

An American Self is a Happy Self Revisited

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A Thesis Submitted to The Honors College

In Partial Fulfillment of the Bachelor's degree  
With Honors in

Psychology

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

May 2008

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Abstract

This study re-examined the notions that an American self is a happy self and that a happy self is a high self-esteem self. We found that the American self is a happy self holds for all participants ( $n = 185$ ), but not when ethnicity (41 American Indians, 61 Asian Americans, and 83 European Americans) was considered. Specifically, European Americans reported being more happy than Asian Americans and American Indians, while American Indians reported being more calm than European Americans and Asian Americans. Split analyses of a correlation between happiness and American cultural orientation revealed that only European Americans have a significant correlation, and thus being an American means being happy. Happiness was also positively correlated with self-esteem for all participants. Split analyses revealed that ethnicity did not influence this relationship. Additional analyses did reveal a high correlation between calmness and self-esteem for Asian Americans and American Indians. Since happy and calm emotions both show a significant correlation with self-esteem, results suggest Asian Americans and American Indians are players in two cultural contexts, the American cultural context and their minority cultural context, and thus are bicultural (La Fromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993).

### The American Self is a Happy Self Revisited

Mutual constitution is the process by which mind and culture “make each other up.” People participate in a given cultural system of meanings, practices, and institutions, which cultivate certain psychological tendencies. These tendencies, serve to integrate the individual into the meanings and practices of the cultural community, but also function to reinforce or foster the culture (Markus, Mullally, & Kitayama, 1997). Studies done with twins, for example, have shown that attitudes and feelings toward love, happiness, activities, leadership, and preferences are more influenced by environmental factors than genetic factors (Coon & Cary, 1989; Miles et al., 2001; Olsen, Vernon, Harris, & Jang, 2001; Petrill & Wilkerson, 2000; Waller & Shaver, 1994). The context the twins grow up in influence their emotional states. The mutual constitution of emotions can be understood on two cultural dimensions of the self: (1) the person as an independent self and (2) the person as an interdependent self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). These models of self-construal influence the values of society and culture, and in turn play a role in the value and importance placed on different emotions.

Wierzbicka (1994), for example, argued that the American representation of the self is a happy self. Furnham and Cheng (2000) found that self-esteem was a significant predictor of happiness for Americans. Finally, Diener and Diener (1995) demonstrated that while the relationship between happiness and self-esteem varies by cultural contexts, the relationship is especially strong for Americans. These findings together argue that a good American self places value and importance on happiness, and that this fixation on happiness is necessary for life-satisfaction and well-being. And life satisfaction and well-being leads to good self-esteem (Suh, Diener, Oishi, & Triandis, 1998). Thus, culture influences emotion and emotion plays a critical role in one’s sense of self.

While the meaning and the experience of emotions vary across cultural contexts (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000), this is also true *within* American cultural contexts (Mesquita, 2001). Prior research has shown that the degree to which ethnic minorities (e.g., American Indians, Asian Americans, African Americans) participate in American cultural contexts, what Tsai and colleagues (2000) refer to as American cultural orientation (ACO), influences their experience of happiness. For example, Asian Americans high and low on ACO do not show a significant relationship between happiness and self-esteem (Tsai, Fryberg, & Townsend, 2004). One reason this may be true is that Asian Americans seem to adhere to the Asian focus on self-criticism (Kitayama, et al., 1997). Thus, they may possess a lowered need to experience happiness as a defining measure of self-esteem. Furthermore, they may not adopt mainstream American definitions of a good self, regardless of level of orientation toward American culture. Instead, it may be that Asian Americans look to their minority culture when determining what constitutes a good, functional self (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). On the contrary, a second reason for the lack of relationship between American cultural orientation and self-esteem may be due to a sense of biculturalism. Ying and Han (2008) demonstrated that Asian Americans showed more preference for American mass media and cultural activities, but also expressed significantly high levels of ethnic pride and overall greater ethnic orientation than American orientation. They regard this preference as evidence of biculturalism. Asian Americans are agents in both American and Asian cultural contexts; they learn (Tsai, Louie, Chen, & Uchida, 2007) and exhibit characteristics from both cultures (Ying & Han, 2008).

