

Psychology of Emotion: Theory and Applications
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Module 2, Lecture 5: Universals and cultural differences in emotions 2

I welcome you to the fifth lecture of this course titled “Psychology of Emotions Theory and Applications”. So, this is the second lecture of module 2 and overall it is the fifth lecture. So, module 2 is about understanding the interaction between culture and emotions. So, in the first lecture of module 2 which is lecture 4, we discussed what is the evidence for universal expressions of emotions or whether there are universal emotions across all cultures in terms of expression of facial expressions, vocal expressions physiological arousal, and so on. We try to see what are the evidence available. So, in today's lecture, we will be talking more about the interaction between culture and emotion how culture shapes emotions, and what are the culture-specific differences in terms of expression of emotion.

So, before we talk about it, a little bit of a recap I will give you about what we have discussed in the last lecture which is lecture 4. So, as I have mentioned we have discussed whether are there any universal emotions. In that context, we have discussed primarily in the context of basic emotions some of the typical basic emotions that we experience and we discussed whether there are universal facial expressions or whether these facial expressions are the same across cultures these basic emotions, vocal expression means whether people of different cultures express that emotion in terms of vocal features similarly and we also discussed are there any physiological aspects of emotion, are they similar in different cultures or there are some culture-specific differences.

In all these aspects what we have seen mostly, what we have discussed based on the evidence is that the cross-cultural evidence is that there are similarities no doubt evidence have shown there are similarities in the facial expression vocal expression as well as physiological aspects of emotion but those cross-cultural similarities are not perfect or the agreement is not perfect across culture. So there are certain aspects which show evidence of cross-cultural aspects but the evidence was not 100% or agreement is not 100%. So, there are cultural differences were also reported in a lot of this evidence. A lot of

researchers show that people from different cultures correctly identified most of this basic emotion across cultures above chance which included varied percentages in terms of percentages from 20 to 90% based on the studies. For some studies, the range for this percentage differs from study to study. However, the evidence shows that there is an in-group advantage which means people from their cultural group or communities could identify the emotional expressions in terms of facial or vocal and could identify them in much better percentages, you can say as compared to expressions of people from other cultures. So, there is an in-group advantage that was evident in all this evidence that the rate of percentages of identification was much higher in terms of people who are similar to them or who are from their cultural group so largely this was the evidence.

Physiologically also very few studies were conducted not many studies are available but some evidence shows that there is possibly similar physiological arousal in response to a lot of these basic emotions but again the evidence is not very strong. So that is also another thing that we have discussed and also at the end, we have discussed that some researchers move from finding universal emotions shifted from identifying universal aspects of emotion to understanding a componential theory of emotions where they try to understand whether there is any component of the emotions which are universal or they are expressed or those factors are they similar across cultures. So that is called componential theory. In that context, most of the studies looked at evidence of appraisals associated with the emotions as well as action readiness associated with the emotions. Again we have discussed that most of this evidence is just like facial expressions and vocal expressions the cross-cultural agreement is not perfect. There are cross-cultural similarities in certain aspects as compared to the other aspects. So, these are some of the things that we have discussed in the last lecture.

In today's lecture, we will be discussing mostly whether, are there any cultural differences, and what are the cultural differences because the evidence in the last lecture has shown there is evidence of universal expressions but there are also differences. So, what are those cultural differences, how does culture shape those differences in terms of expression of emotion in terms of whether are there any culture-specific aspects to emotions?

So, the focus of this lecture will be these aspects. So here we will be talking about some of these topics that I have listed here. Cultural differences in emotional processes in terms of expressing emotions, emotional intensity and frequency, antecedents, and events of emotions. Then we will be discussing explanatory models that can explain all these cultural differences, can we explain them using some theoretical model, at the end, we will discuss whether we can integrate all these differences in the findings, and how to integrate them through a model. So, this will be the approach of today's lecture.

So let's start today's lecture. So, to understand how culture shapes emotion we need to understand what is culture. So, there are many definitions of culture some of these definitions just I will be discussing here. So one is that it's a system of ideas and practices that are held in common in a particular society or set of societies. So, the basic idea is very simple, it's a system of ideas that are collectively shared by a group of people. It not only includes ideas it also includes practices that people do whether it could be festivals, it could be religious practices and so on which are commonly shared by a group of people it could be a particular society or a set of societies. So that is what we call its culture.

So another definition is that also it's a kind of socially constructed constellation consisting of things such as practices, competencies, ideas, schemas, symbols, values, norms, institutions, goals, constitutive rules, artifacts, and modifications of the physical environment. So it is a little bit broader in terms of what are the things that could be included in under culture. So it's a kind of socially constructed because people collectively construct a reality around them which includes a lot of things like all the practices that we have discussed. It could be social practices, it could be religious practices, it includes a lot of ideas and beliefs when a group of people believes in something which could be a religious belief, it could be a collective, where society should function that kind of beliefs, it includes symbols, values, norms, institutions, goals and so on, artifacts, etc. So this concept of culture these are all rules that are internalized and create traditions that may be much deeper than the reasons. So those traditions may become very much deeper in our psyche and that can influence our behavior, belief system, and so on even expressions and so on.

