

Happiness and Unhappiness in East and West: Themes and Variations

Yukiko Uchida
Kyoto University

Shinobu Kitayama
University of Michigan

Cultural folk models of happiness and unhappiness are likely to have important bearings on social cognition and social behavior. At present, however, little is known about the nature of these models. Here, the authors systematically analyzed American and Japanese participants' spontaneously produced descriptions of the two emotions and observed, as predicted, that whereas Americans associated positive hedonic experience of happiness with personal achievement, Japanese associated it with social harmony. Furthermore, Japanese were more likely than Americans to mention both social disruption and transcendental reappraisal as features of happiness. As also predicted, unlike happiness, descriptions of unhappiness included various culture-specific coping actions: Whereas Americans focused on externalizing behavior (e.g., anger and aggression), Japanese highlighted transcendental reappraisal and self-improvement. Implications for research on culture and emotion are discussed.

Keywords: happiness, unhappiness, culture, self, emotion

The meaning of happiness has intrigued many philosophers and practitioners, in both the West and East and of the past and present. For example, Aristotle noted that happiness belongs to the self-sufficient.¹ According to the Dalai Lama, however, “most of our happiness arises in the context of our relationships with others.” More interestingly, a number of prominent thinkers have observed that happiness has a darker side as its essential constituent. For example, Carl Jung observed that the word “happiness would lose its meanings if it were not balanced by sadness.” An additional insight is that the very pursuit of happiness can compromise the experience of happiness itself. As Albert Camus put it, “you will never live if you are looking for the meaning of life.”

Are these meanings and nuances of happiness evenly distributed across cultures? Alternatively, is there any cross-cultural variation? And if so, how can we understand the nature of this variation? Moreover, is there any meaningful correspondence between folk understandings of happiness and those of unhappiness? Is knowledge about unhappiness a mirror image of the knowledge about happiness or, alternatively, is there anything unique to either happiness, unhappiness, or both? Are cultures similar or different in this respect?

Folk understandings of happiness and unhappiness are likely to be organized as schemas and, as such, they may be seen as “mental models.” These models are based on previous experience and, at

the same time, provide a powerful mental map for future actions. The basic premise of the present work is that because happiness and unhappiness represent highly general psychological states that vary in desirability, people in all cultures place greater values in happiness than in unhappiness. Yet, we propose that cultures differ substantially in terms of what people seek to do in both attaining happiness and avoiding unhappiness. Moreover, they may also vary in terms of cognitions, appraisals, concerns, and motives that surround these general emotional states, with a variety of important consequences on social cognition, judgment, and social behavior. For example, if tacit knowledge of happiness includes in itself some elements of unhappiness (as Jung implies), it lends itself to a dialectic process of emotional homeostasis wherein happiness serves as a necessary precursor of unhappiness. Likewise, depending on what culture prescribes as the most “natural” way of coping with unhappiness, people may engage in very different actions to deal with their failures and other personal problems, with substantial psychological and interpersonal consequences. Thus, examining culturally variable folk models of happiness and unhappiness will go far beyond a mere documentation of cultural knowledge systems. It may in fact be a crucial step for one to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the psychological diversity in social cognition and social behavior.

Recognizing the significance of understanding cultural folk models of happiness in shedding some new light on the pertinent underlying psychological processes, Lu and colleagues (Lu, 2001; Lu & Gilmour, 2004) attempted a content-analysis of essays lay American and Chinese participants wrote in response to the probe “What is happiness?” The authors hypothesized that Chinese are more likely than Americans to define happiness as harmonious and having dialectical relations with unhappiness. Although notable, this effort fell short of achieving its full potential because the researchers sought and found, in the essays, certain themes they

Yukiko Uchida, Kokoro Research Center, Kyoto University, Japan; Shinobu Kitayama, Department of Psychology, University of Michigan.

This work was supported by grants from the National Science Foundation (BCS 0717982), the National Institute on Aging (1 R01 AG029509-01A2), the Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, Grant-in-Aid Young Scientists (B: 20730411), and the University of Michigan's Center for Japanese Studies. This article was completed while the second author was a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (Stanford, CA).

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Yukiko Uchida, Kokoro Research Center, Kyoto University, Yoshida Honmachi, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto, Japan 606-8501. E-mail: yukikou@educ.kyoto-u.ac.jp

¹ All the quotes cited in this paragraph can be found in <http://www.schipul.com/en/quotes/>

had posited a priori for Americans and Chinese. No attempt was made to guard against the possibility that these themes were imposed by the researchers on the essays. It is also unfortunate that the researchers did not quantify the identified themes, let alone drawing any comparisons between the two cultural groups. The observations remained anecdotal and impressionistic.

In the present work, we used a more systematic empirical approach. Our goal was to explore what people know about happiness and unhappiness in the two disparate cultures of Japan and the United States. Because happiness, well-being, and life satisfaction have received substantial cross-cultural interest of late (Diener & Suh, 2000), our analysis starts with a review of what we know about lay conceptions of happiness. We tested some implications of this analysis in Study 1. Drawing on the results from Study 1, Study 2 focused on lay conceptions of unhappiness.

Cultural Models of Self and Happiness

There is a growing consensus in the literature that in European American cultural contexts there is a strong belief in the independence and autonomy of the self (Kitayama & Uchida, 2005; Markus & Kitayama, 2004; Nisbett, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan, 2001; Shweder & Bourne, 1982; Triandis, 1995). That is, each individual is seen as a separate, disjoint agent who acts on his or her own goals. Within this independent view, the self is seen as the source of action and motivation. Consistent with this analysis, European Americans are often strongly motivated when they choose what to do (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999). When observing another's behavior, they explain it in terms of certain dispositions of the actor while paying scant attention to potentially important contextual factors (J. G. Miller, 1984; Miyamoto & Kitayama, 2002).

Within this highly individualistic view of the self, happiness is also likely to take one particular form, wherein personal and internal aspects of happiness receive a strong emphasis (Kitayama & Markus, 2000; Uchida, Norasakkunkit, & Kitayama, 2004). Comparing an American experience of emotion with an experience that is more common in a Southern Pacific atoll of Ifaluk, Lutz (1988) observed that American culture regards emotion primarily as personal. The European American model of emotion therefore emphasizes hedonic states such as pleasure and pain or like and dislike (see also Zajonc, 1980). This way, emotions may be essentialized and reified in the popular culture of the United States (Lutz, 1988).

Moreover, in European American culture, with the positive hedonic experience at its core, happiness is imagined to be infinite, attainable, in principle, for everybody if sought. The mythology of pursuit of (infinite) happiness has long been codified in one of the very basic texts of the United States (Declaration of Independence). Moreover, it has provided a basis for yet another mythology of the American Dream (Hochschild, 1995). Along with the frontier spirit derived from the history of voluntary settlement in the "Wild West" (Kitayama, Ishii, Imada, Takemura, & Ramaswamy, 2006), the cultural discourse of the American Dream has remained a continuous source of a strong sense of optimism. In the United States, then, there is a widespread belief that happiness is an end result of personal pursuit, which in turn is grounded in personal goals and aspirations. For example, a study on American media coverage of an Olympics Game showed that getting a gold

medal (and, thus, achieving happiness) is depicted as caused directly by, or made possible through, a variety of positive personal characteristics (Markus, Uchida, Omoregie, Townsend, & Kitayama, 2006).²

In contrast, in East Asian cultural contexts there is a contrasting view of the self as interdependent (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). This view assumes that the self is inherently connected with others in a relationship. That is, each individual is seen as an embedded, conjoint agent who acts in attunement with goals and desires of the surrounding others. Within this model, other people in a relationship are believed to be an important source of the self's action and underlying motivations. For example, Asian Americans are strongly motivated when their significant others make a choice on their behalf (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999). Likewise, Asians justify their choice only when they believe that their choices are known to others and, thus, they try to defray worry of their disapproval (Kitayama, Snibbe, Markus, & Suzuki, 2004). A similar anxiety over what others might think about the self may also explain why Asians hesitate to make an explicit request for support (Kim, Sherman, Ko, & Taylor, 2006; Taylor, Sherman, Kim, Jarcho, Takagi, & Dunagan, 2004). That Asians are attuned to relational context is evident in person perception. Asians are far more likely than European Americans to spontaneously attend to nonverbal relational cues (Kitayama & Ishii, 2002; Ishii, Reyes, & Kitayama, 2003). When observing another's behavior, Asians are less likely to explain the behavior in terms of dispositions of the actor; instead, they focus more on situational factors (J. G. Miller, 1984; Miyamoto & Kitayama, 2002).

Within this interdependent, highly relational model of self, happiness is also likely to take one particular form, wherein interpersonal and social aspects of happiness receive a much greater emphasis (Lu, 2001; Lu & Gilmour, 2004). Lutz (1988) observed that the culture of Ifaluk regards emotion primarily as interpersonal patterns of action such as sympathy, social danger, and parting. A similar emphasis on social relational aspects of emotion is also obvious in *amae*—a Japanese indigenous emotion that is often translated as *indulgent dependence* (Doi, 1971; Niiya, Ellsworth, & Yamaguchi, 2006). Happiness may then be conceptualized as positive feelings associated with or imbued and interwoven into harmonious patterns of social relations.

Although this more social or holistic model of happiness clearly acknowledges that happiness entails positive hedonic experience, it also highlights myriad social and external factors that are inherently connected with that experience. For example, certain positive social experience—being sympathized by others—can arise from one's misery. Without the misery, sympathy would lose its meaning. Likewise, accomplishing one's own goals might be perceived to be good insofar as others also feel happy about it. If it should invite envy of others, the sense of accomplishment might be compromised. Again, without the communal sharing of good feel-

² It should be noted that the personal model of emotion is in fact quite "social" in that it serves numerous social functions, providing an indispensable means for social bonding and social coordination (Keltner & Haidt, 1999). For example, each other's "personal" feelings of love can tie two people together. The "personal" model would regard emotions as internally located and, yet, it acknowledges that such internal emotions are both "personal" and "social" in function.

ings, happiness can hardly be maintained. Happiness, then, is not to be maximized, but it is to be optimized within a web of social relations with other people. This view holds pursuit of happiness as a communal or social project and recognizes happiness as much more holistic a concept that encompasses factors and features that might initially be seen as extraneous or external to the happiness itself (Kitayama & Markus, 2000).

