Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin

Good Feelings in Christianity and Buddhism: Religious Differences in Ideal Affect

Jeanne L. Tsai, Felicity F. Miao and Emma Seppala

The online version of this article can be found at:
http://psp.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/33/3/409

Published by:

SSAGE Publications

http://www.sagepublications.com

On behalf of:

SP
SP

Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Inc.

Additional services and information for *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* can be found at:

Email Alerts: http://psp.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts

Subscriptions: http://psp.sagepub.com/subscriptions

Reprints: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav

Permissions: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav

Citations (this article cites 13 articles hosted on the
SAGE Journals Online and HighWire Press platforms):
http://psp.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/33/3/409#BIBL

Good Feelings in Christianity and Buddhism: Religious Differences in Ideal Affect

Jeanne L. Tsai
Stanford University

Felicity F. Miao
University of Virginia

Emma Seppala
Stanford University

Affect valuation theory (AVT) predicts cultural variation in the affective states that people ideally want to feel (i.e., "ideal affect"). National and ethnic comparisons support this prediction: For instance, European Americans (EA) value high arousal positive (HAP) states (e.g., excitement) more and low arousal positive (LAP) states (e.g., calm) less than Hong Kong Chinese. In this article, the authors examine whether religions differ in the ideal affective states they endorse. The authors predicted that Christianity values HAP more and LAP less than Buddhism. In Study 1, they compared Christian and Buddhist practitioners' ideal affect. In Studies 2 and 3, they compared the endorsement of HAP and LAP in Christian and Buddhist classical texts (e.g., Gospels, Lotus Sutra) and contemporary self-help books (e.g., Your Best Life Now, Art of Happiness*). Findings supported predictions, suggesting that AVT applies to religious and to national and ethnic cultures.*

Keywords: religion; emotion; culture; Christianity; Buddhism

"I'm *excited* about my future!" Start speaking those kinds of words, and before long, you will rise to a new level of well-being, success, and victory.

—Osteen (2004, p. **123**)

[The 14th Dalai Lama] . . . has pointed out that a happy life is built on a foundation of a *calm*, stable state of mind.

—Dalai Lama XIV and Cutler (1998, p. **311**)

Although most people say they want to feel good, people vary in the specific positive states that they ideally want to feel ("ideal affect"). Some people, such as best-selling Christian author and pastor Joel Osteen, value high arousal positive (HAP) states such as excitement, whereas other people, such as the Dalai Lama, value low arousal positive (LAP) states such as calm. In a previous paper (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006), we presented affect valuation theory (AVT), which predicts that cultures have different ideal affects. National and ethnic comparisons provide empirical support for this prediction.[1] For example, in Tsai, Knutson, et al. (2006), individuals oriented to American culture (European Americans) valued HAP more and LAP less than did individuals oriented to Chinese culture (Hong Kong Chinese). Individuals oriented to both American and Chinese cultures (Chinese Americans) valued HAP more than did Hong Kong Chinese but valued LAP more than did EA. Similar differences in ideal affect have been observed among EA, Asian Americans (AA),

and Taiwanese Chinese preschool children, suggesting that these differences are socialized early in life (Tsai, Louie, Chen, & Uchida, 2006). In the present article, we expand our work to include religious cultures and predict that religions endorse different ideal affects. To test this prediction, we compare the affective states that are valued in Christianity and Buddhism. Prior to presenting the studies, we describe AVT in greater detail.

AVT

AVT is a new framework that integrates ideal affect into existing models of affect and emotion. The first premise of AVT is that how people ideally want to feel (ideal affect) differs from how they actually feel ("actual affect"). Although much research has focused on actual affect, relatively little research has focused on ideal affect. Although actual affect occurs in response to an event that is related to people's goals (e.g., Carver & Scheier, 1990), ideal affect is a goal itself. Ideal affect develops when people begin to prefer the experience of some affective states over others and actively strive to attain those states. Over time, ideal affect may also become a standard against which people compare their actual affect.

Across cultures, people report that they ideally want to feel more positive than negative, suggesting that although there may be specific situations in which people want to feel negative (e.g., during a funeral), these situations are rare (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006). In contrast, people report actually feeling a variety of positive and negative affective states. Moreover, people report that they want to feel more positive and less negative than they actually feel (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006). In part, this may be because most people have limited control over their actual affective states; indeed, at any given moment in time, various individual and situational factors may hinder people's attempts at regulating their actual affect and achieving their ideal affect.

The second premise of AVT predicts that *cultural factors* shape ideal affect more than actual affect. Cultural factors are historically derived and socially transmitted ideas that are instantiated in practices, products, and institutions (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952). Culture shapes people's notions of what is good, moral, and virtuous (Shweder, 2003), and, therefore, we predict that culture shapes people's notions of what affective states are desirable. How people actually feel, however, depends on other factors in addition to culture. For instance, a large literature suggests that temperament (e.g., extraversion, neuroticism) accounts for at least 50% of variation in actual affect across various individualistic and collectivistic cultures (e.g., Diener & Lucas, 1999; Lykken & Tellegen, 1996; Schimmack, Radhakrishnan, Oishi, Dzokoto, & Ahadi, 2002). Thus, although both cultural

and temperamental factors may shape actual and ideal affect, AVT predicts that cultural factors shape ideal affect more than actual affect, whereas temperamental factors shape actual affect more than ideal affect.

Consistent with this hypothesis (and as described above), Tsai, Knutson, et al. (2006) observed differences in ideal HAP and LAP among EA, Chinese Americans, and Hong Kong Chinese. No significant group differences emerged in actual HAP or LAP after controlling for group differences in temperament (extraversion and neuroticism), supporting the prediction that cultural factors shape ideal affect more than actual affect. Moreover, temperament accounted for a greater percentage of variance in actual HAP and LAP than in ideal HAP and LAP. In contrast, cultural values accounted for a greater percentage of variance in ideal HAP and LAP than in actual HAP and LAP. Together, these findings support the second premise of AVT.

Finally, the third premise of AVT predicts that people try to reduce the discrepancy between their actual and ideal affect (i.e., bring their actual affect closer to their ideal affect) by engaging in specific mood-producing behaviors (e.g., recreational activities, drug use) that elicit their ideal affect. Thus, AVT provides an explanation for differences in various mood-producing behaviors that are well documented but poorly understood. For instance, Americans are more likely to engage in extreme sports and are more likely to use stimulant drugs than their Chinese counterparts (Hong Kong Sports Institute, personal communication, August 8, 2005; Marquand, 2005; Sporting Goods Manufacturers Association, 2005; United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention, 2002). We propose that these behavioral variations reflect the different emphases that American and East Asian cultures place on HAP and LAP.

Thus, by differentiating ideal affect from actual affect, AVT provides a new way of integrating cultural and temperamental influences on emotion and of linking emotion to mood-producing behaviors. To date, all of the research supporting AVT has focused on national and ethnic cultures. In the present article, we begin to explore another potential source of variation in ideal affect: religion.

Religious Cultures and Ideal Affect

Based on the definition of *cultural factors* provided above, many scholars view religion as a "cultural system" (e.g., Cohen & Hill, in press; Geertz, 1973). Religious doctrine is "historically derived": The religious texts and icons produced by one generation influence subsequent generations of religious followers. Religious doctrine is also "socially transmitted": Practitioners learn religious beliefs and practices from religious authorities (pastors, nuns) and other practitioners. Religious ideas

are instantiated through daily rituals and ceremonies and are embedded in core texts, statues, paintings, and other religious "products." Thus, AVT predicts that religion should influence practitioners' ideal affect and that religions should differ in their ideal affects. Indeed, Emmons and Paloutzian (2003) and Silberman (2005) argue that religions teach people that some emotions are more desirable than others, and Cohen, Hall, Koenig, and Meador (2005) propose that specific affective states may be more important to some religions than others. Religions may promote ideal affect through texts and sermons about how practitioners ought to act or feel or through sacred writings and paintings that depict religious leaders experiencing certain states (Corrigan, 2004).

