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A Half-Century Assessment of the Study of Culture and Emotion

David Matsumoto and Matthew Wilson

San Francisco State University and Humintell

Author Information

David Matsumoto
Department of Psychology
San Francisco State University
1600 Holloway Avenue
San Francisco CA 94132
Email: dm@sfsu.edu
TEL: 510-620-9668
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3186-1503

Matthew Wilson
Humintell
PO Box 1304
El Cerrito, CA 94530
Email: mtwils45@gmail.com
TEL: 510-620-9668

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Abstract

Research on emotion and affective sciences is flourishing today like never before. The impetus for this surge is largely rooted in studies of emotion across cultures and coincides with the half century existence of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP). Beginning with studies initially documenting the universality of the expression and recognition of certain facial expressions of emotion in the 1970s, cross-cultural research was crucial in providing further evidence for the universality of antecedents, appraisals, subjective experiences, self-reported responses, and physiological reactions throughout the 1980s and 1990s. That same literature also demonstrated the existence of many cultural variations in these emotion domains, as well as in the concepts, language, attitudes, beliefs, and values about emotion. We review this literature with the goal of demonstrating some of the many meaningful and important contributions IACCP and cross-cultural studies have made to the field of emotion and affective sciences. This area of research has also been marred by considerable controversies for almost the entire period of study, and we describe those as well. We conclude with a presentation of current models of understanding the association between culture and emotion that integrate disparate cross-cultural findings and address controversies in the field, in the hope that such models can serve as a platform for renewed cross-cultural research in this area for the next half century and beyond.

A Half Century Assessment of the Study of Culture and Emotion

Emotion has long been acknowledged as a crucial part of human psychological life, as readily seen in classic theories by Freud, Erikson, Piaget, Bowlby, and many others, but has been on the map of psychological research in only the last half century. Much of the impetus for the growth of emotion research has been the contributions of cross-cultural studies on emotion from various perspectives. Because of cross-cultural research, knowledge generated about emotions has made enormous contributions to all areas of psychology, especially social, personality, and developmental psychology, with applications in clinical, forensic, industrial, and organizational psychology and other disciplines such as sociology, philosophy, and economics. Today the study of emotion has blossomed into the burgeoning field known as affective sciences, all of which has been fueled by cross-cultural research.

The International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) has played an important role in fostering the study of culture in all areas of psychology, including emotion. One primary way it has done so is by bringing cross-cultural researchers from multiple approaches and perspectives together through its biennial and regional conferences and the hosting of presentations, symposia, and workshops on emotions; young scholar outreach programs; and educational workshops and activities. IACCP has also contributed tremendously through its flagship journal, the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology (JCCP*), by disseminating that research.

In this paper, we describe a historical perspective to the study of emotion that pre-dates the founding of IACCP and *JCCP* to provide a backdrop not only for the emergence of emotion as a field of inquiry but also for the contribution that IACCP would make for the next 50 years. We then conduct a brief, decade-by-decade review of articles focusing on culture and emotion describing major highlights of selected articles, topics, and perspectives and their relevance to the field of emotion and affective sciences. In this review we pay particular attention to the publications of *JCCP* but also include other seminal work in the field. (Such a review will inevitably not cover all the fine research that has occurred during this time period, and we apologize in advance for their non-inclusion here.) This review will demonstrate that, over the past 50 years, IACCP has been instrumental to the promulgation of cross-cultural research on emotion and that *JCCP* has been a cornerstone in the field, disseminating critical cross-cultural studies on emotion that led to an explosion of research on all emotion domains and the field of affective sciences today.

The Study of Emotion and Culture in Historical Perspective

The Influence of Darwin

Although emotion and culture have been objects of study and fascination by philosophers and thinkers for centuries, contemporary studies of emotion and culture find their roots in the work of Darwin and the theory of evolution (Darwin, 1859). Darwin's ideas concerning evolution encompassed broad notions about the continuous involvement of humans over time in environmental adaptation and natural selection, and were explicable without any inherent purpose or predetermined direction (Dewsbury, 2009). Environmental changes such as weather, drought, or earthquakes created contexts within which individuals with certain characteristics that allowed for successful adaptation were selected by nature to survive. This theory of naturalism influenced many developing disciplines, including not only psychology but also biological and natural sciences.