So the unit of culture could vary from very small units to larger units depending on how you look at it. So we can have a culture at the family level, you can have a culture at the societal level, you can have a culture at the regional level, we can have a culture at the national level, we can even have a global culture, you understand. So, the unit of culture could vary depending on how you look at when it could include three or four people believing in something, and it could include thousands of people believing in something. So, a unit of culture could vary depending on how you kind of look at it. So, it is very clear that culture kind of sits deeper into your mind and it may influence your belief system, it influences your expression of behavior, it may influence your perceptions, and everything. So, cultural psychology has come into a very big way nowadays in the field of psychology where people are looking at how culture is shaping human behavior. So, there is no doubt that culture can influence a lot of aspects of our behavior including emotional expression and so on. So, we will be looking at this particular lecture. So what are the cultural differences in the emotional processes? So, as we have already seen in the last lecture there are universal aspects to at least basic emotions that it is kind of shared across all kinds of cultures in terms of facial expression, in terms of vocal expression, a lot of things are similarly expressed in different cultures. Those studies also showed that there are differences but there are universal aspects no doubt to be explained. However, some researchers study this topic of emotion and culture by asking the opposite question. The first was where we saw the evidence about whether there are universal emotions or aspects of emotion. Here we will be looking at what are the cultural differences in emotion. How is it like what are the culture-specific aspects of emotions rather than universal aspects? So, a lot of people who are from the cultural perspective look at emotions and they kind of argue that we can truly understand emotions by considering the culture in which occur. Because emotions are not like isolated things. They are expressed in a context. So that culture is a context. So how they are expressed in that cultural context we should take a look into that also to understand the culture in a much more holistic way. So, they are interested in studying cultural models as a context for understanding and predicting emotional responses. So, they are looking at culture as a kind of explanatory model to understand the expression of emotion. So we will be looking at some of the evidence. So in terms of expression of emotion, we have already seen that Ekman and colleagues have

already found that expression and interpretation of basic emotions are kind of universal. Those studies also showed that there may be cultural differences in the expression of many emotions. So, for basic emotions, a lot of cultural similarities as evidenced in the last lecture particularly a lot of research from Ekman and colleagues found those kinds of universal aspects.

However, culture can there can be culture-specific expressions of emotion. For example in many Indian states, this study looked at Orissa state which shows that the facial expression “Lajya” means shame is the term that is used. It's a very unique cultural expression of this emotion that people bite one's tongue when people experience shame as an emotion. It's very culture-specific this expression is not observed in Western countries like the USA. So, this can be a very specific culture-specific expression of emotions that is not found in other cultures.

This could be evidence or an example of how culture can shape the expression of emotion because this is like lot of people similarly express this particular emotion so people learn it from looking at other people. Now there can be cultural differences in the intensity of emotional facial expression. Now facial expression there can be some broader differences in facial expression but culture can also influence the intensity of emotional facial expression. So, the intensity of expression of that emotion could also differ from culture to culture. Same emotion but in some cultures the intensity of expression may be different from other cultures so that intensity may also differ depending from culture to culture.

So we'll see some of this evidence. So, at the most basic level culture differs in the intensity of the emotional expression. Intensity may differ. For example, in some cultures such as the United States, these are some of the generalized findings. The United States exhibits very strong facial expressions. For most Western cultures probably there is a kind of norm of exhibiting very strong facial expressions so whenever there's the experience of certain emotions it may be associated with very strong facial expressions while some other cultures such as Japan exhibit more subtle expressions. For example, in the context of expression of anger or sadness other thing people in countries like Japan their expressions are very

subtle you may not notice much in their faces but in countries like the USA and other Western countries the expression of that emotion could be very evident very strongly expressed. So, there is an example of how culture-to-culture intensity of expression of emotion can be different. So, why do these differences happen across cultures one of the reasons is display rules. So, what are display rules? That is cultures have different rules on which emotions should be displayed and which should be hidden and under what circumstances. So that is called display rules. So these display rules are kind of kind of covert or overt it could be people learn from their environment through the socialization of other people in a particular culture and how to express your emotions you know. If the expression of certain emotions may not be encouraged in a culture some emotions may be more encouraged some emotions may not be that encouraged depending on the cultural context or norms of that society. People understand certain rules and these rules become kind of inherent in their psyche. So, these are called display rules and this display rule guides that expression. For example, a lot of these display rules we learn as we become adults during a job interview generally we attempt not to appear nervous, and we try to show our best selves just by manipulating all the expressions of emotion. People try not to be angry if a guest spills something on your carpet because it is a kind of display rule otherwise the person may feel bad or we try not to laugh when a friend says something dumb or like this just to make another person comfortable. So this could be some of the inherent rules that we understand and accordingly, we try to manipulate our expression of emotions. So these display rules are there in different cultures and they may differ from culture to culture and accordingly, the expression of emotions will also be different based on those display rules. So we learn all these norms from the people around us and rules and expectations differ slightly among cultures. So those rules may differ from culture to culture. For example, adults in Europe and the United States particularly men are forbidden from crying in public. Forbidden means in a sense, not that they cannot cry, only thing is that this is a kind of understanding that men particularly have norms given to them that they should not express, and this is expected from them not to cry in front of a public or something like this. It's a kind of covert rule that is given but this restriction is even stricter in other countries like China, where people may not cry in front of a public or something. So this rule may be much stricter in other countries like China and it is there in other

cultures but this may not be that strict in Europe and the United States.