In sum, we expected that the two models of happiness we distinguish here would vary in two important respects. First, the models would vary in terms of the degree to which happiness is seen as personal or social. Whereas the American model of happiness emphasizes the personal aspect of happiness, the Asian model highlights its social aspect. Second, they also would vary in terms of the extent to which negative sides of happiness are seen as inherent in the happiness itself. The Asian model is far more likely than the American model to be inclusive, encompassing, and holistic.

Happiness as Personal or Social

Consistent with the idea that American models of happiness emphasize personal aspects of happiness, numerous studies conducted in North America indicate that self-esteem is highly correlated with happiness (Campbell, 1981; Diener & Diener, 1995). Likewise, Taylor and Brown (1988) argued that perception of one's positivity, even when it is illusory, can contribute to mental health (Zuckerman & O'Loughlin, 2006). Other factors such as personal accomplishment (Emmons, 1986), achievement of independent goals (Oishi & Diener, 2001), personal control (Kitayama, Karasawa, Curhan, Ryff, & Markus, 2009), and positive social disengagement (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000; Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006) have also been found to strongly predict happiness, subjective well-being, and life satisfaction in European American cultural contexts. Comparatively speaking, social variables such as social support and relational harmony have weak effects among European Americans (Uchida, Kitayama, Mesquita, Reyes, & Morling, 2008).

In support of the proposal that East Asian models of happiness are more social, evidence indicates that in these cultural contexts social harmony is strongly related to happiness. Suh, Diener, Oishi, and Triandis (1998) have shown that social factors such as adapting to social norms and fulfilling relational obligations increase happiness in East Asia. Other factors such as attainment of interpersonal goals (Oishi & Diener, 2001), positive social engagement (Kitayama et al., 2000; Kitayama, Mesquita, et al., 2006), receiving emotional support (Uchida et al., 2008), and relational harmony (Kang, Shaver, Sue, Min, & Jing, 2003; Kwan, Bond, & Singelis, 1997) are highly predictive of happiness and well-being among Asians. In contrast, self-esteem is much less significant in these cultures. Diener and Diener (1995) investigated 31 countries and found that self-esteem is less strongly correlated with subjective well-being in collectivistic (e.g., East Asian) cultures than in individualistic (e.g., European American) cultures.

Happiness as Uniquely Positive or Ambivalent

The current analysis implies that Asian models of happiness are more likely than their American counterparts to be inclusive, encompassing, and thus holistic and ambivalent. Indeed, in the

East Asian, Confucian cultural region, there is a strong belief in yin and yang (Kitayama & Markus, 1999; Peng & Nisbett, 1999). What appears to be positive (e.g., happiness) is believed to contain its opposites within itself, causing, say, envy or jealousy of others. Conversely, what appears to be negative (e.g., unhappiness) may also be seen as carrying something positive within itself, inducing, say, sympathy among others close to the self or motivation toward self-improvement. These dialectic beliefs would suggest that although positive affect is desirable, it must not be too conspicuous lest it produce negative consequences. As may be expected, Tsai, Knutson, and Fung (2006) have shown that ideal positive affect is much lower in intensity and arousal and, thus, more subdued in Asia than in the United States.

Categorical demarcation of positive as opposed to negative experiences for Americans and dialectical mixing of the two for Asians are strongly suggested by recent work by Ji, Nisbett, and Su (2001). The researchers presented American and Chinese participants with a target group whose average level of life satisfaction allegedly increased or decreased in the recent years. The participants were asked to project the future change of the target's average level of life satisfaction. Whereas Americans predicted a continuation of either positive or negative trends, Chinese predicted an opposite trend to emerge after a continuous increase or decrease, thereby demonstrating their nonlinear, dialectical beliefs.

To the extent that positive events are seen as necessarily linked to negative events and vice versa, there should be positive correlations between positive feelings and negative feelings. This is in sharp contrast with American findings, which typically show either no correlation or negative correlations between the two types of feelings that vary in valence. Bagozzi, Wong, and Yi (1999) measured the intensity of pleasant and unpleasant emotions and found that these two types of emotions were negatively correlated in American cultural contexts, whereas these were positively correlated in Chinese and Korean cultural contexts. Thus, positive and negative emotions are experienced as bipolar opposites in European American cultures, but they tend to be simultaneously experienced in East Asian cultures. A similar point has been made by Kitayama et al. (2000), who assessed the reported frequency of experiencing pleasant and unpleasant emotions for Japanese and Americans (Mesquita & Leu, 2007). Schimmack, Oishi, and Diener (2002) attributed this phenomenon to Confucianism.

The foregoing analysis suggests that whereas Americans regard happiness primarily as personal achievement, Japanese regard it primarily as realization of social harmony. Moreover, we may also hypothesize that whereas Americans regard happiness nearly exclusively in terms of positive hedonic experiences, Japanese believe in a more holistic conception of happiness, regarding it in terms of its negative as well as positive components. Although the evidence reviewed above is consistent with the present hypothesis, we know of very few studies that have systematically examined the contents of cultural folk models of happiness. One important exception is a qualitative analysis of essays written by lay Chinese and Americans on "What is happiness?" by Lu and Gillmour (2004). As note earlier, however, their data were anecdotal and their analysis impressionistic, failing to provide a solid empirical basis for testing any cross-cultural differences that might be expected.

In the present work, we adopted a systematic empirical approach and examined the folk models of happiness in Japan and the

United States. As an additional departure from the existing literature, we anticipated that fully understanding cultural models of happiness might require an equally comprehensive analysis of cultural models of unhappiness. Hence, we designed two studies focusing on happiness (Study 1) and unhappiness (Study 2). Primary data for both studies came from free descriptions of happiness and unhappiness, which were gathered from a single group of American and Japanese participants. These data were supplemented with an additional set of data that was supplied by separate groups of new participants.

In both studies, our research strategy was to use a multidimensional scaling (MDS) method to inductively identify consensually available dimensions for the meanings of happiness or unhappiness. The dimensions that were thus identified were subsequently used to develop a pancultural coding scheme. This scheme provided a solid basis on which to draw systematic cross-cultural comparisons on cultural similarities and differences in the folk models of happiness (Study 1) and unhappiness (Study 2).

In Study 1, we applied this research strategy in investigating cross-cultural similarities and differences in the cultural models of happiness. Our expectation was that (a) as compared with the American folk model, the Japanese folk model would be more ambivalent or holistic, and that (b) whereas the American folk model would depict happiness as personal, the Japanese folk model would depict it as more social.

Study 1: Happiness in the United States and Japan

Method

Participants. Both Studies 1 and 2 were divided into three distinct parts. In Part 1, free descriptions about happiness were collected. In Part 2, these descriptions were systematically analyzed in an MDS analysis and, in Part 3, the descriptions collected in Part 1 were systematically coded with a pancultural coding scheme that is inductively developed in Part 2.

Procedure. Part 1 of both studies involved the same group of 95 American undergraduates (49 men and 46 women at the University of Michigan) and 73 Japanese undergraduates (45 men and 28 women at Kyoto University). Both groups earned partial course credit. There was no age difference between the two groups (ages ranged from 18 to 22 years). Participants were given a sheet of paper with five lines. On each line they were asked to write "different aspects, features, or effects of either happiness [*shiwase* in Japanese] or unhappiness [*fushiawase* in Japanese]." Participants were to produce up to five such characteristics of the emotion. After the generation task, the participants were asked to rate each characteristic in terms of general desirability by using a 5-point rating scale (1 = *very undesirable*, 5 = *very desirable*). Subsequently, they were given another sheet of paper and asked to do the same for the other emotion. The order of the two emotions was counterbalanced.

In Part 2, similarity relations among the generated descriptions were determined and, subsequently, this information was used to obtain "mental maps" of happiness by means of MDS. Separate groups of 20 American undergraduates (5 men and 15 women at the University of Michigan) and 15 Japanese undergraduates (7 men and 8 women at Kyoto University; ages ranged from 18 to 23 years) participated in Part 2. All American participants were Cau-

casians. To make the task manageable, we used a subset of the descriptions collected in Part 1. To ensure that the subset was representative and, further, to minimize redundancy of the descriptions, we took the following steps. First, we used all the descriptions generated by randomly choosing 30 American participants and 30 Japanese participants in Part 1. Second, we identified semantically equivalent descriptions. The redundant descriptions were replaced with new descriptions that were randomly sampled from the remaining pool of Part 1 participants. This procedure yielded 95 American descriptions and 93 Japanese descriptions.

The descriptions were printed on different index cards. The participants were given a stack of cards from their own culture and asked to sort them into meaningful groups by forming 10–20 groups first. They were then asked to combine similar groups to form superordinate units. They were also allowed to divide each group into smaller, subordinate units. The only restriction was that lower level groups had to be subsumed in a single higher level unit. Participants were allowed to create as many levels as necessary.

In Part 3, we inductively yielded a coding scheme for free descriptions on happiness in the two countries, used it to code all of the descriptions collected in Part 1, and compared relative frequencies between the two countries.

Results and Discussion

Free descriptions on happiness. In Part 1, Americans generated a significantly greater number of features of happiness than Japanese did ($M = 4.78$ vs. 3.95), $F(1, 166) = 92.80$, $p < .0001$. In addition, there was a main effect of gender, $F(1, 164) = 15.87$, $p < .0001$. Overall, women produced more features than men did ($M = 4.12$ vs. 3.44). Perceived desirability also varied across the groups. On average, perceived desirability of the reported features of happiness was higher for Americans than for Japanese ($M = 4.78$ vs. 3.95), $F(1, 164) = 92.80$, $p < .0001$, and for women than for men ($M = 4.47$ vs. 4.26), $F(1, 164) = 4.10$, $p < .05$. Almost all (98.19%) of American descriptions were reported as positive (rated as 4 or 5), clearly showing that happiness is unequivocally positive. In contrast, only 66.67% of Japanese descriptions were reported as positive. This is the first indication that the Japanese folk model of happiness is quite ambivalent and holistic.

Semantic space of happiness. We used the sorting data from Part 2 to reconstruct the semantic space of happiness in the two cultures. For each participant, we first identified the lowest and the highest levels. We assigned a score of 1 to pairs that were included within a lowest level group; a score of 2 to pairs that were not confined to the single lowest level group, but that were included within the next lowest level group; a score of 3 to pairs that were not confined to the first two lowest levels, but that were included within the next lowest level group; and so on. To standardize the similarity scores, we divided them by the number of levels used by each participant. We then reversed the scores so that greater similarities were indicated by larger scores. The resulting similarity scores varied between 0.00 and 1.00, with means of .19 and .15 and standard deviations of .11 and .15 for Americans and Japanese, respectively. The similarity scores were averaged over all the participants within each country and submitted to an MDS analysis (ALSCAL). In this analysis, we used SPSS version 16.0.