Although empirical studies have compared the value placed on moral and immoral thoughts (vs. actions; e.g., Cohen & Rozin, 2001) and on forgiveness between Jewish and Christian traditions (Cohen, Malka, Rozin, & Cherfas, 2006), none has compared the endorsement of specific affective states across different religions. Qualitative descriptions, however, suggest that there are religious differences in ideal affect. For example, Watts (1996) compared the charismatic movement of contemporary Christianity with Buddhism and observed that although the former views "strong emotion as a hallmark of strong religious life," the latter values the "calming of the passions" (p. 81). Similarly, Smith (1991) describes Jesus as an "energizing power," who used "gigantesque" language and possessed an "extravagance" and "passionate quality," in comparison to the Buddha, who was "cool," "dispassionate," and "calm" (pp. 115, 217).

Indeed, the Christian–Buddhist differences in ideal affect proposed above may be because of the different emphases the religions place on influencing versus adjusting to the world. According to Weisz, Rothbaum, and Blackburn (1984), Christianity encourages its practitioners to "alter the world to make it fit their own Christian percepts" (p. 961); in contrast, Buddhism encourages its practitioners "not to attempt to alter existing realities" (p. 961) and instead to "change their orientation toward those realities" (p. 961). In Tsai, Miao, Seppala, Fung, and Yeung (2006), wanting to influence others was associated with valuing HAP, whereas wanting to adjust to others was associated with valuing LAP.

On the other hand, most religions expect practitioners to adjust to "powerful cosmic forces" and to put others' needs above one's own (Weisz et al., 1984, p. 961). For example, both Christianity and Buddhism teach individuals to be considerate of others (Haidt, 2006; Smith, 1991). Because putting others' needs above one's own is associated with valuing LAP (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2006), it is possible that most religions value LAP. Consistent with this notion, Saraglou, Delpierre, and Dernelle (2004) found that across various Western religions, the more religious people were, the more they valued social order, which is associated with calm and peacefulness. Thus, Christianity and Buddhism may similarly endorse affective states such as LAP.

The Present Studies

To examine whether there are religious differences in ideal affect, we compared the endorsement of HAP and LAP in Christianity and Buddhism. We focused on Christianity and Buddhism for several reasons. First, as mentioned above, qualitative descriptions suggest that these religions promote different ideal affective states (Smith, 1991; Watts, 1996). Second, because our previous studies (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, Louie, et al., 2006; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2006) focused on American and East Asian cultures, we were interested in comparing religions that are popular in the United States and many East Asian countries. According to the International Freedom Report for 2004, Christianity is the dominant religion in American contexts, whereas Buddhism is the dominant religion in many East Asian contexts. Third, both religions are "assent" religions, in which affiliation is defined by beliefs (vs. "descent" religions, in which affiliation is defined by biological ancestry; Morris, 1996) and therefore are practiced by people from different countries, of different racial and cultural backgrounds, who speak different languages (Smith, 1991). Thus, we were able to "control" for national differences among practitioners by focusing on those living in the United States.

Finally, as mentioned above, Christianity and Buddhism are similar in a number of ways: Both traditions follow the life history of a "founder" (i.e., Jesus, Buddha), which is described in their core texts; both religions provide a theory of ethics and moral behavior that focuses on loving all beings ("Golden Rule") and that refer to desirable and undesirable states (Ekman, Davidson, Ricard, & Wallace, 2005; Smith, 1991); and both religions view individuals as responsible for their actions and believe in the possibility of human perfection (Smith, 1991; von Glasenapp, 2001). Although the religions also differ in significant ways (e.g., the path through salvation; von Glasenapp, 2001), their similarities suggest that the religions serve common functions in practitioners' lives. Therefore, observed differences in ideal affect could not be attributed to the religions addressing different aspects of human life.

We conducted three studies to test the hypothesis that Christianity values HAP more and LAP less than Buddhism. In Study 1, we compared Christian and Buddhist practitioners to examine whether individuals who have been chronically exposed to Christian and Buddhist ideas and practices differ in their ideal affect. In

Study 2, we compared the endorsement of HAP and LAP in popular classical texts that form the foundation of Christianity and Buddhism. Because religions evolve over time, in Study 3, we also compared the endorsement of HAP and LAP in best-selling and widely distributed contemporary Christian and Buddhist self-help books.

STUDY 1: IDEAL AFFECT AMONG CHRISTIAN AND BUDDHIST PRACTITIONERS

In Study 1, we examined whether Christians and Buddhists differed in their ideal affect. To increase the likelihood that Christians and Buddhists were similar to each other, we focused on university students. We recruited EA, who were primarily oriented to American culture, and AA, who were oriented to both American and East Asian cultures, to see whether the effects of religion on ideal affect varied by national cultural orientation, controlling for national residence. We also administered measures of temperament to ensure that observed group differences were not because of possible temperamental differences between Christians and Buddhists. To assess whether religious practitioners differed from nonpractitioners, we compared Christian and Buddhist responses to a "nonpractitioner control" group (i.e., EA and AA who did not endorse any religion).

Hypotheses

Consistent with previous findings, we predicted that across ethnic groups, Christians and Buddhists (a) would report valuing positive states more than negative states and (b) would report wanting to feel more positive and less negative than they actually felt. Based on the above qualitative descriptions, we predicted that (c) across ethnic groups, Christians would value HAP more and LAP less than Buddhists. Based on suggestions that all religions expect their practitioners to adjust to a larger "cosmic order" (Weisz et al., 1984) and previous findings that religiosity is associated with valuing safety and order (Saraglou et al., 2004), we predicted that (d) across ethnic groups, both religious groups would value HAP less and LAP more than nonpractitioners. We also predicted that as in previous reports (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2006), (e) AA would value LAP more than EA but would not differ from EA in their valuation of HAP. Finally, consistent with the second premise of AVT, we predicted that (f) there would be greater religious differences in ideal affect than actual affect.

We also examined whether there were religious differences in the valuation of high arousal negative (HAN) states (e.g., fearful, nervous, hostile) and low arousal negative (LAN) states (e.g., dull, sleepy, sluggish). We did not have specific predictions about religious differences in

these states because previous studies have observed few differences in ideal negative states (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2006).

Participants

A total of 120 Christian (50.0% EA, 50.0% AA; 64.0% female) and 105 Buddhist (57.1% EA, 42.9% AA; 48.6% female) students from various North American universities participated in the study. Participants were recruited through Christian and Buddhist student university organizations via e-mail advertisements and were included in the study if they self-identified as current practitioners of Christianity (17.6% Catholic, 77.3% Protestant, 5.0% not specified) or Buddhism (Buddhists did not specify their denomination).

To examine whether religious practitioners differed from nonpractitioners, we compared Christian and Buddhist responses to a nonpractitioner control group. This control group was created by randomly selecting 120 university students who reported not practicing any religion (50.0% EA, 50.0% AA; 63.0% female) from two preexisting survey studies (total $N = 304$ EA, 279 AA; Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2006). In the survey studies, students were recruited through e-mail distribution lists sent to dorms and various student organizations.

In addition to religious criteria, EA were required to (a) have been born and raised in the United States, (b) have parents who were born and raised in the United States, and (c) be of European ancestry. AA were required to (a) have been born and raised in the United States or in an East Asian country (e.g., China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, Korea) and (b) have parents and grandparents who were born and raised in an East Asian country.