So it is not that people of these cultures don't cry in front of others but the kind of expectation is there that will kind of manipulate how they express those emotions. One study was conducted in the context of these display rules by Friesen, in that study he compared the behavior of Japanese and American participants while they watched disgusting videos of surgical procedures. So, they were trying to look at whether people know participants from Japan or participants from America that differ in terms of expression of emotions where they manipulated situations where expression of emotion was evident they were supposed to express. So that manipulation has happened and how that was manipulated by showing them videos of disgusting surgical procedures. So, when you see something very disgusting, you will express disgust as an emotion. So they were looking at whether this expression differs for Japanese as well as American participants so how they differ. So that was the kind of study that was done it is one of the earlier classic studies in on-display rules. So undergraduate participants watch movies alone first though in the first they watch it alone meaning that they were only present, and no outsider was there. Then they watched this video in the company of an experimenter dressed as a graduate student in a lab coat. So there was an experimenter associate who was also there in another condition in one condition it was just alone they looked at it in another condition the participants from both countries watched those videos in the company of an experimenter who was dressed in a particular formal wearing of lab coat and so on.

So what they found was that both the countries participant that is Japan and the USA were disgusted they expressed their disgust as an emotion when they watched the film alone. When they were alone they were looking at those videos of surgical procedures both the participants American as well as Japanese expressed disgust. Japanese participant concealed their distaste with a polite smile when the experimenter entered the room. However, when the experimenter entered the room there was a difference in the expression of both American as well as Japanese. So Japanese participant concealed, they tried to hide their expression much more than as compared to Americans. American participants were not at all trying to hide but Japanese they expressed disgust while alone when the

experimenter entered the room they tried to hide those expressions with polite smiles and so on. So why that was one kind of cultural difference that was evident in that experiment. So one of the things why this could happen is that Japan places a greater emphasis on the social hierarchy than the United States and it is considered impolite to express unpleasant emotions when some to someone of high status. So, it is one of the kind of, because of this display rule that was there in differences in those cultures. So, in Japan, it is given much more importance to social hierarchy and when an experimenter supposed to be of higher status comes to the room it is generally considered impolite to express unpleasant emotion. So they were kind of hiding that expression much more as compared to Americans. So this display rule was there in the Japanese culture. So that influenced their expression. However, in the case of American participants, they were less influenced by the experimenter, and therefore they were not hiding their feelings. Because that display rule was not there in the American culture they did not find any cause to hide their feelings. So this was one of the reasons why this happened. So this study clearly shows how the display rule could impact the expression of emotion. Now some research also found that cultural differences could be in the content of the expression not just the intensity of expression how one expresses but the content of the expression could also differ from culture to culture. So, in the last study, we discussed how cultural differences in the intensity of emotional expression but there could be differences in the actual content of the expression also. In one of the studies done where done by Elfenbein and Ambady 2002 they basically kind of did a meta-analysis where they tried to summarize the findings of a lot of studies on expression of existing expression recognition studies.

They discovered that when participant judged someone from the same national ethnic or regional group their accuracy was consistently greater than when the photos of someone from a different culture. So, we kind of discussed these in-group advantages the people were always better at judging emotional expression from the people of their cultural group. So this was the first study in which we discovered that when participants judged someone from the same national ethnic or regional group their accuracy was consistently greater than when emotional expression from the people of their cultural group as compared to someone outside. So that means that there may be some differences otherwise why they

are better at understanding or recognizing the expression of emotion from their own culture as compared to others. There may be some differences in the expression which is why there is a difference in the recognition also.

So this implies cultural differences at least in some aspects. So this implies that people from different cultures exhibit slightly varied facial expressions even for basic emotions. There must be some slight differences which is why there is an in-group advantage is there in terms of recognition of emotion. So, this leads to the dialect theory of facial expression. Dialect is kind of we understand in that context of language that people's language can differ slightly as we move from region to region or from one place to another place the same language but people the way they say some words here and there be different. So, this is called dialect dialects may be different. So, one can speak Hindi for example but there can be differences in the way people speak that language from place to place. So, there may be different dialects there may be Bhojpuri Hindi there may be Maithili Hindi, and so on. So, their pronunciation and the way they say may differ a little bit here and there but overall, it is a Hindi language but dialects are different. So that is the whole idea that people who live in different cultures also have kind of dialects of expression of facial expression emotion.

