The Founding of JCCP in 1970 and its Early Development

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Informal discussions about starting a refereed journal focusing on interactions between psychology and culture may have taken place for the first time during a small conference in Honolulu, Hawaii at the East-West Center in June, 1968. Its title was “Conference-Workshop on Psychological Problems in Changing Societies.” Primarily attended by U.S. and Asian psychologists, the late F. Kenneth Berrien of Rutgers University was the central figure in that conference. While a post-conference and mimeographed 113-page proceedings document was prepared, there seems to be no record of specific plans, at that time, to do anything about starting a journal under the auspices of that or any other group. Somewhat ironically, about 18 months earlier – from December 29, 1966 to January 5, 1967 – a conference with a similar agenda took place in Ibadan, Nigerian (see Triandis’ article in this unit). That small conference was attended primarily by social psychologists from a number of countries, but mainly African.

There was little or no overlap in those who attended these two seminal gatherings. The only lasting consequence of the Ibadan meeting seems to have been taking steps to inaugurate the Cross-Cultural Social Psychology Newsletter. Gleaning the pages of the first few issues, the Newsletter reported that it began publication by acting on a proposal made by Marshall Segall. A plenary session unanimously endorsed the idea. Harry Triandis was asked to be its first editor. As explained in the inaugural issue dated March 1967, it had a three-part editorial policy to include the following kinds of information:

1. to publish the travel plans of social psychologists in developing countries to present colloquia on their current research;
2. to inform readers of current research plans, including an overview of the research being planned;
3. to appeal for the initiation of cross-cultural replications and to report the results of them in future issues of the Newsletter.

After one year, Yasumasa Tanaka of Japan took over the editorship (again, see Triandis’ article). The CCSPN gradually evolved into the Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin, with Bill Gabrenya continuing to serve as editor. The Newsletter/Bulletin has been a mainstay of IACCP since the beginning, and currently is much more varied, attractively prepared and inclusive in its content than the original version.

The International Journal of Psychology, however, which was founded in 1966 and sponsored by the International Union of Psychological Science, had recently been launched. It, of course, and by dint of its title, was naturally willing to consider manuscripts that featured “culture” in some way. The IJP, under the editorship and encouragement of
France’s Germaine de Montmolin did, in fact, publish a number of culture-oriented manuscripts, and several of them proved to be important to the nascent development of cross-cultural psychology. I recall a rather pointed letter – of course in French – from Professor de Montmolin who, upon learning about our aspirations for JCCP, questioned the need for another journal that focused on culture. But this new quarterly journal, with a subvention from UNESCO, was not exclusively oriented toward “culture”, which is what JCCP wanted to do. Moreover, the Journal of Social Psychology, which began in the mid-1930s, also began accepting “culturally-oriented” articles (see Jahoda’s article in this unit). However, it, like the IJP, was not exclusively committed to culture as a central theme in everything it published. JSP, which at that time was edited by Leonard W. Doob of Yale University, encouraged culture-centered manuscripts. Moreover, he gave some additional attention to culture in a section at the end of most issues entitled “Cross-Cultural Notes.” Doob encouraged the submission of such notes, and he often rejected manuscripts while retaining and publishing (with, of course, the cooperation of the submitting author) some relatively small reports of cross-cultural interest (personal communication, 1974). And they were just that – notes of about one to three pages long that drew attention to interesting social psychological phenomena, but with some sort of cultural twist. Despite the spotty (but important) coverage offered by the IJP and JSP, and cross-cultural articles occasional found in American Psychological Association journals and journals supported by Canadian and British psychological associations, there certainly was no journal or periodical in psychology that focused entirely on culture as an important factor influencing all human thought and behavior. On the other hand, if the field of psychiatry is included in this historical overview, then the “grandfather” of all journals giving careful attention to culture was the quarterly Transcultural Psychiatric Research and Review. Inaugurated in 1956 at McGill University and still a quarterly publication, it is now known as Transcultural Psychiatry. What it publishes could probably best be described as the best of ethnopsychiatry. Articles it has published are only occasionally referenced in books and journals associated with cross-cultural psychology. We have, then, a glimpse of the “modern era” of the discipline of psychology prior to the mid to late 1960s that documented the relative paucity of featuring anything “cultural” in psychology journals as well as many texts. For instance, introductory psychology texts of the 1950s and 1960s were almost completely devoid of anything cultural. When some psychologist, usually an American, examined “intelligence” in another culture, or administered visual illusions to individuals in remote corners of the globe, or, like Sir Frederick Bartlett did in the 1930s, studied aspects of human memory involving people from the “unpsychologized” and generally remote parts of the world, the reports of such research were to be found if one searched for them in the psychological literature. Contributions like these were more often than not treated as anomalies – interesting and probably eye-catching or “clever” – but definitely not “mainstream.” In the first part of the 20th century rampant ethnocentrism and/or myopia in the discipline of psychology was evident. Gustav Jahoda, a pioneer in the psychological study of culture and Professor Emeritus of Psychology at Scotland’s University of Strathclyde, wrote colorfully and eloquently about this myopia during the earlier years when he wrote, in 1970, that the state
of affairs (meaning psychology’s constrained borders) reminds one of Parson Thwackum in *Tom Jones* (Henry Fielding’s humorous 1749 novel about a commoner being raised among the English nobility) who said, “When I mention religion, I mean the Christian religion; and not only the Christian religion, but the Protestant religion, and not only the Protestant religion but the Church of England.” This might be suitably transposed as “When I mention a psychological subject, I mean a subject from a western industrialized culture, and not only from a western industrialized culture, but an American, and not only an American, but a college student.” No doubt this is unfair, reflecting as it does the amount of work that has been done in the United States. Nonetheless, the excessive concentration on such an odd (as far as humanity at large is concerned) population makes one wonder about the range of application of the “laws” experimentally derived in this manner (p. 2).