It should be noted that in carrying out this analysis, we opted against an individual differences scaling (INDSCAL) analysis.

INDSCAL is typically considered more powerful and more informative than MDS because INDSCAL allows for individual MDS plots to be obtained in such a way that each participant is given weights for each of the dimensions. In our present case, this advantage of INDSCAL was offset by the fact that our primary goal was to identify culturally indigenous models of happiness. To maximize the likelihood of such indigenous dimensions to emerge in our analysis, we had our participants sort descriptions that had been sampled from their own cultures. One inevitable consequence of this was that we could not take advantage of the ability of INDSCAL to identify cross-culturally common dimensions of folk models of happiness and then to examine cross-cultural differences by testing the extent to which American and Japanese participants used each of the dimensions. In addition, in our studies, the number of descriptions that were sorted by each participant was unusually large (nearly 100) for this type of analysis. Hence, individual data of perceived similarity may be rather noisy. MDS was therefore expected to provide more stable, valid solutions because it uses aggregated data for perceived similarity.

Scree tests indicated that a three-dimensional solution was reasonable for the American data (with stress index = .19) and a two-dimensional solution was reasonable for the Japanese data (with stress index = .14).³ A careful comparison between the two solutions showed that the two Japanese dimensions and the first two American dimensions could be interpreted in terms of valence and social orientation. The third dimension in the American solution was difficult to interpret. We, therefore, chose to focus on the cross-culturally common two dimensions.

The American solution is illustrated in Figure 1A. To maximize the interpretability, we rotated the initial solution counterclockwise by 90 degrees. The horizontal dimension of Figure 1A is defined by highly positive features (e.g., joy, friendly) on one end and by a few items that are relatively neutral (“taking it for granted”) on the other. This, therefore, is the dimension of valence. Notice that Americans rarely produced any negative features. Thus, the valence dimension is truncated at the negative end.⁴ The vertical dimension is defined by personal features (entailing independence of the self; e.g., resulting in higher self-esteem) on one end and social features (implying interdependence of the self; e.g., making a person friendly) on the other. This, therefore, can be interpreted as signifying social orientation, with independence on one end and interdependence on the other.

The Japanese solution is illustrated in Figure 1B. As in the American case, the horizontal dimension seems to represent valence, with highly positive items (e.g., joy, becoming kind to others) on one end and either negative or nonpositive items (e.g., not lasting long, envy of others) defining the other end. The vertical dimension can be clearly interpreted as representing social orientation. It is defined by personal features of happiness (e.g., getting what I want, not aware of it) on one end and its social features (e.g., becoming kind, envy of others) on the other end.

The two two-dimensional spaces obtained here are similar in their overall structures. In each country, it was possible to identify several clusters. We examined the two-dimensional solutions and consensually identified five clusters, namely, positive hedonic experience, personal achievement, social harmony, transcendental reappraisal, and social disruption. In Figures 1A and 1B, these clusters are marked with separate ovals in each case so that at least 95% of the items belonging to a given cluster are covered by the

pertinent oval. The cluster of positive hedonic experience includes positive emotions (e.g., joy, elation) and positive hedonic actions (e.g., smiling, laughing). The cluster of personal achievement includes enhanced self-esteem (e.g., feeling good about myself), goal accomplishment (e.g., getting what I want), and optimism (e.g., feeling hopeful). The cluster of social harmony includes harmonious social relations (e.g., having good friends), desirable social traits and propensities (e.g., acting nicely to others), and social sharing of happiness (e.g., wanting to share happiness with others). The cluster of transcendental reappraisal includes avoidance (e.g., letting people avoid the reality), nihilism (e.g., not lasting long), and transcendental realization (e.g., elusive, difficult to identify). The fifth cluster of social disruption includes negative social consequences (e.g., envy and jealousy) and inattention (e.g., failing to pay enough attention to the surroundings).⁵ The social disruption cluster was largely absent in the United States, where only one item was found for it (“sometimes less considerate of others”).

By examining the two two-dimensional spaces, it is possible to note some cross-cultural similarities and differences. First, both Americans and Japanese produced a number of positive features for happiness. This is not surprising. What is remarkable, however, is the fact that a substantial proportion of features generated by Japanese were nonpositive (transcendental reappraisal) or even negative (social disruption). The American data contained only a few items that fit the definition of transcendental reappraisal or social disruption, with a consequence of the nearly entire American meaning space covered by positive features (personal achievement, positive hedonic experience, and social harmony).

Second, in both the United States and Japan, positive hedonic experience was placed between personal achievement and social harmony. This underscores the fact that positive experience can arise from both personal achievement and social harmony in both cultures. It is interesting, however, that the relative proximity of positive hedonic experience to personal achievement and social harmony varied systematically between the two cultures. In sup-

³ For the American data, stress decreased from .49, .27, and to .19 from the one- through three-dimensional solutions. Afterward, stress was .14 and .11 for the four-dimensional and five-dimensional solutions. For the Japanese data, the corresponding stress values were .37, .14, .11, .09, and .08, respectively.

⁴ We suspect that the horizontal dimension in Japan might better be interpreted as representing the “front” vs. “back” sides of happiness. Because the front side of happiness tends to be more positive than its back side, this interpretation is conflated with the interpretation in terms of valence. For the present purpose of obtaining universal dimensions of happiness, the interpretation in terms of valence would seem adequate. However, a closer look at Figure 1B reveals that transcendental reappraisal is located more in the left than is social disruption despite the fact that transcendental reappraisal is clearly less negative than social disruption. We believe that transcendental reappraisal (which takes place only in subjective reflections) was experienced as more in the “back” than social disruption. The Japanese indigenous interpretation of valence in terms of front vs. back must be further pursued in future work.

⁵ We refer to these descriptions as reappraisals rather than appraisals because many of the descriptions appear to presuppose happiness and attendant appraisals. Future work should examine the validity of this analysis by testing whether the transcendental ideas might in fact be generated only after other appraisals that constitute happiness are available.

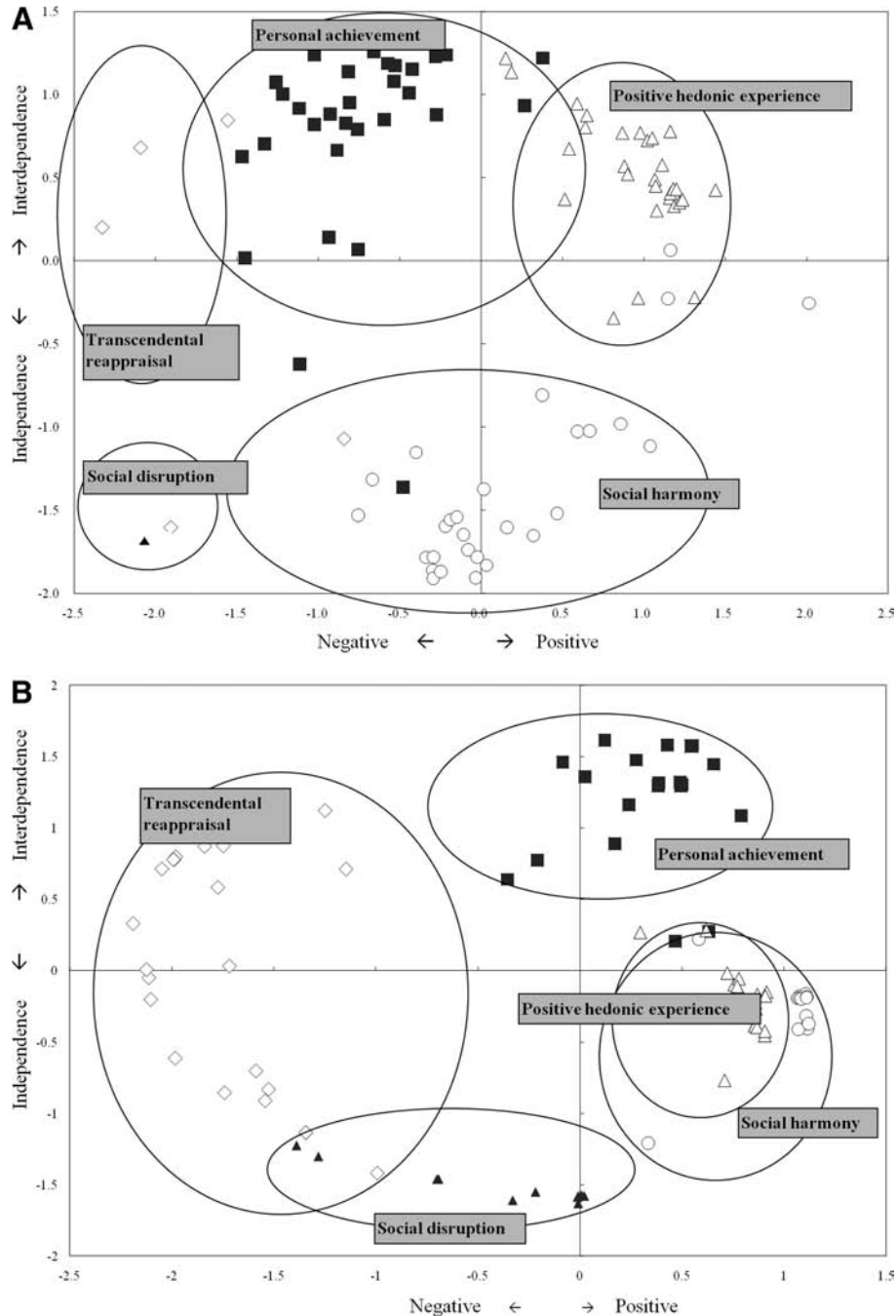


Figure 1. (A) The multidimensional scaling solution for happiness in the United States. Five distinct categories can be identified. The categories are designated by different symbols as follows: Δ = positive hedonic experience (e.g., joy, smiling), \blacksquare = personal achievement (e.g., feeling good about myself, getting what I want, feeling hopeful), \circ = social harmony (e.g., having good friends, acting nicely to others, wanting to share happiness with others), \diamond = transcendental reappraisal (e.g., letting people avoid the reality), \blacktriangle = social disruption (e.g., sometimes less considerate of others). (B) The multidimensional scaling solution for happiness in Japan. Five distinct categories can be identified. The categories are designated by different symbols as follows: Δ = positive hedonic experience (e.g., content, smiling), \blacksquare = personal achievement (e.g., feeling good about myself, getting what I want, feeling hopeful), \circ = social harmony (e.g., having good friends, acting nicely to others, wanting to share happiness with others), \diamond = transcendental reappraisal (e.g., letting people avoid the reality, not lasting long, elusive, difficult to identify), \blacktriangle = social disruption (e.g., envy and jealousy, failing to pay enough attention to the surroundings).

port of the hypothesis that American happiness is predominantly personal and Japanese happiness is predominantly social, positive hedonic experience appears to be much more closely aligned with personal achievement in the United States, but it is much more closely aligned with social harmony in Japan. To test the statistical significance of this pattern, similarity scores for all relevant pairs were averaged and submitted to an analysis of variance with two between-pairs factors (country and pair-type). Whereas in the United States the average similarity was significantly larger (indicating a greater similarity) for pairs consisting of positive hedonic experience and personal achievement than for pairs consisting of positive hedonic experience and social harmony ($M = .18$ vs. $.16$), $t(28) = 3.75$, $p < .001$, the opposite was true in Japan, with positive hedonic experience more closely aligned to social harmony than to personal achievement ($M = .18$ vs. $.26$), $t(20) = 6.58$, $p < .001$. The interaction between culture and pair type was highly significant, $F(1, 48) = 70.33$, $p < .0001$.

