interdependence was related to ideal LAP. This result provided partial support to the predictions made by Tsai and colleagues (2006). However, within cultures, I did not find any associations between self-construal and ideal HAP. This raised the possibility that there might be other cultural variables shaping affective preferences. Considering Ruby and colleagues' (2012) finding that in Mexico, where emotional expression is valued, ideal HAP is preferred relative to LAP, I reasoned that a possible explanation for the preferences for LAP among UK students lay in their norms about *moderation* of the expression of emotion. Furthermore, as I did not find any within-culture effects of ideal HAP, it remained to be seen if other cultural factors were a source of variation in affective preferences.

To unpack factors that related to independence and interdependence, as well as consider the possibility that other cultural variables might account for preferences in ideal affect, I conducted a follow-up study. In order to increase variation between cultures, Study 2 included samples of students from Brazil, Greece, Hong Kong and the Netherlands, in addition to the UK and Zambia. Thus, my final sample comprised 2 countries that oriented towards individualism (Netherlands and UK) and four countries that are considered more collectivist (Brazil, Greece, Hong Kong and Zambia), according to Hofstede's (1980) cultural dimensions. Once again, participants completed actual and ideal affective ratings. In addition to the measurement of self-construals, I also included measurement of interpersonal goals of influence and adjustment, which Tsai and colleagues (2007) have found to explain variation in ideal HAP and ideal LAP.

Furthermore, to test whether beliefs about emotion would predict ideal affective preferences, I included a measure of beliefs about emotions that I developed specifically for this study. Lastly, as I was interested investigating whether other cultural values influenced ideal affect (thus moving beyond the typical individualism-collectivism dichotomy), I also included measures of power distance, masculinity and uncertainty avoidance.

Study 2 revealed country differences in affective preferences. Replicating previous published reports, Hong Kong showed a preference for LAP relative to HAP. Consistent with my findings from Study 1, both Zambian and UK students preferred LAP to HAP. The Netherlands sample also displayed a preference for LAP to HAP. In contrast to this preference for LAP over HAP, both Brazil and Greece displayed the opposite pattern, ideally wanting to feel HAP more than LAP. The Brazil preference is comparable to a previous study that showed that Mexicans (another Latin American culture) prefer HAP to LAP (Ruby et al., 2012).

Because I was interested in determining the sources of variation in ideal affect, I conducted a set of regression analyses on cultural variables and ideal HAP, and ideal LAP, controlling for country. The results indicated that influence goals were the strongest independent predictor of ideal HAP, followed by beliefs about emotional expression, independent self-construal, power distance and interdependence. The results support Tsai and colleagues findings that influence goals shape ideal HAP (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007). Variation in ideal LAP was independently predicted by interdependence, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and independence. Again, this result lends support to the assertion that interdependence is important for ideal LAP. However, I did not find any effects of adjustment goals or beliefs about the moderation of emotion.

Taken together, the findings of Studies 1 and 2 lend support to previously published work on cultural variation in ideal affect. Firstly, independence and influence goals were associated with ideal HAP. Interdependence was associated with ideal LAP. These results are consistent with Tsai and colleagues' (2006, 2007) assertions. However, these associations did not directly map on to the cultural level of individualism and collectivism because LAP was preferred to HAP in the Netherlands and the UK, both of which are countries considered to be individualist. Conversely, in two of the collectivist cultures, Brazil and Greece, HAP was preferred to LAP. Study 2 also extended previous findings by demonstrating that other cultural factors such as power distance and uncertainty avoidance predicted additional independent variance in ideal affect. Lastly, beliefs about emotional expression were also independent predictors of ideal affect. The implications of these results will be discussed when I address contributions made by this research in upcoming sections.

Sources of variation in context-dependent ideal affect

Moving to the findings concerning sources of variation in context-dependent ideal affect, the studies reported in Chapter 3 were designed to investigate the variation of ideal affect as function of knowledge of an influence target in a persuasion context. Previous research on affective preferences has demonstrated that context-dependent ideal affect is dependent on the goals one holds (Hackenbracht & Tamir, 2010b; Tamir & Ford, 2012; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007). Affective preferences are thus deemed as serving superordinate goals that might depend on a number of motives including performance-related motives and/or social motives. Social motives might be particularly important in an interpersonal context and in these situations affective preferences could also be shaped by another person. However, to date the effects of another person in shaping affective preferences have received little attention.