Darwin's endeavors improved an understanding of humans in relation to other species as outcomes of nature, and his arguments concerning the continuity between human and nonhuman animals have had a strong impact on understanding emotions. Moreover, Darwin's ideas concerning emotion played a central role in his theory of evolution. According to Darwin, humans share fundamental, core properties with nonhuman primates, including emotions, in addition to unique traits and characteristics that individuals are born with that were essential for natural selection to work. Darwin's thesis concerning emotions was summarized in *The Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals* (Darwin, 1872), which posited that emotions and their expressions had evolved across species and were evolutionarily adaptive, biologically innate, and universal across humans and non-human primates.

Darwin believed that emotions and their expressions were functionally adaptive and proposed three principles to explain their nature and function: (1) the principle of serviceable associated habits suggested that facial expressions are residual actions of more complete behavioral responses; (2) the principle regarding direct actions of the nervous system posited that humans and animals had acquired certain stimulus-response connections that aid in their survival through natural selection; and (3) the principle of antithesis, in which an opposite state of mind produced opposing characteristics in expressive behaviors.

Darwin also proposed an inhibition hypothesis in that people are unable to perfectly simulate facial expressions in the absence of a genuine emotion and are unable to completely suppress their true expressions when feeling strong emotions, resulting in emotional leakage on the face and body. Darwin believed that all humans, regardless of race or culture, possessed the ability to express emotions on their faces, bodies, and voice in similar ways. He engaged in a detailed study of the muscle actions involved in emotion and concluded that the muscle actions are universal and their antecedents can be seen in the expressive behaviors of nonhuman primates and other mammals.

Post-Darwin

One main concern about Darwin's ideas was a lack of empirical evidence to support his claims (although Darwin should be credited with having conducted the first cross-cultural judgment study of facial expressions of emotion). In particular, his claims were challenged by anthropologists such as Mead, Bateson, and Birdwhistell (see reviews in Ekman et al., 1972), who argued that facial expressions of emotion could not possibly be universal because they had observed many cultural differences when conducting their fieldwork. Just as every culture learned a different verbal language, they argued, every culture must have a different language of facial expressions.

Early research on this topic was rare and did not resolve conflicts between these two viewpoints. Between the time of Darwin's writing and the 1960s, a number of studies attempted to address this gap (Bruner & Tagiuri, 1954; Engen et al., 1958; Fulcher, 1942; Landis, 1924, 1929; Landis & Hunt, 1939; Munn, 1940; Schlosberg, 1952, 1954; Vinacke, 1949), but they did not produce unequivocal data because of methodological limitations and contradictory findings (refer to review in Ekman et al., 1972). Thus, for the first half of the 20th century, the question of whether facial expressions of emotion, and emotion in general, were universal or culture-specific was unresolved. If anything, the general zeitgeist of the times leaned toward viewing emotions and faces as culture specific.

The Original Universality Studies

In the mid-1960s, Sylvan Tomkins (1962, 1963), a pioneer in modern studies of human emotion, joined forces independently with Paul Ekman and Carroll Izard to conduct what has become known as the original universality studies. In the first of these studies, researchers obtained judgments of faces thought to express emotions panculturally by members of different cultures (Ekman, 1972; Ekman & Friesen, 1971; Izard, 1971). Six emotional expressions – anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise – were judged similarly across cultures.

The next two studies involved two preliterate tribes in the highlands of New Guinea (Ekman & Friesen, 1971; Ekman et al., 1969). In one study, the tribe members, who had never seen westerners before, recognized the same facial expressions of emotion above chance levels as did members of the cultures in the earlier studies. In the next study, expressions posed by the tribe members as they reacted to emotion-eliciting stories were reliably judged by U.S. Americans, who had never seen preliterate tribespeople before. These findings were influential because they demonstrated that previous findings could not have occurred because of shared visual input (e.g., mass media, television, movies, magazines).

In a fourth study (Friesen, 1972), U.S. American and Japanese participants watched highly stressful films (body mutilation and sinus surgery) while their spontaneous facial reactions were recorded and measured. The participants displayed emotions such as disgust, fear, sadness, and anger similarly when they watched the stimuli alone but less so in a later condition then an experimenter was present. This study was meaningful because it marshaled the first cross-cultural evidence for the production of facial expressions of emotion when emotions were spontaneously elicited.