What constitutes a good, functional self for American Indians may be similar to what constitutes a good, functional self for Asian Americans. Research has shown that these two groups are relatively similar in their cultural dimensions of self (Fryberg & Markus, 2007).

Moreover, much like Asian American students, American Indian students participate in and are influenced by both their culture and by European American culture; they are bicultural (La Fromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993). Although little research has been conducted on the relationship of Native American identity and self-esteem, some research has been conducted on American Indian cultural identity and depression. Rieckmann, Wadsworth, and Deyhle (2004) report that higher levels of Navajo identity did modestly reduce depression levels. Thus, indirectly implying that ethnic identity does play a role in mental well-being of American Indians. In a study done by Corenblum and Annis (1993) about how children come to know and identify with a minority or majority group, American Indian children have more positive attitudes towards whites than their own-group.

In the study presented here, we begin by re-examining the notion that an American self is a happy self. We anticipate that while this may be true when we consider all Americans, but within the American population there are important differences. For example, despite being Americans, both Asian Americans and American Indians have been found to endorse interdependent self-construals. Moreover American Indians appear to endorse both interdependent and interdependent selves, but only the interdependent self predicts relationships with others (Fryberg & Markus, 2003; 2006). We anticipate that the extent to which individuals endorse emotions such as happiness and calmness depends up the cultural context(s) in which the individual participates, and in turn influences one's views on the self and on self-esteem. First we will present an overview of cultural models of self. Second, we will explore how these models of self influence emotion. And third, we will examine how these cultural models of self influence self-esteem.

### Theories of Self

For individuals who participate in many western cultures, research has shown that these individuals identify more with an independent construal of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Under this self-construal, these individuals view the self as one's center of awareness, where the self is separate from other selves and contains one's unique thoughts, emotions, and actions. This type of independent self is characteristic of western cultures. In contrast, individuals who participate in eastern cultures are more likely to display interdependent construals of self, where the self is part of a greater whole. The self is experienced as interconnected and in relationship with others. Individuals with interdependent self-construals reference their feelings and actions to others present in the context.

The way in which individuals with independent and interdependent self-construals approach the world is quite different. Independent individuals strive to change or influence their environment to satisfy their needs, while interdependent individuals willingly alter or adjust their needs to fit the needs of the environment (Morling, Kitayama, & Miyamoto, 2002). Tsai, Knutson, and Fung (2006) found that independent individuals are motivated by influence goals, which involved the individual influencing the environment. Moreover, influence goals are associated with high-arousal positive states such as happiness, excitement, and enthusiasm. In contrast, interdependent individuals, who adjust their needs to meet the needs of their environment, passively participate in the environment by observing others' actions and responses before acting. These individuals are motivated by adjustment goals (Schupp, et al., 1997) and value low-arousal positive states such as calm, relaxed, and serene states of being (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006).

In addition to one's self-construal affecting how they interact with their environment, one's self-construal can also play a role in how they view the self. Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, and Norasakkunkit (1997) found that in independent cultural contexts, individuals engage in self-enhancement strategies, whereas in interdependent cultural contexts, individuals engage in self-effacing or self-critical strategies. For example, Americans were more likely to create situations that enhanced their sense of a good self, while Japanese, were more likely to create self-effacing or self-criticizing situations to better the self.

With respect to emotion, Masuda, et al. (2008) found that when asked to judge the target person's emotion, Japanese took into consideration of the emotions of the other people around the target. Americans, following the independent model of self, did not take into account the others in the image; they interpreted the targets emotion from the standpoint that the individual is separate and distinct from others, and thus, that the individual's emotional state is independent from others and from the situation. In sum, culture plays an intricate role how emotions are linked to the self, as well as how one judges and interprets emotions of others.

