



Utrecht University

What is the Role of Culture on the level of Emotional Expression in Bereavement ?

Masters of Science in Clinical Psychology

Henk Schut

Beatrice El Khoury

6160689

18/06/2018

Abstract

The present study investigated the effect of different cultural factors on the level of emotional expression of bereaved participants. Cultural elements examined were between-country differences, collectivism and individualism, along with within-country difference, rural and urban areas. 244 respondents from four different countries (the Netherlands, Serbia, Lebanon, and America) completed the Berkeley Emotional Expressivity Questionnaire and Inventory of Complicated Grief. It was expected to find differences in level of emotional expression between participants living in collectivistic or individualistic countries, between those living in rural or urban areas, and finally an association between the two different set of cultural elements. However, results showed that levels of emotional expression did not differ in any of the cultural elements mentioned. Implications based on these findings were discussed.

Keywords: *collectivistic, individualistic, emotional expression, bereavement, rural, urban*

No matter how modernized cities, towns, or countries have become, some traditions still stand throughout the years. These practices extend to more than weddings or funerals, they spread to also affect the person's expressiveness in such events.

Members of a society are responsible to arrange events for its members, taking into consideration the cultural resources. The important question here is, to what extent do these cultural resources impact the members' levels of expressiveness?

In the following study, the focus will be specifically on the impact of culture on emotional expression in bereavement. Ekman (1971) first argued that emotions are genetically determined, and that facial expression of emotions are interpreted in the same way across different cultures. However, many different studies (Russel J.A,1994, Markus et al 1991, Matsumoto 1989) showed that some aspects of emotions are culturally different because emotions are not only biological, but also influenced by environment, and social or cultural situations. In addition, Mikolajczak et al., (2007) also showed that the levels and extent of emotional expression differ between individuals, and Gross et al (2002), pointed out that individual differences do matter: some are more expressive than others through physical states, feelings, and thoughts.

Emotional expression is one of the factors of a larger construct known as emotional intelligence (EI). This construct is defined by the individual's capability to recognize his or her own emotions and other's as well, manage emotions to adapt, and be aware of feelings and distinguish them (Goleman, 1998).

As mentioned above, the aim of this study is to find the role that culture plays on emotional expression in bereavement; taking into account two different cultural aspects. Differences in emotional

expression will be studied between-nations, collectivistic and individualistic countries, and within-nations, in rural and industrial areas.

Accordingly, it is important to draw a distinction between the different cultural components just specified. First, individualism carries an assumption that each individual is independent to some extent from another (Oyserman et al., 2002). In other words, individualism carries the idea that the individual's life belongs to himself, acts upon his own judgement, and is sovereign (Biddle, 2012). Collectivism on the other hand, carries an assumption that groups bind and equally obligate individuals. A collectivistic society, according to Biddle, shares is the basic unit of moral concerns.

The distinction between rural and industrial cities focus on specific distinction of areas within a country. Industrial areas are settlements where population is (usually) very large and have features of built environment, such areas include cities and towns. Rural areas are usually located in outskirts, and include villages and suburbs.

Promptly, Death is clearly an inevitable event in life. It is certain that every person will have to grieve someone at some point in his or her life, whether it is loss of a partner, family member, or friend. However, would it not be interesting to further understand how each individual differs in his or her expressivity of grief according to his or her culture?

The following study aims to shed light on whether there are differences between cultural components in the emotional expression of the bereaved.

Emotional expression, Culture, and Bereavement

Research over the past decades has shown that culture does indeed exert considerable effects on emotions. Early on, Ekman et al; (1971) documented differences in emotional display in different cultures, depending on social context. Their study focused on American and Japanese subjects, in-group and alone

expression of emotions in highly stressful firms. Results showed that when alone, both cultures showed same facial expressions, however differences were apparent when they were in the presence of someone else, with the Japanese smiling rather than displaying negative emotions. These studies only compared participants from two countries, Japan and America, which makes the population of the studies limited, and more focused on individual differences rather than cultural aspects as a whole.

Further along the years, another study focused on individualism and collectivism as cultural components and their effect on emotional expression. In a study done specifically on these two cultural factors (Oyersman et al., 2002), the researchers found plausible consequences of individualism and collectivism from the definition of these factors drawn by different researchers. The definitions all conceptualized individualism as a “worldview that centralizes personal goals and personal control” and collectivism as a “worldview that centralizes common goals and common values” (Kagitcibasi, 1994; Kim, 1994; Bellah et al., 1985; Hsu, 1983). Oyersman concluded that individualism implied more open emotional expression and judgement and reasoning which is more oriented towards the individual him or herself rather than society. Collectivism on the other hand implies restrain emotional expression and is likely to be valued in an in-group harmony, judgment and reasoning is constrained by social and situational context. Such serious consequences should be supported by significant methods of deduction which was not employed in Oyersman’s meta-analyses.

