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IDENTITIES, EVENTS, AND MOODS

Peter J. Burke

INTRODUCTION

13 Identity verification is the ongoing process of controlling perceptions of selfrelevant meanings in a situation so that they correspond to the meanings held in the 14 identity standard that defines who one is in the situation. Identity control theory 15 posits that when a disturbance to this process occurs leading to a lack of such 16 17 correspondence, a person's identities are not verified. As a result, they engage in 18 behavior that serves to counteract the disturbance and change meanings and re-19 sources in the situation so that one's reflected appraisals or perceived self-relevant meanings once again match the meanings held in one's identity standard (Burke, 20 21 1991, 1996; Stets & Burke, 1996, 2003). Accompanying this cognitive-behavioral process, there is an affective response to the discrepancy between perceptions and 22 23 standard (Burke, 1991, 1996). Prior work has shown that when the discrepancy is large or is increasing, negative emotions result; and, when the discrepancy is small 24 or decreasing, positive affect results (Burke & Stets, 1999; Cast & Burke, 2002; 25 Ellestad & Stets, 1998; Stets, 2003; Stets & Tsushima, 2001). 26

For example, Burke and Stets (1999) show that when the spousal identity is 27 28 confirmed by one's partner, there is an increase of feelings of love for the partner 29 (as well as trust and commitment), while the lack of confirmation leads to increased 30 levels of distress. Cast and Burke (2002) show that when the spousal identity of newly married couples is not confirmed there are decreased levels of self-worth and 31 32 self-efficacy, and that when the lack of confirmation goes on for an extended period 33 of time, there are further decreases in these self-feelings. Stets (2003) examines 34 injustice as a discrepancy between an identity standard that expects a certain level 35

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1 of payoff and a perception that the level of payoff is less than is set in the standard. 2 She shows the feelings of anger, resentfulness, and disgust that result from this 3 discrepancy. The lack of confirmation does not have to result from an under-4 evaluation of the self by others. Burke and Harrod (2002) show that the same 5 sorts of distress occur when there is an over-evaluation of the self; people feel best 6 when others evaluate them in the same way that they evaluate themselves. It is 7 clear, therefore, that the lack of identity verification has affective consequences. 8 However, these studies generally are over a longer time-span where the lack of 9 verification is ongoing. In contrast to longer-term, ongoing verification problems, 10 identity-disconfirming events that happen periodically but generally do not persist 11 have not been studied.¹

12 Outside the area of identity research, however, much of the discussion of sources 13 of distress does focus on the impact of daily life-events (e.g. Brown, 1974; Cochran 14 & Hammen, 1985; Dohrenwend, 1973; Thoits, 1978). Events are things that 15 happen to people, such as being fired from a job or getting married. They are also things that people confront at a point in time such as being told that one's 16 17 grandmother has been put in intensive care, or that there is a new medication that 18 will help a particular condition. However, the stressful consequences of such life-19 events have not been uniformly confirmed; sometime negative events increased distress, sometimes positive events increased distress (Burke, 1996). Which 20 21 events produce distress, and which events do not produce distress often has been 22 problematic.

23 The link between life-events and distress was clarified by the works of Thoits 24 (1991) and Burke (1991) both of whom noted that much of the inconsistency in 25 research examining the stress induced by life-events can removed by focusing 26 on what have been called "identity-relevant" life-events. Thoits' argument was 27 that events that threaten or disrupt salient or important identities should produce 28 distress. Events that do not do this, or events that enhance important identities 29 should not produce distress (Brown & McGill, 1989; Burke, 1991, 1996; Hammen, 30 Marks, DeMayo & Mayol, 1985; Hammen, Marks, Mayol & DeMayo, 1985).

31 The key to understanding one major source of distress thus lies in noting how 32 both events and ongoing interactions can disrupt the process of identity verification. 33 With ongoing interactions as the source of the identity disruption, however, the 34 effects generally appear to be persistent and relatively long-term, as interactants 35 take time to work out mutually verifying relationships in a changing environment 36 (Burke & Stets, 1999). These long-term effects produce not only increases in 37 distress but decreases in feelings of self-worth and self-efficacy (Cast & Burke, 38 2002). Life-events, on the other hand, tend to be single occurrences rather than 39 on-going processes, and consequently the distressful outcomes are expected to be 40 relatively short-lived.

1 In the present paper, I am concerned with the more immediate disturbance of 2 moods resulting from the disruption of identity processes by events. By examining 3 these abrupt affective consequences, we gain a better understanding of the role of 4 identity processes in the emotional life of individuals. Both shorter- and longer-5 term consequences are expected within the framework of identity control theory, 6 but the consequences of the shorter term, event driven processes may themselves be 7 a function of the longer-term problems in identity verification. That is, events may 8 have different consequences if they occur to someone who already has ongoing 9 identity verification problems as opposed to occurring to someone who does not 10 have such problems; or if they occur to someone with lower vs. higher feelings of 11 self-worth.

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MOODS

16 Moods are affective responses that are seen to differ from emotions in three primary 17 ways, though not all researchers agree on all points (Frijda, 1993). Moods are 18 usually seen to be longer in duration than emotions, to have lower intensity, and to 19 be more diffuse and global (Ekman, 1994). Frijda (1993) suggests that the last of 20 these is, perhaps, the most important and the most agreed upon difference between moods and emotions.² Emotions are seen to be about something, being angry at21 22 someone or happy about something, whereas moods often have no orientation to 23 a target or object. Having no target, however, is not the same thing as having no 24 particular cause. Moods may be caused by some event, yet the feelings are diffuse 25 and unfocused (Frijda, 1994).