Third, socially disruptive consequences of happiness were clearly recognized in Japan, but they were rarely reported in the United States. This is also consistent with the general hypothesis that Japanese are more attuned to both interpersonal and negative aspects of happiness than Americans are.

Facets of happiness. In the MDS analysis, we inductively identified five overarching units of meanings associated with happiness, that is, positive hedonic experience, personal achievement, social harmony, transcendental reappraisal, and social disruption. Three independent coders (one native English speaker and two English–Japanese bilinguals) used the five-category scheme and coded all descriptions obtained in Part 1. All three coders worked on the American descriptions, whereas the two bilingual coders coded the Japanese descriptions. In both cases, one bilingual coder coded all the descriptions in the two countries and one native English-speaking coder coded all the American descriptions. The remaining coder coded approximately 20% of descriptions in each culture. If any given description had references to two separable themes, it was counted twice (in no case were there three or more themes included in any given description). The average Cohen's (1960) kappa across all the categories was .88 (agreement on individual categories ranging from .60 to 1.0), indicating that reliability of coding was sufficiently high (Cohen, 1960; Landis & Koch, 1977). When disagreements occurred, they were resolved by discussion.

For each participant in Part 1, the number of features classified into each of the five categories was counted and submitted to a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). This analysis showed significant multivariate main effects of both culture and gender, $F(5, 160) = 20.85$, $p < .0001$, and $F(5, 160) = 6.31$, $p < .0001$, respectively. The multivariate interaction between culture and gender was negligible, $F(5, 160) = 1.27$, *ns*. Univariate main effects of culture were significant for positive hedonic experience, social harmony, transcendental reappraisal, and social disruption. As can be seen in Table 1, as compared with Japanese, Americans generated a greater number of features for positive hedonic experience and social harmony, but a smaller number of features for transcendental reappraisal and social disruption. There was no significant difference for personal achievement. Only one univariate main effect of gender was observed, with women producing significantly more features than men for social harmony ($M = 0.49$ vs. 0.28), $F(1, 164) = 12.67$, $p < .0001$. Because Americans

generated a greater number of features overall than did Japanese, we also conducted a comparable analysis after computing the proportion of features in each category for each participant. The results were no different from the analysis on total number of features generated, except that the difference on social disruption disappeared.⁶

One notable finding from Study 1 was that Japanese generated a number of nonpositive descriptions for happiness. A concern can be raised, however, that this finding occurred because we used one particular Japanese word for happiness (*shiawase*). To address this issue, we asked a separate group of 19 Japanese undergraduates (13 men and 6 women) to generate features, effects, and consequences of *ureshii* (glossed as *joy*) and *manzoku* (glossed as *satisfaction*). The results were largely comparable. Thus, only 63.04% and 47.25% of descriptions were positive for *ureshii* and *manzoku*, respectively.

Recently, Tsai and colleagues (e.g., Tsai et al., 2006) have suggested that different cultures have divergent norms for ideal affect. Whereas Western cultures sanction high-arousal positive emotions (e.g., excited and elated) as normatively more desirable, Asian cultures value low-arousal emotions (e.g., calm and relaxed) as normatively more desirable. We examined whether this cultural difference might be reflected in the contents of the cultural models of happiness in the United States and Japan by testing the proportions of high- versus low-arousal emotion words within the category of positive hedonic experience. Two bilingual coders coded descriptions into high-arousal (e.g., excitement, delighted), low-arousal (e.g., calm, relaxed, content), and neutral-arousal positive emotions. Those categories were based on the high- and low-arousal emotions presented in Russell (1980) and Tsai et al. (2006). Coders agreed 91.8%–92.8% of the cases for each of the three categories in the two countries (the Cohen's kappa on individual categories ranged from .72 to .85).

Consistent with the Tsai et al. thesis (2006), for Americans the proportion was greater for high-arousal words (48.04%) than for low-arousal words (18.63%). In contrast, for Japanese the corresponding proportion was greater for low-arousal emotions (45.16%) than for high-arousal emotions (29.03%). The cultural difference was marginally significant, $\chi^2(1, N = 220) = 3.23$, $p < .10$.

Study 2: Unhappiness in the United States and Japan

The purpose of Study 2 was to explore lay conceptions of unhappiness in North American and Japanese cultures. In general, we anticipated that the lay conceptions of unhappiness would share certain characteristics in common with those of happiness. At the same time, there might also be some systematic deviations from the findings in Study 1.

One major difference between happiness and unhappiness lies in the urgent need for coping actions. Unhappiness may be expected to require a far greater extent of coping than happiness does. In accord with the present analysis, many cognitive appraisal theo-

⁶ Another deviation was found for transcendental reappraisal. Men were more likely than women to produce items in this category only when proportions were analyzed ($M = 15.2\%$ vs. 7.9%), $F(1, 164) = 5.18$, $p < .03$. No interpretation was attempted.

Table 1
 Number and Proportion of Features of Happiness Produced by Americans and Japanese Classified Into Five Coding Categories (Study 1)

Feature	Number of features			Proportion (%)		
	United States	Japan	<i>F</i> (1, 164)	United States	Japan	<i>F</i> (1, 164)
Positive						
Positive hedonic experience	1.97	0.84	25.53	46.75	25.64	15.05
Personal achievement	1.06	0.78	2.25	26.56	23.45	0.41
Social harmony	0.96	0.61	4.30	24.75	17.17	2.52
Nonpositive features						
Transcendental reappraisal	0.05	0.78	40.36	1.30	23.47	41.38
Social disruption	0.03	0.36	23.96	0.64	10.27	25.87
Total	4.07	3.37		100	100	

Note. *ns* = not significant.

* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

rists posit that negative emotions vary substantially in terms of perceived coping potential (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003; Lazarus, 2001). Furthermore, it has also been shown that perceived lack of personal control over life outcomes makes one extremely vulnerable to depression (Peterson & Seligman, 1985). Drawing on these theories, we anticipated that in both Japan and the United States, people would emphasize strategies to deal with unhappiness in their lay conceptions of this emotion.

Past work has shown that cultures vary substantially in their preferred strategies of coping with adversities. Whereas North Americans tend to blame others or external circumstances with the ultimate goal of preserving one's self-esteem (D. T. Miller & Ross, 1975), Asians often take a far more self-critical stance by blaming themselves (Kitayama, Takagi, & Matsumoto, 1995; see, e.g., Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999, for a review). Whereas Americans attribute their failures predominantly to external factors, Asians tend to attribute failures to themselves. This seemingly self-depreciative attribution pattern of Asians is likely to be part of a mostly adaptive process of self-improvement whereby people are motivated to overcome their difficulties. In support of this idea, Heine et al. (2001) have shown that Asians work much harder on an intellectual task than North Americans do after a failure. In a more recent study, Mesquita and colleagues (2009) have provided more direct evidence: Even when experiencing pride, Japanese noted a need for self-improvement.

Together, we expected that whereas both Americans and Japanese recognize the other-blaming coping strategies and the self-improvement coping strategies, Americans emphasize other blame such as anger and other externalizing behaviors more than Japanese do, but Japanese emphasize self-improvement more than Americans do. Note that this consideration suggests that Japanese models of unhappiness are more likely than their American counterparts to include some seemingly positive elements, forming a general yin-yang pattern that is analogous to the one we observed for happiness in Study 1.

Method

Participants. Study 2 had three parts. In Part 1, free descriptions about unhappiness were collected; in Part 2, these descriptions were systematically analyzed to produce a semantic space of

unhappiness in each of the two cultures. In Part 1, the same group used in Study 1, 95 American and 73 Japanese undergraduates provided descriptions for unhappiness. In Part 2, separate groups of 15 American undergraduates (7 men and 8 women at the University of Michigan) and 15 Japanese undergraduates (7 men and 8 women at Kyoto University) participated (ages ranged from 18 to 23 years). In Part 3, in which we systematically coded the descriptions collected in Part 1, no new participants were involved.

As noted earlier, the participants who generated features of happiness in Study 1 provided free descriptions for unhappiness (*fushiawase* in Japanese). They also rated each of the characteristics they produced in terms of general desirability by using a 5-point rating scale (1 = *very undesirable*, 5 = *very desirable*).

In Part 2 of the study, 181 descriptions of unhappiness (91 American and 90 Japanese descriptions) were randomly obtained from the entire pool. The same procedure as in Study 1 was followed. The descriptions were printed on different index cards. Participants were given a stack of cards from their own culture. As in Study 1, participants were asked to sort them by similarity.

In Part 3 of the study, we inductively yielded a coding scheme for free descriptions on unhappiness in the two countries, used it to code all of the descriptions collected in Part 1, and compared relative frequencies between the two countries.

Results and Discussion

Free descriptions about unhappiness. In Part 1, Americans generated a significantly greater number of features of unhappiness than Japanese did ($M = 4.14$ vs. 3.18), $F(1, 164) = 27.29$, $p < .0001$. In addition, there was a main effect of gender, $F(1, 164) = 27.69$, $p < .001$, which was qualified by a Gender \times Culture interaction, $F(1, 164) = 9.08$, $p < .01$. Overall, women produced more features than men, but this gender effect was more pronounced in Japan ($M = 3.96$ vs. 2.69) than in the United States ($M = 4.33$ vs. 3.98). On average, Americans were far more likely than Japanese to rate their own characterizations of unhappiness as undesirable ($M = 1.46$ vs. 2.09), $F(1, 164) = 41.76$, $p < .0001$. The desirability rating showed no significant gender effect.

