

Motivation and emotion

Free study notes · 2 notes · 25 Oct 2026

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1 Motivation: instincts, needs, drives, motives and theories

Motivation (Latin *movere*, "to move") is the inner process that starts, directs and keeps up behaviour towards a goal: a need creates a drive, the drive pushes goal-directed behaviour, and reaching the incentive reduces the need. Motives are biological (hunger, thirst, sex) or psychosocial (achievement, affiliation, power, curiosity), and they are explained by instinct, drive-reduction, arousal, incentive and humanistic (Maslow) theories. Maslow's five levels, intrinsic vs extrinsic motivation, McClelland's training work and level of aspiration are set out for teachers in EDU-LR-05; this note adds the psychology-paper detail.

Core facts

- **Motive:** a state that **energises, activates and directs** behaviour towards a goal. Motives are **inferred** from behaviour, not seen directly.
- **Motivation cycle** (NCERT): **Need → Drive → Goal-directed (instrumental) behaviour → Goal / incentive reached → Relief (need reduced)**.
 - **Need:** a lack or deprivation (shortage of water in the body).
 - **Drive:** the state of tension or arousal the need produces (thirst); it pushes.
 - **Incentive:** the goal object that satisfies the need (water); it pulls.
- **Homeostasis:** the body's tendency to keep its internal state steady (temperature, blood sugar, water). Term coined by **Walter B. Cannon** (1926) and made known by his book *The Wisdom of the Body* (1932). Upsetting it creates a drive.
- **Instinct:** an **innate, unlearned**, fixed pattern of behaviour found in all members of a species (a bird building its nest).
 - **William McDougall** (*An Introduction to Social Psychology*, **1908**): behaviour is driven by instincts, each with its own emotion (flight → fear, pugnacity → anger, curiosity → wonder, parental instinct → tender emotion).
 - **Sigmund Freud:** two groups of instincts: **life instincts (Eros)**, whose energy is the **libido**, and **death instincts (Thanatos)**, the source of aggression. Both energise the **id**.
 - Modern ethologists (**Konrad Lorenz**, **Niko Tinbergen**) speak of **fixed action patterns** instead.
- **Two broad kinds of motives:**
 - **Biological (primary, physiological, innate):** hunger, thirst, sex, sleep, avoiding pain, need for oxygen and temperature, maternal drive.
 - **Psychosocial (secondary, social, learned / acquired):** shaped by social interaction and culture. NCERT lists **affiliation, power, achievement, curiosity and exploration**.
- The two kinds **interact:** they are not independent (social pressure changes what and when we eat; hunger lowers interest in social goals).
- **Hunger:** signals from the stomach (contractions; **Cannon and Washburn, 1912**, swallowed balloon), blood **glucose**, hormones (**ghrelin** raises hunger, **leptin** from fat cells lowers it) and the

hypothalamus:

- **Lateral hypothalamus (LH):** "hunger / feeding centre"; damage → animal stops eating.
- **Ventromedial hypothalamus (VMH):** "satiety centre"; damage → overeating and obesity.
- **Thirst:** dry mouth, loss of water from body cells (**osmotic** thirst, sensed by osmoreceptors in the hypothalamus) and loss of blood volume (**hypovolemic** thirst, sensed by the kidneys and blood-pressure receptors).
- **Sex drive:** hormones (testosterone, oestrogen) plus learning and culture; unlike hunger and thirst, it is not needed for the individual's survival.
- **Strength of drives in rats** (Columbia obstruction box, **C.J. Warden**, 1931): the number of times a rat crossed an electrified grid to reach a goal ranked **maternal > thirst > hunger > sex > exploration**.
- **Psychosocial motives:**
 - **Need for achievement (n-Ach):** to meet a **standard of excellence**; measured by the **TAT** (Murray); studied by **McClelland and Atkinson**.
 - **Need for affiliation (n-Aff):** to seek and keep **relationships** with others; rises under threat or anxiety (Schachter, 1959: frightened people preferred to wait with others).
 - **Need for power (n-Pow):** to have **impact, control or influence** on others' behaviour and feelings, to charm or impress them.
 - **Curiosity and exploration:** to seek new information and experience for its own sake (pleasure); seen in monkeys who work to open a window just to look out.
- **Theories at a glance:**