These studies are known as the "original universality studies" as they were the first to document that certain facial expressions of emotion were universally expressed and recognized. This initial discovery had an enormous impact on contemporary psychology with an entire new generation of researchers, as expressions provided an objective and reliable signal of emotion. Using universality as a platform, methods of measuring facial behaviors were developed, which have been a boon to subsequent research and empirical literatures.

Expanding Research on Emotions across Cultures: The Contributions of IACCP

IACCP was founded at the time the original universality studies described above were being published (1972). In the remainder of this paper, we highlight some of the many contributions IACCP has made to the study of culture and emotion since its inauguration, especially through the contributions its flagship journal, *JCCP*. Below in a decadal review we describe major highlights in the field as it evolved, as well as describe some of the crucial contributions IACCP and *JCCP* made to this evolution. To aid this effort, we conducted a search for articles published in *JCCP* with the word "emotion" in either the title or abstract from its inception to the present; this search yielded the results depicted in Figure 1, which is likely indicative of the growth of research in the field as a whole. When discussing below articles published in *JCCP*, we focus on articles with high citation indices (according to Google Scholar retrieved 1 August 2021) and their relevance to the field of emotion and affective sciences, as they denote the impact that IACCP through *JCCP* had.

1970s

Undoubtedly, the major contributions of the late 1960s and early 1970s were the original universality studies described earlier, as they forced the field to come to grips with questions

concerning the nature of emotion that have plagued its study since James (1890) and even prior among philosophers (refer to reviews in Goldie, 2010). But, despite the fact that cross-cultural research was crucial to the conduct of the universality studies, there was a dearth of cross-cultural research on emotion in the 1970s and early 1980s as the field turned to study other domains of emotion.

As mentioned previously, one important contribution of the universality studies was to provide an impetus to the development of ways to measure emotions using facial behavior. These efforts were notable because such methods would "lift" the study of emotion outside the realm of subjective experience and reliance on self-reports by providing a more objective measure of emotion. Several ways of measuring facial behavior and expressions were developed and validated (refer to Hwang & Matsumoto, 2021, for a review), notably the Facial Action Coding System (FACS; Ekman & Friesen, 1978), the Maximally Discriminative Facial Movement Coding System (MAX; Izard, 1983), and facial electromyography (EMG; Fridlund & Fowler, 1978).

One concept that did gain traction in the field was that of display rules, which are rules governing how emotions should be expressed based on their appropriateness in particular contexts (Ekman & Friesen, 1969). They were originally invoked to explain U.S. American-Japanese differences in expressivity in a second condition of Friesen's (1972) study described earlier. But instead of further cross-cultural work, researchers turned their attention to studying when in development children learn display rules (Saarni, 1979, 1988), demonstrating that children know of and operate on display rules as early as six years of age.

Because the topic of emotion was just getting noticed in psychology, there were only three articles published in *JCCP* during the 1970s (Albas et al., 1976; Borke & Su, 1972; Marsella et al., 1974). Two of these (Albas et al., 1976, 133 citations; Borke & Su, 1972, 42 citations) were particularly influential to one of us as they guided his first cross-cultural study of emotion perception through paralinguistic cues (Matsumoto & Kishimoto, 1983). They also influenced cross-cultural studies on emotion recognition (described more below).

1980s

After a hiatus, the 1980s ushered in a new wave of cross-cultural studies of judgments of facial expressions of emotion. In line with Borke and Su (1972) and Albas et al. (1976), research on culture and emotion recognition flourished and was reflected by several very influential articles in *JCCP* (Boucher & Carlson, 1980, 218 citations; Ducci et al., 1982, 75 citations; McAndrew, 1986, 218 citations; Van Bezooijen et al., 1983, 181 citations). These and other studies compared two or more cultures on their judgment agreement levels and continued to replicate universality in emotion recognition. This area also witnessed its first evidence for cultural differences in judgments of facial expressions of emotion (Ekman et al., 1987; Matsumoto & Ekman, 1989). One significance of Matsumoto's (1989, 597 citations) study in *JCCP* was that it was the first to report ecological level correlations between emotion judgment accuracy rates and cultural dimensions (Hofstede, 1980) in a preliminary attempt to explain cultural variations using measured cultural variables instead of invoking culture anecdotally.