A 2×3 (ethnicity: EA, AA $\times$ religion: none, Christian, Buddhist) analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed a significant Ethnicity $\times$ Religion interaction for age, $F(2, 334) = 5.74$, $p < .01$. Across ethnic groups, Buddhists were significantly older than Christians (Buddhists = 25.30, $SE = 0.48$; Christians = 20.62, $SE = 0.45$; $p < .001$) and nonpractitioners (Buddhists = 25.30, $SE = 0.48$; nonpractitioners = 19.46, $SE = 0.45$; $p < .001$). The magnitudes of these differences, however, were greater for EA (Cohen's d for Buddhists vs. Christians = 0.96, Cohen's d for Buddhists vs. nonpractitioners = 1.25) than AA (Cohen's d for Buddhists vs. Christians = 0.59, Cohen's d for Buddhists vs. nonpractitioners = 1.02). Our results did not change when we controlled for this age difference; therefore, we do not discuss this difference further.

Instruments

National cultural orientation (General Ethnicity Questionnaire, GEQ). To assess whether the religious

groups differed in their national cultural orientation, all participants completed the American version of the GEQ (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000). The GEQ samples different domains of respondents' lives, including their cultural exposure, food and activity preferences, cultural attitudes, language, and social affiliation. We also administered the GEQ to ensure that AA were moderately oriented to East Asian culture. The validity of the GEQ has been reported in several papers (e.g., Tsai et al., 2000). Internal consistency estimates for the GEQ–American version were .89 for EA and .88 for AA; the internal consistency estimate of the GEQ–Asian version was .86 for AA.

Ideal and actual affect (Affect Valuation Index, AVI). To assess ideal affect, respondents were asked to "rate how much you would IDEALLY like to feel" each of 28 different affective states "on average," using a scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*all of the time*). To assess actual affect, respondents were also asked to rate "how much you ACTUALLY feel" the same states "on average." The AVI and its psychometric properties are available on request and reported in Tsai, Knutson, et al. (2006). Although the AVI samples each octant of the affective circumplex (e.g., Feldman Barrett & Russell, 1999; Larsen & Diener, 1992; D. Watson & Tellegen, 1985), we focused on actual and ideal HAP (excited, enthusiastic, elated, euphoric) and LAP (calm, peaceful, serene, relaxed) because we predicted that there would be religious differences in these specific states. To examine whether there were differences in actual and ideal negative states, we also focused on high (HAN; hostile, nervous, fearful) and low (LAN; dull, sleepy, sluggish) arousal negative states, to correspond with HAP and LAP states. Internal consistency estimates for actual and ideal HAP, LAP, HAN, and LAN were, respectively, .84, .82, .85, .81, .59, .70, .73, and .71 for EA and .83, .78, .86, .81, .72, .58, .62, and .70 for AA.

In previous studies that included Hong Kong Chinese samples (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2006), prior to calculating mean aggregate affect scores (e.g., ideal HAP), we assessed if there were group differences in response style (e.g., acquiescence bias, extreme response bias) by calculating the overall mean and standard deviation of responses to items within the same instrument for each individual and then conducting one-way ANOVAs by group on these values. If significant group differences emerged, we proceeded by standardizing responses within each individual ("ipsatization"). We standardized within each individual rather than within each group because we were specifically interested in group differences, and standardizing within each group would eliminate such group differences (for an excellent review of the different standardization procedures used in cross-cultural psychology and their relative advantages and disadvantages, see Fischer, 2004). Specifically, for each individual, we subtracted that individual's mean response to all of the items within the same instrument (e.g., actual affect) from his or her response to each item (i.e., the raw score for each item) in that instrument and then divided the difference score by the standard deviation of that individual's response to the instrument items. We then proceeded to calculate mean aggregate affect scores.

In the present study, we did not find group differences in response styles for actual affect or ideal affect. For actual affect, the overall mean (EA = 2.60, SE = 0.02; AA = 2.62, SE = 0.02), $F(1, 338)$ = 0.37, ns, and standard deviation (EA = 0.91, SE = 0.02; AA = 0.91, SE = 0.02), $F(1, 338)$ = 0.001, ns, did not significantly differ between ethnic groups. Similarly, for ideal affect, the overall mean (EA = 2.80, SE = 0.02; AA = 2.84, SE = 0.02), $F(1, 337)$ = 1.97, ns, and standard deviation (EA = 1.47, SE = 0.02; AA = 1.48, SE = 0.02), $F(1, 337)$ = 0.41, ns, did not significantly differ between ethnic groups. This may not be entirely surprising because both groups were highly oriented to American culture. Although there were no ethnic differences in response styles, we report ipsatized data for the actual and ideal affect measures to maintain consistency with previous reports (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2006). We also conducted analyses on raw scores; unless otherwise specified, the results were the same for raw and ipsatized scores (raw scores available on request).

Temperament (NEO Five-Factory Inventory). Participants completed the 24 items from the NEO inventory (Costa & McCrae, 1992) that assessed neuroticism and extraversion. Internal consistency estimates for neuroticism and extraversion were .89 and .81 for EA and .89 and .82 for AA.[2]

Procedure

Participants completed the questionnaires online. These instruments were embedded within a number of other questionnaires unrelated to the study.

Data Analyses and Results

In the following analyses, Ethnicity (EA, AA) and Religion (none, Christian, Buddhist) were treated as between-subjects factors; Actual Affect (HAP, LAP) and Ideal Affect (HAP, LAP) were treated as within-subject factors. In our initial analyses, we also included Gender (Female, Male) as a between-subjects factor; however, because there were no significant main effects or interactions involving Gender, we dropped it from the final analyses. We first examined whether there were religious and ethnic differences in national cultural orientation and temperament.

National cultural orientation. We had administered the GEQ to examine if there were any religious differences in national cultural orientation. A 2×3 (ethnicity: EA, AA $\times$ religion: none, Christian, Buddhist) ANOVA revealed a significant Ethnicity $\times$ Religion interaction for orientation to American culture, $F(2, 326) = 5.95$, $p < .01$. Follow-up analyses revealed that among EA, there was a significant effect of Religion, $F(2, 172) = 23.81$, $p < .001$. EA Buddhists were less oriented to American culture than EA nonpractitioners and EA Christians (EA nonpractitioners = 3.82, $SE = 0.06$; EA Christians = 3.95, $SE = 0.06$; EA Buddhists = 3.40, $SE = .06$; $p < .001$). We controlled for these differences in American orientation in subsequent analyses.

Among AA, there were no significant religious differences in American orientation (AA nonpractitioners = 3.53, $SE = 0.06$; AA Christians = 3.55, $SE = 0.06$; AA Buddhists = 3.43, $SE = 0.07$), $F(2, 154) = 0.83$, *ns*. A one-way ANOVA revealed that there were also no significant religious differences in East Asian orientation among AA (AA nonpractitioners = 3.46, $SE = 0.06$; AA Christians = 3.50, $SE = 0.06$; AA Buddhists = 3.43, $SE = 0.07$), $F(2, 154) = 0.35$, *ns*. Furthermore, although AA lived in the United States, they were still moderately oriented to East Asian culture.

Temperament. Separate 2×3 (ethnicity: EA, AA $\times$ religion: none, Christian, Buddhist) ANOVAs were conducted on neuroticism and extraversion. Analyses revealed a significant main effect of Religion for neuroticism (nonpractitioners = 2.98, $SE = 0.07$; Christians = 2.83, $SE = 0.07$; Buddhists = 2.71, $SE = 0.08$), $F(2, 339) = 3.54$, $p < .05$, with Buddhists being less neurotic than Christians and nonpractitioners ($p < .01$). A significant main effect of Religion also emerged for extraversion (nonpractitioners = 3.39, $SE = 0.05$; Christians = 3.55, $SE = 0.05$; Buddhists = 3.39, $SE = 0.05$), $F(2, 339) = 3.53$, $p < .05$, with Christians being more extraverted than nonpractitioners and Buddhists ($p < .05$). There was a significant main effect of Ethnicity for neuroticism (EA = 2.73, $SE = 0.06$; AA = 2.96, $SE = 0.06$), $F(1, 339) = 7.76$, $p < .01$, with AA being more neurotic than EA, but not for extraversion.