Theory	Key name	Main idea	Push or pull
Instinct	McDougall (1908)	innate patterns drive behaviour	push from inside
Drive-reduction	Clark Hull (1943)	needs create drives; behaviour reduces them	push
Arousal (optimal level)	Yerkes and Dodson (1908); Hebb	we seek a moderate level of arousal	both
Incentive	Bolles and others (1960s–70s)	external goals attract behaviour	pull
Hierarchy of needs	Abraham Maslow (1943, 1954)	lower needs first, then growth to self-actualisation	humanistic
Three (acquired) needs	David McClelland (1961)	achievement, affiliation, power are learned	learned

- **Maslow's hierarchy** (detail in EDU-LR-05): physiological → safety → love and belongingness → esteem → **self-actualisation**. Self-actualisation = becoming all one is capable of becoming.
- **Intrinsic motivation:** the activity is rewarding in itself (curiosity, interest). **Extrinsic motivation:** done for an outside reward or to avoid punishment (marks, money, praise). Detail in EDU-LR-05.

Explained

1. Need, drive and incentive in one example. A probation officer skips lunch on a long field day. By evening his body lacks glucose (**need**); he feels hungry and restless (**drive**); he walks to a hotel and orders food (**goal-directed behaviour**); the meal (**incentive**) restores the balance (**relief**), and the cycle ends until the next need arises. A smell of biryani on the way can start eating even before strong hunger: that is the **pull of an incentive**.

2. Instinct theory and why it faded

- It explained behaviour by naming an instinct for it: people fight because of a "pugnacity instinct". This is **circular**: the behaviour is the only evidence for the instinct that is said to cause it.
- Lists grew without limit; later writers counted **thousands** of "instincts" in the literature.
- Human behaviour varies too much across people and cultures to be fixed and unlearned.
- What remains: the idea that **some behaviour patterns are inborn** (ethology) and Freud's life and death instincts in personality theory.

3. Drive-reduction theory (Clark Hull)

- A biological **need** creates an unpleasant state of tension, the **drive**; the organism is pushed to **reduce** (not increase) that tension and return to **homeostasis**. Behaviour that reduces a drive is reinforced and learnt.
- **Primary drives** come from bodily needs (hunger, thirst); **secondary (acquired) drives** are learnt through association with primary ones (the wish for money, which buys food).
- **Explains well**: drinking when thirsty, eating when hungry, sleeping when tired.
- **Cannot explain**: behaviour that **raises** tension or arousal: rock climbing, bungee jumping, watching horror films, solving puzzles for fun, curiosity; eating dessert when already full; a starving hunger striker.

4. Arousal theory (optimal level)

- Each person tries to keep an **optimal (moderate) level of arousal**. When arousal is too low we seek stimulation (switch on music, go out); when too high we seek calm.
- **Yerkes–Dodson law (1908)**: performance is best at **moderate arousal** and falls at very low or very high arousal (an inverted U). For **difficult** tasks the best level is **lower**; for **easy** tasks it is **higher**.
- **Sensory deprivation** (Bexton, Heron and Scott, McGill University, 1954): paid students lying in a bare cubicle with goggles and gloves could not stay more than two or three days; they became bored, restless and had trouble thinking. People need stimulation, not just drive reduction.
- **Sensation seeking** (Marvin **Zuckerman**): people differ in how much novelty and risk they need; high sensation seekers choose adventure sports and fast driving.

5. Incentive theory

- Behaviour is **pulled** by the expected value of external goals, not only **pushed** by inner drives. **Positive incentives** attract (prize, praise, tasty food); **negative incentives** repel (fine, punishment).
- It explains eating when not hungry and working for money or recognition.
- **Limit**: used alone it ignores internal states; today drive and incentive are seen as working together (push and pull).