26 Two basic moods have received attention and operate somewhat independently. 27 One of these reflects the positive-negative or tense-calm dimension of feeling 28 (which I will refer to as unease/distress), while the other reflects the tired-energetic 29 dimension of feeling (which I will refer to as activity/arousal) (Thayer, 1996; 30 Watson & Tellegen, 1985).³ The first of these mood dimensions is often taken as 31 providing a cue in a self-regulatory system (Morris, 1992) with good (positive) moods indicating a satisfactory state of affairs and bad (negative) moods indicating 32 33 some sort of discrepancy in the system. Morris further suggests that the cue is 34 more specific than simply pointing out a problem. He suggests that the problem 35 is one of potentially insufficient resources needed to meet one's goals (Morris, 36 1992). This makes the mood especially relevant to identity processes since the 37 meanings and expectations held in our role or group identity standards are goals 38 that are obtained when identities are verified, that is when situated self-relevant 39 perceptions are brought to match the identity standards. Achieving goals is what 40 identities do (Burke, 1991, 2003).

The second mood dimension seems more a function of the natural biological rhythms of the day (as well as sugar intake, exercise, and drugs such as caffeine) (Morris, 1992). While these two dimensions are somewhat independent, they are not unrelated. Thayer (1996) suggests that small amounts of tension (the first dimension of mood) will increase the level of energy, but greater distress will ultimately reduce the level of energy. At the same time, increasing the level of energy often has a tension-reducing consequence.

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IDENTITY DISRUPTING EVENTS

12 In the present paper, I am interested in the changes in mood that occur in re-13 sponse to identity disrupting events, especially as these may be modified by levels 14 of self-worth and longer-term identity disruption. The model suggests that when 15 an identity-disrupting event occurs, people will have an increased level of un-16 ease/distress that signals a problem needing attention and provides a motivation to 17 change the situation to reduce the problem. At the same time, it is suggested that 18 when an identity is already under threat from lack of self-verification, the effects 19 of further disruption from events may have an even bigger consequence for the 20 level of unease/distress. At the same time, it is also well known that feelings of 21 self-worth act as a buffer to the effects of distressful events (Baumeister, 1998; 22 Blaine & Crocker, 1993; Campbell et al., 1990; Cast & Burke, 2002). These ideas 23 lead to the following hypotheses:

24 25

Hypothesis 1. Identity disrupting events increase the level of unease/distress.

This basic hypothesis is modified by the hypothesized moderating effects of the level of verification of other important identities and the level of self-worth of the individual.

Hypothesis 1a. The degree to which other identities are already not confirmed magnifies the effect of identity disrupting events on the level of unease/distress.

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Hypothesis 1b. The level of self-worth diminishes the effect of identity disrupting events on the level of unease/distress.

Additionally, as suggested above, unease/distress, like depression, act to reduce the level of activity/arousal in a person (Koehn, 2001; Stouffer Calderon, 2001; Williamson & Shaffer, 2000). This effect, along with the suggested moderating effects of self-worth and identity discrepancy, is given in Hypothesis 2. In Hypothesis 3, I also examine the direct effect of identity-disrupting events

40 on activity/arousal along with the moderating effects of self-worth and identity discrepancy.

 Hypothesis 2. The level of unease/distress directly decreases the level of activity/arousal.

As with Hypothesis 1, this hypothesis is modified by the expected moderating
effects of the level of verification of other identities and the level of self-esteem
of the individual.

- Hypothesis 2a. The degree to which other identities are already not confirmed
 magnifies the effect of unease/distress on the level of activity/arousal.
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In addition to the effects of unease/distress on activity/arousal, I hypothesize
 that the identity disconfirming events themselves also influence the level of
 activity/arousal as they influence the level of unease/distress.

- 16 **Hypothesis 3.** Identity disrupting events decrease the level of activity/arousal.
- Again, this basic hypothesis is modified by the expected moderating effects of
 the level of verification of other identities and the level of self-esteem of the
 individual.
- Hypothesis 3a. The degree to which other identities are already not confirmed
 magnifies the effect of identity disrupting events on the level of activity/arousal.
- Hypothesis 3b. The level of self-worth diminishes the effect of identity disrupting events on the level of activity/arousal.

In addition to these three main hypotheses, I explore the continued effects of identity disrupting events on mood by examining these effects on the day after an event, and two days after the event. To the extent that the affective outcomes of identity disrupting events continue for the next day or two, I hypothesize that the level of self-worth and the extent to which one's identity is already not being confirmed will also moderate these effects.

32 33 34

METHODS

Sample

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38 I examine the effects of identity disruption on mood using three waves of data from a

39 longitudinal study investigating marital dynamics in the first two years of marriage

40 (Tallman et al., 1998). Each data collection period included a 90-minute face-toface interview, a 15-minute videotaping of a conversation focused on solving an area of disagreement, and four consecutive one-week daily diaries kept by each
 respondent. The present analyses are based on information from two sources:
 29,291 daily diary entries over the three time-periods provided information about
 the events and moods, while the face-to-face interviews provide information about
 the levels of self-worth and the degree to which the spousal identity was or was
 not verified in the marriage.