Semantic space of unhappiness. As in Study 1, using the sorting data from Part 2, we first obtained an index of similarity for all pairs of the descriptions in each of the two countries. For each

participant, we identified the lowest possible level and the highest possible level that encompasses lower level groups. We assigned a score of 1 to pairs that were included within the lowest level group; a score of 2 to pairs that were not confined to the single lowest level group, but that were included within the next lowest level group; a score of 3 to pairs that were not confined to the first two lowest levels, but that were included within the next lowest level group; and so on. Next, for each participant the maximum discrepancy between the lowest and the highest levels was obtained. To standardize the similarity scores, we divided them by the maximum discrepancy. Finally, we reversed the scores so that greater similarities are indicated by larger scores. Overall, the mean similarity scores varied between 0.00 and 1.00, with the overall means of .18 and .15 and standard deviations of .10 and .13 for Americans and Japanese, respectively. The similarity scores were averaged over all the participants within each country and submitted to an MDS analysis.

Scree tests indicated that a four-dimensional solution was reasonable for the American data (with stress index = .18) and a three-dimensional solution was reasonable for the Japanese data (with stress index = .17). A careful comparison between the two solutions showed that the first two Japanese dimensions and the first two American dimensions were comparable in that the first dimension contrasts immediate experience of unhappiness against coping strategy, whereas the second dimension contrasts cognitive appraisal of unhappiness against affective experience of unhappiness.⁷ The remaining dimensions seemed haphazard and not easily interpretable. Subsequent analysis focused on the first two dimensions.

The American solution is illustrated in Figure 2A. To maximize the interpretability, we rotated the initial solution clockwise by 135°. Three clusters can be clearly distinguished. The most prominent cluster includes negative hedonic experiences (e.g., sad, depressed). This cluster covers nearly the entire area except for the upper left quadrant. The second cluster includes cognitive appraisals underlying unhappiness. Two different types of appraisals can be identified: Whereas some descriptions had to do with personal failure (e.g., resulting in lower self-esteem), others were related to social disruption (e.g., make the person unfriendly and detached from others). A third distinct cluster, although small, can be demarcated. This cluster includes externalizing behaviors such as frustration, anger, fussiness, and aggression.⁸

Overall, it is evident that many of negative hedonic experiences of unhappiness such as depression and low self-esteem tend to be concentrated in the right-hand side, whereas externalizing behaviors are located in the left-hand side. The horizontal dimension can therefore be interpreted as contrasting immediate experience of unhappiness against coping behaviors. The vertical dimension is defined by negative hedonic experience and externalizing behavior at the lower end and cognitive appraisals (e.g., personal failures and social disruptions) at the higher end. We, therefore, interpret it as the dimension of cognition and affect/motivation.

The Japanese solution is illustrated in Figure 2B. To maximize the interpretability, we flipped horizontally around the *y*-axis. Here, four distinct clusters can be identified. First, at the upper right quadrant there is a cluster consisting of cognitive appraisals of unhappiness. Within this cluster, both descriptions having to do with personal failure (e.g., things are not going as I want) and those related to social disruption (e.g., making others depressed) are

mixed. Below the cognitive appraisal cluster is a cluster of negative hedonic experiences (e.g., depressed, unpleasant). In the upper left quadrant, we find descriptions that imply transcendental reappraisal such as “it has no substance” and “it is not an objective state, rather, just a subjective state.” Finally, below that cluster is a cluster consisting of descriptions that implicate self-improvement, such as “unhappiness leads to motivation to improve ourselves.” Notice that although both transcendental reappraisal and self-improvement are unique to Japan, they are similar to an American cluster of externalizing behavior in that all three signify strategies for coping with the unpleasant experiences of unhappiness. In both countries, then, the coping behaviors, located on the left-hand side, are contrasted against the immediate negative experiences of unhappiness on the right-hand side.

The vertical dimension for Japanese is also analogous to the American, cognition–affect/motivation dimension. On the one hand, many of the descriptions in the upper half are related to cognitive appraisals: Whereas failure appraisals are found on the right-hand side, transcendental reappraisals are found on the left-hand side. On the other hand, many of the descriptions in the lower half are related to either negative hedonic experiences on the right-hand side or motivational tendencies of self-improvement on the left-hand side.

The semantic spaces shown in Figures 2A and 2B can be taken to support our primary prediction regarding the folk models of unhappiness in the United States and Japan. First, we predicted that, unlike happiness, folk models of unhappiness are likely to highlight cognitive and behavioral strategies to cope with unpleasant experiences of unhappiness. In both the United States and Japan, we identified distinct clusters that fall in this general category. At the same time, the types of behaviors or efforts recruited to deal with unhappiness were very different between the two cultures. Whereas Americans emphasized externalizing behavior (anger, frustration, and aggression), Japanese highlighted transcendental reappraisal and self-improvement. This pattern is in line with previous evidence indicating that Americans make heavy use of primary control strategies of blaming others in dealing with threats to self-esteem, but Japanese tend to use secondary control strategies of reinterpreting the meanings of the attendant situations or to take failure experiences seriously so as to self-improve (Mesquita et al., 2009).

Notably, we found a relatively prominent cluster of transcendental reappraisal for unhappiness. But, as in happiness, this cluster was clearly discernible only for Japanese. There were only two items that captured this theme in the United States. As in happiness, transcendental reappraisal is far more salient for Japanese than for Americans.

⁷ For the American data, stress decreased from the one-dimensional solution to the four-dimensional solution (.56, .35, .24, .18 for the one-, two-, three-, and four-dimensional solutions, respectively). For the five-dimensional solution, the decrease of stress leveled off (.14). For the Japanese data, the corresponding stress values were .40, .25, .17, .13, and .10, respectively.

⁸ Some of these descriptions (e.g., anger and fussiness) could be regarded as hedonic experience of unhappiness. Yet, our interpretation that they pertain largely to externalizing behavior is rendered plausible because of the manifest association between such descriptions and those that pertain more obviously to externalizing behavior (e.g., aggression).

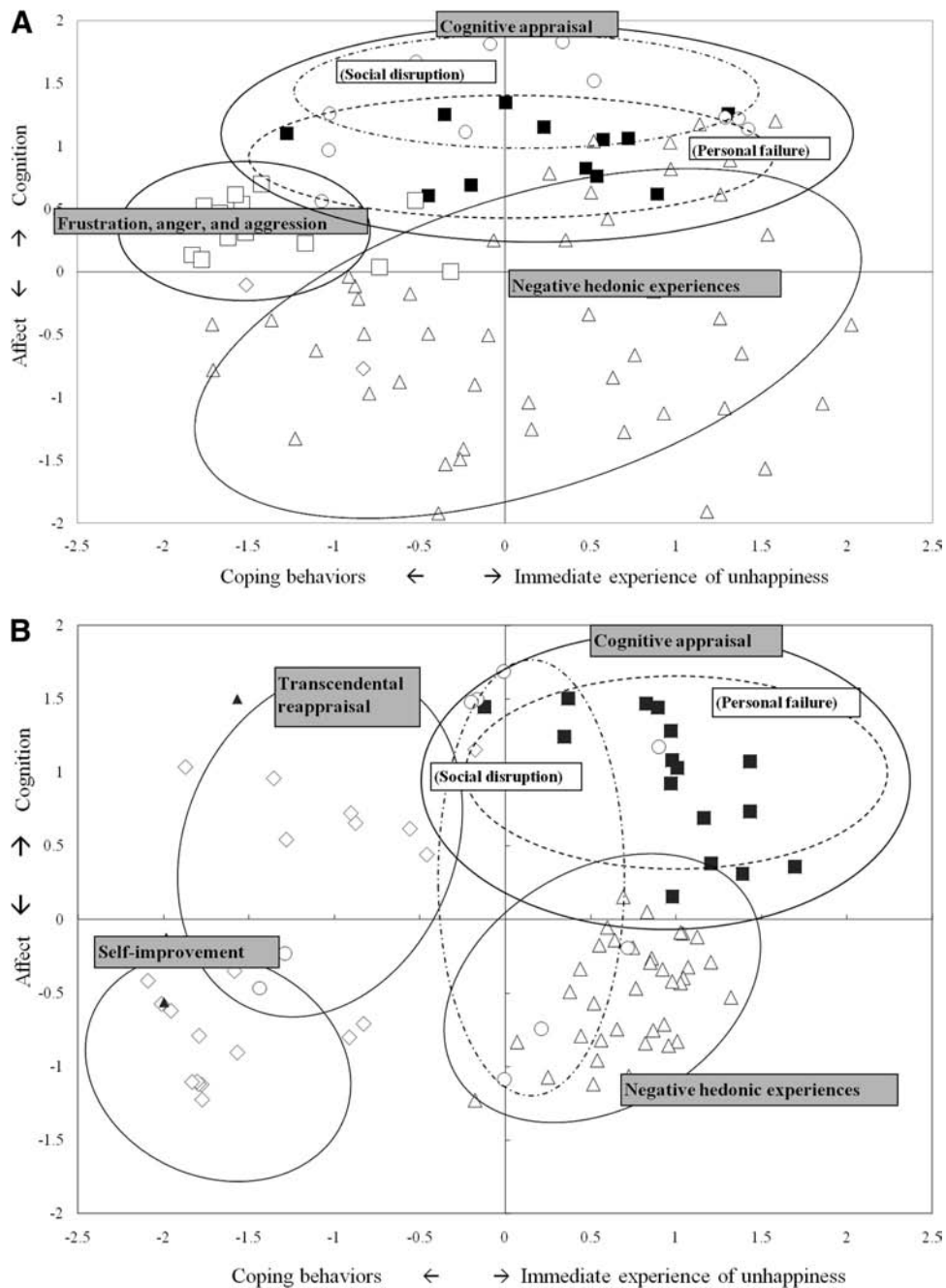


Figure 2. (A) The multidimensional scaling solution for unhappiness in the United States. Three distinct categories can be identified. Within one of them (cognitive appraisal), two subcategories can be located (personal failure and social disruption). These categories and subcategories are designated by different symbols as follows: Δ = negative hedonic experience (e.g., sad, depressed), \blacksquare = personal failure (e.g., resulting in lower self-esteem), \circ = social disruption (e.g., making the person unfriendly and detached from others), \square = externalizing behavior (e.g., frustration, anger), \diamond = transcendental reappraisal (e.g., minor things cause unhappiness). (B) The multidimensional scaling solution for unhappiness in Japan. Four distinct categories can be identified. Within one of them (cognitive appraisal), two subcategories can be located (personal failure and social disruption). These categories and subcategories are designated by different symbols as follows: Δ = negative hedonic experience (e.g., depressed, unpleasant), \blacksquare = personal failure (e.g., things are not going as I want), \circ = social disruption (e.g., making others depressed), \diamond = transcendental reappraisal (e.g., it has no substance, it is just a subjective state), \blacktriangle = self-improvement (e.g., unhappiness leads to motivation to improve ourselves).