In summary, EA Buddhists were less oriented to American culture than were EA Christians and EA nonpractitioners; among AA, there were no religious differences in American or Asian orientation. Buddhists were less neurotic than Christians and nonpractitioners, and Christians were more extraverted than Buddhists and nonpractitioners. In addition, AA were more neurotic than EA. To ensure that observed differences in ideal and actual affect were not due to differences in American orientation and temperament, we controlled for these variables in our analyses.

Hypotheses 1 and 2: Ideal and Actual Affect

We predicted that both Christians and Buddhists would report valuing positive states more than negative states (Hypothesis 1) and would report wanting to feel more positive and less negative than they actually felt (Hypothesis 2). To test Hypothesis 1, we conducted pairwise t tests comparing each ideal positive affect (HAP, LAP) with each ideal negative affect (LAN, HAN) for Christians and Buddhists. These analyses revealed that, as predicted, both Christians and Buddhists reported wanting to feel more positive than negative (for Christians, ideal HAP = 0.49, $SD = 0.41$, ideal LAP = 0.91, $SD = 0.32$, ideal LAN = -0.99, $SD = 0.32$, ideal HAN = -1.24, $SD = 0.37$; for Buddhists, ideal HAP = 0.31, $SD = 0.43$, ideal LAP = 0.99, $SD = 0.28$, ideal LAN = -1.00, $SD = 0.21$, ideal HAN = -1.37, $SD = 0.30$; t-values > 25; p values < .001; specific values available on request).

To test Hypothesis 2, we conducted pairwise t tests on actual and ideal affect for HAP, LAP, LAN, and HAN for Christians and Buddhists. As predicted and reported in Table 1, both Christians and Buddhists reported wanting to feel more HAP, more LAP, less LAN, and less HAN than they actually felt.

Hypotheses 3, 4, and 5: Religious and Ethnic Differences in Ideal HAP and LAP

We predicted that Christians would value HAP more and LAP less than Buddhists (Hypothesis 3), that nonpractitioners would value HAP more and LAP less than Christians and Buddhists (Hypothesis 4), and that AA would value LAP more than EA (Hypothesis 5). In our previous work (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006), we found that actual and ideal affect were weakly to moderately correlated with each other, and, therefore, we controlled for actual affect when examining differences in ideal affect (and vice versa) to ensure that differences in one type of affect were not because of differences in the other type of affect. In the present study, Pearson moment correlational analyses conducted on actual and ideal affect also revealed that for both Christians and Buddhists, actual and ideal affect were weakly to moderately correlated with each other ($r_{\text{actual and ideal HAP}}$: Christians = .55, $p < .001$, Buddhists = .53, $p < .001$; $r_{\text{actual and ideal LAP}}$: Christians = .18, $p < .05$, Buddhists = .14, *ns*; $r_{\text{actual and ideal LAN}}$: Christians = .15, *ns*, Buddhists = $-.03$, *ns*; $r_{\text{actual and ideal HAN}}$: Christians = .12, *ns*, Buddhists = .10, *ns*). Therefore, as in our previous work (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006), we controlled for differences in actual affect when examining differences in ideal affect and vice versa. The results did not change when we did not covary for actual affect or ideal affect.

To test Hypotheses 3 to 5, we conducted $2 \times 3 \times 2$ (ethnicity: EA, AA $\times$ religion: none, Christian, Buddhist $\times$ ideal

Table 1:   Means and Standard Deviations of Actual and Ideal Affect (Ipsatized) for Study 1

| | Christian | | | | | Buddhist | | | | |
| | Actual | | Ideal | | | Actual | | Ideal | | |
Affect	M	SD	M	SD	t(119)	M	SD	M	SD	t(101)
HAP	0.02	(0.59)	0.49	(0.41)	−10.28***	0.00	(0.57)	0.31	(0.43)	−6.24***
LAP	0.40	(0.60)	0.91	(0.32)	−8.93***	0.49	(0.56)	0.99	(0.28)	−8.61***
HAN	−0.57	(0.58)	−1.24	(0.37)	11.32***	−0.52	(0.68)	−1.36	(0.33)	11.67***
LAN	0.02	(0.75)	−0.99	(0.32)	14.56***	−0.16	(0.68)	−1.00	(0.21)	11.88***

NOTE: HAP = high arousal positive; LAP = low arousal positive; HAN = high arousal negative; LAN = low arousal negative.
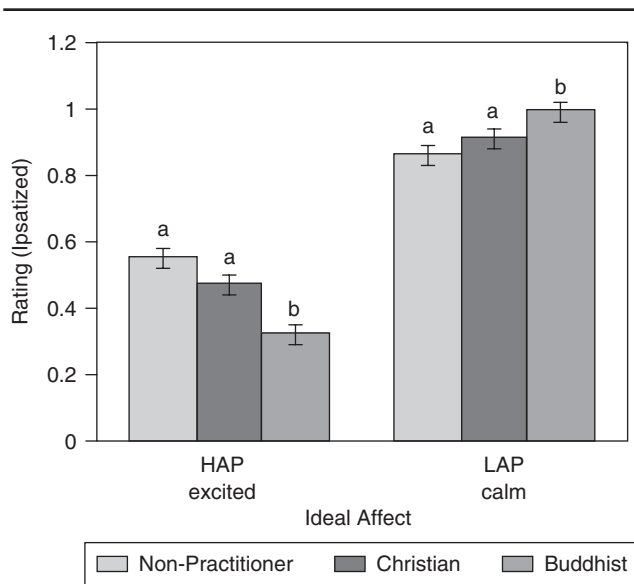***$p < .001$.

Figure 1   Study 1: Ideal affect by religious identification.
NOTE: HAP = high arousal positive states; LAP = low arousal positive states. Different letters indicate significant group differences ($p < .05$).

affect: HAP, LAP) analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs), controlling for actual HAP and LAP. As predicted, the Religion × Ideal Affect interaction was significant, $F(2, 334) = 15.24$, $p < .001$. Follow-up analyses revealed a significant main effect of Religion for ideal HAP, $F(2, 335) = 13.69$, $p < .001$, and for ideal LAP, $F(2, 335) = 5.40$, $p < .01$. Consistent with Hypothesis 3 and as illustrated in Figure 1, Christians valued HAP more than Buddhists (Cohen's $d = 0.44$, $p < .001$), and Buddhists valued LAP more than Christians (Cohen's $d = 0.29$, $p = .05$).

Consistent with Hypothesis 4, nonpractitioners valued HAP more and LAP less than Christians (HAP: Cohen's $d = 0.24$, $p < .10$; LAP: Cohen's $d = 0.18$, ns) and Buddhists (HAP: Cohen's $d = 0.68$, $p < .001$; LAP: Cohen's $d = 0.46$, $p = .001$), although the differences between nonpractitioners and Christians were not significant.

Consistent with Hypothesis 5, there was a significant main effect of Ethnicity for ideal LAP, with AA valuing

LAP more than EA (EA = 0.87, $SE = 0.02$; AA = 0.97, $SE = 0.02$; Cohen's $d = 0.36$), $F(1, 335) = 11.09$, $p = .001$. There were no significant ethnic differences in ideal HAP.

There were no significant Ethnicity × Religion interactions, suggesting that the differences between Buddhists and Christians in ideal HAP and ideal LAP held for both AA and EA. All of the findings held after controlling for the differences in American orientation and temperament reported above. These results support the prediction that religion influences ideal affect.