So this is the same emotion but here the expression may differ here and there a little bit so that is called the dialect of facial expression. Just like people of different regions of a country pronounce the same word differently they may pronounce it differently same language they may be speaking but the way they say some words may be different. So that is called dialect. Similarly, this may happen in the same emotions people are expressing but there may be subtle differences. So that is called a dialect theory of facial expression of emotion.

To test this hypothesis Elfenbein and colleagues experimented to understand whether this dialect theory is right or not, to prove this hypothesis they asked participants from two French-speaking regions. So both the regions speak French but probably with different dialects or people from two French-speaking regions, Quebec in Canada and Gabon in Sahara

Africa. So, both regions speak French but they tried to see by taking participants from both regions to pose expressions of anger, fear, sadness, disgust, happiness, and surprise these are mostly the basic emotions. So how they did was, rather than asking the poser to use specific facial muscles, the researcher gave them each emotional phrase and asked them to pose an expression that their peers could easily comprehend. So, they asked to pose let's say angry face pose face for sadness, and so on. So, this is something they asked them to make facial muscles so that others could understand what emotion they were going through or expressing.

So as expected the expressions posed by people from the two cultures differ in modest but consistent ways. So, they found those expressions were a little bit different in these two cultures how the participants from these two cultures express their emotions there are certain differences but in consistent ways. For example, they found that the displays of happiness by Quebecois were more likely to involve constriction of the muscles surrounding the eyes whereas Gabonese participant's expressions of happiness were more likely to include an open mouth. The same emotion of happiness in both the cultural participants express it slightly differently.

So Quebecois participants were more likely to involve constriction of muscles around the eyes so around the eyes the muscles were much more constricted it was much more pronounced for these participants. For Gabonese participants, the open mouth was much more pronounced. So, although they have the same emotions but subtle differences in their facial expressions. Importantly the features of each pose expression in both cultures were similar to the prototypical expression, so if it was all happy expressions one could make that these two individuals are expressing happiness but prototypical expression was there but subtle muscle differences were there as we have discussed. So, these are kinds of proofs of the dialect theory of expression of emotion.

Now we look at some of the evidence of cultural differences in interpreting facial expressions. So we have seen how it could differ in terms of expression intensity and other aspects. Now we'll discuss whether is it also possible that there are cultural differences in the interpretation and how you interpret a facial expression. So as people from different

cultures show emotion somewhat differently at least in subtle ways we can expect them to interpret emotional displays also differently. So some of the studies here will again discuss, a study by Matsumoto and Ekman in 1989 that looked into this issue. So, participants in the United States and Japan were shown images of different prototypical emotions expressed by employees in Caucasian and Japanese posers.

So participants from these two countries United States and Japan are shown emotions of different basic prototypical emotions by people from both cultures Japanese poser as well as Caucasian culture. So, it was shown to both the groups of Japanese Americans and the posing of the Japanese people posing the Western people shown to groups of people from different cultures and the poser also from different cultures. So both these poses were shown to both this group of people. So regardless of the poser's ethnicity whether the pose was shown by Japanese people or Caucasian people, Japanese participants tend to give a smaller intensity rating to both the positive and as well as negative emotions the poser expressed. So one very evident thing was that the Japanese were asked to rate the intense kind of intensity of emotional expression by these posers regardless of whoever posed whether it was posed by a Japanese individual or a Western participant who had Western posers. Japanese participants rated this intensity as smaller intensity for both positive and negative emotions as compared to the American participants.

So Japanese expressed low-rated intensity as compared to others. So, let's say on a rating five-point scale & let's say somebody has expressed anger so the person might have rated the anger let's say four on a scale of one to five by an American the same expression was rated by a Japanese probably two or three or something like that. So this is just an example. Similarly in another study when people looked at photographs of relatively weak expressions. So weak expression means it was not very strong let's say anger so not a very strong anger expression but a weak expression. Japanese people estimated a stronger underlying emotion than Americans. When somebody expresses a weak expression of anger they rated that the experience of the anger was much stronger as compared to the Americans. So you see there is a difference in terms of how they judge the underlying emotion in terms of facial expression and when the face was posed with all these emotions,

how it was rated by Japanese and Americans was different. So, one of the possible explanations that is given as to why these Japanese people differed in terms of rating the intensity of emotion was that Japanese people are accustomed to hiding their emotions in public, they may assume that a person was feeling strongly and only partially hiding when they witness a weak emotional reaction. So one of the reasons why weak emotional expression was rated by the Japanese as compared to the actual intensity of emotion, is that the Japanese people are generally in their cultural norms and display rules they are more accustomed to hiding their emotions in public.