#### An American Self is a Happy Self: Cultural Models of Self and Emotion

Cultural models of self foster and reinforce emotion. Building on Markus & Kitayam's (1991) independent and interdependent construals of self, two categories of emotions, ego-focused versus other-focused emotions, have been associated with participation in these different self-construals (Markus & Kitayama 1991). Ego-focused emotions, such as anger, frustration, and pride, are centered around the individual's internal needs, goals, and desires. Ego-focused emotions are more characteristic of an independent self-construal. The objective is to manage expressions and experiences in such a way that individual autonomy is maintained and affirmed.

On the other hand, other-focused emotions are more common in interdependent construals of self. These emotions include empathy, feelings of interpersonal communion, and shame, and they place others' as the referent instead of one's internal attributes. Other-focused emotions facilitate the reciprocal exchange of actions that ultimately lead to cooperative social behavior (Aaker & Williams, 1998). In addition, other-focused emotions discourage the autonomous expression of one's internal attributes, which may lead to inhibition and ambivalence.

The cultural context in which one participates provides important messages about what emotions, ego-focused or other-focused, are appropriate in that context. Individual members of the culture receive cues about what constitutes "good" emotions and these cues are closely tied to what constitute a "good" self (Tsai, Louie, Chen, & Uchida, 2007). From these cues, individuals develop preferences for emotions they want to feel, what is referred to as ideal affect, and emotions they actually feel, what is referred to as actual affect.

Tsai, Knutson, and Fung (2006) elucidate these two views of emotion in their Affect Valuation Theory (AVT), which posits that ideal affect is different from actual affect. Furthermore, cultural factors shape ideal affect more than actual affect, while temperament shapes actual affect more than ideal affect (Tsai, Levenson, & McCoy, 2006). Thus, supporting the notion that culture will, in fact, influence how one ideally wants to feel, and how one ideally wants to feel will drive the individual to seek those ideal feelings. Therefore, how one ideally wants to feel can influence how one views the self, which can be linked to self-esteem.

Most people report the need and desire to feel happy and good about the self; however, the level of desirability of positive states such as happiness varies cross-culturally (Tsai, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000). People learn to value specific states of emotions based on their interactions

with others in a specific cultural domain or environment. For example, individuals who participate in a certain western culture will begin to endorse the culture-relevant.

Culture serves as a catalyst between values and what constitutes a good self. For example, American culture emphasizes the importance of happiness (King & Broyles, 1997; Richards, 1966) and this need to be happy is critical for life satisfaction in America (Suh, Diener, Oishi, & Triandis, 1998). Finally, life satisfaction is also understood in terms of one's self-esteem, or how one feels about the self. Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa (2006) showed again that there is a cultural shaping of emotion over time. These findings together suggest that an American self strives to be a happy self, a happy self is a measure of life-satisfaction, and that life-satisfaction leads to good self-esteem.

#### A Happy Self is a High-esteem Self: Cultural Models of Self and Self-Esteem

Mesquita (2001) found that individuals in an independent cultural contexts assessed self-worth as being confined to the subjectivity of the independent self, whereas individuals in interdependent cultural contexts assessed self-worth as a reflection of self-other relationships. This self-worth translates into culture-relevant self-esteem. For example, happiness is found to be a major goal for Americans (Richards, 1966), and being happy is among the top three wishes of members of an independent cultures (King & Broyles, 1997). In contrast, in interdependent cultures, maintaining good interpersonal relationships was positively related to life satisfaction, which then led to good feelings about the self (Kang, Shaver, Sue, Min, & Jing, 2003). Thus, when the goal of happiness is achieved in culturally relevant ways, it becomes a significant indicator in life satisfaction and self-esteem.

Similar to the value that European Americans place on happiness, self-esteem, which is generally defined as how one feels about oneself, is extremely valued in American cultural

contexts (Heine, et al., 1999). Americans high in American cultural orientation strive to maintain positive views of the self (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000). Moreover, Americans who have overly positive self-regard are more successful at protecting their mental health (Taylor & Brown, 1988). One reason for this outcome is that individuals with high self-esteem display perceptual and cognitive biases with respect to how they process information. They selectively focus on positive information in their environment and disregard negative information (Taylor & Brown, 1988). Thus, in order to have high self-esteem, one must feel happy with oneself and must view the self positively (Furnham & Cheng, 2000).