In addition, Eid et al.(2001) conducted a study on norms of experiencing emotions in different cultures. This research included 4 countries, selected according to their individualism and collectivism orientation, and consisted of a large sample of population (>1500 participants). Results pointed out that cultures in which an independent self is predominant (individualistic countries), people tend to express their attributes (disposition and attitudes) in public as well as in private. On the contrary, cultures in which

a more dependent self is predominant (collectivistic countries), people tend to express their attributes according to their social duties. However, although the study had a very large significant sample overcoming the limitation of the previously mentioned studies, it focused on generalized norms of emotional expression, and not situation-specific emotions. It would have been more practical to compare emotions across situations and check how they are generalized, moreover, it would be more useful to include more countries that differ on collectivism and individualism.

Consistent with these conclusions, Matsumoto (2008) also found that individualism was associated with higher expressivity in general, and positive emotions in particular. Accordingly, Matsumoto explained that in individualistic cultures, personal feelings and free expression “reaffirm the importance of the individual compared to social relationship”, collectivistic cultures, in the contrary, value personal feelings and free expression as being less important.

Finally, in a comparative analysis done on differences between cultures on managing death (Walter, 2012), the author talked about individualistic countries show more resistance from religious lobbies, religion is being replaced with spirituality instead. Spirituality entails the individual to decide on whatever belief without the constraints of religious institutions, especially on concerns about traditional burials (Jupp, 2006). This analysis did not talk about the method implied for this conclusion, hence, making it vague for the reader to understand the specific route for such a result. Furthermore, Jupp’s work mostly focused on the British way of managing death and mourning, also making it impossible to generalize.

Traditional rituals provide a framework to express how the individual feels, but many societies encourage a distrust of these rituals (Wouters, 2002). The dimensions of formality/informality and expressiveness/reserve of rituals have been used to map proper expression of grief between-nations and within-nations as well (Walter, 1999). What Walter points out here is that emotional expression differs on a larger scale than individualistic and collectivistic

orientation of the country, but also within country differences, in rural and urban areas. Not many studies have been conducted on differences in emotional expression levels in within-country context, however some conclusion can be drawn from what exists.

Research has extended to find differences in emotional expression of people living in urban cities and industrial cities. Studies focusing on these differences showed that when it comes to funerals, village residents in a traditional rural society tend to have a more overlapping network, in other words, a person's family, work colleagues and friends are considered to be attached to one another. Hence, when it comes to funerals and mourning, it is more public. This is in contrast to modern urbanities which tend to have detached networks.(Walter 1999, 2007). It is important to mention this because it suggests that rural societies, like collectivistic countries in general, act according to their extended social network.

In summary, research done on the subject of emotional expression in bereavement across different cultural factors has had many loopholes along the years. Results make it hard to generalize to larger populations, and conclusions do not apply to specific situations. Furthermore, it is unknown whether between-area or within-area, cultural differences have a higher effect on emotional expression in bereavement, and whether the combination of two factors will yield higher emotional expression than each factor alone.

Hence, according to the theoretical rationales mentioned above, we first expect that bereaved people from an individualistic country to show higher levels of overall expression of emotions than ones from a collectivistic country. And secondly, we hypothesize that bereaved individuals from a rural area will also show higher levels of emotional expression than ones living in an industrial area. This all leads to the expectation that the combination of individualistic country and rural area will show highest levels of emotional expression, more than is expected from culture and character of area separately.

Methods

Participants

The sample consisted of 244 (54.9% females, and 45.1% males) bereaved participants with a mean age of 36.85 years old, who had experienced the loss of a significant person in the past five years. The participants were from four different countries, Serbia (N=67), Lebanon (N=65), the Netherlands (N=67) and the USA (N=45). Because the focus of the study is cultural differences, the sample was divided into two cultural factors; individualistic countries that include the Netherlands and America (45.9%) and collectivistic countries that include Lebanon and Serbia(54.1%); according to Hofstede's (2001) insight, a website that provides cultural comparisons between countries according to a long-term study of cultural dimensions. In addition, within-country cultural factors included bereaved living in a rural area which constituted 43.4% of the population, and ones living in an industrial area which constituted 56.6%.

The population was assessed according to different demographic variables (see Table 1). An independent t-test was used to test significant differences between cultures; however the only variables that showed a significant difference ($p < .05$) between collectivistic and individualistic countries were level of income, religious affiliation, and within-country cultural distribution. No significant difference was present between rural and industrial areas. The income in collectivistic countries ($M=4.0$, $SD=2.0$) was lower than in individualistic countries ($M=4.77$, $SD=1.89$). Furthermore, in collectivistic countries most bereaved people were Christian (71.2%) and non-religious participants were a minority (9.8%). While in individualistic countries, there was a high percentage of non-religious individuals (34.8%). The distribution of within-country factors was also significant between collectivistic and individualistic countries, 66.7% lived in a big city

in collectivistic countries whereas the majority (55.4%) of bereaved individuals in individualistic countries lived in a rural village.