Hypothesis 6: Religious Factors Shape Ideal More Than Actual HAP and LAP

Hypothesis 6 predicts that religious differences would emerge in ideal affect more than actual affect. Therefore, to assess whether there were group differences in *actual* HAP and LAP, we conducted 2 × 3 × 2 (ethnicity: EA, AA × religion: none, Christian, Buddhist × actual affect: HAP, LAP) ANCOVAs, controlling for ideal HAP and LAP. There was a significant main effect of Religion, $F(2, 334) = 4.48$, $p < .05$, with Buddhists experiencing more positive affective states overall than nonpractitioners (nonpractitioners = 0.12, $SE = 0.04$; Christians = 0.20, $SE = 0.04$; Buddhists = 0.28, $SE = 0.04$; Buddhists vs. nonpractitioners: Cohen's $d = 0.41$, $p < .01$). Although these differences held after controlling for religious differences in American orientation, they were no longer significant after we controlled for religious differences in temperament (i.e., neuroticism). Because the religious differences in *ideal* affect reported above held after controlling for American orientation and temperament, our findings support the prediction that religious cultures shape ideal affect more than actual affect. There were no significant main effects or interactions involving Ethnicity for actual HAP or LAP.

Negative Affective States

Ideal HAN and LAN. To assess whether there were religious differences in ideal negative affective states, we

conducted 2 × 3 (ethnicity × religion) ANCOVAs on ideal HAN, controlling for actual HAN, and on ideal LAN, controlling for actual LAN. A significant main effect of Religion emerged for ideal HAN, $F(2, 336) = 4.00$, $p < .05$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that Buddhists devalued HAN more than Christians and nonpractitioners (nonpractitioners = –1.25, $SE = 0.03$; Christians = –1.24, $SE = 0.03$; Buddhists = –1.36, $SE = 0.03$; Buddhists vs. Christians: Cohen's $d = 0.32$, $p < .05$; Buddhists vs. nonpractitioners: Cohen's $d = 0.32$, $p < .05$). This difference held after controlling for temperament and American orientation; however, the difference was no longer significant when raw scores were analyzed, suggesting that it is less robust than religious differences in ideal HAP and ideal LAP (which held for both ipsatized and raw scores). No significant main effects or interactions involving Religion were significant for ideal LAN. There were also no significant main effects or interactions involving Ethnicity for ideal LAN or ideal HAN.

Actual HAN and LAN. Conducted on actual HAN, controlling for ideal HAN, 2 × 3 (ethnicity × religion) ANCOVAs revealed no significant main effects or interactions involving Religion or Ethnicity. However, 2 × 3 (ethnicity × religion) ANCOVAs conducted on actual LAN, controlling for ideal LAN, revealed a significant main effect of Religion, $F(2, 335) = 3.91$, $p < .05$, with Buddhists experiencing less LAN than nonpractitioners (nonpractitioners = 0.12, $SE = 0.06$; Christians = 0.02, $SE = 0.06$; Buddhists = –0.14, $SE = 0.07$; Buddhists vs. nonpractitioners: Cohen's $d = 0.38$). Although this difference held after controlling for religious differences in American orientation, it disappeared after controlling for religious differences in temperament (i.e., neuroticism). There was also a significant main effect of Ethnicity for actual LAN, $F(2, 335) = 12.45$, $p < .001$, with EA experiencing less LAN than AA (EA = –0.13, AA = 0.13; Cohen's $d = 0.38$).

Study 1 Discussion

Consistent with previous findings and the predictions of AVT, Christians and Buddhists wanted to feel more positive than negative and wanted to feel more positive and less negative than they actually felt. Also as predicted, across ethnicities, Christians valued HAP more and LAP less than Buddhists, controlling for religious differences in American orientation and temperament. Although Christians and Buddhists valued HAP less and LAP more than nonpractitioners, the differences were not significant for Christians. In part, this may be because all participants were American and because Christianity is the dominant religion in American culture. We also found a religious difference in the devaluation of negative states, with Buddhists devaluing HAN more than

Christians and nonpractitioners. HAN is the opposite of LAP; thus, it is possible that Buddhists devalued HAN more because they valued LAP more than the other two groups. Although religious differences emerged in actual positive and negative affect, they disappeared after controlling for religious differences in temperament. Together, these findings support the prediction that religion shapes ideal affect more than actual affect.

Consistent with previous findings, ethnic differences also emerged: AA valued LAP more than EA. These findings held after controlling for American orientation, suggesting that they were because of AA orientation to East Asian culture. EA also experienced less LAN than AA, even after controlling for temperament, a difference that has been observed in previous studies but that does not account for ethnic differences in ideal affect (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, Miao, et al., 2006).

Although differences in ideal HAP and LAP between Christian and Buddhist practitioners held after controlling for American orientation and temperament, it is still possible that differences in ideal affect were due to nonreligious factors. Therefore, in the next two studies, we compared the affective content of Christian and Buddhist texts to examine what affective states the religions themselves endorse. Because Study 1 revealed that differences in ideal affect were the most pronounced for positive states, we focused on HAP and LAP only. Although previous studies have examined the frequency with which different affective states (Mayer, 1994; Whissell, 2004; Whissell & Dewson, 1986) and explanatory styles (e.g., optimism, pessimism; Sethi & Seligman, 1993) occur in religious texts, none have explicitly compared Christian and Buddhist classical texts. Moreover, because the frequency of affective words does not necessarily reflect the *endorsement* (or *valuation*) of those words, existing studies say little about how religious texts vary in the endorsement of specific affective states.

STUDY 2: IDEAL AFFECT IN CHRISTIAN AND BUDDHIST CLASSICAL TEXTS

Method

Texts. We examined Christian and Buddhist texts that were similar in terms of their popularity, importance, influence, and content. Based on statistics provided by the Christian Booksellers Association and Evangelical Christian Publishers Association (2006), we examined the three most popular translations of the Bible, the most important and influential classical Christian text. We chose three translations to achieve an adequate number of texts that would allow statistical comparisons. Although we coded the entire Bible, we focused on the

Gospels (i.e., Matthew, Luke, Mark, and John) because they are the specific books of the Bible that are most commonly read by Christians. The Gospels focus on Jesus Christ's teachings and on his life, death, and resurrection.

Local Buddhist teachers and scholars identified the Dhammapada, Heart Sutra, Diamond Sutra, and Lotus Sutra as the most important and influential classical Buddhist texts. These texts focus on Buddha's teachings (e.g., his sermons and discussions with his followers) and on his life and path to enlightenment. As with the Christian texts, we examined the three most popular English translations of each Buddhist text. Names of the texts and their translations are indicated by asterisks in the reference list.

Frequency (proportion) of HAP and LAP. To ensure that Christian and Buddhist texts both mentioned HAP and LAP, we first examined the frequency of HAP and LAP words in each text, using the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC; Pennebaker & Francis, 1999). Because LIWC does not contain categories for HAP and LAP words, we created our own "dictionary" (available on request), based on preexisting lists of emotion terms (e.g., Clore, Ortony, & Foss, 1987; Feldman Barrett & Russell, 1999; Larsen & Diener, 1992; Sweeney & Whissell, 1984; D. Watson & Tellegen, 1985). Sample HAP words include *rejoice*, *proud*, *glory*, *exhalt*, and *desire*; sample LAP words include *serene*, *placid*, *calm*, *peace*, and *harmony*. "Frequencies" were the proportion of total words for each text that fell under each category. For example, the frequency of HAP words for a particular text was the number of words that were classified as HAP divided by the total number of words that appeared in that text.

Endorsement of HAP and LAP. We developed a computer program that extracted the chapter in which each HAP or LAP word occurred. We also extracted chapters that contained pleasant (i.e., neither high nor low arousal) words (e.g., *happy*, *content*); these served as "filler" chapters. A total of 13,058 Christian words (1,103 from the Gospels) and 4,153 Buddhist words were coded. Chapters were presented in random order so that coders were not aware of the source of the words.

Three coders assessed whether the affective word was "encouraged," "discouraged," or viewed in "neutral" terms (coding system available on request). Words were coded as encouraged if the state was viewed positively (e.g., "Be *strong*") and as discouraged if the state was viewed negatively (e.g., "Purged of stain and free from *passions*"). Words that were not viewed positively or negatively were coded as neutral (e.g., "in a retired and *quiet* place"). Interrater reliability based on 20% of the passages was high (average κ = .69). For each text,

we calculated the percentage of total HAP (or LAP) words that were coded as encouraged, the percentage of total HAP (or LAP) words that were coded as discouraged, and the percentage of total HAP (or LAP) words that were coded as neutral. In the interests of parsimony, for each text, we calculated an "overall endorsement score" for HAP (and LAP) by subtracting the percentage of HAP (or LAP) words that were discouraged from the percentage of HAP (or LAP) words that were encouraged. Analyses were conducted on this overall endorsement score.