Twenge and Crocker (2002) found that Whites reported significantly higher self-esteem than Asian Americans and American Indians. Authors suggest that these minority groups may display an internalization of stigma hypothesis, which predicts that levels of self-esteem should parallel prejudice and devaluation of racial minority groups. Furthermore, their data for AA and AI do not fit the view that membership in a stigmatized or disadvantaged group buffers self-esteem.

In a cross-national study, Diener and Diener (1995) found a positive relationship between subjective well-being and self-esteem amongst participants in thirty-one different nations, ranging from Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, Middle East, and North America. However, when ethnic identity was studied in addition to American identity, Phinney, Cantu, and Kurtz (2004) found that ethnic identity was also a significant predictor of self-esteem. Umana-Taylor and Shin (2007) found that for Asian Americans who reported a clear sense of their ethnic minority group membership also reported high self-esteem. Along the same lines, Tsai, Ying, and Lee (2001) found that high levels of ethnic identity for Chinese Americans predicted self-esteem.

### Current Study

Participation in different cultural contexts will influence how much individuals report experiencing different emotions. Specifically, we hypothesize that European American participants will report more happiness than Asian Americans and American Indians, and that Asian Americans and American Indians will report feeling more calmness than European Americans. We hypothesize that if ethnicity is not considered, then ACO will be positively correlated with happiness, suggesting that an American self is a happy self. However, when ethnicity is considered, we hypothesize that the relationship between ACO and happiness will only be significant for European Americans. Finally, as demonstrated in previous research, we hypothesize that a positive relationship between self-esteem and happiness will be found for all participants. However, we anticipate that calmness will also be positively correlated with self-esteem for Asian Americans and American Indians.

### Methods

#### *Participants*

One hundred eighty-five University of Arizona undergraduate students (41 American Indians, 61 Asian Americans, and 83 European Americans) participated in a study “on the meaning of young adults’ everyday emotions.” Of the American Indian (AI) participants, 22 were female and 19 were male, with a mean age of 20.61 (SD = 2.22, range = 18-27). Of the Asian Americans (AA), 39 were female and 22 were male, with a mean age of 20.12 (SD = 1.81, range = 18-27). Of the European Americans (EA), 52 were female and 31 were male, with a mean age of 18.92 (SD = 1.52, range = 18-28). There were no significant differences in age between ethnic groups. Research assistants recruited participants from the INDV Introduction to

Psychology courses, dormitories, and ethnic community centers on campus. Participants were compensated with course credit or with a \$5.00 gift certificate to Jamba Juice, an establishment on campus.

### *Procedure*

Participants completed the survey packet by themselves in the lab or in a classroom. Participation in the study took approximately 45 minutes..

### *Measures*

*Happiness was measured* with the Self-Assessment Manikin (SAM), used by Bradley and Lang (1994). The SAM was a nonverbal pictorial assessment technique that measured three dimensions associated with an individual's average affective state. For each dimension, participants were shown five illustrations and asked to mark the one illustration (or the space between two illustrations) that most closely represented how they feel on average. The first dimension assessed happiness. The illustrations ranged from a smiling, happy figure to a frowning, unhappy figure. The second dimension assessed excitement. The illustrations ranged from an aroused, excited figure to a sleepy, calm figure. The last dimension assessed pride. The illustrations ranged from a small, humble (representing submissiveness) to a large, proud figure (representing powerless).

*Calmness was measured* with the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule, which was developed by Watson, Clark, and Tellegen (1988). This measured average affect. Participants were given 36 emotion words and asked to rate the level to which they typically experience each, from 1 = *very slightly or not at all* to 5 = *extremely or all the time*. Positive and negative affect represent two distinct dimensions of mood. Emotions such as enthusiasm and excitement describe high positive affect (PA), while emotions such as worry and hostility describe high

negative affect (NA). On the contrary, low PA is defined by feelings of melancholy and sadness, while low NA is characterized by feelings of calmness and content.