Table 1: Demographics across the four cultures

	Collectivistic				Individualistic				Urban				Rural				
	N	%	M	S.D	N	%	M	S.D	N	%	M	S.D	N	%	M	S.D	
Gender																	
Female	72	54.5			62	55.4			71	51.4			63	59.4			
Male	60	45.5			50	44.6			67	48.6			43	40.6			
Age			36.14	12.7			36.51	14.8				37.49	13.50			36.01	13.7
Marital Status																	
Married	57	43.2			52	46.4			55	39.9			54	50.9			
Divorced/Widowed	13	9.8			6	5.4			13	9.4			6	5.7			
Single	62	46.3			54	48.2			70	50.7			46	43.4			
Education Level																	
School degree	28	21.2			15	13.4			18	13.0			25	23.6			
Bachelor/Masters	67	50.8			42	37.5			68	49.3			40	38.7			
Other	37	28.0			55	49.1			52	37.7			41	37.7			
Work Status																	
Employed	93	70.5			75	67.0			95	68.8			73	68.9			
Unemployed	11	8.3			6	5.4			9	6.5			8	7.5			
Student	12	9.1			26	23.2			20	14.5			18	17.0			
Other	15	12.1			5	4.5			10	7.2			6	5.7			
Income*			4.01	2.01			4.77	1.89				4.28	1.95			4.45	2.06
Religious Background																	
Christian	94	71.2			64	57.1			95	68.8			63	59.4			
Muslim	6	4.5			3	2.7			7	5.1			2	1.9			

Other	18	13.6	6	5.4	10	7.2	14	13.2	
Not Religious	13	9.8	39	34.8	26	18.8	26	24.2	
Relationship with deceased									
Spouse/Partner	5	3.8	7	6.3	8	5.7	4	3.6	
Parent	47	35.6	24	21.4	33	23.6	28	25.0	
Child	1	.8	12	10.7	8	5.7	7	6.3	
Sibling	8	6.1	3	2.7	6	4.3	5	4.5	
Second degree Relative	43	32.6	44	39.3	53	37.9	45	40.2	
Friend	18	13.6	10	8.9	16	11.4	13	11.6	
Other	10	7.6	12	10.7	16	11.4	10	8.9	
Time since death(months)									
		26.5	19.42	32.0	32.3	31.51	26.1	28.5	26.58
Cause of Death									
Long illness/ health problem	52	39.4	50	44.6	65	47.1	37	34.9	
Sudden illness/ health problem	56	42.4	34	30.4	47	34.1	43	40.6	
Other	20	15.2	18	16.1	21	15.2	17	16.0	
Not specified	4	3.0	10	8.9	5	3.6	9	8.5	
Closeness to deceased									
		4.27	.91	4.20	.94	4.22	.98	4.25	.85

*income (1: below 10000\$, 2→6 intervals of 10000\$)

Measures

Berkeley Emotional Expressivity Questionnaire: Emotional expression of the bereaved participants was measured using the Berkeley Emotional Expression Scale (Gross et al., 1995) which measures 3 facets of expression: positive emotionality, negative emotionality, and impulse strength. It consists of 16 items using a 7 Likert-type scale, ranging from 1=Strongly disagree to 7= Strongly agree. This questionnaire covers all emotions, including ones that have to do with grief.

The Cronbach alpha of the scale is .85 (Gross et al., 1995), with test-retest reliability or the full scale $r=.86$. The three subscales according to the same article had a coefficient alpha reliabilities ranging from .71 to .76, and test re-test reliability ranging from .71 to .82.

The questionnaire was translated into Dutch and Serbian by the researchers themselves who are native speakers. According to the reliability test run on the data of this study, the Serbian and Dutch version of the questionnaire had a reliability of .82 and .68 respectively, and the Lebanese and American version of the questionnaire had a reliability of .72 and .67 respectively.

Inventory of complicated grief: The intensity of grief was measured by the Inventory of complicated grief (Pigerson et al., 1995) consisting of 19 statements concerning bereavement-related thoughts using a 5 Likert-type scale ranging from 1=never to 5= always.

The Cronbach alpha of the scale is .94 (Pigerson et al., 1995) with a test-retest validity equal to .80. The cut-off score is 25. Participants who score > 25 are considered at high risk. The Dutch version of the questionnaire has a high internal consistency of Cronbach's alpha equal to .94 and a sensitivity of 86% and a specificity of 76% (Boelen et al; 2003). This questionnaire was also

translated to Serbian by the same native speakers-researchers and showed according to the data obtained a very good internal reliability score of .93.