In order to measure whether the influence target would be a source of variation in context-dependent ideal affect, I designed a novel tailored persuasion task on dental floss, where knowledge of an influence target's motivational orientation was manipulated. Targets were presented as having a promotion or prevention focus (all studies), or were allocated to a control condition where no information was provided about the target (Studies 3 and 5). Two of the studies were laboratory experiments (Studies 3 and 5) and the other used an online vignette to deliver experimental manipulations (Study 4). I had two main predictions concerning these studies. Firstly, I predicted that participants' ideal affect would vary depending on knowledge of an influence target. Secondly, I expected that participants would prefer to engage in affect-inducing activities that would elicit their ideal affect, and that this relationship would be mediated by perceived utility of the activities for the task.

Study 3 demonstrated some support for both of my main predictions. Variations in ideal affect were dependent on knowledge of an influence target, such that preferences for ideal LAP significantly differed between promotion-focused targets and prevention-focused targets (see Figure 3.1). Although the effect was not in the predicted direction, with participants with a promotion focused target preferring more LAP, this might have been due to perceptions of the target as being too excited, and needing to be calmed down in order to be effectively persuaded. However, as I did not include any measures concerning perceptions of the target in this task, it was unclear what factors of the influence target were considered in affect preferences. Additionally, I found relationships between ideal HAP and preferences for engaging in HAP-inducing activities, and between ideal LAP and preferences for engaging in LAP-inducing activities. When controlling for perceived utility of engaging in these activities for the

task, these partial correlations were no longer significant, supporting the mediational account suggested above.

To clarify what factors of the influence target were driving the relationship between influence target and ideal affect, I conducted Study 4, an online vignette study that asked participants to imagine that they would be delivering a persuasive appeal. This time I also included measures about perceptions of the target. In Study 4, although participants wanted to feel more LAP than HAP, this did not depend on the influence target. My second main prediction concerning the relationship was partially supported. However, again, valuing ideal HAP was associated with preferences for engaging in HAP-inducing activities, although this relationship remained significant even when controlling for perceived utility. As Study 4 was an online vignette study, I reasoned that discrepant findings might be due to participants not actively engaging in the task. I thus ran a fifth and final study.

Study 5 followed the same procedure as Study 3, and further included a comparison persuasion task focusing on physical activity. Contrary to my expectations, I did not find support for my main prediction as ideal affect did not depend on knowledge of the influence target. When participants were asked to rate reasons for their ideal affect, reasons relating to task performance were rated significantly higher than reasons relating to the target. Furthermore, although I found a relationship between ideal affect and affect-inducing activities, this was in a contrary pattern to observations from Studies 3 and 4. In this instance, I found that ideal HAP was negatively associated with LAP-inducing activities, although this relationship was no longer significant when controlling for utility. Lastly, when asking participants to indicate whether they believed they would have been more successful in persuading an influence target if they had

experienced and expressed more LAP or more HAP, more HAP was found to be associated with greater expectations of success in the physical influence task.

Taken together, the results of Studies 3 – 5 allowed me to address whether influence target had an effect on shaping ideal affect, as well as investigate utility associated with affect-inducing activities and affective states. The studies demonstrated some interesting results. However, there were clearly some discrepancies between results of different studies.

For my main prediction concerning the effects of influence target on ideal affect, only Study 3 demonstrated this effect. Unfortunately, as I did not measure any aspects of the influence target, it is unclear what particular factors drove this effect. Although I included information about the influence target in Studies 4 and 5, as there was no effect of influence target on ideal affect, I could not measure if this was a potential mediator in the relationship. While I did not find a consistent effect of influence target on ideal affect, there were a number of limitations that might have constrained effects (please refer to Chapter 3 for elaboration of these limitations).

I now turn to my second prediction, namely that ideal affect would be related to affect inducing activities, and that this relationship would be mediated by perceived utility of the task. Consistently throughout all studies, ideal HAP was correlated with affect-inducing activities. In both laboratory experimental tasks (Studies 3 and 5), this relationship was no longer significant when controlling for perceived utility of the activities in promoting success on the task. Furthermore, in Study 5, participants reported that their ideal affect was motivated by expectations that it would help them perform better on their task (e.g., *make me appear more confident and persuasive on the appeal*) and in addition expected that if they experienced and expressed more HAP, they

would be more successful in persuading the influence target in the physical activity appeal. These results suggest that ideal affect and activities that elicit ideal affect are in part driven by the utility associated with the affective state and/or activity. This lends some support both to predictions about functional consequences of Affect Valuation Theory and to an instrumental account of affective regulation. These conclusions will be discussed further in my section on Contributions.