Data Analyses and Results

Religion (Christian, Buddhist) and Translation (First, Second, Third) were treated as between-subjects factors and Affect (HAP, LAP) was treated as a within-subjects factor. Because some texts had more HAP and LAP words than others, we treated text as the unit of analysis (i.e., texts were treated as subjects) so that each text was equally weighted.

Frequency (proportion) of HAP and LAP. To examine whether Christian and Buddhist classical texts differed in the frequency of HAP and LAP words, we conducted a $2 \times 3 \times 2$ (religion: Christian, Buddhist × translation: first, second, third × affect: HAP, LAP) ANOVA. There were no significant effects or interactions involving Religion or Translation, suggesting that there were no differences between Christian and Buddhist texts in the frequency of HAP (Christian = 0.17, $SE = 0.06$; Buddhist = 0.34, $SE = 0.06$), $F(1, 18) = 3.63$, $p < .10$, or LAP (Christian = 0.12, $SE = 0.03$; Buddhist = 0.17, $SE = 0.03$), $F(1, 18) = 1.44$, *ns*, words.

Overall endorsement of HAP and LAP. To examine whether there were religious differences in the overall endorsement of HAP and LAP, we conducted a $2 \times 3 \times 2$ (religion: Christian, Buddhist × translation: first, second, third × affect: HAP, LAP) ANOVA. As predicted, there was a significant Religion × Affect interaction, $F(1, 32) = 10.62$, $p < .01$. As shown in Figure 2, followup analyses revealed that a greater percentage of HAP words were overall endorsed in Christian texts than in Buddhist texts, $F(1, 22) = 7.98$, $p = .01$ (Cohen's $d = 1.15$). The difference in the overall endorsement of LAP words, although in the predicted direction, was not significant, $F(1, 22) = 1.44$, *ns*.[3]

Study 2 Discussion

As predicted, Christian classical texts endorsed HAP more than did Buddhist classical texts, despite similarities in the frequency of HAP words. Contrary to predictions,
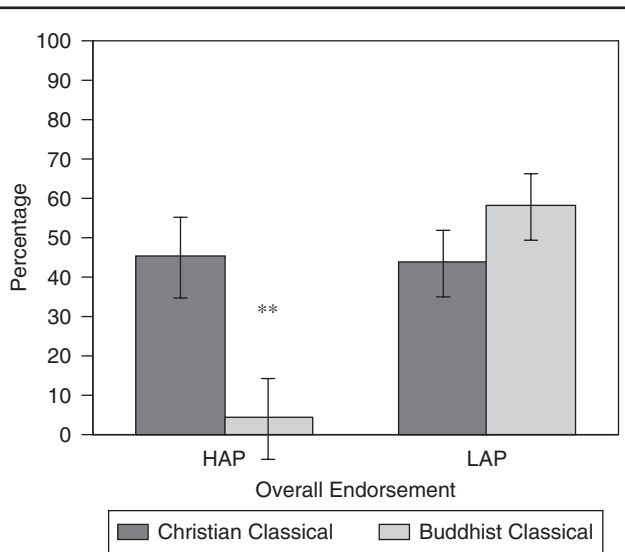
Figure 2 Study 2: Overall endorsement (encouraged minus discouraged) of high arousal positive (HAP) and low arousal positive (LAP) affective states in classic Buddhist and Christian texts.

**p < .01.

Christian and Buddhist classical texts did not significantly differ in their endorsement of LAP, although the differences were in the predicted direction. It is possible that Christianity and Buddhism do not differ in their endorsement of LAP because both promote social order and adjusting to others. Alternatively, it is possible that the Christian–Buddhist difference in ideal LAP observed in Study 1 developed after the Bible was written. Therefore, in the next study, we examined whether this difference existed in contemporary religious texts. We focused on best-selling Christian and Buddhist self-help books because they are widely read by Americans (Zimmerman, Holm, & Haddock, 2001) and directly address how practitioners should live.

STUDY 3: IDEAL AFFECT IN CHRISTIAN AND BUDDHIST CONTEMPORARY SELF-HELP BOOKS

Method

Texts. Based on Amazon.com's list of best-selling books in the "Christian Living" and "Buddhism General" categories, we identified the top 5 best-selling (i.e., the most widely distributed) Christian self-help books and the top 5 best-selling Buddhist self-help books for January 2005. We focused on books that were targeted toward a general audience and that focused on daily living. Titles of the texts are indicated by asterisks in the reference list.

Procedure. We used the same methods as in Study 2. A total of 4,392 Christian and 2,878 Buddhist words were coded from the contemporary texts. The mean interrater reliability (Cohen's κ) was .73.

Data Analyses and Results

As in Study 2, Religion (Christian, Buddhist) was treated as a between-subjects factor; Affect (HAP, LAP) was treated as a within-subjects factor, and texts were treated as subjects.

Frequency (proportion) of HAP and LAP. To ensure that both Christian and Buddhist contemporary self-help texts mentioned HAP and LAP, we conducted a 2×2 (religion: Christian, Buddhist $\times$ affect: HAP, LAP) ANOVA on the frequency of HAP and LAP words. Analyses revealed a significant Religion $\times$ Affect interaction, $F(1, 8) = 5.99$, $p < .05$. As in Study 2, follow-up analyses revealed no significant differences in the frequency of HAP words (Christian = 0.44, Buddhist = 0.35), $F(1, 8) = 1.27$, *ns*. However, unlike Study 2, there was a significant difference in the frequency of LAP words (Christian texts: $M = 0.20$, $SE = 0.07$; Buddhist texts: $M = 0.49$, $SE = 0.07$), $F(1, 8) = 9.80$, $p < .05$. Although both texts mentioned LAP, Buddhist contemporary texts contained more LAP words than did Christian contemporary texts.

Endorsement of HAP and LAP. We conducted a 2×2 (religion: Christian, Buddhist $\times$ affect: HAP, LAP) ANOVA on overall endorsement scores (i.e., proportion of total HAP, or LAP, words that were coded as encouraged minus the proportion of total HAP, or LAP, words that were coded as discouraged). As with the classical texts, there was a significant Religion $\times$ Affect interaction, $F(1, 8) = 11.07$, $p = .01$. As shown in Figure 3, follow-up analyses revealed that Christian contemporary texts endorsed a greater percentage of HAP words than did Buddhist contemporary texts, $F(1, 8) = 8.23$, $p < .05$ (Cohen's $d = 1.81$), and Buddhist contemporary texts endorsed a greater percentage of LAP words than Christian contemporary texts, $F(1, 8) = 4.83$, $p = .059$ (Cohen's $d = 1.39$).

Study 3 Discussion

In summary, we replicated religious differences in the endorsement of HAP observed in Study 2. Despite similarities in the frequency of HAP words, Christian contemporary books endorsed HAP words more than did Buddhist contemporary books. These findings suggest that religious differences in ideal HAP have remained stable over time. There were also significant religious
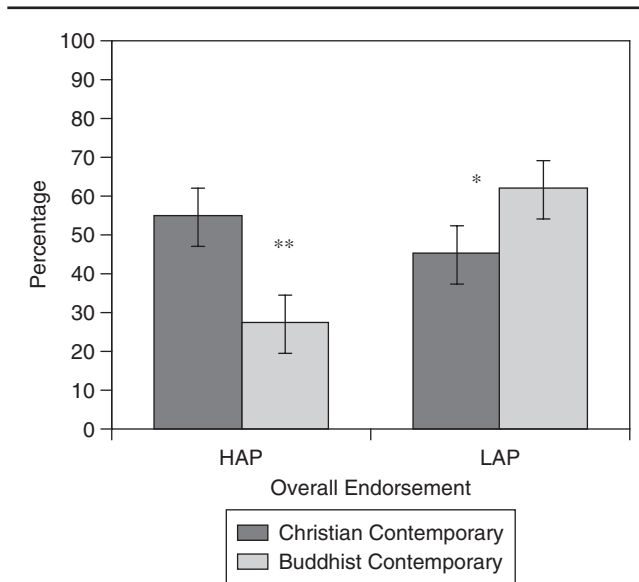
Figure 3   Study 3: Overall endorsement (encouraged minus discouraged) of high arousal positive (HAP) and low arousal positive (LAP) affective states in contemporary Buddhist and Christian self-help books.