So they may assume even if a person is feeling very strongly they are partially hiding it when they witness a weak emotional reaction. So even if the person was weakly expressing emotion, they kind of judged that underlying emotion was much stronger because this is how they do it. So that is one explanation of the finding that we have discussed in the last slide. Americans might be more likely to believe that an expression is genuine generally because this is how the cultural thing is, whatever you feel you express it the way you feel it is genuine when it is moderately or very intense but Japanese people might assume that such dramatic displays are most likely fake in another instance of the study where we find when the pose is expressed emotion Japanese people always rated low intensity. So this could be one of the reasons why this has happened. So they may think such dramatic displays are mostly fake because this is not expressed actually. So believe that an expression is genuine when it is moderately or very intense but American people are likely to believe the way it is, the way people are feeling the expressive expression is also similar. So frequencies is another thing where a lot of research also found that the frequency of expression of emotion certain emotions are more frequently expressed in some cultures as compared to others. So there could be some cultural difference here. So we will see some evidence here. So there are distinctions between cultures when it comes to the most common and intense feelings the most which emotions most strongly experienced. So that may also differ in terms of culture Kitayama and colleagues also used a bottom-up culture-sensitive methodology to compare emotional experiences in the United States and Japan in a series of studies.

So again there were participants from the United States and Japan because they are culturally very different in terms of expression of emotion to prove this point. So in one of the first studies, the participants from both the cultures Japan and the USA judged the degree to which certain emotional words reflected both common American and common Japanese emotional words. So this was one of the objectives of one of the first study that they where participants were asked to judge the degree to of certain emotional words reflected to degree certain emotional words are kind of common in their cultures.

This rating revealed an emotional domain characterized by a balance of positive and negative and social engagement components. So list emotions and try to rate them on a balance of positive negative and social engagement whether socially engaging or disengaging. Socially engaging emotions include friendliness and shame a kind of negative emotion but it is good in the social context so it is in that sense it is socially engaging because it accentuates and reinforces the relationship, in relationships it is considered good. In contrast, socially disengaging feelings like pride or anger highlight and strengthen the autonomy and superiority of the individual that is generally disengaging and it kind of breaks the relationship, balance dimensions mean positive and negative social dimensions was kind of a kind of new thing that includes because a lot of studies were already conducted on positive and negative aspects this is one of the study where social engagement dimension was included. So Kitayama and colleagues subsequently provided support for the hypothesis that emotions that are most beneficial in managing relationships in a given culture environment are experienced most frequently. So the emotions that are most beneficial for managing relationships in that culture are experienced most frequently and most intensely because their relevance is much stronger in that culture. Now which one is this may differ from culture to culture so that is what these studies have found, but relationship management the emotions that are associated with relationship management are most intensely experienced and more frequently experienced in the context of that culture.

So this study discovered that socially disengaging emotions such as pride and anger were most common and intense in European American culture. So these emotions were more

frequently and more strongly experienced in that culture according to the rating of the participants where successful relationships are defined by individual autonomy and independence. Where relationships are defined based on the autonomy of the individual and independence, so whenever there is a problem with independence and autonomy lot of conflicts may happen. So, the cultural idea of what is what should matter in one's life is like individual autonomy and independence. So this was discovered in one of the findings. In contrast, they found socially engaging emotions such as friendly feelings and guilt were more common and intense in the East Asian cultural context where good relationships are defined by relationship and interdependence. So in those cultures particularly Japan and other cultures where community living and interdependence social relationships were given much more importance. So in those cases, socially engaging emotions were more intense and more commonly experienced as compared to European and American cultures. So the idea is emotions that meet the cultural paradigm are more frequent and intense. So this emotional practice differs across cultures. So this shows which emotions are experienced more frequently and more intensely may differ from culture to culture depending on what emotions are more defined in the relationship in context. So in that context, certain emotions are more experienced and given more importance as compared to the others.

So another dimension where certain cultural differences are also observed in the antecedents of events of emotions. What events lead to the experience of certain emotions? So if I experience something positive I will experience happiness. So the antecedent event is that positive event or let's say I achieve a goal then I experience happiness or joy. So the antecedent event is reaching a goal. So these events lead to emotions that may also differ from culture to culture. So these are all very interesting findings that show how people give importance to different things in different cultures and accordingly lead to different experiences of emotions.

So culture may influence situations that lead to certain emotions. So a lot of cultural because norms are different social structures are different so that can also influence what events lead to certain emotions. So if a situation is more likely to occur in a culture then

accompanying emotions associated with those situations are more likely to occur. So if certain situations are more likely to occur in a culture because of the social context then the emotions that are experienced because of that situation are more likely to be experienced. It is very simple because the situations are happening more and more experienced by people, so the emotions associated with the situation will also be experienced more and more. So that is the general idea. So culture tends to create more opportunities for certain events because of the structure of the events and context of the society. It provides opportunity for different events and situations that are consistent with prevailing cultural values and models and it may suppress certain events that are inconsistent. So in certain cultures, certain situations or events may be more pronounced and some situations may be suppressed by that culture because it is not encouraged in those certain situations.

So we will see some of these concepts that we have discussed in one of the experiments. Scherer and colleagues 1988 also these are kind that very some of the classic studies that were done earlier tried to uncover the antecedent events of four emotions. So they did a study to understand in different cultures for the four emotions of anger, sadness, happiness, and fear to know what are what leads to these emotions in different cultures. In the massive survey of Americans, Europeans, and Japanese. So different cultures a massive survey was done.