*State Self-Esteem was measured* with the State Self-Esteem Scale (SSES), which was developed by Heatherton and Polivy (1991). Participants were given twenty statements and asked to rate their degree to which they agreed with each statement using a five-point Likert scale from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*. The SSES assesses three components of state self-esteem. The first component presented appearance statements such as *I feel satisfied with the way my body looks right now*. The second component presented sociability statements such as *I feel that others respect and admire me*. The final component presented performance statements such as *I feel frustrated or rattled about my performance*. Self-esteem scores were calculated by taking the mean of the twenty statements (after the negatively phrased statements were reverse coded) with higher values indicating higher self-esteem.

*American cultural orientation was measured* with the General Ethnicity Questionnaire – American Version (GEQ-A) which was developed by Tsai, Ying, and Lee (2000). The twenty-five items measured the level of American cultural orientation on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. These twenty-five statements measured five components of cultural life. The first component involved social affiliation (e.g. I relate to my spouse or partner in a way that is American). The second involved activities (e.g. I engage in American forms of recreation). The third involved pride (e.g. I am proud of American culture). The fourth involved exposure (e.g. When I was growing up, I was exposed to American culture). And the final component involved food (e.g. At home, I eat American food).

## Results

As revealed by their mean scores on the SAM and the PANAS, participants showed the hypothesized differences between ethnic group in reported average experience of happiness and calmness. A one-way ANOVA on happiness,  $F(2, 181) = 5.47, p < .01$ , indicated that European Americans were significantly higher than Asian Americans and American Indians. See means in Figure 1. Post-hoc tests revealed the hypothesized effect, European Americans reported higher mean levels of happiness than Asian Americans and American Indians, Furthermore, another one-way ANOVA on calmness,  $F(2, 179) = 3.02, p < .05$ , indicated that American Indians were significantly higher than Asian Americans and European Americans. As hypothesized, Asian Americans and American Indians reported higher mean levels of calmness than European Americans.

### The intersection of Emotion and American Cultural Orientation

Examining the notion that an American self is a happy self, we predicted that when ethnicity was not considered, across all participants, American cultural orientation would positively correlate with happiness. However, when ethnicity was considered, we anticipated that a significant positive correlation would be found for European Americans, but not for Asian Americans or American Indians. As reported in Table 1, the correlations revealed the expected results.

Also, given that calmness is not part of the American cultural framework, we hypothesized that calmness and American cultural orientation would not be significant across all participants and would not be significant for European Americans when ethnicity was considered. However, given the cultural appropriateness of calmness to American Indians, we

expected and found a significant positive correlation between calmness and American cultural orientation. No relationship was found for Asian Americans.

#### The intersection of Emotions and Self-Esteem

Lastly, examining the notion that a happy self is a high esteem self, there was a significant positive relationship for all participants. When a split analysis was performed, the relationship was found for all groups, meaning ethnicity did not matter. We predicted that happiness would be positively correlate with self-esteem for European Americans, while calmness would be positively correlated with self-esteem for Asian Americans and American Indians. As reported in Table 2, there is a significant positive correlation between happiness and self-esteem for European Americans. This relationship appears also for Asian Americans and American Indians.

In addition, Table 1 shows that calmness is also positively correlated with self-esteem. However, when ethnicity was considered, the results showed a positive significant relationship for Asian Americans and American Indians, but not for European Americans.

#### Discussion

The primary question being addressed in this study is whether an American self is a happy self. The results of the study suggest that it is, but only if ethnic group differences are not considered. Moreover, as previous research found, a happy self is a high self-esteem self. This was true for all three ethnic groups. One difference, however, is that a strong positive correlation between calmness and self-esteem was found for both Asian Americans and American Indians. We argue that individuals who participate in two worlds, an ethnic culture and an American culture, engage in two different cultural dimensions of self. As a result, self-esteem is simultaneously tied to emotions that are valued in both cultural contexts.