$*p < .05; **p < .01.$

differences in the frequency and endorsement of LAP words, with Buddhist contemporary books mentioning and endorsing LAP more than Christian contemporary books. Because differences in LAP were not significant for the classical texts, these findings suggest that religious differences in the endorsement of LAP are a recent development. Indeed, the fact that current Buddhist practitioners value LAP more than current Christian practitioners supports this view. Together, Studies 2 and 3 demonstrate that Christian and Buddhist texts differ in their ideal affect.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Our findings provide evidence that religious cultures differ in the affective states that they value and encourage their practitioners to feel. Although Buddhist and Christian classical texts mentioned HAP to similar degrees, Christian classical texts clearly endorsed HAP more than did Buddhist classical texts. These findings held for best-selling contemporary self-help books, and current Christian practitioners valued HAP more than did current Buddhist practitioners. Together, these findings suggest that religious differences in the endorsement of HAP are historical in origin and have remained stable over time.

The story is slightly different for ideal LAP. Although Buddhist and Christian classical texts did not differ in

their valuation of LAP, Buddhist and Christian contemporary texts did. Furthermore, current Buddhist practitioners valued LAP more than did current Christian practitioners. The lack of difference in the endorsement of LAP between Christian and Buddhist classical texts may reflect similarities between traditional forms of Christianity and Buddhism: Both religions provide order and stability and encourage people to put others' needs above their own, which are associated with ideal LAP (Tsai, Miao, et al., 2006). However, in contemporary times, Buddhist writers may accentuate the importance of LAP to counter the rapid pace at which many Americans live and the value that American culture places on HAP (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006). Future studies should examine texts from different periods to identify when the differences in ideal LAP first emerged.

Limitations and Future Directions

Our studies have a number of limitations that suggest directions for future research. First, we collapsed across the numerous denominations of Buddhism and Christianity. In future research, it will be important to examine whether ideal affect varies across these different denominations. Second, it will be important to examine the causal direction of the association between religious affiliation and ideal affect among practitioners. Third, Study 1 focused on university students, who may be more influenced by contemporary than traditional forms of Christianity and Buddhism. Although our examination of classical texts suggests that differences in the endorsement of HAP are not specific to contemporary times, it will be important to examine whether our findings generalize to practitioners of different ages and cohorts who may be influenced by more traditional forms of Christianity and Buddhism. Fourth, in Studies 2 and 3, we focused on HAP and LAP states; future studies should examine the valuation or devaluation of other affective states, including the negative states sampled in Study 1.

Finally, future studies should examine how religious cultures shape and are shaped by national or ethnic cultures. For instance, because the first Europeans to settle in the United States were Pilgrims, many aspects of American culture have Protestant origins (e.g., "Protestant relational ideology"; see Sanchez-Burks, 2002). Thus, individuals living in the United States who do not practice Protestantism (or another form of Christianity) may nonetheless be influenced to some degree by this religion. Similarly, nonpractitioners in East Asian contexts may be influenced by Buddhism. If this is the case, cultural differences in ideal affect observed in previous studies (Tsai, Knutson, et al., 2006; Tsai, Louie, et al., 2006, Tsai, Miao, et al., 2006) may be partly due to the dominant religions in those contexts. Conversely, the specific way in which

religions are expressed and practiced may depend on the larger national cultural context in which they exist. For example, Wolfe (2005) argues that religious practice in the United States is highly influenced by American values of independence and personal choice.

Implications

The main purpose of the studies was to examine whether AVT generalizes to religious and to national and ethnic cultures. Our findings suggest that it does. However, our findings have a number of other important implications as well. First, they add to a growing literature illustrating how cultural values and ideas may be transmitted through cultural products (e.g., Markus, Uchida, Omoregie, Townsend, & Kitayama, 2006). Second, our findings demonstrate the specific ways in which religious practice may influence the psyche. Thus, our findings converge with an increasing literature that suggests that despite similarities across religions, there exist religious differences in what is viewed as good, moral, and virtuous (e.g., Cohen & Rozin, 2001; Snibbe & Markus, 2002). Finally, these findings suggest that Buddhist and Christian conceptions of happiness and well-being differ. This information may be useful to clinicians when assessing and treating people of different religious affiliations.

In summary, our studies reveal that Christianity endorses HAP more than does Buddhism and that contemporary forms of Buddhism value LAP more than do contemporary forms of Christianity. Together, these findings suggest that religious cultures, like national and ethnic cultures, shape how people ideally want to feel.

Notes

1. We use the term *national* to refer to countries and *ethnic* to refer to subgroups within the same country.

2. Ipsatization requires filler items, or items that are not related to the constructs of interest. In this study, we could not ipsatize temperament measures because we did not include filler items for these measures. However, because there were no group differences in response styles for actual and ideal affect, we were not concerned about group differences in response styles for the temperament measures.

3. Similar results emerged when we compared Buddhist classical texts with all of the books of the New Testament: Buddhist texts endorsed high arousal positive less and low arousal positive more than did the New Testament, although the latter difference was not significant.

REFERENCES

References marked with an asterisk indicate texts included in the comparison.

*Brach, T. (2003). *Radical acceptance: Embracing your life with the heart of a Buddha*. New York: Bantam.

*Buddharakkhita, A. (Trans.). (1990). *The dhammapada: Buddha's path of wisdom*. Sangharaja Mawatha, Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society.

*Buddhist Information of North America. (n.d.). *The Heart Sutra*. Retrieved March 9, 2005, from http://www.buddhistinformation.com/heartsutra.htm

Carver, C. S., & Scheier, M. F. (1990). Origins and functions of positive and negative affect: A control process view. *Psychological Review, 97*, 19-35.

*Chodron, P. (1997). *When things fall apart: Heart advice for difficult times*. Boston: Shambhala.

Christian Booksellers Association and Evangelical Christian Publishers Association. (2006). *Christian best seller list: Bibles: General versions/translations (March 2006)*. Retrieved April 25, 2006, from http://www.cbaonline.org/TrackingLists/trx.jsp?w?t

Clore, G., Ortony, A., & Foss, M. (1987). The psychological foundations of the affective lexicon. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53*, 755-761.

Cohen, A. B., Hall, D. E., Koenig, H. G., & Meador, K. G. (2005). Social versus individual motivation: Implications for normative definitions of religious orientation. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 9*, 48-61.

Cohen, A. B., & Hill, P. C. (in press). Religion as culture: Religious individualism and collectivism among American Catholics, Jews, & Protestants. *Journal of Personality*.

Cohen, A. B., Malka, A., Rozin, P., & Cherfas, L. (2006). Religion and unforgivable offenses. *Journal of Personality, 74*, 85-117.

Cohen, A. B., & Rozin, P. (2001). Religion and the morality of mentality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*, 697-710.

*Conze, E. (Trans.). (1993). The Heart Sutra. In E. Conze (Ed.), *Perfect wisdom: The short prajnaparamita texts* (pp. **237-269**). Totnes, UK: Buddhist Publishing.

Corrigan, J. (Ed.). (2004). *Religion and emotion: Approaches and interpretations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Costa, P. T., & McCrae, R. R. (1992). *NEO PI–R professional manual*. Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources.