7 The sample was drawn from marriage registration records in 1991 and 1992 in 8 two mid-size communities in Washington State. Of the 1,295 couples registered 9 to marry, 574 met the criteria for involvement (both were over the age of 18, were 10 marrying for the first time, and had no children). These couples were contacted 11 and asked to participate; 286 completed all data collection processes in the first 12 period. There was a 15% attrition rate from the first data collection period to the 13 second period and an additional 4.2% attrition rate from the second to the third 14 period of data collection. Couples who dropped out of the study after the first or 15 second round were more likely to be young (p < 0.05), less educated (p < 0.05), and of a lower socioeconomic status (p < 0.05).⁴ 16

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Measures

21 Not all events are disrupting to the identity process. Some events mark the confir-22 mation of identities as we achieve goals for which we set our sights, or important relationships are solidified.⁵ To measure *identity-disrupting events* I have used the 23 daily diary data to select a set of events the occurrence of which corresponds to the 24 25 lack of verification of an identity. In most cases these events are directly relevant 26 to the self, in other cases they are events that occur to someone else but that affect 27 the relationship between the self and the other. These events include receiving bad news regarding health,⁶ having problems and hassles on the job,⁷ having dif-28 29 ficulties with friends or neighbors,⁸ having problems with people in business or 30 government,⁹ and other important disruptive events, most of which involve family problems of one sort or another.¹⁰ In each case, these events are disruptions or 31 32 interruptions of normal identity verification process.

33 Several other variables were created to indicate whether moods were observed 34 on the day of an event (coded 1 if yes and 0 if no), on the day after an event 35 occurred (coded 1 if yes and 0 if no), or two days after an event occurred (1 if yes 36 and 0 if no). Finally, if an event occurred to one's spouse (spouse event) rather 37 than to the self, that was coded as well (1 if yes and 0 if no). This was included on 38 the assumption that in a close relationship, and event to one's partner is likely to 39 influence one's own identity because it's verification is tied up in the verification 40 of the partner.

2	Item	Loading
4	Calm ^a	-0.65
5	Contented ^a	-0.72
6	Comfortable ^a	-0.64
7	Uneasy	0.80
/	Worried	0.78
8	Uptight	0.84
9	Tense	0.80
10	Relaxed ^a	-0.69
11	Bothered	0.83
12	Distressed	0.79
13	Omega reliability	0.96

1 Table 1. Principle Components Factor Analysis of Unease/Distress Scale Items.

14 ^aReverse coded.

15

16 Moods were measured daily from self-ratings on a series of 20 self-feelings. 17 Each item was rated to indicate how you feel "right now" on a scale that ranged 18 from not at all (0) to very much (4) on a five-point scale. Factor analysis of the 19 items confirmed the two dimensions that have appeared in the literature: distress 20 and arousal (Thayer, 1996). The measure of *unease/distress* is made up of 10 items 21 measuring background feelings of, on the one hand, being bothered and uptight 22 vs. on the other hand, feelings of calm and contentment. These items are presented 23 in Table 1, along with the loadings from a factor analysis of just these 10 items. 24 The omega reliability for the set of items is 0.96. The items were standardized and 25 summed to make the scale that was used. Certain items, as indicated in Table 1, 26 were reverse coded before summing. A high score on the scale indicates higher 27 levels of unease/distress.

The measure of *activity/arousal* is made up of eight items measuring background feelings of being lively and energetic vs. feelings of being tired or drowsy. These items are presented in Table 2, along with the loadings of a factor analysis of just these 8 items. The omega reliability for the set of items is 0.95. The items were standardized and summed to make the scale that was used. Certain items, as indicated in Table 2, were reverse coded before summing. A high score on the scale indicates higher levels of activity/arousal.¹¹

Spouse identity discrepancy represents the degree to which a person fails to verify their spousal identity. It is measured following the procedures used by Swann et al. (1994, 1992), who examined the extent to which an individual's self-view of what it means to be a spouse was congruent with their spouse's view of who they were as a spouse. Self-verification occurs when self-views are confirmed by the views that their spouse holds for them.

2	Items.	
3 4	Item	Loading
5	Active	0.85
6	Vigorous	0.79
7	Lively	0.85
8	Tired ^a	-0.78
0	Drowsy ^a	-0.77
9	Energetic	0.85
10	Alert	0.66
11	Sleepy ^a	-0.79
12	Omega reliability	0.95
10		

 Table 2.
 Principle Components Factor Analysis of Activity/Arousal Scale

 Items
 Items

- ^aReverse coded.
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16 For this measure, respondents rated ten spousal role activities in terms of the 17 extent to which they felt they themselves *should* engage in the activity (their spouse 18 identity standard), and the degree to which they thought their spouse *should* engage 19 in the activity. Since these data were collected for each spouse in the marriage, it is 20 possible to determine whether there is a correspondence between what persons feel 21 they should do in the spousal role and what their partner's feel they should do in the spousal role.¹² Spousal role activities that I examine include three areas that are 22 23 important components of the spousal role: instrumental, expressive, and economic. An example item for the instrumental area is "Being responsible for cleaning the 24 25 house." For the expressive area an example item is "Maintaining contact with 26 parents and in-laws or other members of the family." Finally, an example item 27 for the economic area is "Providing income for the family before the children are 28 born." Response categories for all the items ranged from "not doing that activity 29 in the household" to "doing all of that activity in the household" (coded 0-4). The full set of items is given in Table 3. 30

31 Identity discrepancy is operationalized as the amount of disagreement between 32 one's self-rating in each of the spousal activities and the partner's rating of the 33 self in each of these activities. The absolute difference between the two scores is 34 calculated. Given the response categories, a maximum disagreement of four in an 35 area would arise when the respondent reported he or she should perform all of an 36 activity and the partner reported that the respondent should perform none of the 37 activity (or vice versa). The disagreement scores were averaged across the 11 areas 38 with a theoretical range of 0 (perfect agreement) to 4 (maximum disagreement).