Specifically, we examined three specific hypotheses and found the anticipated result in each case. First, with respect to actual emotion, we found that European American participants reported more happiness than Asian American and American Indian participants, and that American Indian participants reported feeling more calmness than European American participants. These findings confirm prior research showing that European Americans value high arousal state, while Asian Americans value low arousal states (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). The finding with American Indians is new. Second, when examining all participants, ACO and happiness were significantly correlated. However, as anticipated, when we examine the relationship by ethnicity, ACO and happiness were only significant for European American participants, indicating that being American means being happy. Finally, as demonstrated in prior research, happiness and self-esteem were positively related for all groups. These results have important implications for prior notions about an American self being a happy self and a happy self being a high self-esteem self.

#### An American Self is a Happy Self

In the past, research has shown that an American self is a happy self (Wierzbicka, 1994) . When we examined the relationship for all participants in the study, this notion was true, ACO and happiness were significantly positively related. However, a closer analysis of the data suggests that this argument is not true for all Americans. When ethnic identity was considered, a strong positive relationship between ACO and happiness was found for European Americans, but not for Asian Americans or American Indians.

The ACO scale, however, appears to be a good measure of American culture, and reinforces the value of happiness in America. What it means to be American is, in fact, defined

in terms of happiness. This American cultural emphasis on positive emotions, however, is not fully embraced by other ethnic Americans.

#### A Happy Self is a High Self-Esteem Self

Another commonly held notion is that a happy self is a high self-esteem self. The results of our study support this notion. Happiness and self-esteem were significantly positively related for all groups and the results did not differ when ethnicity was taken into account. An unexpected finding was that self-esteem was also significantly positively related to calmness for all participants. When ethnicity was considered we found that that the relationship held for Asian Americans and American Indians, but not the European Americans, who actually displayed a negative correlation. These results suggest more of a bicultural emotional orientation. Self-esteem for Asian Americans and American Indians was positively related to both happiness, a high arousal state more indicative of independent self-construals, and calmness, a low arousal state more indicative of interdependent self-construals. They are receiving cues from both cultural contexts on what constitutes good self-esteem. That said, Asian Americans did not show any relationship between either emotion, happiness or calmness, to American cultural orientation, while American Indians did show a significant relationship between calmness and American cultural orientation. This suggests that Asian Americans do not define American identity in terms of happiness or calmness or that ACO survey was not a good measure of American identity for Asian Americans.

#### Limitations and Future Directions

The study was limited in its measures of happiness. As discussed previously, though both the SAM and the PANAS have been widely used to assess mood, participants may interpret these scaled to be asking different questions. The SAM defines happiness in American cultural

contexts, while the PANAS allows participants to derive their own meaning of happiness. This difference was seen because a significant correlation was found between ACO and the PANAS happiness, but not between ACO and the SAM happiness. Future studies will need to explore the meanings that individuals from different cultural backgrounds attach to specific emotion. In determining how emotions, for example happiness, are defined, it is possible to ask participants to describe experiences where they felt a certain emotion. Furthermore, it may also be interesting to study the ways in which individuals from different backgrounds express certain emotions. These types of studies can determine and distinguish if cultural groups differ in absolute level of happiness experience or in their definitions of happiness itself.

Similarly, this study is limited in how it defines emotions. By defining emotions in the American context, this study only measures the mainstream American experience. Therefore, for those participants who did not share the mainstream American experience, this study overlooked many important factors. In the future, studies need to pay careful attention to how groups define emotions, as well as the value different cultural groups place on different emotions. Furthermore, future studies should examine the importance cultural groups assign emotions in making judgments about others and the self.