*Cowell, E. B. (Trans.). (1894). The Buddha-karita of asvaghosha. In E. B. Cowell, F. M. Muller, & J. Takakusu (Eds.), *Buddhist Mahayana texts* (pp. **1-202**). Oxford, UK: Clarendon.

*Dalai Lama XIV, & Cutler, H. C. (1998). *The art of happiness: A handbook for living*. New York: Riverhead.

Diener, E., & Lucas, R. (1999). Personality and subjective well-being. In D. Kahneman, E. Diener, & N. Schwarz (Eds.), *Well-being: Foundations of hedonic psychology* (pp. 213-229). New York: Russell Sage.

Ekman, P., Davidson, R. J., Ricard, M., & Wallace, B. A. (2005). Buddhist and psychological perspectives on emotion and well-being. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 14*, 59-63.

Emmons, R. A., & Paloutzian, R. F. (2003). The psychology of religion. *Annual Review of Psychology, 54*, 377-402.

Feldman Barrett, L., & Russell, J. A. (1999). The structure of current affect: Controversies and emerging consensus. *Psychological Science, 8*, 10-14.

Fischer, R. (2004). Standardization to account for cross-cultural response bias: A classification of score adjustment procedures and review of research in JCCP. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 35*, 263-282.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Haidt, J. (2006). *The happiness hypothesis: Finding modern truth in ancient wisdom*. New York: Basic Books.

Holy Bible, King James Version. (1987). Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Holy Bible, New International Version. (1984). Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Holy Bible, New King James Version. (1982). Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson.

*Kern, H. (Trans.). (1884). *Saddharma-pundarika, or the Lotus Sutra of the true law*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon.

Kroeber, A. L., & Kluckhohn, C. (1952). *Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions*. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology.

Larsen, R. J., & Diener, E. (1992). Promises and problems with the circumplex model of emotion. In M. S. Clark (Ed.), *Review of personality and social psychology: Emotion* (pp. 25-59). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

*Lucado, M. (2004). *Come thirsty*. Nashville, TN: W Publishing.

Lykken, D., & Tellegen, A. (1996). Happiness is a stochastic phenomenon. *Psychological Science, 7*, 186-189.

Markus, H. R., Uchida, Y., Omoregie, H., Townsend, S., & Kitayama, S. (2006). Going for the gold: Models of agency in Japanese and American contexts. *Psychological Science, 17*, 103-112.

Marquand, R. (2005). Even pop culture must get a stamp of approval in China. *Christian Science Monitor*. Retrieved August 1, 2005, from http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0614/p01s02-woap.html

Mayer, J. D. (1994). Emotion over time within a religious culture: A lexical analysis of the Old Testament. *Journal of Psychohistory, 22*, 235-248.

*Meyer, J. (2002). *Battlefield of the mind: Winning the battle in your mind*. New York: Time Warner.

Morris, P. (1996). Community beyond tradition. In P. Heelas, S. Lash, & P. Morris (Eds.), *Detraditionalization: Critical reflections on authority and identity* (pp. 222-249). Cambridge, UK: Basil Blackwell.

*Muller, F. M. (Trans.). (1881). *The dhammapada and the suttanipata*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon.

*Murano, S. (Trans.). (1991). *The Sutra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Dharma*. Tokyo: Nichiren Shu Headquarters.

*Nhat Hanh, T. (1987). *The miracle of mindfulness*. Boston: Beacon.

*Nhat Hanh, T. (1991). *Peace is every step: The path of mindfulness in everyday life*. New York: Bantam.

*Ortberg, J. (2002). *The life you've always wanted: Spiritual disciplines for ordinary people*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

*Osteen, J. (2004). *Your best life now: 7 steps to living to your full potential*. New York: Time Warner.

Pennebaker, J. W., & Francis, M. E. (1999). *Linguistic inquiry and word count: LIWC*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

*Pine, R. (Trans.). (2001). *The Diamond Sutra: Text and commentaries*. New York: Counterpoint.

*Price, A. F., & Wong, M. (Trans.). (1974). *The Diamond Sutra and the Sutra of Hui-Neng*. Boston: Shambhala.

Sanchez-Burks, J. (2002). Protestant relational ideology and (in)attention to relational cues in work settings. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*, 919-929.

Saraglou, V., Delpierre, V., & Dernelle, R. (2004). Values and religiosity: A meta-analysis of studies using Schwartz's model. *Personality and Individual Differences, 37*, 721-734.

Schimmack, U., Radhakrishnan, P., Oishi, S., Dzokoto, V., & Ahadi, S. (2002). Culture, personality, and subjective well-being: Integrating process models of life satisfaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*, 582-593.

Sethi, S., & Seligman, M. (1993). Optimism and fundamentalism. *Psychological Science, 4*, 256-259.

Shweder, R. (2003). *Why do men barbeque?: Recipes for cultural psychology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Silberman, I. (2005). Religion as a meaning system: Implications for the new millennium. *Journal of Social Issues, 61*, 641-663.

Smith, H. (1991). *The world's religions: Our great wisdom traditions*. San Francisco: HarperCollins.

Snibbe, A. C., & Markus, H. R. (2002). The psychology of religion and the religion of psychology. *Psychological Inquiry, 13*, 229-234.

Sporting Goods Manufacturers Association. (2005). *Press release: Extreme sports: Ranking high in popularity*. Retrieved August 1, 2005, from http://www.sigma.com/press/2005/press1117636042-19826.html

Sweeney, K., & Whissell, C. (1984). A dictionary of affect in language: I. Establishment and preliminary validation. *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, *59*, 695-698.

*Thera, N. (Trans.). (1978). *The dhammapada: Pali text and translation with stories in brief and notes*. Surrey, UK: BMS.

Tsai, J. L., Knutson, B., & Fung, H. H. (2006). Cultural variation in affect valuation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*, 288-307.

Tsai, J. L., Louie, J. L., Chen, E. E., & Uchida, Y. (in press). Learning what feelings to desire: The socialization of ideal affect through children's storybooks. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.*

Tsai, J. L., Miao, F., Seppala, E., Fung, H. H., & Yeung, D. (2006). *Influence and adjustment goals: Mediators of cultural differences in ideal affect*. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Tsai, J. L., Ying, Y., & Lee, P. A. (2000). The meaning of "being Chinese" and "being American": Variation among Chinese American young adults. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 31*, 302-322.

United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention. (2002). *Global illicit drug trends 2002*. Retrieved January 15, 2004, from http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/publications/asp/subtopics.asp?sub=International

von Glasenapp, H. (2001). *Buddhism and Christianity*. Retrieved May 17, 2006, from http://www.watthai.net/talon/wheel/wheel16_1.htm

*Warren, R. (2002). *The purpose-driven life: What an earth am I here for?* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

*Watson, B. (Trans.). (1993). *The Lotus Sutra*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Watson, D., & Tellegen, A. (1985). Toward a consensual structure of mood. *Psychological Bulletin, 98*, 219-235.

Watts, F. N. (1996). Psychological and religious perspectives on emotion. *International Journal of the Psychology of Religion, 6*, 71-87.

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*, 955-969.

*Western Chan Fellowship. (1996). *Heart Sutra*. Retrieved March 9, 2005, from http://westernchanfellowship.org/heart-sutra.html

Whissell, C. (2004). Emotion and style in an English translation of the Quran. *Psychological Reports, 94*, 523-544.

Whissell, C. M., & Dewson, M. R. J. (1986). A dictionary of affect in language: III. Analysis of two Biblical and two secular passages. *Perceptual and Motor Skills, 62*, 127-132.

Wolfe, A. (2005). *The transformation of American religion: How we actually live our faith*. New York: Free Press.

Zimmerman, T. S., Holm, K. E., & Haddock, S. A. (2001). A decade of advice for women and men in the best-selling self-help literature. *Family Relations, 50*, 122-133.