Demographics: This study takes into account the within-cultural differences as well. Participants were asked to answer a question about whether they lived in a large city, rural village, or rural suburb at the beginning of the survey. For this study, the data was combined into industrial, which included the participants from large city, and rural, which included bereaved participants from both rural villages and suburbs.

In addition, the demographic form of the study included detailed questions related to the loss, these included information about time since death, relationship with deceased, closeness to deceased, and cause of death.

Procedure:

Participants were recruited through the internet by the distribution of the questionnaire through a website called Qualtrics. Qualtrics is a website that generates a common link that can be sent through any internet source for the participants to answer. Since this research is part of a larger cross-cultural study, each native researcher taking part of this study distributed the survey in their own country either through word of mouth or by contacting organizations offering help for the bereaved. Countries that took place in the larger study were: Turkey, Greece, the USA, the Netherlands, Lebanon, Serbia, and Germany. However, in this study, only participants from four countries were recruited. After agreeing to the informed consent, participants were asked if they had lost someone important in the past 5 years; if the participant answered yes, they were directed to a survey that included the measures mentioned above. If they answered no; they were

directed to a survey concerned with attitudes towards grief. The participants were able to finish the questionnaire in 20 minutes. At the end of the survey, the participants were thanked and the results were saved for the researcher to analyze.

Statistical analyses:

For this study, the first hypothesis (H1) included covariates (education, income, and area), hence an ANCOVA test was used to test the existing differences in emotional expression between collectivistic and individualistic cultures. The second hypothesis (H2) tested differences in emotional expression between rural and industrial area, but did not include any covariates, hence, a simple independent t-test was used for the analysis. Finally, for hypothesis 3, a two-way ANCOVA test was used in order to find existing differences between the cultural factors combined.

Results:

H1: Bereaved individuals living in a collectivistic country score lower on emotional expressivity than ones living in an individualistic country.

Although there was a difference in the overall level of expression between the cultural factors, the difference, corrected with the covariates, was not significant ($F(1,237) = .94, p > .05$). The bereaved living in individualistic countries had a mean score of 4.72 and a standard deviation .67 on the BEQ. Those living in collectivistic countries had a mean score of 4.67 and standard deviation of .80. Hence, in contrast to our expectation, there is no significant difference in the levels of emotional expression between both individualistic and collectivistic cultures.

Analyses of the subscales of the BEQ did not reveal significant difference between individualistic and collectivistic cultures either on positive emotions, negative emotions, or impulse strength ($p > .05$) (see Table 2).

Participants living in an individualistic country, on average, scored higher on the ICG ($M=21.1$, $S.D=17.0$), than those living in a collectivistic country ($M=19.62$, $S.D= 13.9$), however this difference did not reach significance either ($p > .05$).

Per culture correlations were computed between BEQ scores and ICG scores. As expected, there was a positive correlation between BEQ scores and ICG scores in collectivistic countries ($r=.19, p < .05$), whereas this correlation was non-significant in individualistic countries.

H2: Bereaved individuals living in a rural area will score higher on emotional expressivity than ones living in an industrial area.

Contrary to our prediction, bereaved individuals living in a rural area did not show significant differences in levels of emotional expression with ones living in an industrial area ($p > .05$). Individuals living in a rural area had a mean score of 4.69 on the BEQ, almost equal to the mean score of individuals living in an industrial area ($M=4.7$). The same analyses were conducted for the subscales across the different areas as well, however, none reached significance either.

Further analysis on ICG scores were also computed between the different areas. The difference in means between the bereaved living in a rural area and industrial area did not reach statistical significance either ($p > .05$); the mean score on ICG in urban areas is 19.82 and in rural areas is 20.80 (see Table 2).

Table 2: Emotional Expression and ICG per culture

		M	S.D
Overall Expression	Collectivistic	4.66	.80
	Individualistic	4.71	.67
	Urban	4.69	.77
	Rural	4.70	.71
Positive Emotions	Collectivistic	5.37	.92
	Individualistic	5.40	.97
	Urban	5.41	.92
	Rural	5.34	.96
Negative Emotions	Collectivistic	3.84	.95
	Individualistic	3.88	.73
	Urban	3.87	.89
	Rural	3.84	.81
Impulse Strength	Collectivistic	4.79	1.17
	Individualistic	4.85	1.0
	Urban	4.77	1.10
	Rural	4.89	1.10
ICG	Collectivistic	20.11	13.94
	Individualistic	20.46	17.0
	Urban	19.82	14.86
	Rural	20.80	15.87

H3= Individualistic and rural components together will explain higher emotional expression than each cultural component alone.