They included participants from eight countries. So the participants were asked to describe instances in which they felt these four emotions. So how the experiment was done they were all the participants were asked to describe a situation that led to these emotions. To describe a situation that led you to experience anger, that led you to experience sadness, and happiness one by one they were asking and then categorized as belonging to one of the several different groups or specific themes. So then they categorized what led to this emotion into different themes. Researchers predicted the hypothesis that a great degree of uniformity will be there in the frequencies of different scenarios across all these cultures.

So they kind of thought that similar situations would lead to different emotional

experiences. This was kind of their expectations. But this was not the case. They found that joy or happiness was connected to a variety of events, particularly in Japan. So the variety of events was much more in the case of Japan as compared to the other countries. Cultural pleasures, births, and bodily pleasures were for example more essential for Europeans and Americans but they were far less frequent antecedents of joy for the Japanese.

So what leads to joyful experiences also differs from this kind of culture. So some of these things like bodily pleasures, births, and so on were more essential for Europeans and Americans but this was given less importance. They were not that important for the experience of joy for Japanese people. They also found accomplishments were significantly more source of satisfaction for Americans and Europeans than the Japanese. So when you accomplish something in your life this was given much more importance in the American and European cultures as compared to the Japanese.

They also found the cause of sadness differed in those cultures. Death for example was far less common antecedent of event for Japanese grief than it was for Americans and Europeans. So death as a reason for grief was less common for Japanese people as compared to Americans and Europeans. So, death was not as obvious it would be a grief event full of grief but it was less for the Japanese as compared to Americans and Europeans. So that cause also kind of differ you know. So, which may have some cultural belief system associated with the grief might have led to some of these things.

Americans were more frequently distressed by separation while Japanese were more affected by interpersonal troubles. So, this was also a difference found in the antecedent of the event. Separation led to more distress for Americans as compared to the Japanese and the Japanese were more affected by interpersonal troubles. Troubles in the relationships and between people with Europeans falling somewhere in the middle of both sorts of events. Europeans somewhere are not that extreme. So for separation, it was highly distressing for Americans. Europeans were somewhere in the middle and the Japanese were much less in the other extreme. But in case of interpersonal trouble Japanese were very much concerned in terms of distress and Europeans were falling somewhere middle. So

these are some of the cultural differences that were observed. They also further found that when confronted with unexpected events in the context of relationships Japanese felt fear more than the Americans and Europeans when confronted with unexpected events.

So there was some cultural difference here also. Finally, the causes of anger were also varied. What causes anger in different cultures? Americans and to a lesser extent Europeans felt the greatest anger in the context of close relationships. In the context of close relationships whenever people interact with each other in the close relationship anger is more experienced in that context. Japanese felt the most anger in the context of strangers when strangers did something or something like that. So that was a very this is also very interesting in the context of culture.

So in the context of strangers Japanese experienced most of the anger. American Europeans felt most of the anger in the context of close relationships. Injustice angered Americans and Europeans more frequently than the Japanese. When injustice happened Americans and Europeans more frequently experienced anger as compared to the Japanese. So there are also certain other differences they observed. So these are some of the interesting findings across cultures which can be differences in the culture in terms of expression of emotions in terms of experience of the emotion, in terms of intensity of the emotion, in terms of actual content of the emotion. So a lot of variations can happen despite some universal aspects there.

So let us see if can we have some explanatory model to explain these cultural differences or culture-specific expressions of emotions. Can we broadly use a theoretical model to understand that? So one of the models that can explain these differences is called the dimension of individualism and collectivist as a cultural dimension. So all world cultures broadly can be categorized as either individualistic culture or collectivist culture. So this explanation can also help us to understand some of these differences in the findings. So culture can range from individualism to collectivist and some cultures may be a combination of these two somewhere in between.

So researchers classify culture as individualistic or collectivist based on how society defines certain basic aspects of their life, how they explain some of the things, and how they look at certain cultures shape our belief system, ideas, and thinking processes. So based on those differences, some cultures are more individualistic and we look into that where the concept of self is considered independent. Individualistic culture identifies from individual traits how your self is the importance of a more independent self is given importance.

You are more independent in your achievement and your own life and your sense of independent self is given more importance. In the collectivist culture interdependent self is more dominant where you identify yourself or explain yourself more in the context of relationships with other people in the society. So interdependent you are not alone your life is dependent on the relationships and the societies and other things. So more interdependent concept of self is dominant. So what matters in individualistic culture? Personal achievement because it is an independent sense of self, personal achievement, fulfillment, liberties, and self-esteem are given more importance.

In a collectivist culture because it is interdependent group goals how as a group as a society you are doing, solidarities, social responsibilities, relationships family duty are given much more importance. So the goal of individualistic culture is to discover and express one uniqueness in your life expressions of that kind of thing are given more importance. Here focus goal is more to maintain connections relationship fit in perform roles and so on social roles and those things. How they cope with the individualistic culture by changing reality because they think their own independent life they can change things and those things.