39 *Self-worth* is one of the two components of self-esteem, the other being self-40 efficacy (Gecas & Schwalbe, 1983). Cast and Burke (2002) proposed the measure

Table 3.	Spouse Identity Items.
Item: To what extent should you (your spo	use) be responsible for
cleaning the house? preparing and serving meals? washing, ironing and mending the clott home repair?	nes?
taking care of the bills and accounts?	
maintaining contact with parents and ir providing the family income before chi providing the family income after child	n-laws or other members of the family? Ildren are born? Iren are born?
Table 4.	Self-Worth Scale Items.
Item	Loading
I feel I am a person of worth, at least on ar	n equal basis with others. 0.68
I feel that I have a number of good qualitie	es. 0.67
I feel I do not have much to be proud of. ^a	-0.47
I take a positive attitude toward myself.	0.76
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	0.73 16ª 0.55
At times I think I am not good at all ^a	-0.53
Omega reliability	0.88
^a Reverse coded.	
used here. It uses the seven items tap into the self-worth (the other th a single dimension and have an o dardized, given a common orienta higher levels of self-worth. The ite Finally, <i>male</i> is a binary variable otherwise.	of the Rosenberg self-esteem scale (1979) that are relate more to self-efficacy). The items form omega reliability of 0.88. The items were stan- ation and summed, with higher scores reflecting ems are given in Table 4. te, coded one if the respondent is male and zero
	Analyses
Because the data included multiple over time, a two-level hierarchical & Bryk, 2002). The basic idea is th	e observations of moods collected on individuals regression analysis was conducted (Raudenbush at a regression of mood levels on events (present

1 or absent) are run for each individual. This is the lowest level regression. The 2 regression coefficients in this lowest level are then modeled to be a function of 3 characteristics of the individual. This is the second level regression and shows 4 the moderating effects of the individual characteristics of longer-term identity 5 verification problems (discrepancy) and self-worth on the lowest level effects. 6 Year and sex were included at the higher-level in order to test whether the results 7 changed over time or by sex. The two-level model that was estimated is given 8 in the following equations. The level one model for unease/distress is given in 9 Eq. (1), while the level two model for this outcome is given in the set of equations 10 labeled (2).

28 This model indicates in Eq. (1) that the level of unease/distress a person reports 29 is a function of whether or not an event has occurred on that day, the day before, 30 two days before, or to the spouse. The beta coefficients indicate the magnitude of 31 the effects of the events on the mood reported. In addition, the level two model in 32 Eq. (2) indicates that the magnitude of each of these effects of events on moods 33 (the beta coefficients in Eq. (1)) may be moderated by characteristics of the person 34 being modeled. These characteristics are the level of self-worth of the person, and 35 the level of spousal identity discrepancy of the person, as well as the person's 36 sex. Finally, dummy variables for the possible changes in the effects over time are 37 included. All of these effects in the level two model (the gammas) are things that 38 change the betas in the level one equation.

39 The model for the level of activity/arousal that is reported is slightly different 40 than the model for unease/distress because I allow for the possibility of a direct

1 2	effect of distress on arousal. For this reason the level one model is given in Eq. (3) with the changed level two equations given in set of equations labeled (4).
3	Arousal = $\beta_0 + \beta_1$ (Event) + β_2 (DavAfter) + β_3 (TwoAfter)
4	$+ \rho (\text{SpanseEvent}) + \rho (\text{Distrass}) + r $ (2)
6	$+ p_4(\text{SpouseEvent}) + p_5(\text{Distress}) + 7$ (3)
7	$\beta_0 = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}$ (Discrepancy) + γ_{02} (Worth) + γ_{03} (Sex)
8	$+\gamma_{04}(\text{Year2}) + \gamma_{05}(\text{Year3}) + u_0$
9	$\beta_1 = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}$ (Discrepancy) + γ_{12} (Worth) + γ_{13} (Sex)
10	$+\gamma_{14}(\text{Year2}) + \gamma_{15}(\text{Year3}) + u_1$
11 12	$\beta_2 = \gamma_{20} + \gamma_{21}$ (Discrepancy) + γ_{22} (Worth) + γ_{23} (Sex)
12	$+\gamma_{24}(\text{Year2}) + \gamma_{25}(\text{Year3}) + u_2$
14	$\beta_2 = \gamma_{20} + \gamma_{21}(\text{Discrepancy}) + \gamma_{22}(\text{Worth}) + \gamma_{22}(\text{Sex}) $ (4)
15	$+ \gamma_{01}(\text{Year}^2) + \gamma_{02}(\text{Year}^2) + \mu_{22}(\text{Year}^2) + \mu_$
16	$\beta_{34}(10012) + \beta_{35}(10013) + \alpha_{3}$ $\beta_{35}(10013) + \alpha_{3}(Worth) + \alpha_{3}(Sex)$
17	$p_4 = \gamma_{40} + \gamma_{41}(Discrepancy) + \gamma_{42}(World) + \gamma_{43}(Sex)$
18	$+\gamma_{44}(\text{Year}2) + \gamma_{45}(\text{Year}3) + u_4$
19 20	$\beta_5 = \gamma_{50} + \gamma_{51}(\text{Discrepancy}) + \gamma_{52}(\text{Worth}) + \gamma_{53}(\text{Sex})$
20	$+\gamma_{54}(\text{Year2})+\gamma_{55}(\text{Year3})+u_5$
22	Hypothesis 1 is tested by the magnitude of the beta coefficients in Eq. (1), while
23	Hypotheses 1a and 1b are tested by the appropriate gamma coefficients in Eq. (2).
24	Hypothesis 2 is tested by the magnitude of the β_5 coefficient in Eq. (3), while
25	Hypotheses 2a and 2b are tested by the γ_{51} and γ_{52} coefficients in Eq. (4). Finally,
26	Hypotheses 3, 3a, and 3b are tested by the other beta and gamma coefficients in $E_{22}(2) \approx 1(4)$
21	Eqs (3) and (4) .
20 29	
30	RESULTS
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32	Moods Across the Day and Week
33	
34	Before examining the results showing the effects of interruptions in identity ver-
35 36	incation on mood, I begin with an overview of the daily and weekly variations
37	at varying times of the day and responded as they were feeling at the time, they
38	present a picture of the ups and downs across the day and across the week. An
39	initial analysis of the time ordered data by hour over the four weeks shows a strong
40	autocorrelation between observations separated by 24 hours, i.e. how one feels at



