

4. *The Self-Regulation of Emotion**

Emotion is commonly said to occur when a person (or animal) has blundered passively into a situation that is either harmful in some way or creates positive outcomes. The emotion-producing commerce with the environment results in an interruption of ongoing activity and a disturbed state of arousal and mobilization for coping with the crisis. The emotion takes over, so to speak. The person is said to be seized by the emotion against his will.

This focus on the person as a passive responder to emotional circumstances beyond his control, and on negative emotions as unwanted intrusions that disturb ongoing functioning, leads us to underemphasize the extent to which emotion in everyday life is continually being self-regulated. The major theme of this paper is that the person is constantly guiding his thoughts and actions in such a way as to control potentially disruptive, and even positive emotional states, and that to understand the normal ebb and flow of emotional reactions and the adaptive behaviour associated with them, we need to give more attention to these self-regulatory devices. Some of them are brought into play after the person has stumbled into an emotional situation; others are engaged *before* the emotion has been aroused, and exert a steering function in determining consequent emotional transactions and reactions. In effect, such self-regulative activity has causal significance in emotion.

This view grows out of a cognitive-phenomenological approach to emotions and psychological stress that my associates and I have set forth elsewhere (e.g. Lazarus, 1966; Lazarus, Averill and Opton, 1970). Our theoretical framework emphasizes the idea that in man emotional activity results from the person's evaluation or *appraisal* of his moment to moment transactions with the environment, transactions which can be viewed by him as benign, positive, challenging, or threatening. There are two kinds of appraisal. In *primary appraisal*, the issue to be judged is whether or not a danger (threat) has been signalled, or the situation is one of challenge, and so on; *secondary appraisal* involves evaluations by the person of the kind of adaptive action called for as well as the nature and potency of his resources for managing or coping with the threat, meeting the challenge, etc. Whether and to what extent he is threatened depends on his estimate of coping potentials, which in turn is largely based on the flow of information from the environment and from his own experience and personal characteristics. New

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