Contrary to our prediction, the combination of the individualistic factor and rural area did not yield the highest scores on emotional expression more so than in each component alone.

There was no significant interaction effect between both cultural components and the covariates $F(3,235)=.10, p>.05$. This suggests that our third assumption was not supported either (see Table 3).

Table 3: Mean and Standard Deviation of Emotional Expression across cultures combined.

		M	SD
Collectivistic	Urban	4.65	.79
	Rural	4.68	.83
Individualistic	Urban	4.73	.80
	Rural	4.70	.60

Discussion

The present study examined the associations between different cultural factors and emotional expression within bereaved individuals. The results indicate that there is relatively small variation in levels of emotional expression of bereaved individuals, suggesting a uniformity of levels of emotional expression after the loss of a loved one. In other words,

whether from a collectivistic or individualistic country, or living in a rural or industrial area, levels of emotional expression of bereaved people were not substantially different.

Hence, contrary to our predictions and previous findings (e.g., Matsumoto et al., 2008), neither within-country areas (rural/industrial areas) nor between-country differences (individualistic/ collectivistic countries) showed different levels of emotional expression within the context of grief.

This has been an important subject of debate. Matsumoto (2016) also claims in his book that there are at least two sources of universal expressions of emotions, one being cultural constant learning and the second being rooted in biology and evolution. The first source of universality in emotional expression is a theoretical one, there is no evidence backing this assumption, and as Matsumoto explains it is unlikely that all people around the world have learned to produce the same emotional expression to the same situations. However, there has been strong evidence (Bard, 2003, Burrows et al., 2006) backing the second assumption of the biological basis of emotional expression. Some of these evidences came from blind individuals, who showed similarities in facial expression between the blind and sighted individuals (Galati et al; 2001), other evidence came from studies of twins and family linkages (Kendler et al., 2007).

In other words, whether a bereaved individual lives in a more in-group harmonious culture (collectivistic country) or out-group culture (individualistic culture), in a more outskirts area (rural village) or in a city (industrial area), there exists a 'biologically-based emotion expression linkage' that is universal across cultures.

Additionally, grief in this study only correlated with emotional expression in collectivistic countries and not in individualistic countries and one may wonder as to why this is

the case. One explanation for this finding may come from the existence of display rules in collectivistic countries alone, and the relationship of display rules to emotional flexibility.

According to the Matsumoto (2008), display rules are one of the ways to characterize cultural differences in emotional expression. Depending on the situations and contexts, people learn, early in their lives, these norms which govern emotional display (Ekman et al., 1969). We previously mentioned Ekman's (1972) study on American and Japanese subjects, and results showed that the Japanese tend to smile/frown more because of display rules, and Matsumoto and Kupperbusch (2001) also showed that participants from a collectivistic country are more likely to mask both their negative and positive emotions, unlike participants from an individualistic country. Emotional flexibility is the ability to flexibly enhance whereas suppressing of emotions is a primary mean of modulating emotional responses to a situation (Bonanno, 2001). Hence, since display rules are learned early in life, and effect emotional responses to various situations, one may conclude from the definition provided by Bonanno, that emotional flexibility is affected by these rules as well

Cumulatively, display rules affect emotion flexibility, which in return, relates to grief in collectivistic countries. This is in line with previous research, associating emotional flexibility with poorer adjustments after aversive events (Bonanno, 2004, Westphal et al., 2010). In addition, Gupta and colleagues (2011) studied emotional flexibility in contexts of bereavement. In his study, emotional flexibility was studied in an objective way, rather than in contexts that are more closely related to real-life situations. Nevertheless, results showed that bereaved people suffering from complicated grief were less emotionally flexible than control subjects.

Hence, one may conclude through ways of deduction that the existence of a relationship between the scores of the two subjects (emotional expression and grief) in collectivistic countries

alone may be explained by the effect of display rules on emotional flexibility, acting as a mediator with grief.

Although the findings did not support our hypotheses, they have added value to the subject of emotional expression and grief. Very few studies have assessed emotional expression in bereavement in within-country differences, and none have studied the interaction of the cultural factors. This goes beyond studying the general cultural characteristics (i.e., collectivism/individualism) and adds specific cultural differences in within-areas.

The study encountered some limitations that may not be considered as essential, but as good remarks to take into consideration in future research. Firstly, the questionnaires may have had stronger reliability and validity if they were translated by official translators, rather than native speakers in the research study.

Another limitation is the inclusion of only four countries while carrying out a cross-cultural study on bereavement. In order to obtain a better view of differences, it may have been more useful to include more countries as well as participants. More participants may lead to more diversity in within-area differences, which also may result in higher differences or similarities within subjects.