Lastly, in both studies 3 and 4, LAP was significantly preferred to HAP regardless of influence target. The majority of the sample in Study 3 were British, who from the results of Chapter 2, were found to have a general preference for LAP relative to HAP. In Study 4, most of the participants were Indian. Although I have not come across any ideal affective data for India, it is plausible that the values and norms that are dominant in India encourage ideal LAP, and thus this might also reflect a general preference for LAP. However, without direct evidence, this is merely speculative. Nevertheless, it is possible that the affective patterns displayed in these studies reflected an interaction between cultural and contextual variables. Indeed, Tsai (2013) argues that individuals generally retain an idea of how they want to feel that holds across most situations, and that changes in ideal affect should therefore occur only in particular contexts. It is plausible that a different kind of context might result in greater variation in affective preferences, and this shall be discussed further in the section covering overall limitations of my studies.

The studies addressing the aim of identifying sources of variation in context dependent ideal affect provided some support (albeit inconsistent support) for the main predictions of this research. I have presented a number of limitations in Chapter 3 that need to be addressed in order to measure the effects of another person in shaping ideal affect in an interpersonal context more effectively.

Based on the main findings presented here, I now turn to addressing contributions of my findings.

Contributions

Affect valuation theory

The primary theory guiding my research was Affect Valuation Theory (AVT: Tsai et al., 2006), a theory that attempts to incorporate affective preferences into existing models of affect and emotion. The central proposition is that our emotional lives not only involve our moment-to-moment affective states, but also what we would ideally like to feel, either generally, or at a particular time. AVT is comprised of three main tenets, and I shall discuss how my findings contribute to these principles.

Ideal affect differs from actual affect. In both my cultural and my experimental studies, I consistently found that actual and ideal affect differ and should be treated as two conceptually and empirically distinct constructs. The replication of these findings is not surprising but it does lend further support to the notion that emotion researchers should move beyond the classic focus of actual affective states, and consider not only how affective preferences are shaped, but also the function and consequences of those preferences. Furthermore, by considering both general and contextual ideal affect, I was able to investigate the stability and variability of ideal affect. My results from Studies 3–5 suggest that while ideal affect is affected by contextual factors, general affective preferences probably still influence context-dependent ideal affect in most cases (and possibilities of when this might not be the case will be discussed in my limitations section).

Culture shapes ideal affect. While most people report wanting to feel good, what exactly feels good to different people varies by culture. Cultures consist of dominant values, beliefs and norms that help us navigate social life in a functional way (Matsumoto et al., 2008), and provide many of the guidelines that concern how we relate with others, and how we manage our emotions (Matsumoto et al., 2008). In a number of studies testing the cultural shaping of ideal affect, Tsai and colleagues have consistently found that in European-American samples, HAP is preferred to LAP, while in East Asian contexts, LAP is preferred to HAP. Differences in the valuation between these two cultures are attributed to differences in orientation towards individualism and collectivism and the related self-construals and interpersonal goals that these cultural contexts promote. That is, individualism is typically associated with promoting an independent self that endorses influence goals, whereas collectivism is embodied in the construction of the self as interdependent and adjustment goals are more dominant (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2007). By studying a range of countries that vary along the levels of individualism and collectivism, and by measuring additional cultural variables, I was able not only to test the idea that culture influences ideal affect, but also to partially replicate Tsai and colleagues' findings and identify additional sources of cultural variation in ideal affect. While my studies found relationships between independence and interpersonal goals, and ideal HAP, and between interdependence and ideal LAP, these findings did not consistently map onto previous classifications of countries identified as individualist or collectivist.

Before further discussing implications of my results for the cultural shaping of ideal affect, it is worth mentioning a caveat. Even though self-construal scales are widely used to measure cultural differences on an individual level, these measures are not without their limitations. Indeed a number of critics argue that self-construal scales

do not accurately measure the theoretical constructs proposed by Markus and Kitayama (1991) (Levine et al., 2003). In light of this, I discuss my findings concerning the role of independence and interdependence cautiously.

Notwithstanding this limitation, it is worth considering how independent and interdependent self-construals are associated with variations in ideal HAP and LAP, but do not necessarily imply that all individualist and collectivist cultures will demonstrate the same pattern of affective preferences. Culture is a complex and multidimensional variable and cultural systems contain many different elements including but not limited to, constructions of the self, attitudes towards inequalities and hierarchies, concerns about instability, norms about the experience and expression of emotions, and beliefs about the expression and suppression of the emotion (Eid & Diener, 2001; Hofstede, 2011; Soto et al., 2005). In any given culture therefore, there are varying combinations of these values, beliefs and norms, and these combinations exist to provide organisation and mitigate chaos (Matsumoto et al., 2008). Thus, although individualism–collectivism is a popular way of differentiating cultures, an exclusive reliance on this dimension would be reductionist. Moreover, by demonstrating variation in affective preferences within the cultural dimension of collectivism[27], my findings indicate that these broad cultural distinctions may overlook other important features in the culture that have implications for ideal affect. For instance, in these studies I found that the cultural dimensions of power distance and uncertainty avoidance also predicted variations in ideal affect. What is now needed is to unpack the particular aspects of those cultural dimensions that are particularly salient in shaping ideal affect. However, these studies provide an initial demonstration that it is time to move beyond the individualism-