Here they accommodate with their social reality more and they try to fit in rather than changing the reality. The concept of morality is defined in individualistic culture by individualistic mostly self-based concepts here it is defined mostly by social networks or duty-based moralities both given importance here. Attributing behavior in the individualistic culture behavior reflects one's personality and attitudes, here it reflects more on social norms and roles. So you can see broadly they have these traits are very different. So some of the research says that North American nations support individualistic ideas. A

lot of these Western countries are considered more individualistic in nature while East Asian and some African nations generally more collectivist values are given more importance.

Some European countries are considered probably a combination of cultures, some could be very individualistic. So it is sometimes a lot of these ideas of individualistic or collectivism probably may not be so rigidly there in culture in practicality and may fall short in capturing every culture but broadly some individualism dimensions may be more prominent in some cultures as compared to others and some cultures collectivist ideas are more dominant. So that may not be so strictly every culture like individualist or collectivism but some traits may be more dominant in all cultures as compared to others. In the context of India, some people consider it more collectivist but again things are fluid and keep changing as time passes, and it depends on cities and rural areas the values may also differ you know. Probably in the rural areas collectivist culture is much more dominant even in countries like India where metro cities and others for individualistic anyway because of the lifestyle it is much more individualistic in those cities and other ones. So in real life countries may also differ but you know some dominant traits may be there in some countries as compared to others.

So we can divide at least some countries based on those dominant traits some may be considered individualistic some may be considered collectivistic. So how could emotional life be impacted by this individualism and collectivism? Let's see how can we use this model to explain all these emotional differences across cultures expression of culture differences. So research other than cultural differences in individualism and collectivism can serve as an explanatory model for emotional differences across cultures whatever evidence we have looked at, such as differences in expressing and interpreting facial expressions. So all these expressions and the differences that we have looked at in the evidence can explain for example, we have found consistently that Japanese people differ from Western people in terms of expression of emotion lot of these cultural differences were found mostly within the context of Japanese people. So Japanese people are generally found to inhibit or suppress negative emotions as we have seen in a lot of this research.

One explanation could be the collectivist nature of Japanese culture because of which people suppress negative emotions to maintain group unity and put the demands of the group above their own. So if you are very individualistic culture where you stay and it is very individualistic you do your own thing then obviously whatever you feel you will express it more but when it is a collectivist culture where you are more concerned about how other people will look at you how it will influence the relationship with other people if you are more concerned about the other people you will modulate your expression of emotion much more to maintain that relationship. So this is what happens in the Japanese culture people inhibit or suppress negative emotion so that it does not influence others negatively to maintain group harmony and other things. So this is one of the explanations that can be explained using this individualistic and collectivist dimension is that a collective nation may suppress negative emotions to maintain group unity and put the demands of the group above their own.

So maintaining group harmony is much more important than just your own thing. So they will modulate their emotions to give importance to the group harmony as compared to their own thing. So this could be one of the reasons to explain these differences. According to some research, collectivism may encourage the experience of specific types of emotions whereas individualism may discourage certain emotions. For example, it is possible that in the context of self-conscious emotions will be differences between individualistic and collectivist cultures. So some emotions may be more experienced in a collectivist culture so why are those differences in the frequency of emotion can also be explained by using this because in the collectivist culture, the emotions that are related to more group or societal context would be given much more importance as compared to yourself. For example, pride could be more experienced in an individualistic culture as compared to a collectivist culture. So let's say pride could be detrimental to group harmony and another thing. So it could be more experienced in individualistic culture because the focus is on an individual it could be less experienced in collectivist culture because this can be detrimental to group harmony and so on. So this can explain a lot of things.

Stipeck also tested this hypothesis that people in collectivist culture would feel pride and shame that we have discussed in response to their friends' and relatives' actions. So another study was done to understand these differences, particularly in the context of pride and shame as an emotion. When they experience pride and shame and how they experience pride and shame in the context of close people around them. So she tested this hypothesis using American and Chinese students. So Chinese are more collectivist America is a more individualistic culture. So they use the scenario study where scenario study means the participants are given a scenario situation and they need to think about that situation. So the participants were asked to rate their emotions, particularly pride guilt, shame, pride guilt, and shame in a scenario where they are involved and where their close family member is involved.

So they are given two situations, one situation of getting admission into a prestigious university they are getting and their close relatives. This is one scenario study in another scenario study was a case of cheating when they are involved in that cheating and their close relationships and relatives were involved in cheating how did they explain that situation? So in the scenario of getting accepted into a prestigious university, Americans said that they would equally be proud if they or their child were accepted to a prestigious university. So they said whether they got accepted or their child is getting accepted they will feel equally proud.

However Chinese respondents said they would be more proud if their child was accepted as compared to themselves. So this was one of the differences they found in the case of pride in how they experience. So Chinese people experience more pride they would experience more pride in the context of other close people around them as compared to Americans who are also experienced for close people but they are included in that also. In the case of the cheating scenario, Chinese participants reported feeling more guilt and shame than Americans. So cheating cases regardless of who did it whether they did it or their close relatives did it Chinese participants reported more stronger rating on guilt and shame as compared to Americans.