Another line of research that emerged was on antecedents and appraisals of emotion published in *JCCP* (Boucher & Brandt, 1981, 159 citations; Matsumoto et al., 1988, 329 citations). These were vital to the field as they examined what triggers emotions in the first place, an important component of emotion. These studies demonstrated both cultural similarities and

differences in emotion-eliciting events and were precursors to major studies on emotion appraisal to come in the next decade.

The 1980s also saw the appearance of monocultural studies on the development of emotion and facial expressions in infants and children, as Izard led his research program in that direction (Hyson & Izard, 1985; Izard et al., 1983; Izard et al., 1987; Izard & Malatesta, 1987; Langsdorf et al., 1983; Shiller et al., 1986). These studies were precursors to similar cross-cultural examinations in the next two decades and important to creating a focus on emotion in development in subsequent years. Also, after decades of controversy, the 1980s saw a renewal of studies of emotion and physiology (using facial expressions as markers of emotion; Ekman et al., 1983; Gottman & Levenson, 1986; Levenson, 1988; Levenson & Gottman, 1983) that laid the groundwork for cross-cultural studies on physiology in the next decade.

Finally, the 1980s also witnessed the rise of the cultural psychology perspective (Shweder & Bourne, 1984; Shweder & LeVine, 1984), which was an influential perspective focusing on the interaction between individual and culture and different than a cross-cultural approach. The cultural psychology perspective had enormous implications for research and theory in many areas of psychology, including emotion, in the subsequent two decades.

1990s

Cross-cultural research on emotion exploded in the 1990s, with expansions into many emotion domains and inclusion of different perspectives. As a continuation of the universality studies, cross-cultural research on emotional expressions and recognition continued in this decade, much published in *JCCP* (Aune & Aune, 1996, 66 citations; Markham & Wang, 1996, 146 citations; Schimmack, 1996, 87 citations; Stephan et al., 1998, 97 citations; Stephan et al., 1996, 123 citations; Wang & Markham, 1999, 91 citations). These studies added to evidence concerning both cultural similarities and differences in expression and perception of emotion.

This decade saw the emergence of classic, large-scale cross-cultural research on emotion antecedents and appraisals, a continuation of its beginnings in the 1980s. The major work in this field was led by Scherer and colleagues (Scherer, 1997a, 1997b; Scherer & Wallbott, 1994), which became the backbone of contemporary appraisal theories of emotion (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003; Scherer, Schorr, et al., 2001). In this area, IACCP through *JCCP* made major contributions with Roseman et al.'s (1995, 208 citations) influential study; and in fact, the Matsumoto et al. (1988) study on emotion antecedents and appraisals published in *JCCP* the decade prior was the precursor of this work as it came from the same data set as the later Scherer publications.

The 1990s also saw an emergence of cross-cultural research on emotion physiology (Levenson et al., 1991; Levenson et al., 1990; Levenson et al., 1992). This work was spurred by a seminal study in the 1980s that demonstrated different emotions had unique physiological signatures if facial expressions of emotion were used as markers concerning when to examine physiology (Ekman et al., 1983, cited earlier). Cross-cultural work in this area was crucial as it contributed to understanding the package of components that are recruited when emotions are elicited. Tsai and Levenson's (1997, 346 citations) prominent paper in *JCCP* was in this genre, demonstrating similarities in physiological reaction profiles between European- and Chinese-American dating couples. These discoveries were instrumental in fueling theories about the functions of emotions as action priming of the body (Frijda et al., 1989; Levenson, 1999).

Another important line of research that expanded considerably in the 1990s concerned cultural display rules. Despite the fact that cultural display rules were originally documented much earlier (Friesen, 1972) and that they were a well-cited concept, cross-cultural research on them was non-existent since the original universality studies. Research on display rules in this decade began with a theoretical framework positing cultural differences in them according to individualism-collectivism (Matsumoto, 1991), and then several studies demonstrating cross-cultural and cross-ethnicity differences (Matsumoto, 1990, 1993; Matsumoto et al., 1998). These studies were precursors to the development of a measure to assess display rules across cultures that would be used in large, cross-cultural studies in the next decade.