Fig. 1. Distribution of Standardized Unease/Distress Levels across the Day for Day of Event, Day After Event, Two Days After Event and Days with No Events.

22 any time of the day correlates strongly with how they feel at that time of every day. 23 This is true for both levels of unease/distress as well as levels of activity/arousal.¹³ 24 These results suggest that there are strong daily cycles of both unease/distress and 25 activity/arousal. Figure 1 shows average daily levels of unease/distress for four 26 groups of respondents: those who suffered an "event" within the last day, those 27 who suffered an event the day before, those who suffered an event two days before, 28 and those who did not suffer an event within that time-frame. Figure 2 shows the 29 average level of activity/arousal over the day for the same groups of persons.

30 We see in Fig. 1 that the level of unease/distress in response to an event is much 31 higher than the level when no event has occurred. Additionally, we see elevated 32 levels of unease/distress one and even two days later, though the two-day later 33 score is often not very different from the level of unease/distress when no event 34 has occurred. In addition, we see a daily rhythm to the level of unease/distress with 35 very high levels occurring early in the morning, between 5 and 6 am. A second 36 though smaller peak occurs early in the afternoon and a third peak occurs in the 37 early evening hours between 6 and 7 pm. We see a similar rhythm to the level 38 of unease/distress a day after the event though the overall levels are diminished. 39 Indeed, even on days when no event has occurred, there is a similar rhythm to 40 the levels of unease/distress with people feeling more unease/distress in the early



Fig. 2. Distribution of Standardized Activity/Arousal Levels across the Day for Day of
 Event, Day After Event, Two Days After Event and Days with No Events.

morning hours and then afternoon and early evening, with diminished levels laterin the morning and later evening.

In Fig. 2 we see a different cyclic pattern for levels of activity/arousal. Overall, there are two peaks of activity/arousal: in the middle morning and in the middle afternoon. Noon, and Midnight are times of lowered activity. We also see some evidence of lowered activity/arousal for people on days they have suffered an event. This pattern of activity/arousal follows closely that suggested by Thayer (1996) as the cycle of energy.

29 Turning now to the question of weekly cycles, Figs 3 and 4 show the average 30 levels of unease/distress and activity/arousal respectively for each day of the week. 31 Looking first at unease/distress, we see that in the absence of an event, people have 32 the highest levels of unease/distress on Wednesday, the hump day of the week, and 33 they have the lowest levels of unease/distress on the weekends; results that are not 34 surprising. If an event has occurred, however, the pattern is somewhat different. 35 Mondays and Thursdays appear to be the worst days, while Wednesday and the 36 weekends appear to be the best days.¹⁴

With respect to the level of activity/arousal, we see little change over the week,though Friday and Saturday show somewhat elevated levels of activity/arousal.

39 Again, we see the reduced levels of activity/arousal in response to the occurrence

40 of an event.





In these preliminary results, we see strong evidence of daily and weekly cycles in both dimensions of mood indicating both biological rhythms as well as social rhythms, the latter showing up especially with the weekly ups and downs of the unease/distress levels. We also see some preliminary evidence of the elevation in distress and depression of activity levels when identity-disconfirming events occur, even a day or two after the event. I turn now to the analysis of the effects of identity disrupting events on affective outcomes and tests of the hypotheses.

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Identity Disruption and Mood

12 Before looking at the results for the hierarchical regression, Tables 5 and 6 present 13 the means, variances and standard deviations of the measures used in the study. 14 Among the level two variables, we note in Table 5 a negative correlation between 15 identity discrepancy and self-worth indicating that persons who are having trouble 16 verifying their spouse identity tend to have lower feelings of self-worth. Table 6 17 shows that feelings of unease/distress are associated with events (and continue in 18 the days after an event), and lowered levels of activity/arousal are also associated 19 with the occurrence of events (and continue in the days after an event). I also note 20 the small negative correlation between unease/distress and activity/arousal.