6. Comparing the theories

Behaviour	Best explained by	Why
Drinking water when thirsty	drive-reduction	a bodily need is met, tension falls
Rock climbing for adventure	arousal / sensation seeking	arousal is raised on purpose
Eating sweets after a full meal	incentive	the goal pulls; no hunger push
Writing a poem for its own joy	Maslow / intrinsic	growth need, no outside reward

7. Psychosocial motives compared

Motive	Aim	Typical behaviour	Shown by
Achievement	standard of excellence	prefers moderate risk, wants feedback	entrepreneur, topper
Affiliation	warm relationships	joins groups, seeks approval	team member, friend
Power	impact and control over others	seeks status, leadership, charms others	politician, manager
Curiosity / exploration	new information and experience	asks, explores, enjoys novelty	scientist, traveller

8. Maslow's self-actualised people. Maslow studied the lives of people he judged to have used their full potential (Abraham Lincoln, Albert Einstein, Eleanor Roosevelt and others). Their common features:

- **Accurate perception of reality** and comfort with uncertainty; **open to new experience** and challenge.
- **Acceptance** of self, others and nature; **spontaneous** and natural.
- **Problem-centred**: devoted to a task or mission outside themselves.
- **Need for privacy** and independence (**autonomy**): they can be alone without feeling lonely, but they are **not socially withdrawn**.
- **Deep, close relationships** with a few people, and **social interest** (a feeling of kinship with all humanity); democratic attitude.
- A **philosophical, unhostile sense of humour** (they do not laugh at others' pain).
- **Fresh appreciation** of ordinary things, **creativity**, and frequent **peak experiences** (moments of intense joy and wonder).
- Strong ethical sense; resistance to blind conformity.

9. McClelland's three needs (acquired needs theory). Needs for achievement, affiliation and power are **learnt** in childhood and culture, and each person has a different mix. High n-Ach people make good entrepreneurs; good managers of large organisations tend to have **high n-Pow (used for the group), lower n-Aff**. McClelland measured needs through stories written to TAT pictures (*The Achieving Society*, 1961).

Common traps

✗ "Drive-reduction theory says the organism tries to increase the tension created by needs." ✓ It tries to **reduce** the tension and return to homeostasis.

✗ "Drive-reduction explains rock climbing and horror films." ✓ These **raise** arousal; **arousal / sensation-seeking** theory explains them. Drive-reduction fits **eating when hungry, drinking when thirsty**.

✗ "Biological and psychosocial motives are independent of each other." ✓ The two kinds exist, but they **interact** and influence each other.

✗ "Curiosity is a biological motive." ✓ NCERT lists curiosity and exploration among **psychosocial** motives, with affiliation, power and achievement. (The 2023 key treated "belongingness", a Maslow level, as not one of these psychosocial motives.)

✗ "Need for power = need for relationship." ✓ **Power** = influence, control, charming others; **affiliation** = relationships; **achievement** = standard of excellence; **exploration** = pleasure of new experience.

✗ "Self-actualised people are socially withdrawn." ✓ They value **privacy** but have **deep relationships**, social interest, humour and openness to novelty and challenge.

✗ "The lateral hypothalamus is the satiety centre." ✓ **LH = hunger (feeding)**; **VMH = satiety**. VMH damage → overeating.

✗ "Instinct theory: Clark Hull." ✓ Instincts: **McDougall** (and Freud's Eros / Thanatos); drive-reduction: **Hull**.

✗ "Yerkes–Dodson: the harder the task, the more arousal helps." ✓ Difficult tasks need **lower** arousal; performance is best at **moderate** arousal.

✗ "Incentives push; drives pull." ✓ **Drives push** from inside; **incentives pull** from outside.

✗ "In the obstruction box, hunger was the strongest drive." ✓ **Maternal** drive was strongest, then thirst, hunger, sex.

Quick revision

- Motivation: *movere*; need → drive → goal-directed behaviour → incentive → relief.
- Homeostasis: Walter Cannon (1932); drive pushes, incentive pulls.
- Instincts: McDougall 1908 (instinct + emotion); Freud: Eros (libido) and Thanatos energise the id.
- Biological motives: hunger (LH hunger, VMH satiety, ghrelin up, leptin down), thirst (osmotic, hypovolemic), sex.
- Psychosocial motives: achievement, affiliation, power, curiosity and exploration.

- Drive-reduction: Hull 1943; fails for rock climbing, horror films, curiosity.
- Arousal: optimal level, Yerkes–Dodson inverted U; sensory deprivation (McGill 1954); Zuckerman sensation seeking.
- Incentive theory: external goals pull behaviour.
- Maslow's self-actualised: realistic, accepting, autonomous, private but not withdrawn, humour, peak experiences.
- McClelland: n-Ach, n-Aff, n-Pow learned; TAT; intrinsic > extrinsic for lasting effort.