[27] As UK and the Netherlands both displayed the same pattern of affective preferences, I was not able to demonstrate variation within cultural dimension on individualism from the results of these two studies, but in comparison to previous reports from European-American contexts, variation in individualist contexts is also supported.

collectivism (and independent-interdependent) framework and consider the richness of cultural systems more fully.

Ideal affect has social and behavioural functions and consequences. The final premise of AVT is that ideal affect has a variety of psychological, social and behavioural functions and consequences. Affective preferences have been found to shape how we make friends (Tsai, 2007) and even whether people trust physicians who express their ideal affect states more than those who do not (Sims et al., 2014). In a qualitative study of the functions of ideal affect, Wang (2012) found that people felt their ideal affect was significant when interacting with others, when sad, depressed or stressed, and when encountering difficult challenges. In Study 3, I found that ideal affective preferences were dependent on knowledge of an influence target. This suggests that there may be some function to ideal affect in facilitating social interactions. As I was unable to replicate this effect in additional studies, more research is needed to identify by what means ideal affect serves functional purposes in interpersonal contexts.

Ideal affect has also been found to influence the types of activities people prefer to engage in (Tsai, 2007). The results from my studies on context-dependent ideal affect contribute to this premise. In studies 3 and 4, I found that preferences for ideal HAP were associated with preferences to engage in HAP-inducing activities, suggesting that people do indeed seek out activities that elicit their ideal affective states. Furthermore, I found that this relationship was mediated by perceptions of utility. This finding suggests that ideal affect may not just be associated with *liking* but also has some *instrumental* benefits. I address this more in relation to the broader context of affect regulation.

Affect regulation

Affect regulation involves the pursuit of desired affective states either as a goal to be achieved in itself or as a means to achieve other superordinate goals (Tamir, 2015; Tsai, 2007). Desired affective states are an important part of affect regulation, for, indeed, in order to "travel from Point A to Point B, you must first know the location of Point B" (Augustine et al., 2011). The nature and consequences of affect regulation therefore are likely to be influenced by motives driving these affective preferences. However, the majority of research on affect regulation has focused more on the *how* of affect regulation (i.e., the processes), rather than the *why* (i.e., the motives, Netzer, Van Kleef, & Tamir, 2015; Tamir, Mitchell, & Gross, 2008).

The studies that I have conducted on sources of variation in both general and context dependent ideal affect, while not directly focused on the motives behind desired affect, do still shed some light on the motives driving affective preferences, and thus have implications for research in this area.

Firstly, my investigation of general affective preferences focused on cultural variations in ideal affect. Cultural values and beliefs exist as a way of allowing members to function adaptively within their society. Thus, by demonstrating that a number of varying cultural factors predict ideal affect, this opens up an avenue for further investigation clearly demonstrating how the varying interactions between values in a society give rise to affective preferences that promote functional adaptation and wellbeing.

In my studies on context dependent ideal affect, I demonstrated that preferences for engaging in affect-inducing activities were driven by the perceptions of utility for that task. Furthermore, participants engaged in delivering a persuasive appeal to

promote physical activity, believed that by experiencing and expressing more HAP, they would be more successful in persuading an influence target. Relatedly, participants gave reasons for their ideal affect that related to the motive to improve task performance. These findings clearly suggest that affective preferences are not just desired end goals but also exist to serve other motives as has been demonstrated in other research on emotional preferences and instrumental regulation (Netzer et al., 2015; Tamir, 2015) . My studies further lend support to the proposal that it is important to consider aspects of utility and not just pleasure, in affective preferences and affect regulation.