And finally, this research studied self-reported levels of happiness and self-esteem in regard to American cultural orientation, which prove to be very important in how one views the self and others. However, this relationship between happiness, self-esteem, and ACO should be extended from a private self-report to how one publicly reports the self. In other words, does this relationship between happiness, self-esteem, and ACO exist in public expressions of self? Perhaps the most important piece of research about private vs. public expressions of self was produced by Ekman and Friesen (1969), who coined the term cultural display rules, which

account for differences in expression of emotions across cultures. Scheier (1980) found that public and private self-consciousness affects public expressions of emotion. And Friedman and Miller-Herringer (1991) later found that there are differences in private and public displays of emotions. Studies done by Cole and Tamang (1998) report that culture plays a significant role in displays of emotion. And finally, based on the work of Ekman and Friesen (1969), who coined the term cultural display rules, Matsumoto, et al. (2005) developed and validated a measure for display rule knowledge. Thus, future research should extend the theory of cultural display rules to ethnic Americans such as Asian Americans and American Indians, who exist in two cultural contexts.

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Graph 1: Average means across ethnic groups on happiness and calmness.

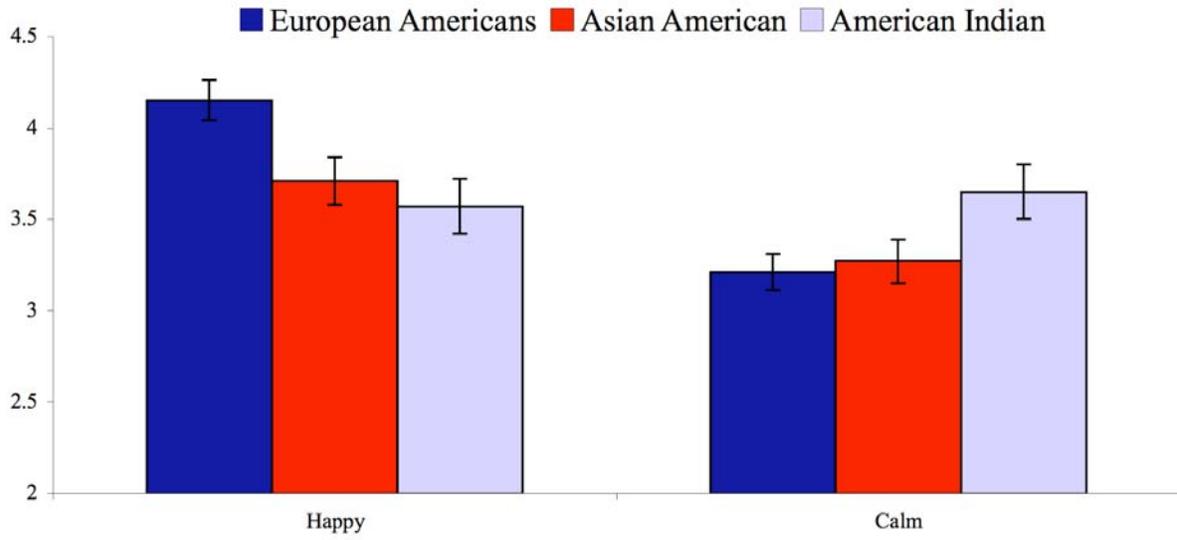


Table 1: Correlations for all participants and for European Americans.

	<i>All</i>		<i>European Americans</i>	
	<b>American Cultural Orientation</b>	<b>Self-Esteem</b>	<b>American Cultural Orientation</b>	<b>Self-Esteem</b>
<b>Happy (SAM)</b>	0.18*	0.30**	0.32*	0.26*
<b>Calm (PANAS)</b>	0.05	0.24**	-0.07	-0.03

Table 2: Correlations for Asian Americans and American Indians.

	<i>Asian Americans</i>		<i>American Indians</i>	
	<b>American Cultural Orientation</b>	<b>Self-Esteem</b>	<b>American Cultural Orientation</b>	<b>Self-Esteem</b>
<b>Happy (SAM)</b>	0	0.29*	0.13	0.46**
<b>Calm (PANAS)</b>	0.07	0.45**	0.36*	0.31*