The 1990s also witnessed an expansion of cross-cultural research on emotion and facial expressions in infants and young children (e.g., Camras et al., 1998; Camras et al., 1992), including Friedlmeier and Trommsdorff's (1999, 140 citations) study published in *JCCP*. These studies were instrumental in increasing understanding emotion as a universal phenomenon, and led to a number of theories about the unveiling of emotions and facial expressions across the first years of life (Camras et al., 1994; Camras et al., 1993).

The 1990s also saw an explosion of the cultural psychology perspective, previewed by Schweder's work in the previous decade (Shweder & LeVine, 1984). This approach brought a different perspective to the understanding of culture and emotion, focusing on many culturally-specific and unique aspects of emotion and going well beyond the emotions studied previously that were largely based on facial expressions (Kitayama & Markus, 1994; Kitayama, Markus, & Lieberman, 1995). This work also contributed to cross-cultural research on self-conscious emotions (Kitayama, Markus, & Matsumoto, 1995) and culturally unique emotional experiences (Mesquita & Frijda, 1992).

Because cross-cultural work on emotions had reached critical mass, the 1990s also saw the emergence of major reviews of emotion published in review journals and handbooks (Mesquita, 2003b; Mesquita & Frijda, 1992; Mesquita et al., 1997), as well as an increasing number of presentations and symposia on emotion in IACCP biennial conferences.

2000s

The 2000s saw a surge of cross-cultural research on multiple emotion domains, which corresponded to an explosion in research on emotion in general and the coining of the phrase "affective sciences" to depict this area of study. In particular, cross-cultural research on emotion judgments had proliferated the literature extensively since the original universality studies (e.g., Beaupre' & Hess, 2005 study in JCCP, 346 citations), lending themselves to integrative reviews concerning both universal and culture-specific aspects of emotion recognition from facial expressions (Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002; Matsumoto, 2001).

Another important contribution in this decade was Scherer et al.'s (Scherer, Banse, et al., 2001, 936 citations) study published in *JCCP* on perceptions of emotions from vocal utterances across nine countries in Europe, the United States, and Asia. Their study demonstrated that, despite cross-cultural differences in absolute recognition rates, there were considerable similarities across cultures in confusion patterns, suggesting the existence of similar inference rules from vocal expressions across cultures. This study was notable because it demonstrated cross-cultural similarities in emotional expression in a non-face channel, and led to substantial, subsequent work on voice and emotion across cultures for years to come (refer to review in Scott & McGettigan, 2016).

Following the re-introduction of cross-cultural research on display rules in the 1990s, the 2000s witnessed the development and validation of a measure of cultural display rules (Matsumoto et al., 2005). Using this measure, Matsumoto and colleagues' (2008, 801 citations) study in *JCCP* was the first to map display rules across a range of cultures and linked expressivity endorsement across cultures to individualism-collectivism. This study also led to a number of presentations and symposia on emotion and display rules at IACCP biennial and regional conferences by many coauthors and collaborators of the project.

Cross-cultural research on emotions and facial expressions in infants and young children continued in this decade as well (Campos et al., 2004; Camras et al., 2006; Camras et al., 2002; Camras et al., 2003). These studies, along with earlier studies in the previous two decades, led to new insights and understandings about the unfolding of emotions and expressions in the early years of development, contributing to an understanding of emotional development that complemented well-established theories of cognitive development. These studies also provided another layer of evidence for the universality of certain emotions and their expressions.

Within development, important lines of cross-cultural research on attachment based on emotion emerged, which began in the 1900s and peppered the literature in the 2000s (e.g., Keller & Otto, 2009, 258 citations; Kim & Rohner, 2002, 395 citations; both in JCCP). Keller's influential research demonstrated different pathways of attachment, highlighting differences between those that focused on the development of psychological autonomy in individualistic cultures as opposed to those that focused on hierarchical relatedness in collectivistic cultures.