Facets of unhappiness. The MDS analysis above inductively suggested five overarching units of meanings associated with unhappiness, that is, negative hedonic experience, cognitive appraisal, transcendental reappraisal, externalizing behavior, and self-improvement. Furthermore, it is possible to distinguish between two subcategories within cognitive appraisal, that is, personal failure and social disruption. This results in six categories in total. Notice that there is a close conceptual correspondence between the semantic space of unhappiness identified here and its counterpart for happiness identified in Study 1. Both include hedonic experience, although happiness and unhappiness obviously differ in valence. Both include personal and social reasons for the emotions and, finally, both include transcendental reappraisal. One major discrepancy lies in the fact that the semantic space of unhappiness includes coping actions such as externalizing behavior (mostly in the United States) and self-improvement (mostly in Japan).

As in Study 1, three independent coders (one native English speaker and two English–Japanese bilinguals) used the six-category scheme and coded all descriptions. Coders agreed on 92.4%–100% of the cases for each of the six categories in the two countries. The average Cohen's kappa across all the categories was .89 (agreement on individual categories ranging from .79 to 1.0), indicating a high intercoder reliability (Cohen, 1960; Landis & Koch, 1977). Disagreements were resolved by discussion.

For each participant the number of features classified into each of the six categories was counted and submitted to a MANOVA. This analysis showed significant multivariate main effects of both culture and gender, $F(6, 159) = 20.06, p < .0001$, and $F(6, 159) = 6.56, p < .0001$, respectively. The multivariate interaction between culture and gender was negligible, $F(6, 159) = 1.92, ns$. Univariate main effects of culture were significant for all six categories. As can be seen in Table 2, as compared with Japanese, Americans generated a significantly greater number of features for negative hedonic experience, personal failure, social disruption, and externalizing behavior, but a significantly smaller number of features for transcendental reappraisal and self-improvement. Two significant univariate main effects of gender were observed, with women producing significantly more features than men for personal failure

($M = 1.06$ vs. 0.77), $F(6, 159) = 3.36, p < .05$, and social disruption ($M = 0.68$ vs. 0.33), $F(6, 159) = 4.79, p < .001$. Because Americans generated a significantly greater number of features overall than did Japanese, we also carried out a comparable analysis after computing the proportion of features in each category for each participant. The results on culture were no different from the analysis on total number of features generated except that the cultural difference in social disruption disappeared. In addition, gender effects were no longer significant, $F < 1, ns$.

In sum, the present data highlight the fact that Americans and Japanese note different types of coping strategy for unhappiness. Americans were far more likely than Japanese to mention externalizing behavior such as aggression, whereas Japanese were far more likely than Americans to refer to transcendental reappraisal and self-improvement. As a consequence, Japanese were more likely than Americans to produce nonnegative features of unhappiness. Whereas over 96% of the features generated by Americans were negative, negative features accounted for only 73% of the features generated by Japanese.

General Discussion

Is happiness just happiness, and is unhappiness just unhappiness? At first glance the meanings of these emotional states might seem so transparent that the question appears banal and pointless. The most important contribution of the current work, then, is to show that folk models of these emotions bear important cultural signatures. By carefully analyzing spontaneously generated descriptions of happiness and unhappiness, we developed a measure of perceived similarity among the descriptions and then used an MDS analysis to test some specific hypotheses regarding the nature of folk models of happiness and unhappiness in the two disparate cultures. Overall, our analysis shows that the folk models of these emotions share cross-culturally common elements so that one can readily identify general thematic frameworks within which cultural symbolic elaborations appear to take place. In other words, cultural variations relate to some distinct culturally shared dimensions.

Table 2

Number and Proportion of Features of Unhappiness Produced by Americans and Japanese Classified Into Six Coding Categories (Study 2)

Feature/strategy	Number of features/strategies			Proportion (%)		
	United States	Japan	$F(1, 164)$	United States	Japan	$F(1, 164)$
Negative features						
Negative hedonic experience	2.07	0.83	45.23 ***	49.53	24.84	30.64 ***
Personal failure	0.73	1.04	6.48 *	18.00	34.27	13.29 ***
Social disruption	0.60	0.35	4.33 *	14.75	11.12	1.10 <i>ns</i>
Coping strategies						
Transcendental reappraisal	0.02	0.52	29.83 ***	0.42	16.92	30.50 ***
Self-improvement	0.09	0.34	11.49 ***	2.14	10.84	16.88 ***
Externalizing behavior (anger, aggression)	0.59	0.10	24.04 ***	14.04	2.92	30.64 ***
Other (nonmeaning)	0.04	0.00				
Total	4.14	3.18		98.88	100.00	

Note. *ns* = not significant.
* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

Cultural Folk Models of Happiness

To start with happiness, we found both important cross-cultural similarities and differences for folk models of happiness. In terms of similarity, both the Japanese folk model and its American counterpart were organized in terms of two dimensions that are clearly interpretable as valence and independence/interdependence dimension (see Figures 1A and 1B). Within the two-dimensional meaning space, we identified five clusters of meanings (i.e., positive hedonic experience, personal achievement, social harmony, transcendental reappraisal, and social disruption).

Within the backdrop of the foregoing culturally shared framework, two important cross-cultural differences emerged. First, among the five meaning clusters, only three (positive hedonic experience, personal achievement, and social harmony) were common in the two cultures. The remaining two nonpositive clusters (social disruption and transcendental reappraisal) were found primarily in Japan. These two clusters combined accounted for less than 2% of the total descriptions generated by Americans, making the American folk model of happiness (unlike its Japanese counterpart) unequivocally positive. Another important cross-cultural difference related to the nature of positive hedonic experience. Whereas for Americans positive hedonic experience was more closely associated with personal achievement than with social harmony, for Japanese it was much more closely associated with social harmony than with personal achievement.

The finding that American happiness is both personal and positive is consistent with the hypothesis that numerous symbolic resources of the contemporary American culture are based on the model of the self as independent. In particular, the frontier spirit (Kitayama, Ishii, et al., 2006), American Dream (Hochschild, 1995), and other elements of American culture (e.g., Sanchez-Burks & Lee, 2007) seem to conspire to define the idea of happiness as a form of ultimate personal accomplishment.

Likewise, the finding that Japanese happiness is both social and ambivalent is consistent with the hypothesis that numerous symbolic resources of the contemporary Japanese culture can be traced back to the model of the self as interdependent (Kitayama & Markus, 2000). In particular, the ultimate significance of social relationship and associated ethos of interdependence appear constitutive of the highly relational lay conception of happiness demonstrated here. Equally important, the ambivalence of happiness suggested here is related to the Confucian idea of yin and yang (Ji et al., 2001; Lu, 2001; Peng & Nisbett, 1999). Moreover, the strong emphasis placed on transcendental reappraisal is also related to the cultural ethos of seeing the self as embedded in a relevant context (Markus et al., 2006; Wagar & Cohen, 2003). Thus, happiness is seen not as absolute or reified an entity, but as relative to a given context, and both dynamic and responsive to various contextual changes and variations.

One alternative interpretation for the transcendental ideations common in Japan may argue that these ideations constitute a form of coping with negative aspects of happiness (e.g., social disruption). Consistent with this interpretation, Study 2 suggested that transcendental reappraisal is quite common as a strategy for coping with unhappiness in Japan. Future work should examine whether Japanese (but probably not Americans) would engage in transcendental ideations when they experience socially disruptive episodes because of their own happiness.

Cultural Folk Models of Unhappiness

We also found both important cross-cultural similarities and differences for folk models of unhappiness. To start with similarity, in both American and Japanese cultures, the folk model of unhappiness appears to have two important characteristics. First, both Japanese and American models regard immediate experience of unhappiness as hedonically negative and related closely to either personal failure or social disruption. Moreover, as expected, regardless of cultures, the folk model of unhappiness includes coping actions as its crucial element. Together, the immediate hedonic experience on the one hand and the coping action on the other hand constitute the first dimension of unhappiness in both cultures. The second characteristic of unhappiness that appears to be recognized in both Japan and the United States concerns the degree to which cognitive appraisal versus affective or motivational process is involved. Both Japanese and Americans appear to agree that some aspects of unhappiness are related to cognitive appraisal of impinging situations, whereas others pertain to affective or motivational processes. Together, the cognitive facet of unhappiness on the one hand and its affective or motivational facet on the other constitute the second dimension of unhappiness in both cultures. Within the two-dimensional meaning space, we identified six clusters of meanings (i.e., negative hedonic experience, personal failure, social disruption, transcendental reappraisal, self-improvement, and externalizing behavior). Among these six meaning clusters, the first three (i.e., negative hedonic experience, personal failure, and social disruption) were commonly found in the two cultures, indicating that there is a shared understanding that unhappiness is aversive, with close links to either personal failure or social disruption.

Against the backdrop of the foregoing culturally shared framework, some notable cross-cultural differences emerged. It is interesting that these differences pertained exclusively to the type of coping actions that are culturally elaborated: Whereas Japanese culture emphasizes transcendental reappraisal and self-improvement, American culture highlights externalizing behaviors such as anger and aggression. In fact, as shown in Table 2, only 2.9% of Japanese descriptions referred to externalizing behavior and, conversely, only 2.5% of American descriptions referred to either transcendental reappraisal or self-improvement.

The cultural difference in coping actions suggests that whereas Americans believe that they cope with unhappy situations by asserting the independent self and blaming external circumstances for the unhappiness, Japanese believe that they do so by restoring harmony and interdependence with the surrounding situation by either reappraising the attendant situation (transcendental reappraisal) or fitting in with the prevailing norms or social standards (self-improvement). Accordingly, this finding is consistent with the notion that symbolic resources of American culture are organized in terms of independence or disengagement of the self from the social surroundings, but those of Japanese culture are organized in terms of interdependence or engagement of the self with the social surroundings (Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997; Morling, Kitayama, & Miyamoto, 2002).