The results of the hierarchical regression are reported in Table 7 for unease/distress, testing the first hypotheses, and in Table 8 for activity/arousal, testing the second hypotheses. Looking first at Table 7 and the effects for the intercept (level 1), we see that the baseline level of unease/distress (γ_{00}) is significantly below the overall mean level of zero. Thus, on days when no event occurs (and it is not the day after or two days after an event), people are feeling less unease/distress than average. But, to the extent that the spousal identity is not being confirmed,

	Self-Worth	Discrepancy	Male	Year 2	Year 3
Self-worth	1.00				
Discrepancy	-0.15^{*}	1.00			
Male	0.01	0.00	1.00		
Year 2	-0.01	-0.02	0.00	1.00	
Year 3	0.04	0.02	0.00	-0.43^{*}	1.00
Mean	0.36	0.00	0.50	0.32	0.28
Std. Dev.	0.20	0.70	0.50	0.47	0.45

29	Table 5.	Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations for Level-Two Variables
30		(N = 1443).

 $40 \quad *p \le 0.05.$

(17 - 27, 271).						
	Event	Day After Event	Two Days After	Spouse Event	Unease/ Distress	Activity/ Arousal
Event	1.00					
Day after event	0.11^{*}	1.00				
Two days after	0.09^{*}	0.13^{*}	1.00			
Spouse event	0.28^{*}	0.06^{*}	0.03^{*}	1.00		
Unease/distress	0.18^{*}	0.05^{*}	0.02^{*}	0.09^{*}	1.00	
Activity/arousal	-0.06^{*}	-0.04^{*}	-0.04^{*}	-0.04^{*}	-0.08^*	1.00
Mean	0.09	0.08	0.07	0.09	-0.01	-0.02
Std. Dev.	0.29	0.27	0.26	0.29	0.78	0.79

1 **Table 6.** Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations for Level-One Variables (N = 29,291).

 $\begin{array}{ccc}
13 & & \\
14 & {}^*p \le 0.05. \\
\end{array}$

the average level of unease/distress is significantly increased. On the other hand, to the extent that the person has higher self-worth, their level of unease/distress is significantly decreased. These results also show that males have a higher level of unease/distress than females, and there is a slightly higher level of distress in the second year.

20 Turning now to the effects of an event, we see that the average level of 21 unease/distress is increased significantly on the day an event occurs (γ_{10}) thus 22 confirming our Hypothesis 1. This effect is magnified to the extent that the spousal 23 identity of the person is not being confirmed. Increases in the amount of discrep-24 ancy (lack of verification) bring about increases in the level of unease/distress 25 caused by an event. This moderating effect confirms Hypothesis 1a. Finally, we 26 see there is not support for Hypothesis 1b concerning the moderating effects 27 of self-worth. Apparently persons with high as well as low levels of self-worth 28 equally feel the impact of an event.

Although I did not have hypotheses for the remaining results, these exploratory analyses show that feelings of unease/distress continue into the day after an event has occurred. Two days after an event, the average person is over the mood change unless they have lower feelings of self-worth, in which case they do continue to have feelings of unease/distress.

Looking at the effects of an event that happens to the spouse, Table 7 shows that people do feel heightened levels of unease/distress when their spouse receives an identity-disconfirming event independent of any events that may have happened to themselves. And, this effect is significantly increased if there are already problems with verification of the spousal identity. Interestingly, women feel the effects of a spousal event to a greater extent than do men which may reflect women's greater sensitivity to relationships and greater interdependence compared to men.

Level One Effect	Level Two Effect	Coefficient
Intercept (β_0)	Intercept (γ_{00})	-0.13
	Discrepancy	0.14
	Self-worth	-0.22
	Male	0.12
	Year 2	0.08
	Year 3	-
Event (β_1)	Intercept (γ_{10})	0.50
	Discrepancy	0.23
	Self-worth	-
	Male	-
	Year 2	-
	Year 3	-
Day after event (β_2)	Intercept (γ_{20})	0.09
	Discrepancy	-
	Self-worth	-
	Male	-
	Year 2	-
	Year 3	-
Two days after event (β_3)	Intercept (γ_{30})	-
	Discrepancy	-
	Self-worth	0.07
	Male	-
	Year 2	-
	Year 3	-
Spouse event (β_4)	Intercept (γ_{40})	0.13
	Discrepancy	0.18
	Self-worth	-
	Male	-0.06
	Year 2	-
	Year 3	-

Table 7. Hierarchical Linear Model Results for Unease/Distress.

 $31 \\ 32$ -: p > 0.05.

I turn now to the remaining hypothesis concerning the consequences of unease/distress and identity disruption on the activity/arousal mood. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 8. We see that overall persons who are experiencing ongoing problems with spousal identity verification (discrepancy) report significantly lower levels of activity/arousal, and we also note the higher level of activity/arousal reported by men over that reported by women.

With respect to Hypothesis 2, we see that unease/distress reduces the level of activity/arousal (γ_{40}) as hypothesized. Additionally, in support of Hypothesis 2a,

Level One Effect	Level Two Effect	Coefficie
Intercept (β_0)	Intercept (γ_{00})	-0.07
	Discrepancy	-0.26
	Self-worth	-
	Male	0.16
	Year 2	_
	Year 3	-
Event (β_1)	Intercept (γ_{10})	-0.03
	Discrepancy	-
	Self-worth	-
	Male	-
	Year 2	-
	Year 3	_
Day after event (β_2)	Intercept (γ_{20})	_
	Discrepancy	_
	Self-worth	_
	Male	-
	Year 2	-
	Year 3	_
Two days after event (β_3)	Intercept (γ_{30})	_
	Discrepancy	-
	Self-worth	_
	Male	-
	Year 2	-
	Year 3	_
Spouse event (β_4)	Intercept (γ_{40})	_
	Discrepancy	-
	Self-worth	-
	Male	-
	Year 2	_
	Year 3	_
Unease/distress (β ₅)	Intercept (γ_{40})	-0.10
	Discrepancy	_
	Self-worth	0.05
	Male	_
	Year 2	-0.06
	Year 3	_

Table 8. Hierarchical Linear Model Results for Activity/Arousal.