The 2000s ushered into the literature an expansion of cross-cultural research that went beyond "just" examining cultural similarities and differences in single emotion components (e.g., face, voice, physiology, appraisals, etc.), connecting emotion with other psychological processes, behavior, and mental states. For instance, with the advent of the concept of emotion regulation pioneered by Gross's (1998a, 1998b, 1999) work, several important cross-cultural studies were published in this area (Butler et al., 2009 in JCCP, 200 citations; Matsumoto, Yoo, Nakagawa, et al., 2008), demonstrating universal and culture-specific functions of emotion regulation. An interesting finding from this line of research was that although suppression may have negative effects on physical and mental health outcomes in individualistic cultures, it may have no or even positive effects in collectivistic cultures. Norasakkunkit and Kalick's (2002 study in JCCP, 225 citations) on emotional distress across cultures and ethnicities were also in this genre.

Another line of research that emerged in the 2000s centered on the concept of ideal vs. actual affect (Tsai, 2007; Tsai et al., 2006). Using this concept, Tsai and colleagues demonstrated that European and Asian Americans tended to value more high-arousal positive affect such as excitement more than do Hong Kong Chinese, who tended to value more low-arousal positive affect such as being calm. At the same time, however, temperament and personality traits, not cultural values, predicted actual affect better than cultural values, whereas cultural values predict ideal affect better (Tsai et al., 2006).

The cultural psychology perspective also made large contributions to the area by highlighting how cultures play a role in constructing and molding emotional experiences, attitudes, and beliefs in different ways (e.g., Kitayama et al., 2000). One important conceptual framework introduced in this genre was that of socially engaging vs. socially disengaging emotions (Kitayama et al., 2006). Another important line of research in this genre demonstrated how

emotional experiences were associated with cultural concerns (Mesquita, 2001; Mesquita & Karasawa, 2002).

The 2000s also saw a splurge of synthetic reviews on culture and emotion. The reviews tended to focus on different domains of emotion such as emotional experience (Barrett et al., 2007; Mesquita, 2003a; Shweder et al., 2008) or emotional expression (Manstead & Fischer, 2002; Matsumoto, 2001), and different functions of emotion (Fischer & Manstead, 2008). One review focused on cross-cultural research methods (van Hemert et al., 2007). The focus on different, specific domains of emotion under the banner of "emotion" with varying conclusions contributed to controversies about the nature and function of emotion across cultures, which was addressed by work in the next decade.

Finally, this decade brought about attempts at rapprochement between the cross-cultural and cultural psychology perspectives led by IACCP at its biennial conventions. Representatives of the two perspectives met at almost all the biennial conventions in this decade, having discussions, paper presentations, and symposia discussing similarities and differences between the perspectives (and others, such as the indigenous perspective). These efforts led to a more integrated view and understanding of the study of psychological processes and behavior across cultures.

2010s

The 2010s continued the expansion of types of cross-cultural research that went beyond examinations of single emotion components that began in the previous decade. For instance, in the late 2000s and early 2010s, an area known as cultural neuroscience emerged, which examined how culture may moderate associations among mental and physical health states and neurophysiological processes, including emotion (Ames & Fiske, 2010; Chiao, 2009; Chiao et al., 2013; Kim & Sasaki, 2014). Work in this area was and remains significant because of its potential to link many health outcomes with macro (culture) and micro (neurophysiology) processes.

Another interesting line of research that emerged in this decade combined emotion with concepts concerning dialectical thinking – a cognitive style in which both sides of an apparent contradiction can be correct and that was developed and documented in cross-cultural studies on cognition (Peng & Nisbett, 2000; Spencer-Rodgers, Williams, et al., 2010). Spencer-Rodgers et al.'s (2010, 173 citations) study published in *JCCP* examined dialecticism and emotional complexity in East Asian and North American cultures. In the study, dialectical thinking about important events was manipulated among mainland Chinese and Euro-American individuals. Increased dialectical thinking produced more emotional complexity; Chinese individuals exhibited greater dialectical thinking and emotional complexity than did Euro-American individuals, and cultural differences in emotional complexity were mediated by a measure of dialecticism.