Remember that the dimension of independence and interdependence (or equivalently, engagement and disengagement) was clearly identified for happiness. It might seem puzzling, then, why this dimension could not be identified for unhappiness. We believe

that the puzzle is resolved once it is realized that the two types of coping actions (externalization vs. self-improvement/transcendental reappraisal) were not shared in the two cultures: Whereas externalization was identified only in the American data, self-improvement/transcendental reappraisal was located primarily in the Japanese data. Because externalization is socially more disengaging and self-improvement/transcendental reappraisal is clearly socially more engaging, it seems likely that the dimension of social orientation (engagement vs. disengagement) would be recovered once these two types of coping actions had been available in both cultural contexts. Future work must address this possibility by presenting both American and Japanese participants with both types of coping actions and testing whether the participants do differentiate them in terms of social engagement or disengagement.

Dimensions of Happiness and Unhappiness

Taken together, the present work suggests that there is a small number of culturally common dimensions that organize seemingly disparate folk models of happiness and unhappiness in the two cultures. On the one hand, folk models of happiness appear to be organized in terms of the dimensions of valence and social orientation. On the other hand, folk models of unhappiness appear to be organized in terms of the dimensions of immediate experience versus coping and affect/motivation versus cognition. In addition, we suggest that social orientation (i.e., independence vs. interdependence) is hidden behind the data on unhappiness because Americans produced very few socially engaging coping actions (i.e., transcendental reappraisal and self-improvement) and Japanese produced very few socially disengaging coping actions (e.g., aggression and anger).

Future research should expand on these observations to examine the extent to which these dimensions are explicitly recognized by lay people. Such research might follow earlier work by Smith and Ellsworth (1985) on cognitive appraisal by developing various probing questions for each of the dimensions and asking participants to rate different characteristics of happiness or unhappiness in terms of these questions.

It is instructive to point out that the dimensions we suggest for the folk models of happiness and unhappiness are substantially different from the dimensions that are hypothesized for cognitive appraisals that underlie different emotions (e.g., Smith & Ellsworth, 1986). Out of the dimensions we identified in the present work, only the dimension of valence can be found in the cognitive appraisal literature. Yet, it would seem sensible that different emotions vary in terms of social orientation, emphasis on immediate experience (vs. coping), and emphasis on affect/motivation (vs. cognition). This possibility must also be assessed in future research by explicitly incorporating the present dimensions within a research design.

How similar or different are happiness and unhappiness? The present work provides some useful insights. These two emotional states are similar in terms of the presence of hedonic components (although the valence obviously differs between happiness and unhappiness). They are also similar in that both personal and social reasons were recognized for the emotional states. In these three respects, unhappiness appears to constitute a mirror image of happiness. As predicted, however, one ele-

ment that is quite prominent in unhappiness, but not in happiness, involved coping action. In both cultures, people seem to recognize that coping is required much more for unhappiness than for happiness.

Of importance, there was an added link between happiness and unhappiness among Japanese. For Japanese, two relatively negative components (social disruption and transcendental understanding) were common in both happiness and unhappiness. This linkage might make it easier for Japanese to go back and forth between the two emotional states. For example, happiness might instigate a worry about social disruption, which could in turn instigate an experience of unhappiness. Conversely, unhappiness might lend itself to transcendental attitudes (e.g., "This state cannot last long"), which might in turn bring in some elements of happiness (e.g., "It can be changed for good") to the ongoing experience. It may prove to be the case, then, that happiness and unhappiness are much less distinct or disjoint states for Japanese than they are for Americans. For Japanese, the two states are not mutually exclusive. Instead, they are conceived in terms of dialectic fluctuation or transformation from happiness to unhappiness and vice versa. Japanese lay theories of emotion appear to be more process-oriented and dynamic than American theories, which seems to reify the distinct emotion categories such as happiness and unhappiness.

Although hedonic experience is quite central in both happiness and unhappiness in both Japan and the United States, the relative significance of this facet of the emotions was much greater for Americans than for Japanese. For both happiness and unhappiness, approximately 50% of American descriptions pertained to hedonic experience, but this was the case only for 25% of Japanese descriptions. It appears that Americans are far more likely than Japanese to regard the positive and negative hedonic experiences as the essence of happiness and unhappiness, respectively. This observation may provide added evidence for the foregoing analysis that Americans are more likely than Japanese to reify the emotions as stable and independent, object-like entities.

From Folk Models of Emotions to Emotional Experience

The lay conceptions of happiness and unhappiness demonstrated here are likely to be related to ongoing experiences of these emotional states. Indeed, it is remarkable that many of the findings here have their counterparts in behavioral studies. Thus, several studies have demonstrated that whereas American happiness depends much more on personal achievement than on social harmony, Japanese happiness depends more on the latter than on the former (e.g., Kitayama, Mesquita, et al., 2006). Furthermore, as compared with Americans, Asians are far more likely to worry about social disruption (e.g., Kitayama et al., 2004; Taylor et al., 2004) and to engage in secondary control or a type of transcendental appraisals and reappraisals (Morling & Evered, 2006; Weisz, Rothbaum, & Blackburn, 1984). Finally, self-improvement is quite common among Japanese when certain setbacks happen to them (Heine et al., 2001), but externalizing and other-blaming are much more common for Americans (Kitayama et al., 1995; see also Mesquita et al., 2009).

Of course, it is impossible to tell, from the present results alone, whether the behavioral findings are the antecedents or conse-

quences of the lay conceptions we have demonstrated in the present work. We suspect that the two possibilities are both valid. Yet, to the extent that lay theories are actively implicated in behaviors, it is likely that behavioral findings could be modified subtly but powerfully if pertinent lay conceptions are primed and temporarily activated (Oyserman & Lee, 2007).

For example, once relational orientations are primed, even Americans might become quite sensitive to possible social disruptions and might begin to engage in transcendental ruminations. It is instructive that recent work has demonstrated that such ruminations are quite common among the more relational of the two genders (i.e., females) among Americans (Nolen-Hoeksema, 2003). Alternatively, once personal achievement is primed and made salient, even Japanese might base their happiness on their personal accomplishment rather than on social interdependence or harmony. Furthermore, under such conditions, Japanese might become quite aggressive or even violent in the face of their own setbacks and failures. Indeed, because such externalizing behaviors are culturally unscripted and, thus, supposedly unregulated, they may be more difficult to control for Japanese than for Americans. This possibility must be addressed in future work.

Concluding Remark

In closing, we wish to emphasize that our findings should not be taken to imply that Japanese and Americans fail to understand each other's versions of happiness or unhappiness. For example, most Japanese would immediately recognize it as quite natural and ordinary when they see someone being sulky or even acting violently when the person is unhappy. Likewise, Americans might not only understand but also endorse with full enthusiasm Zen-like ideas of transcendental detachment and holistic balance. Moreover, literary classics such as romantic love of Romeo and Juliet or courteous love of Genji will have universal emotional appeals. All these ideas are understandable, sensible, and even seductive in many and possibly all cultures. Yet, such indigenous ideas of culture are, in large part, inaccessible in any spontaneous or chronic fashion outside the respective cultural contexts. Cultural symbolic systems are much more real, immediate, and therefore compelling for cultural insiders, even when they are completely understandable for outsiders on some analysis and reflection (Geertz, 1973).

One may speculate that the same consideration applies to many other cultural constructs outside the realm of emotion. For example, in the present research, we treated independence and interdependence as if they are universal ideas. Yet, a moment of reflection would reveal that independence in the American style is inseparably imbued with many uniquely American or Western historical elements such as frontier spirit (Kitayama, Ishii et al., 2006), American Dream (Hochschild, 1995), and Protestant work ethic (Sanchez-Burks & Lee, 2007), among others. Most of these ideas are not central in the notion of independence in many other parts of the world, even where the notion itself is common. The same consideration would apply equally to the notion of interdependence.

The methods used here—free description and sorting, followed by MDS—are uniquely suited to exploring culture's symbolic resources that are chronically accessible. By using

these methods, we have obtained strong evidence that Americans and Japanese are both similar in respect to some common themes that constitute the models of happiness and unhappiness and quite different in terms of the ways in which these themes are played out in their respective cultural contexts. In all likelihood, these meanings are spontaneously brought online in regulating experience and expression of emotions and coping with them in actual social situations. We, therefore, believe that the methods we used here are indispensable for further advancement of theories of culture as they are implicated in all kinds of psychological processes.

References

- Bagozzi, R. P., Wong, N., & Yi, Y. (1999). The role of culture and gender in the relationship between positive and negative affect. *Cognition and Emotion, 13*, 641–672.
- Campbell, A. (1981). *The sense of well-being in America*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Cohen, J. (1960). A coefficient of agreement for nominal scales. *Educational and Psychological Measurement, 20*, 37–46.
- Diener, E., & Diener, M. (1995). Cross-cultural correlates of life satisfaction and self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68*, 653–663.
- Diener, E., & Suh, E. M. (Eds.). (2000). *Cultural and subjective well-being*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Doi, T. (1971). *Anatomy of dependence*. Tokyo: Kodansha International.
- Ellsworth, P. C., & Scherer, K. R. (2003). Appraisal processes in emotion. In H. Goldsmith & K. R. Scherer (Eds.), *Handbook of affective sciences* (pp. 572–595). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Emmons, R. A. (1986). Personal strivings: An approach to personality and subjective well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51*, 1058–1068.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Heine, S. J., Kitayama, S., Lehman, D. R., Takata, T., Ide, E., Leung, C., et al. (2001). Divergent consequences of success and failure in Japan and North America: An investigation of self-improving motivations and malleable selves. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*, 599–615.
- Heine, S. J., Lehman, D. R., Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1999). Is there a universal need for positive self-regard? *Psychological Review, 106*, 766–794.
- Hochschild, J. (1995). *Facing up to the American Dream: Race, class, and the soul of the nation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ishii, K., Reyes, J. A., & Kitayama, S. (2003). Spontaneous attention to word content versus emotional tone: Differences among three cultures. *Psychological Science, 14*, 39–46.
- Iyengar, S. S., & Lepper, M. R. (1999). Rethinking the value of choice: A cultural perspective on intrinsic motivation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 76*, 349–366.
- Ji, L., Nisbett, R. E., & Su, Y. (2001). Culture, change, and prediction. *Psychological Science, 12*, 450–456.
- Kang, S., Shaver, P. R., Sue, S., Min, K., & Jing, H. (2003). Culture-specific patterns in the prediction of life satisfaction: Roles of emotion, relationship quality, and self-esteem. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29*, 1596–1608.
- Keltner, D., & Haidt, J. (1999). Social functions of emotions at multiple levels of analysis. *Cognition and Emotion, 13*, 505–522.
- Kim, H., Sherman, D. K., Ko, D., & Taylor, S. E. (2006). Pursuit of comfort and pursuit of harmony: Culture, relationship, and social support seeking. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 32*, 1595–1607.
- Kitayama, S., & Ishii, K. (2002). Word and voice: Spontaneous attention to