An important question for future research on emotional expression in bereavement and the effect of culture on it, is to what extent do display norms mediate or explain the relationship between expression and grief or not. A growing body of evidence supports the existence of relationship between emotional flexibility and grief, but an addition fine-grained analysis of culture could offer new insights.

In summary, the current investigation reports the first effort to examine whether there is an association between different cultural factors and emotional expression in bereavement. The

results demonstrated that bereaved people from different cultural countries or areas show similarity in emotional expression, and there was no significant interaction between the factors. Further research is needed to replicate the findings, taking into account emotional flexibility and display norms of bereaved subjects in different cultural contexts.

References:

- Bard, K. (2003). Development of emotional expressions in chimpanzees (*Pan troglodytes*).
In Emotions inside out: 130 years after Darwin's the expression of the emotions in man and animals. New York Academy of Sciences.
- Bellah, R., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W., Swidler, A., & Tipton, S. (1985). *Habits of the heart: Individualism and commitment in American life*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Biddle, C. (2012). Individualism vs. collectivism: Our future, our choice. *The Objective Standard*, 7(1).
- Boelen, P. A., van den Bout, J., & de Keijser, J. (2003). Traumatic grief as a disorder distinct from bereavement-related depression and anxiety: a replication study with bereaved mental health care patients. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 160, 1339- 1341.
- Bonanno, G. A. (2001). Emotion self-regulation. In T. J. Mayne & G. A. Bonanno (Eds.), *Emotions: Current issues and future directions* (pp. 251–285). New York: Guilford Press.
- Bonanno, G. A. (2004). Loss, trauma, and human resilience: Have we underestimated the human capacity to thrive after extremely aversive events? *American Psychologist*, 59, 20 –28.
- Burrows, A. M., Waller, B. M., Parr, L. A., & Bonar, C. J. (2006). Muscles of facial expression in the chimpanzee (*Pan troglodytes*): descriptive, comparative and phylogenetic contexts. *Journal of anatomy*, 208(2), 153-167.

- Eid, M., & Diener, E. (2001). Norms for experiencing emotions in different cultures: inter-and intranational differences. *Journal of Personality and social Psychology*, 81(5), 869.
- Ekman, P. (1971). Universals and cultural differences in facial expressions of emotion. In Nebraska symposium on motivation. University of Nebraska Press.
- Galati, D., Miceli, R., & Sini, B. (2001). Judging and coding facial expression of emotions in congenitally blind children. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 25(3), 268-278.
- Goleman, D. (1998). Working with emotional intelligence. Bantam.
- Gross, J. J. (2002). Emotion regulation: Affective, cognitive, and social consequences. *Psychophysiology*, 39(3), 281-291.
- Gross, J. J., John, O. P., & Richards, J. (1995). Berkeley expressivity questionnaire. Edwin Mellen Press.
- Gross, J.J., & John, O.P. (1997). Revealing feelings: Facets of emotional expressivity in self-reports, peer ratings, and behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72, 435-448.
- Gupta, S., & Bonanno, G. A. (2011). Complicated grief and deficits in emotional expressive flexibility. *Journal of abnormal psychology*, 120(3), 635.
- Hsu, F. L. K. (1983). Rugged individualism reconsidered. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press
- Jupp, P. 2006 From Dust to Ashes: Cremation and the British Way of Death, Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kagitcibasi, C. (1994). A critical appraisal of individualism and collectivism: Toward a new formulation. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S.-C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.),

- Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications (pp. 52–65). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Kendler, K. S., Halberstadt, L. J., Butera, F., Myers, J., Bouchard, T., & Ekman, P. (2008). The similarity of facial expressions in response to emotion-inducing films in reared-apart twins. *Psychological medicine*, 38(10), 1475-1483.
- Kim, U. (1994). Individualism and collectivism: Conceptual clarification and elaboration. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications* (pp. 19–40). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological review*, 98(2), 224.
- Matsumoto, D. (1989). Cultural influences on the perception of emotion. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 20(1), 92-105.
- Matsumoto, D., & Juang, L. (2016). *Culture and psychology*. Nelson Education.
- Matsumoto, D., & Kupperbusch, C. (2001). Idiocentric and allocentric differences in emotional expression, experience, and the coherence between expression and experience. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 4(2), 113-131.
- Matsumoto, D., Yoo, S. H., & Nakagawa, S. (2008). Culture, emotion regulation, and adjustment. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 94(6), 925.
- Mikolajczak, M., Menil, C., & Luminet, O. (2007). Explaining the protective effect of trait emotional intelligence regarding occupational stress: Exploration of emotional labour processes. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 41(5), 1107-1117.

- Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological bulletin*, 128(1), 3.
- Prigerson, H. G., Maciejewski, P. K., Reynolds, C. F. III, Bierhals, A. J., Newsom, J. T., Fasiczka, A., Frank, E., Doman, J., & Miller, M. (1995). The inventory of complicated grief: a scale to measure maladaptive symptoms of loss. *Psychiatry Research*, 59(1-2), 65-79.
- Russell, J. A. (1994). Is there universal recognition of emotion from facial expression? A review of the cross-cultural studies. *Psychological bulletin*, 115(1), 102.
- Walter, T. (1999). *On bereavement: The culture of grief*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
- Walter, T. (2007). Modern grief, postmodern grief. *International Review of Sociology—Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, 17(1), 123-134.
- Walter, T. (2012). Why different countries manage death differently: A comparative analysis of modern urban societies. *The British journal of sociology*, 63(1), 123-145.
- Westphal, M., Seivert, N. H., & Bonanno, G. A. (2010). Expressive flexibility. *Emotion*, 10(1), 92–100.
- Wouters, C. (2002). The quest for new rituals in dying and mourning: Changes in the we-I balance. *Body & Society*, 8(1), 1-27.

Appendix A

Berkeley Expressivity Questionnaire (English)

For each statement, please indicate your agreement or disagreement

----- 1						
2	3	4	5	6	7	
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

- ___ Whenever I feel positive emotions, people can easily see exactly what I am feeling.
- ___ I sometimes cry during sad movies.
- ___ People often do not know what I am feeling.
- ___ I laugh out loud when someone tells me a joke that I think is funny.
- ___ It is difficult for me to hide my fear.
- ___ When I'm happy, my feelings show.
- ___ My body reacts very strongly to emotional situations.
- ___ I've learned it is better to suppress my anger than to show it.
- ___ No matter how nervous or upset I am, I tend to keep a calm exterior.
- ___ I am an emotionally expressive person.
- ___ I have strong emotions.
- ___ I am sometimes unable to hide my feelings, even though I would like to.
- ___ Whenever I feel negative emotions, people can easily see exactly what I am feeling.
- ___ There have been times when I have not been able to stop crying even though I tried to stop.
- ___ I experience my emotions very strongly.
- ___ What I'm feeling is written all over my face.

Berkeley Expressivity Questionnaire (Dutch)

De volgende items gaan over emoties. Wilt u alstublieft aangeven in hoeverre u het eens bent met de volgende stellingen?

----- 1						
2	3	4	5	6	7	
Helemaal niet mee eens			Neutraal			Helemaal mee eens

- ___ Wanneer ik positieve emoties ervaar, kunnen mensen precies zien wat ik voel.
- ___ Ik huil soms tijdens zielige of treurige films.
- ___ Mensen weten vaak niet wat ik voel.
- ___ Als ik vind dat iemand een grappige grap vertelt, lach ik hardop.
- ___ Ik vind het moeilijk om mijn angst te verbergen.
- ___ Wanneer ik gelukkig ben, kan ik dat merken aan mijn gevoelens.
- ___ Mijn lichaam reageert heel sterk op emotionele situaties.
- ___ Ik heb geleerd dat het beter is om mijn boosheid te onderdrukken dan het te laten zien.
- ___ Hoe nerveus of van slag ik ook ben ik laat dat niet zien aan de buitenkant.
- ___ Ik ben een emotioneel expressief persoon.
- ___ Ik heb sterke emoties.
- ___ Ik kan mijn gevoelens soms niet verbergen, hoe graag ik dat ook zou willen.
- ___ Wanneer ik negatieve emoties ervaar, kunnen mensen precies zien wat ik voel.
- ___ Het is voorgekomen dat ik niet meer kon stoppen met huilen, hoewel ik het wel heb geprobeerd.
- ___ Ik ervaar mijn emoties heel erg sterk.
- ___ Wat ik voel, zie je heel goed terug komen in mijn gezichtsexpressies.

Berkeley Expressivity Questionnaire (Serbian)

Ovo je lista stavki koje se odnose na na?in do?ivljavanja i ispoljavanja emocija. Molimo vas da pažljivo pro?itate svaku stavku i obele?ite stepen u kom se ona osnosi na vas

----- 1						
2	3	4	5	6	7	
strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree

___ Kada god ose?am pozitivne emocije, ljudi lako mogu i da vide ?ta ta?no ose?am

___ Ponekad pla?em na tu?ne filmove

___ Ljudi ?esto ne znaju ?ta ose?am

___ Naglas se smejem kada mi neko ispri?a vic za koji mislim da je veoma sme?an

___ Te?ko mi je da sakrijem svoj strah

___ Kada sam sre?an/na, to se i vidi

___ Moje telo veoma sna?no reaguje u emotivnim situacijama

___ Nau?io/la sam da je bolje da potisnem ljutnju nego da je poka?em

___ Bez obzira na to koliko sam nervozan/na ili uznemiren/na, uglavnom uspevam da

___ izgedam smireno

___ Ja sam osoba koja ispoljava svoje emocije

___ Moje emocije su sna?ne

___ Ponekad nisam u stanju da sakrijem svoje emocije, iako bih to ?eleo/la

___ Kada god ose?am negativne emocije, ljudi lako mogu i da vide ?ta ta?no ose?am

___ De?avalo mi se da ne mogu da prestanem da pla?em, iako sam to poku?ao/la

___ Intenzivno do?ivljam svoje emocije

___ Ono ?to ose?am ocrtava se i na mom licu

___ I see the person who died stand before me

___ I feel that it is unfair that I should live when this person died

___ I feel bitter over this person's death

___ I feel envious of others who have not lost someone close

Inventory of Complicated Grief (Dutch)

	1	2	3	4	0
Nooit		Soms		Altijd	

De onderstaande stellingen geven reacties weer die voor kunnen komen na het overlijden van een dierbaar persoon. Wilt u bij elk van de stellingen aangeven in welke mate u van deze reacties last hebt gehad? Nooit = minder dan 1 keer in de maand, zelden = meer dan 1 keer in de maand, maar minder dan 1 keer per week, Soms = meer dan wekelijks, maar minder dan dagelijks, Vaak = bijna dagelijks, Altijd = meer dan 1 keer per dag

___ Ik denk zo veel aan hem/haar dat het moeilijk voor me is de dingen te doen die ik normaal doe

___ Herinneringen aan hem/haar maken me van streek

___ Ik kan zijn/haar dood niet aanvaarden.

___ Ik voel een sterk verlangen naar hem/haar.

___ Ik voel me naar de plaatsen en dingen toegetrokken die verband houden met hem/haar.

___ Ik kan er niets aan doen, maar ik ben boos over zijn/haar dood.

___ Ik kan nauwelijks geloven dat hij/zij dood is.

___ Ik voel me verbijsterd of verdoofd over zijn/haar dood.

___ Sinds hij/zij overleden is, vind ik het moeilijk om mensen te vertrouwen.

___ Sinds hij/zij overleden is, heb ik het gevoel dat ik niet meer om anderen kan geven of voel ik afstand tot de mensen om wie ik geef.

___ Ik heb pijn op dezelfde plaatsen in mijn lichaam, of ik heb dezelfde (ziekte)symptomen als de overledene had.

___ Ik doe alles om maar niet aan hem/ haar herinnerd te worden .

___ Ik vind het leven leeg en zonder betekenis zonder hem/haar.

___ Ik hoor hem/haar tegen mij praten.

___ Ik zie hem/haar voor me staan.

___ Ik vind het niet eerlijk dat ik nog leef, terwijl hij/zij dood is.

___ Ik voel me bitter gestemd over zijn/haar dood.

___ Ik ben jaloers op andere mensen die niet een dierbare hebben verloren.

___ Ik voel me eenzaam sinds hij/zij is overleden.

Inventory of Complicated Grief (Serbian)

Ovo je lista stavki vezana za moguća osećanja, koja se mogu javiti nakon gubitka drage osobe. Molimo vas da pažljivo pročitate svaku stavku i obeležite vremensku količinu koja najviše odgovara vašem iskustvu nakon gubitka drage osobe u toku proteklog meseca

----- 0

	1	2	3	4
Nikad		Ponekad		Uvek

___ Toliko mislim na dragu osobu, da mi je teško da radim sve ono što bih inače radio/la

___ Sećanja na dragu osobu me uznemiruju

___ Teško mi je da prihvatim smrt drage osobe

___ Žeznem za dragom osobom

___ Vezan/na sam za mesta i stvari u vezi sa dragom osobom

___ Ne mogu a da ne budem ljut/a zbog onoga što se desilo

___ U neverici sam zbog onoga što se desilo

___ Zatežen/na sam i zbunjen/na onime što se desilo

___ Nakon smrti drage osobe, teško mi je da verujem ljudima

___ Nakon smrti drage osobe, osećam se kao da je moja sposobnost da brinem za druge nestala, ili se osećam udaljeno od osoba do kojih mi je stalo

___ Boli me isti deo tela ili osećam iste simptome kao i dragu osobu pre njene smrti

___ Žinim šta god da je potrebno da izbegnem stvari koje me mogu podsetiti na dragu osobu

___ Nakon smrti drage osobe, život mi se žini veoma praznim

___ Žujem kako mi se draga osoba obraća

___ Vidim dragu osobu kako stoji ispred mene

___ Nakon smrti drage osobe, ose?am kao da je nepravedno da nastavim ?ivot

___ Ose?am se ogor?eno zbog smrti drage osobe

___ Zavidim ljudima koji nisu izgubili nikog bliskog

___ Nakon smrti drage osobe, ose?am se veoma usamljeno