And people in both countries reported feeling more guilt and shame if they were caught. In both the cases of Americans as well as Chinese if they are caught in the situations of cheating they said they will feel more guilt and shame as compared to when their relatives are caught. However, there was a difference Chinese participants reported feeling more guilt and shame in the brother cheating scenario than Americans. So in case of if they say their brother is found in a cheating scenario, Chinese participants reported more guilt and shame as compared to Americans. So again this shows the collectivist dimension of how relationship matters more in collectivist culture as compared to individualistic culture which can explain why this is happening. So therefore this individualism and collectivism dimension of culture can explain the context of emotional experience at least this can be used as an explanatory model of all these differences in the culture-specific expression of emotions.

So the last thing that we'll be talking about here is how we integrate all these diverse findings related to culture and emotions. On one hand, certain aspects of emotion appear to be universal as we have seen in lecture 4. On the other hand, we also found that culture has a very strong influence on our emotional life as we have discussed in today's lecture. So both the aspects are there how do you integrate all these findings?

So although the evidence supports both of these viewpoints there are supports to both of these people and the researchers highlight the universal aspect while others emphasize cultural differences. So is it possible to combine both these aspects of research or findings and how do we explain that using some theoretical models? So let us see that. So there is one theory that can explain all these diverse findings this is called Ekman's, Paul Ekman who is one of the celebrated personalities in the research of basic emotions gave a neuro-cultural theory of emotion which kind of integrates a lot of these findings. One is this theory is the first explicit attempt to describe where and how culture could influence the universal expression of emotions. Paul Ekman provided this theory he said more specifically this theory was developed to account for both the aspects cultural as well as universal aspects.

So according to this theory events in the environment may trigger specific appraisal and

interpretation which in turn may cause emotions. So any event that happens in the environment triggers certain mental interpretations, and you judge it as positive negative bad dangerous, accordingly, you experience physiology you experience certain emotions and every emotion has a biological component to it. So if you experience fear your autonomic nervous system will get activated certain biases and cognitive biases will come and a facial expression will happen automatically. So these are already programmed things in your body's physiological arousal facial expression. So these are produced by natural and universal facial action programs these are biologically built programs that automatically this thing will happen. So when the circumstances are right both these biological characteristics and consciously held motives result in prototypical emotional behavior.

So all these factors lead to prototypical behavior that we show when we experience certain emotions. Naturally, this is what happens. Now Ekman said with effort it is possible to counteract some of these facial action program-induced expressions with some practice. For example, in terms of when the kind of surroundings they were put the kind of way people behave slowly we can also do something other than what this biological program system does. We can override that little bit and we can counteract some of these facial expressions some of these expressions can be different based on how we practice them. So a little bit of program thing can be changed here and then a little bit counteract those expressions.

One can even develop a habit of overriding the natural expression after repeatedly doing it in the same kind of situation over time. So if you do it again and again from childhood override that biological program system slowly this can become a natural thing. So, therefore, displays the rules of cultures in a lot of these cultures where there are a lot of differences in terms of some expressions and here and there things were found. Because the person is born in a culture that sees this thing from childhood and the person practices it again and again. This practice can override this biologically induced universal expression. So some of this biologically induced universal expression can be overridden and some differences may be expressed because of this cultural display rules and other

things that we learned and practice again and again.

So it is shown Ekman this is taken from one of the publications of Paul Ekman. This is how it is shown. So certain environmental things happen which induce this biological thing, facial effect program, facial muscles associated with all these emotions basic emotions. He is mostly talking about basic emotions. So some event happens in the environment this is a pan-cultural thing this is a universal thing. For these basic emotions facial muscle effect program for these basic emotions will be the same across culture this pan culture.

It will induce automatic biological programs that are similar across cultures. However, these display rules influenced by culture can override some of these facial effect programs or some of these expressions. For example, it can override the intensity. What intensity is expressed, Cultural display rules can influence or de-intensify. It may intensify it may become much more stronger as compared to what you naturally experience based on the cultural norms or it can de-intensify.

It can also neutralize. You can mask all these things that can happen because of this display of rules of the culture. So then ultimately you express those things after the impact of this display rule. So certain changes may happen in the facial motor adaptive patterns, barbell, vocal, and physiological changes may happen it is possible. So this is something that was explained by this neuro-cultural model of Ekman. So in summary Ekman's neuro-cultural theory of emotion asserts that there are universal facial expressions associated with basic emotions particularly, but cultural factors can modulate the display and interpretation of these emotions with specific cultural contexts. So this can be modulated.

So with this, I will conclude today's lecture. So this is in a nutshell about how culture can interact with emotions, how culture and emotions interact, and gives all these diverse expressions and all this evidence that we have looked at and what are the reasons behind this evidence. So I hope this will clarify and give a lot of insights about culture and emotion. Thank you.