2 Emotion: physiology and theories

An emotion is a complex state with three parts, bodily arousal, conscious experience (appraisal) and outward expression; strong emotions switch on the sympathetic nervous system (faster heart, more sweating, adrenaline) under the control of the hypothalamus, limbic system (amygdala) and cortex, and the main theories differ on the order of events: James–Lange (body first), Cannon–Bard (body and feeling together), Schachter–Singer (arousal plus a cognitive label) and Lazarus (appraisal first). The brain structures themselves are in PSY-BB-02; emotional intelligence and coping are in MAB-EI-01 and MAB-EI-02; the link between motive and arousal (Yerkes–Dodson) is in PSY-MO-01.

Core facts

- **Emotion** comes from Latin *emovere*, "to stir up, to move out". It is a **complex pattern of arousal, subjective feeling and cognitive interpretation** that moves us to act.
- **Three components** (NCERT): **physiological** (bodily changes), **cognitive** (appraisal, the felt experience) and **behavioural** (expression: face, voice, posture, action).
- **Feeling**: the pleasant or unpleasant tone of an experience. **Mood**: weaker, longer-lasting, often without a clear cause. **Emotion**: intense, brief, aimed at a definite object or event.
- **Physiological changes in strong emotion (fear, anger, excitement)**: produced by the **sympathetic** branch of the autonomic nervous system and the **adrenal medulla** (adrenaline / **epinephrine**, noradrenaline):
 - heart rate and blood pressure **rise**; breathing becomes **fast**;
 - **sweating increases** (measured as **galvanic skin response, GSR**);
 - pupils **dilate**; mouth goes **dry** (less saliva); digestion **slows**;
 - blood sugar rises; blood shifts to the muscles; muscles tense, **limbs tremble**; hair stands on end (goose flesh); temples throb.
- **Walter Cannon** called this the **"fight or flight"** response. The **parasympathetic** branch calms the body afterwards.
- **Polygraph (lie detector)**: records heart rate, blood pressure, breathing and GSR; it measures **arousal, not lying**.
- **Brain and emotion** (details in PSY-BB-02):
 - **Hypothalamus**: drives the autonomic and hormonal changes of emotion. Cats with the cortex removed showed **"sham rage"** (Cannon and Britton, 1925); Philip **Bard** (1928) showed it needs the hypothalamus.
 - **Limbic system**: **amygdala** (fear and aggression; reads threat in faces), hippocampus, cingulate gyrus. **Papez circuit** (James Papez, **1937**).
 - **Klüver–Bucy syndrome** (1937–39): monkeys with the temporal lobes (including the amygdala) removed became **tame and fearless**.
 - **Thalamus**: relays sensory input to the cortex and to the amygdala.

- **Cerebral cortex:** the **conscious experience** and appraisal of emotion; the **prefrontal cortex** regulates and controls emotion.
- **Reticular activating system:** general arousal (Lindsley's activation theory).

- **Theories of emotion:**

Theory	Who, when	Order of events	Key claim
James-Lange	William James (1884), Carl Lange (1885)	stimulus → bodily change → feeling	we feel afraid because we tremble
Cannon-Bard	Walter Cannon (1927), Philip Bard	stimulus → thalamus → cortex (feeling) and hypothalamus / body (arousal) at once	arousal and feeling are simultaneous and independent
Schachter-Singer (two-factor)	Stanley Schachter and Jerome Singer (1962)	arousal + cognitive label from the situation → emotion	the label decides which emotion
Cognitive appraisal	Richard Lazarus (1966, 1991)	appraisal of the event → arousal and feeling	how we judge an event decides the emotion

- **Basic (primary) emotions:** **Paul Ekman:** six with universal facial expressions: **happiness, sadness, anger, fear, surprise, disgust**. **Carroll Izard:** ten. **Robert Plutchik** (1980): **eight** primary emotions in a **wheel** (joy, trust, fear, surprise, sadness, disgust, anger, anticipation), mixed like colours to make others.
- **J.B. Watson:** newborns show three emotions: **fear, rage and love**. **K.M.B. Bridges** (1932): at birth there is only general **excitement**, which soon splits into **distress** and **delight** and then into finer emotions.
- **Charles Darwin**, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (**1872**): expressions are inherited and helped survival.
- **Display rules** (Ekman): cultural norms on **when, where and how much** an emotion may be shown.