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1 we see that the effect of unease/distress is moderated by level of self-worth. Persons 2 with higher levels of self-worth do not suffer the same effects on activity/ arousal 3 from distress that persons with lower levels of self-worth do. On the other hand, 4 contrary to Hypothesis 2b, there are no moderating effects of identity discrepancy. 5 Finally, with respect to Hypothesis 3, we do see a direct effect of an event in 6 reducing levels of activity/arousal independent of the current level of reported 7 distress. This effect is not moderated by either self-worth or spousal identity veri-8 fication problems so that Hypotheses 3a and 3b are not supported. 9

DISCUSSION

13 According to identity control theory, the lack of identity verification is distressful 14 (Burke, 1991, 1996). While a number of studies have tested this for ongoing 15 relationships (e.g. Burke & Stets, 1999; Stets, 1997; Stets & Burke, 1996), no 16 studies have examined the process as it influences individuals on a day-to-day basis. 17 The study of moods however, affords us the opportunity to examine this process. 18 According to Morris (1992), "moods exist for the sake of signaling states of the 19 self in terms of the physical, psychological, and social resources available to meet 20 perceived environmental demands." According to identity control theory, identities 21 manipulate signs and symbols that indirectly control active and potential resources 22 in the situation through the process of self-verification (Burke, 2003; Freese & 23 Burke, 1994). Within identity control theory, therefore, the lack of verification 24 comes about because active or potential resources are not brought to the levels 25 indicated in one's identity standard as the reference value. Moods thus indicate the 26 lack of identity verification when resources are not available to meet the reference 27 level of the identity standard.

28 In the present paper I examine the impact of identity disconfirming life-events on 29 the moods that people report. The two primary dimensions of mood, unease/distress 30 and activity/arousal, were measured daily for a period of four weeks at three time 31 points, each separated by a year. At the same time it was noted whether an identity-32 disconfirming event had occurred on each day, the day before or two days before. 33 From identity control theory, it was hypothesized that these identity-disconfirming 34 events would increase unease/distress and decrease the level of activity/arousal. 35 And, because we already know that persons who are having trouble verifying an 36 identity over a period of time are susceptible to more distress, while people who 37 have higher levels of self-worth are less susceptible to distress, it was hypothesized 38 that these conditions would moderate the consequences of the daily events. 39 Overall, the result show that persons with problems in verifying their spousal

40 identity show higher levels of unease/distress and lower levels of activity/arousal.

Additionally, persons with higher levels of self-worth experience lower levels of
 unease/distress, but levels of activity/arousal are not changed.

3 Turning to the specific hypotheses we see that in general they were confirmed. 4 People who experienced an identity-disconfirming life-event on a particular day 5 reported higher levels of unease/distress, and this mood persisted into the next day, 6 though at a somewhat reduced level. And, for persons who had problems verifying 7 their spousal identity, these effects were strengthened. I did not find, however, 8 that these effects were diminished for persons with higher levels of self-worth as 9 had been hypothesized. These same effects were noted when the event occurred 10 not to the self, but to the spouse. Because the spouse is important for verifying 11 one's own spousal identity, an event that disturbed the spouse's identity was 12 apparently felt as threatening to one's own identity, and even more so when 13 the verification of the spousal identity was itself already problematic or when 14 the respondent was female and therefore likely to be more interdependent and 15 relationship oriented.

16 With respect to the second dimension of mood, i.e. activity/arousal, the effects 17 were somewhat weaker, though generally consistent with the hypothesis. However, 18 the effect did not persist until the next day, nor was it moderated by self-worth or 19 problems with verifying the spousal identity. Thus, while the events themselves had only a small depressing effect of activity/arousal, there was a larger indirect 20 21 effect of the event through its effect on the level of unease/distress. The level of 22 self-worth moderated this latter, indirect effect, with persons feeling the effect less 23 if they had higher levels of self-worth.

The overall picture is thus one that confirms the predictions of identity control 24 25 theory about the consequences of even temporary dislocations of the identity pro-26 cesses in negatively altering a person's mood for a period of time, usually not more 27 than a day or two. Although in separate analyses not reported, I did not find an 28 added effect for another event that occurs on the day following an event (that is 29 the second event had no more effect than the first event), according to the results 30 presented, successive events are expected to continue the heightened level of the 31 distressed mood. This continued effect of the second or even third event would be 32 on top of the already noted persisting effect on the day after an event.

33 Identity disconfirmation by daily events does alter the moods reported by people. 34 This outcome provides additional evidence for the functional analysis of mood 35 suggested by Morris (1992). Both identity control theory and Morris' functional 36 theory of moods converge on the notion of resources. They may differ, however, 37 in that Morris discusses only the lack of resources to handle needs, while identity 38 control theory suggests that problems also arise when "resources" are at levels 39 that are higher than they should be (Burke & Harrod, 2002). Future research needs 40 to explore this possibility for the effects of events that disconfirm identities by providing "too much of a good thing."