Despite the continuing production of overwhelming amounts of evidence, the field's theoretical understanding of the association between culture and emotion had not progressed much. The field of emotion has always been hotly contested, from Darwin and the early anthropologists through decades of debates about universality vs. culture-specificity of facial expressions of emotion (Ekman, 1992, 1994; Feldman Barrett, 2006a; Izard, 2007; Russell, 1994, 1995), as well as concerning the contributions of biology and culture ongoing until this day (Barrett et al., 2019). To be sure, previous reviews led to substantial insights; and aside from

studies of culture and emotion, substantial progress had also been made in the last half century explicating the neurophysiological substrates of specific emotions (Davidson et al., 1994; LaBar & LeDoux, 2003; LeDoux, 2000; LeDoux & Phelps, 2008; Panksepp, 1998, 2008).

But welcoming various perspectives and beliefs in cross-cultural research, questions still linger even today about whether emotions are either universal (and biologically based) or culture-specific (and thus learned and constructed), as if they are mutually exclusive dichotomies (e.g., see Barrett et al., 2007; Feldman Barrett, 2006a; Feldman Barrett, 2006b). Even though concepts like display rules allow for models of emotion that posit the coexistence of a biologically innate, genetically encoded system and cultural learning in the use and modification of the system, the field had not progressed much beyond such either-or theoretical dichotomies, which may be facilitated by limitations in our ways of theory-building (which are also culturally bound). As briefly mentioned earlier, at least part of these controversies had been rooted in the fact that different domains of emotion had led to different patterns of findings, but researchers all categorized their findings within the rubric of "emotion."

Thus, the field was ripe for the emergence of theoretical perspectives that could account for both universality and culture-specificity in various domains of emotion studies. This is what Matsumoto and Hwang's (2012, 189 citations) theoretical contribution in *JCCP* attempted to do. They posited that different emotion domains would produce different relative degrees of universality vs. culture-specificity; domains that were more closely associated with immediate reactions and behavior priming (e.g., expression, perception, physiology) would be more cross-culturally similar when emotions were elicited spontaneously, while domains that were more cognitive, language based, and removed from immediate physiological reactions (e.g., self-reports, attitudes, values, beliefs about emotion) would be more culturally variable.

Shao et al.'s (2015, 81 citations) cross-cultural studies of emotional intelligence published in *JCCP* provided evidence for the Matsumoto and Hwang (2012) perspective. Their two studies demonstrated that emotion perception is the more universal domain of emotional intelligence, while emotion understanding and emotion regulation are more culture specific. This perspective has led to the development of similar theories about culture and emotion that specify different relative contributions of universal vs. cultural specificities depending on the domain studied (e.g., refer to a similar perspective by Fontaine & Breugelmans, 2021).

In this last decade, IACCP through *JCCP* continued to make substantial contributions to the study of culture and emotion, as five other articles published in the 2010s have already received more than 50 citations at the time of this writing (Arens et al., 2013, 52 citations; Bornstein et al., 2012, 65 citations; Koopmann-Holm & Matsumoto, 2011, 59 citations; Mak et al., 2014, 76 citations; Matsumoto et al., 2012, 62 citations). In particular, Mak et al.'s (2014) study on the impact of intercultural contact on attitudes toward international students was insightful. They demonstrated that positive intercultural contact, less intergroup anxiety, and positive emotions associated with intercultural communication were all associated with more positive attitudes toward international students. In addition, intercultural emotions mediated the association between positive quality of contact and attitudes, and between intergroup anxiety and attitudes. Such studies provide an important backdrop for understanding and improving intercultural communications and interactions, an increasingly important issue in today's (and tomorrow's) world.

Summary and Conclusion

Scholars across the history of psychology recognized the importance of emotion in psychological functioning but the field was hampered in its attempts to study it because of a lack of a way to measure it aside from self-report. Cross-cultural research on emotion put it on the research map in contemporary psychology. Findings initially documenting the universality of facial expressions of emotion and the development of emotion coding systems led to a plethora of research, theory, and application in psychology and other fields in the past half-century plus.

As studies on emotion increased in all areas of psychology, cross-cultural research also blossomed. Cross-cultural studies from the past half-century have flooded the literature with evidence for both cultural similarities and differences, supporting both biological and cultural determinants of various aspects of emotion. Today we know that emotions can be both cross-culturally similar and different, depending on the specific domain of emotion studied and the context in which it is elicited. Current research and theory on emotion integrates universality with culture-specificity and biological innateness with cultural construction. Emotions represent an area of study that can be characterized by the simultaneous co-existence of both universality based on biological substrates and cultural differences based on learned constructions.