Explained

1. The three components in one scene. A youth sees a police jeep stop outside his house. **Physiological:** his heart races and palms sweat. **Cognitive:** he thinks "they have come for me" and feels fear. **Behavioural:** his face goes pale, his voice shakes, he tries to slip out of the back door. Change the thought ("they are asking for directions") and the whole emotion changes: this is why appraisal matters.

2. Body changes in emotion: sympathetic vs parasympathetic

Body part	Sympathetic (emotion, stress)	Parasympathetic (calm)
Heart, blood pressure	faster, higher	slower, lower
Sweat glands	more sweating	less

Body part	Sympathetic (emotion, stress)	Parasympathetic (calm)
Pupils	dilate	constrict
Digestion, saliva	slows, dry mouth	resumes, more saliva

3. James–Lange theory. Common sense says: I see a snake, feel afraid, and run. James reversed it: I see a snake, my body reacts (heart pounds, I run), and **my awareness of these bodily changes is the emotion**. "We feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike." Each emotion should then have its own pattern of bodily change.

4. Cannon's criticisms of James–Lange (1927)

- Very **different emotions** (fear, anger, even fever or exercise) show **much the same** bodily arousal, so arousal alone cannot tell us which emotion we feel.
- Internal organs have **few sensory nerves**, so their changes are hard to feel.
- Internal organs react **slowly** (one to two seconds), but emotions can be felt at once.
- Animals whose internal organs were cut off from the brain still showed emotional behaviour.
- **Injecting adrenaline** produces arousal but not a true emotion (people say they feel "as if" afraid).

5. Cannon–Bard theory. The **thalamus** receives the stimulus and sends signals **at the same time** to the **cerebral cortex**, which produces the **subjective experience** of emotion, and to the **hypothalamus**, which produces **bodily arousal**. Neither causes the other. (Modern research gives the hypothalamus and limbic system, not the thalamus, the central role, but the "simultaneous" idea is what exams test.)

6. Schachter–Singer two-factor theory

- Emotion = **physiological arousal** + a **cognitive label** for that arousal. The experience of emotion grows out of our awareness of present arousal **and** our explanation of it.
- **Experiment (1962):** men were injected with adrenaline (told it was a vitamin). Some were told the true side effects, some were not. They then waited with a stooge acting either **euphoric** or **angry**. The uninformed men, with unexplained arousal, tended to "catch" the stooge's mood; the informed men, who could blame the injection, were less affected.
- **Misattribution of arousal:** arousal from one source is wrongly credited to another. **Dutton and Aron (1974):** men crossing a high, swaying suspension bridge were more attracted to a woman interviewer than men on a low, firm bridge.

7. Lazarus: cognitive appraisal

- **Primary appraisal:** is this event relevant to me, and is it a **threat, harm or challenge**?
- **Secondary appraisal:** what **resources** do I have to cope with it?
- **Reappraisal:** the judgement is revised as things change.
- Appraisal can be quick and unconscious. **Robert Zajonc** argued the opposite, that some emotional reactions (liking, fear) come **before** any thinking (**affective primacy**); this is the Lazarus–Zajonc debate.

8. The four theories compared

Question	James–Lange	Cannon–Bard	Schachter–Singer	Lazarus
What comes first?	bodily change	both together	arousal, then label	appraisal
Role of thinking	none	little	labels arousal	central
Key brain part	body feedback to cortex	thalamus	cortex (interpretation)	cortex (judgement)
Example	I tremble, so I am afraid	I tremble and feel afraid at once	I tremble; a dog is near, so it is fear	I judge the dog a threat, then fear and tremble

9. Facial feedback hypothesis (Silvan Tomkins, Carroll Izard): the face does not only show emotion, it also **feeds back** to shape it. In a well-known study (Strack and colleagues, 1988), people holding a pen in their teeth (forcing a smile) rated cartoons as funnier than people holding it in their lips (preventing a smile). A large multi-laboratory repeat of this study (2016) did not find the effect, so the size of facial feedback is still debated. The idea is a modern descendant of James–Lange.

10. Expression of emotion

- **Verbal:** words, and **paralanguage:** tone, pitch, speed, pauses.
- **Non-verbal: facial expression** (the richest channel), eye contact and gaze, gestures, **posture** and body movement, touch, and **personal space**.
- Edward **Hall's** zones of personal space (proxemics), for North Americans: **intimate** (up to about 45 cm), **personal** (45 cm to 1.2 m), **social** (1.2 to 3.6 m), **public** (beyond 3.6 m).