25 26

1 One additional area of future research relating identity verification and moods 2 lies in the already noted apparent correspondence between the two primary 3 dimensions of mood (unease/distress and activity/arousal) and the two common 4 classes of psychiatric disorder (anxiety and depression). Higgins has explored 5 the relationship between self-verification and the anxiety/depression distinction 6 (Higgins, 1987). In doing this, he has distinguished between what he calls the 7 ought-self and the ideal-self. The first of this consists of those aspects of ones self 8 or an identity that are expectations held by others about what one ought to do in 9 a particular role, for example. The second consists of those aspects of an identity 10 that are ideals or wishes about the way we want to be. Higgins has suggested, 11 and shown, that the lack of verification of the ought-self leads to symptoms of distress, while the lack of verification of the ideal-self leads to depressed 12 13 symptoms (cf. Higgins, 1987, 1989; Higgins et al., 1987, 1994). Marcussen and 14 Large (Marcussen & Large, 2003) have applied this idea to identity control theory. 15 In the present research we have no way of distinguishing between events that disturb identity verification of an "ought" variety from one that disturb identity 16 17 verification of an "ideal" variety. However, future research could perhaps do this 18 and examine whether these two types of identity disruption each differentially 19 affect the two dimensions of mood (unease/distress and activity/arousal) in the 20 manner that would be expected. Should that be the case, one could then begin to 21 theorize more fruitfully about the nature of the resources that are under the control 22 of each system.

NOTES

1. There is a third, more micro, level that may be analyzed. This level examines the
effects of the more minor disturbances to identity verification that occur in the give-andtake of ongoing interaction. Some of the work of Gottman (1982, 1987, 1993), though not
cast in identity terms, may be viewed in this way.

2. Concerning the three levels discussed earlier (long-term, ongoing problems of identity verification, short-term, occasional identity disturbing events, and generally minor disturbances felt in the micro-processes of normal interaction), moods may be appropriate to the middle level and emotions to the more micro-level. However, there is not an unambiguous line between levels, so the effects are likely to blend from one level to another.
 2. The concerning the three levels discussed earlier (long-term, ongoing problems of identity verification, short-term, occasional identity disturbing events, and generally minor disturbances felt in the micro-processes of normal interaction), moods may be appropriate to the middle level and emotions to the more micro-level. However, there is not an unambiguous line between levels, so the effects are likely to blend from one level to another.

3. The conceptual similarity between these two dimensions and the two most common classes of psychiatric disorders (anxiety and depression) can be noted (Sapolsky, 2003).

36 4. A fuller description of the data and data collection process is available elsewhere37 (Tallman et al., 1998).

5. Examples of reported events include statements such as, "My girlfriend who has had a heart transplant went in for her usual yearly check-up. This is her second year. All is good. Doctors are happy!" "I organized house and boxes all morning, Grandma surprised me with a visit and brought fruit, cookies, and neat platter to match our dishes, then helped me with my work," and "I got three interviews this week for a new job."

 Examples of reported events include statements such as "My cousin received good and bad news. She found out that there is a medication that will help her, but won't be good for her six-week-old fetus," "A friend at work has a daughter who lives in St. Anne's. Her health is very bad. She is in the hospital now. I don't know the outcome," and "(My) mother-in-law is having health problems."

5 7. Examples of reported events include statements such as "I lost my job, we ran out of 6 coupon books to sell. I would have lost my job on the 31st anyway," "Close friend didn't 7 get job she was hoping for near where we live," "Erik feels that he is being harassed on the 8 job. His boss is always picking on him," and "My manager keeps telling me to do stuff I 9 know will be wrong. And then when it does end up being wrong I get yelled at and insulted 9 and some times physically threatened."

8. Examples of reported events include statements such as, "Two of my friends want to get married and they've only known Each other for about two weeks," "My friend who is 19 just discovered she is pregnant for the third time and she is planning to have an abortion, which I feel is very wrong," and "I found out one of my best friends said some things that weren't very nice."

weight very line.
9. Examples of reported events include statements such as "Tried to return a shower gift at Victoria's Secret and we could only exchange or get store credit, even with the sales tag," "Randy and I went to the mall to buy videotape. We were in a hurry and the store was really busy. The salespeople were slow and ignored us," and "I tried to figure out our income tax for this year. It looks like we will end up owing. I hate owing taxes to the government. I haven't itemized yet so it could be better than I think. I still think we will probably owe money."
10. Examples of reported events include statements such as "Mu perents even" to even?

10. Examples of reported events include statements such as, "My parents aren't communicating at all. My mom is angry with my dad for things five years ago and my dad has
completely forgotten them," "My husband and I argued over money he spent that was partly
mine and I became angry because we don't have much spending money," and "My brother
backed out of this tournament and, considering he bowls better than I do, I was concerned
about being able to 'live up' to his average."

11. Two items, "aroused" and "passive," that had been included in the daily diaries had
uniqueness values greater than 0.7 and were excluded. The item "aroused" may have had
sexual connotations for some persons but not others, while the "passive" item may have
had connotations of (lack of) control for some but not others.

12. Ideally, we would want to measure the individual's reflected appraisals, i.e. their
 perceptions of their spouse's expectations for them, but we do not have this measure. I use
 the spouse's actual views as a proxy for the perceptions.

31 13. There is one significant autocorrelation of 0.33 with a lag of 24 hours for un-32 ease/distress. For activity/arousal, there are significant autocorrelations of about 0.60 cen-33 tering on lags of 1 hour and 24 hours.

14. Additional analyses not reported show that this pattern is not the result simply of
 events being more likely on days there is higher levels of unease/distress.

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