Cross-cultural research has been instrumental in the evolution of this sophisticated and nuanced view of emotion, which can possibly serve as a model for many psychological processes. IACCP has led the way in this evolution in a number of ways, first by bringing the foremost scientists in this area into its fold (most cited in this paper have been IACCP members at one point in time or have attended an IACCP conference) and by sponsoring cutting edge presentations, vigorous debates, and social gatherings at its biennial and regional conferences. These interfaces and have led to meaningful discussions, deliberations, and collaborations among researchers around the world, and IACCP was and continues to be the platform by which researchers and audiences share their cultures and emotions as fellow humans and world citizens, not solely as scholars.

IACCP has also contributed substantially to theory and research on culture and emotion through its flagship journal *JCCP* as the premier publication outlet for much of this research, as evidenced by the articles described above and their citation rates. IACCP also has been the source of the development of important research methods in all areas of psychology, not just emotion (Poortinga et al., 1987; van de Vijver, 2001; Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997; van de Vijver & Poortinga, 2002). Over the past half century plus, both IACCP and *JCCP* have played crucial roles in encouraging researchers to share their perspectives and conduct studies, disseminating cross-cultural studies on emotion, much of which have comprised the cornerstone that has led to the explosion of the domains of emotion and affective sciences in psychology today. IACCP (and *JCCP*) will play an equally if not greater role in this area of study in the next half-century as well, continuing to be a leader in disseminating cross-cultural research on under- and unexplored domains and perspectives about emotion.

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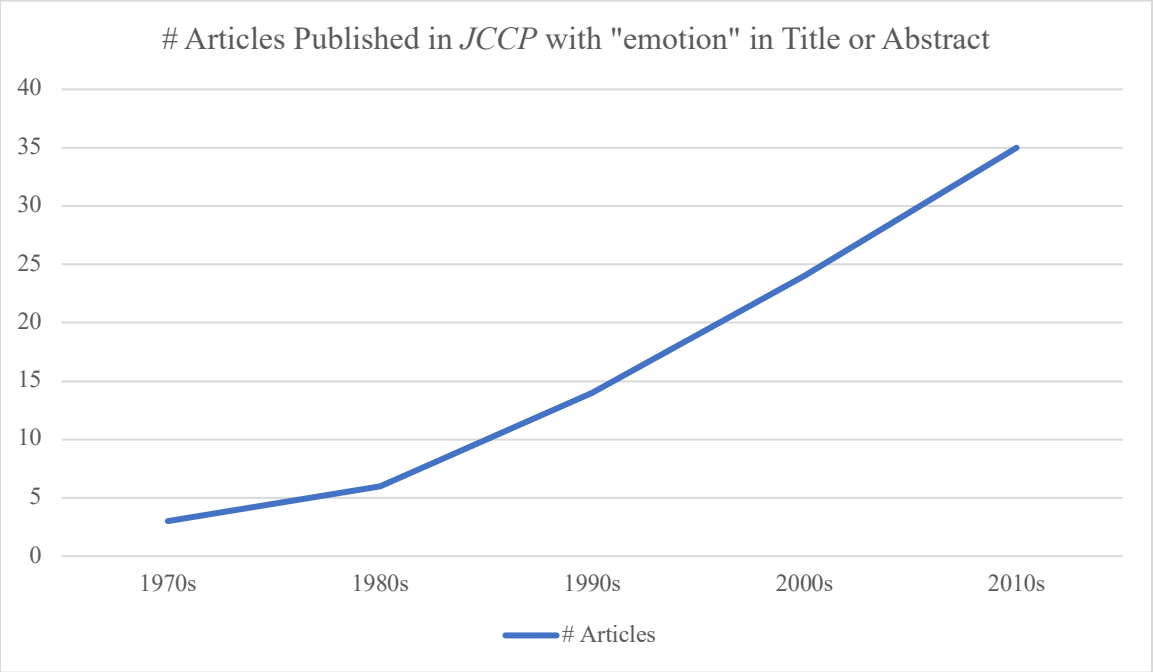
Figure 1


Articles Published in *JCCP* with "emotion" in Title or Abstract
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