11. Culture and emotion

- **Universal:** Ekman and Friesen (1971) showed photographs of faces to the **Fore people of Papua New Guinea**, who had little contact with outsiders; they recognised the six basic expressions much as Westerners did.
- **Culture-specific: display rules** differ (in many Asian cultures strong negative emotion is hidden before elders; in public grief, open crying is expected in some cultures and not in others). Words for emotions and what causes them also differ.
- **Indian tradition:** Bharata's *Natyashastra* describes **rasas** (aesthetic emotions) and **bhavas**; with *shanta* (peace) added later, they make the **nine rasas (navarasa)**: love, humour, compassion, anger, heroism, fear, disgust, wonder and peace.

12. Managing emotions (NCERT's suggestions)

- **Self-awareness:** notice your emotions and what triggers them.
- **Appraise the situation objectively;** look at it from another angle (**reappraisal**).
- **Self-monitoring** and **self-modelling** (recall a past time you handled it well).
- **Perception re-orientation** and **positive self-talk**; challenge irrational thoughts.
- **Be creative**, keep **good relationships**, show **empathy**, do **community service**.
- **Managing anger:** recognise early signs, delay the response (count, leave the place), find the thought behind the anger, express it assertively, not aggressively.

- **Managing anxiety and stress:** relaxation, breathing, exercise, sleep, social support (see MAB-EI-02).

Common traps

✗ "During excitement perspiration decreases." ✓ Sweating **increases** (GSR rises); it is saliva and digestion that **decrease**.

✗ "In Cannon-Bard theory the hypothalamus produces the subjective experience." ✓ The **cerebral cortex** produces the felt experience; the **hypothalamus** produces bodily arousal; the **thalamus** sends to both at once.

✗ "James-Lange: we tremble because we are afraid." ✓ **We are afraid because we tremble:** the bodily change comes first.

✗ "Cannon-Bard: arousal causes the feeling." ✓ Arousal and feeling are **simultaneous and independent**.

✗ "Two-factor theory: Lazarus." ✓ **Schachter and Singer (1962):** arousal + cognitive label. Lazarus = **cognitive appraisal**.

✗ "Schachter-Singer says arousal alone decides the emotion." ✓ The **label** (interpretation of the situation) decides which emotion; arousal sets its intensity.

✗ "The polygraph detects lies." ✓ It records **arousal** (heart rate, blood pressure, breathing, GSR).

✗ "Emotion and mood are the same." ✓ Mood is **weaker, longer and diffuse**; emotion is intense, brief and has an object.

✗ "Ekman's six basic emotions include love and shame." ✓ **Happiness, sadness, anger, fear, surprise, disgust**.

✗ "Plutchik proposed six primary emotions." ✓ **Eight**, arranged in a wheel.

✗ "Removing the amygdala makes animals more fearful." ✓ They become **tame and fearless** (Klüver-Bucy).

✗ "Facial expressions are entirely learnt from culture." ✓ Basic expressions are **universal**; **display rules** are cultural.

Quick revision

- Emotion: *emovere*; physiological + cognitive + behavioural components.
- Sympathetic arousal: heart, BP, breathing up; sweating up (GSR); pupils dilate; dry mouth; adrenaline.

- Hypothalamus (arousal, sham rage), amygdala (fear; Klüver–Bucy), Papez circuit 1937, cortex (experience).
- James–Lange (1884–85): body first, then feeling.
- Cannon–Bard (1927): thalamus → cortex (feeling) + hypothalamus (body) at the same time.
- Schachter–Singer (1962): arousal + cognitive label; adrenaline and stooge; bridge study (Dutton and Aron 1974).
- Lazarus: primary appraisal (threat?), secondary appraisal (coping?); Zajonc: affect can come first.
- Basic emotions: Ekman 6; Izard 10; Plutchik 8 (wheel); Watson: fear, rage, love; Bridges: excitement → distress, delight.
- Darwin 1872; Ekman and Friesen 1971 (Fore); display rules are cultural.
- Manage emotions: self-awareness, reappraisal, positive self-talk, empathy, relationships.