Concluding Comments: Limitations and Future Directions

Limitations of the studies presented in this thesis have been discussed throughout but before concluding, it is worth highlighting some general limitations that relate to all my studies. Firstly, I only focused on two affective octants of the affective circumplex, namely high arousal positive and low arousal positive. While this approach is consistent with most research conducted in this area, I believe that it limits the expansion of knowledge. For instance, it is not clear whether the cultural values identified in previous reports, and in this research also lead to variation in other affective states. Furthermore, as general ideal affect is relatively stable and likely interacts with context-dependent ideal affect in several situations, it may be that more negative or threatening situations where, for example, high arousal negative affective states (e.g., fear) would be useful would demonstrate stronger evidence for variations in context dependent ideal affect (Tamir & Ford, 2011; Tsai, Miao, et.al., 2007). Future research is needed to investigate these areas.

Another general limitation pertaining to all my studies is the reliance on self-report to the exclusion of behavioural measures. Although I found evidence that people would prefer to engage in affect-inducing activities that are associated with their ideal affect based on ratings of preference judgements, it would be worth demonstrating that these ratings translated into actual behavioural choices and thus extend and replicate previous findings. Furthermore, self-report measures have also been found to be particularly challenging in cross-cultural research (as discussed in Chapter 2). For this reason, future studies should aim to measure behaviours associated with cultural values, and see if the results correspond to the self-report results obtained in these studies.

A final general limitation worth mentioning is that I only measured ideal affect at one point of time. As ideal affect represents an affective goal to be obtained, it would be interesting to see how ideal affect unfolds throughout an emotional experience or throughout particular periods in time, and the varying factors that influence variations in these changes. By employing experience-sampling methods, for example, more information could be obtained about how ideal affect varies over time. Relatedly, Tsai (2013) points out that ideal affect may also occur as a result of acculturation, but so far this has not been investigated explicitly in the literature. It would further be interesting to see how bicultural individuals' ideal affect varies depending on the situations they find themselves in, and on their relation to what values are made more salient.

My discussion of the contributions of the results presented in this thesis highlights the importance of values and goals for ideal affective preferences, consistent with a growing body of research that is being conducted in affective preferences. However, my finding that beliefs about emotional expression predict variation in ideal affect also points to the importance of thinking about how general emotion beliefs shape ideal affect. In addition to considering beliefs about emotions, studies could also test the

association of other beliefs such as the belief that “emotions are disruptive to social harmony” (e.g., Soto, Levenson, & Ebling, 2005) with ideal affect.

In the course of this thesis, I have also addressed issues of function and utility in relation to ideal affect. Future studies could investigate how people come to form associations and derive value from affective states, which is likely driven by learning and expectancy values (Rhodes, Salerno, & Schreier, 2014) but this is yet to be tested outside of the laboratory. Furthermore, there are probably individual differences in the associations that people have about desired affective states and function and utility of them. Future studies should investigate these differences.

Lastly, ideal affect has been found to influence choices such as preferences for consumer products (Tsai, 2013) and even choice of physician and adherence to medication (Sims et al., 2014). It is certainly likely that ideal affect has other implications for other areas of decision-making and regulation of social lives. More research is needed in varying domains to further demonstrate the consequences of ideal affect.

To conclude, this research has focused on investigating cultural variations in general ideal affect and sources of variation in context-dependent ideal affect. I have found supporting evidence and presented new evidence for cultural influences on ideal affect. I have also found some evidence that, in an interpersonal context, the characteristics of the person with whom we are interacting can also have an influence on ideal affect. Additional research is needed to further elucidate the sources of variation in general and context dependent ideal affect and provide a more integrative framework concerning the operation of affective preferences at both the general and contextual level.

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Appendix

Manipulations of Influence Target's Motivational Orientation

Now, I'd like you to prepare to deliver your persuasive appeal to encourage dental flossing (Physical activity).

(Prevention) You are delivering your appeal to a first year undergraduate student at the University of Oxford, who does not frequently use dental floss (or engage in physical activity). This person typically focuses on losses, that is avoiding the negative outcomes of not doing the behaviour; this person is more concerned with the losses that the behaviour (in this case dental flossing/physical activity) prevents, and sees themselves as striving to avoid negative outcomes.

(Promotion) You are delivering your appeal to a first year undergraduate student at the University of Oxford, who does not frequently use dental floss (or engage in physical activity). This person typically focuses on the positive outcomes of behaviour; this person is more concerned with the gains or the results that the behaviour (in this case dental flossing/physical activity) promotes, and sees themselves as striving toward positive outcomes.

(Control) Imagine that you are delivering your appeal to a first year undergraduate student at the University of Oxford, who does not frequently use dental floss (or engage in physical activity).

Your task is to communicate your message by recording a video message that may be seen by this person. Your goal is to influence this person to use dental floss/engage in physical activity.

You will be given a list of arguments that you can use in your message delivery - but before that, I would like you to provide some ratings of emotions and behaviour.