- emotional utterances in two languages. *Cognition and Emotion*, 16, 29–59.
- Kitayama, S., Ishii, K., Imada, T., Takemura, K., & Ramaswamy, J. (2006). Voluntary settlement and the spirit of independence: Evidence from Japan's "Northern Frontier." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91, 369–384.
- Kitayama, S., Karasawa, M., Curhan, K. B., Ryff, C., & Markus, H. R. (2009). *Independence, interdependence, and well-being: Divergent patterns in the United States and Japan*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Michigan.
- Kitayama, S., & Markus, H. R. (1999). Yin and yang of the Japanese self: The cultural psychology of personality coherence. In D. Cervone & Y. Shoda (Eds.), *The coherence of personality: Social cognitive bases of personality consistency, variability, and organization* (pp. 242–302). New York: Guilford Press.
- Kitayama, S., & Markus, H. R. (2000). The pursuit of happiness and the realization of sympathy: Cultural patterns of self, social relations, and well-being. In E. Diener & E. M. Suh (Eds.), *Cultural and subjective well-being* (pp. 113–161). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., & Kurokawa, M. (2000). Culture, emotion, and well-being: Good feelings in Japan and the United States. *Cognition and Emotion*, 14, 93–124.
- Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., Matsumoto, H., & Norasakkunkit, V. (1997). Individual and collective processes in the construction of the self: Self-enhancement in the United States and self-criticism in Japan. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72, 1245–1267.
- Kitayama, S., Mesquita, B., & Karasawa, M. (2006). Culture and emotional experience: Socially engaging and disengaging emotions in Japan and the United States. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91, 890–903.
- Kitayama, S., Snibbe, A. C., Markus, H. R., & Suzuki, T. (2004). Is there any "free" choice? Self and dissonance in two cultures. *Psychological Science*, 15, 527–533.
- Kitayama, S., Takagi, H., & Matsumoto, H. (1995). Cultural psychology of Japanese self: Causal attribution of success and failure. *Japanese Psychological Review*, 38, 247–280.
- Kitayama, S., & Uchida, Y. (2005). Interdependent agency: An alternative system for action. In R. Sorrentino, D. Cohen, J. M. Olson, & M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *Culture and social behavior: The Ontario Symposium* (Vol. 10, pp. 137–164). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Kwan, V. S. Y., Bond, M. H., & Singelis, T. M. (1997). Pancultural explanations for life satisfaction: Adding relationship harmony to self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 1038–1051.
- Landis, J. R., & Koch, G. G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, 33, 159–174.
- Lazarus, R. (2001). Relational meaning and discrete emotions. In K. R. Scherer, A. Schorr, & T. Johnston (Eds.), *Appraisal processes in emotion: Theory, methods, research* (pp. 37–67). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lu, L. (2001). Understanding happiness: A look into the Chinese folk psychology. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 2, 407–432.
- Lu, L., & Gilmour, R. (2004). Culture and conceptions of happiness: Individual oriented and social oriented SWB. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 5, 269–291.
- Lutz, C. (1988). *Unnatural emotions: Everyday sentiments on a Micronesian atoll and their challenge to Western theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224–253.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (2004). Models of agency: Sociocultural diversity in the construction of action. In V. Murphy-Berman & J. J. Berman (Eds.), *Cross-cultural differences in perspectives on the self* (Vol. 49, pp. 1–58). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Markus, H. R., Uchida, Y., Omeregic, H., Townsend, S. S. M., & Kitayama, S. (2006). Going for the gold: Models of agency in Japanese and American contexts. *Psychological Science*, 17, 103–112.
- Mesquita, B., Karasawa, M., Haire, A., Izumi, K., Hayashi, A., Idzelis, M., et al. (2009). *What do I feel? The role of cultural models in emotion representations*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Leuven.
- Mesquita, B., & Leu, J. (2007). The cultural psychology of emotion. In S. Kitayama & D. Cohen (Eds.), *Handbook of cultural psychology* (pp. 734–759). New York: Guilford Press.
- Miller, D. T., & Ross, M. (1975). Self-serving biases in the attribution of causality: Fact or fiction? *Psychological Bulletin*, 82, 213–225.
- Miller, J. G. (1984). Culture and the development of everyday social explanation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46, 961–978.
- Miyamoto, Y., & Kitayama, S. (2002). Cultural variation in correspondence bias: The critical role of attitude diagnosticity of socially constrained behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 1239–1248.
- Morling, B., & Evered, S. (2006). Secondary control reviewed and defined. *Psychological Bulletin*, 132, 269–296.
- Morling, B., Kitayama, S., & Miyamoto, Y. (2002). Cultural practices emphasize influence in the United States and adjustment in Japan. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28, 311–323.
- Niia, Y., Ellsworth, P. C., & Yamaguchi, S. (2006). Amae in Japan and the U.S.: An exploration of a "culturally unique" emotion. *Emotion*, 6, 279–295.
- Nisbett, R. E., Peng, K., Choi, I., & Norenzayan, A. (2001). Culture and systems of thought: Holistic vs. analytic cognition. *Psychological Review*, 108, 291–310.
- Nolen-Hoeksema, S. (2003). *Women who think too much: How to break free of overthinking and reclaim your life*. New York: Holt.
- Oishi, S., & Diener, E. (2001). Goals, culture, and subjective well-being. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27, 1674–1682.
- Oyserman, D., & Lee, S. W. (2007). Priming independence and interdependence in East and West: What have we learned and is it "culture"? In S. Kitayama & D. Cohen (Eds.), *Handbook of cultural psychology* (pp. 255–282). New York: Guilford Press.
- Peng, K., & Nisbett, R. E. (1999). Culture, dialecticism, and reasoning about contradiction. *American Psychologist*, 54, 741–754.
- Peterson, C., & Seligman, M. E. P. (1985). The learned helplessness model of depression: Current status of theory and research. In E. E. Beckman & W. R. Leber (Eds.), *Handbook of depression: Treatment, assessment and research* (pp. 914–939). Homewood, IL: Dorsey.
- Russell, J. A. (1980). A circumplex model of affect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 39, 1161–1178.
- Sanchez-Burks, J., & Lee, F. (2007). Cultural psychology of workways. In S. Kitayama & D. Cohen (Eds.), *Handbook of cultural psychology* (pp. 346–369). New York: Guilford Press.
- Schimmack, U., Oishi, S., & Diener, E. (2002). Cultural influences on the relation between pleasant emotions and unpleasant emotions: Asian dialectic philosophies or individualism–collectivism? *Cognition and Emotion*, 16, 705–719.
- Shweder, R. A., & Bourne, E. J. (1982). Does the concept of person vary cross-culturally? In A. J. Marsella & G. M. White (Eds.), *Cultural conceptions of mental health and therapy* (pp. 130–204). London: Reidel.
- Smith, C. A., & Ellsworth, P. C. (1985). Patterns of cognitive appraisal in emotion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 48, 813–838.
- Suh, E. M., Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Triandis, H. C. (1998). The shifting basis of life satisfaction judgments across cultures: Emotions versus norms. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 482–493.
- Taylor, S. E., & Brown, J. D. (1988). Illusion and well-being: A social psychological perspective on mental health. *Psychological Bulletin*, 103, 193–210.

- Taylor, S. E., Sherman, D. K., Kim, H. S., Jarcho, J., Takagi, K., & Dunagan, M. S. (2004). Culture and social support: Who seeks it and why? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 87*, 354–362.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Tsai, J. L., Knutson, B., & Fung, H. H. (2006). Cultural variation in affect valuation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*, 288–307.
- Uchida, Y., Kitayama, S., Mesquita, B., Reyes, J. A. S., & Morling, B. (2008). Is perceived emotional support beneficial? Well-being and health in independent and interdependent cultures. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 34*, 741–754.
- Uchida, Y., Norasakkunkit, V., & Kitayama, S. (2004). Cultural constructions of happiness: Theory and evidence. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 5*, 223–239.
- Wagar, B. M., & Cohen, D. (2003). Culture, memory, and the self: An analysis of the personal and collective self in long-term memory. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 39*, 468–475.
- Weisz, J. R., Rothbaum, F. M., & Blackburn, T. C. (1984). Standing out and standing in: The psychology of control in America and Japan. *American Psychologist, 39*, 955.
- Zajonc, R. B. (1980). Feeling and thinking: Preferences need no inferences. *American Psychologist, 35*, 151–175.
- Zuckerman, M., & O'Loughlin, R. E. (2006). Self-enhancement by social comparison: A prospective analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 32*, 751–760.

Received July 13, 2008

Revision received January 28, 2009

Accepted February 11, 2009 ■



AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION SUBSCRIPTION CLAIMS INFORMATION

Today's Date: _____

We provide this form to assist members, institutions, and nonmember individuals with any subscription problems. With the appropriate information we can begin a resolution. If you use the services of an agent, please do **NOT** duplicate claims through them and directly to us. **PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY AND IN INK IF POSSIBLE.**

PRINT FULL NAME OR KEY NAME OF INSTITUTION _____

MEMBER OR CUSTOMER NUMBER (MAY BE FOUND ON ANY PAST ISSUE LABEL) _____

ADDRESS _____

DATE YOUR ORDER WAS MAILED (OR PHONED) _____

CITY _____

STATE/COUNTRY _____

ZIP _____

 PREPAID _____ CHECK _____ CHARGE _____
 CHECK/CARD CLEARED DATE: _____

(If possible, send a copy, front and back, of your cancelled check to help us in our research of your claim.) ISSUES: _____ MISSING _____ DAMAGED

YOUR NAME AND PHONE NUMBER _____

TITLE _____

VOLUME OR YEAR _____

NUMBER OR MONTH _____

Thank you. Once a claim is received and resolved, delivery of replacement issues routinely takes 4–6 weeks.

(TO BE FILLED OUT BY APA STAFF)

DATE RECEIVED: _____

DATE OF ACTION: _____

ACTION TAKEN: _____

INV. NO. & DATE: _____

STAFF NAME: _____

LABEL NO. & DATE: _____

Send this form to APA Subscription Claims, 750 First Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002-4242

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE. A PHOTOCOPY MAY BE USED.