Such was the general mood or status of “culture” in psychology during that period. I caught the cross-cultural bug in the early 1960s when I was indirectly influenced by certain enlightened professors while in graduate school at the University of Minnesota. That led to my first encounter with Europe (1965-1967), where I wanted to do my Ph.D dissertation because I preferred not to do another standard study in the U.S. in order to get the necessary ticket to professional jobs in psychology. And that I did do. About a year after returning to the U.S., I joined the faculty of (then) Western Washington State College in September, 1968. My goal was to become immersed in cross-cultural psychology and to do something about psychology’s general neglect of anything substantially “cultural.” In retrospect, however, I was naïve about the nature and scope of cross-cultural psychology and its potential. There were few resources to guide me and I certainly was not “connected” with any group of like-minded individuals. In fact, I knew only a few people who tended to identify with cross-cultural psychology (although they did not refer to themselves as cross-cultural psychologists). I mainly sensed that culture was too important a factor in the lives of people throughout the world to be generally ignored. I also sensed, like others at the Bremen symposium, that the serious study of psychology and culture could expand psychology’s horizons and enrich its potential as a discipline. Many queried, quite correctly, why psychology had not systematically included culture in its theories, musings, and applications.

Incidentally, it was precisely the other people involved in the Bremen symposium that I would like to have met in the 1960s. All of them had published quite sophisticated cross-cultural book chapters and articles in mainstream journals in the 1960s and two of them – Gustav Jahoda and Harry Triandis – published articles in the 1950s (Jahoda in 1954 and Triandis in 1958!). Marshall Segall was senior author (with Donald Campbell and Melville Herskovits) of *The Influence of Culture on Visual Perception*, published in 1966, and a book that many early cross-cultural psychologists coveted for its rich content. John Berry published, among other articles, “Temne and Eskimo Perceptual Skills” (based on his Ph.D. dissertation) and “On Cross-Cultural Comparability” (1966 and 1969, respectively, in the *International Journal of Psychology*). These two articles continue to be among the most frequently cited publications in cross-cultural psychology. Pieter Drenth had written about cultural factors in personnel selection in the 1960s, often with
references to African applications. These efforts were instrumental in his co-convening, with Lee Cronbach, a 1971 Istanbul conference that led to the influential book “Mental tests and cultural adaption” (see Drenth’s article in this unit). The main parts of my doctoral dissertation entitled “Cross-Cultural Measurement of Vocational Interests” was published in the American Psychologist in 1968¹. That study, which I believe was somewhat naïve by today’s methodological and conceptual standards, would have benefited tremendously by input from any or all of the above. But it was “on target” with its basic aim of putting to a crucial test the generalizability of E. K. Strong’s empirical way of measuring interests. It was thoroughly embedded in the “dustbowl of empiricism”, and I wondered how it would fare in other cultures. Collectively, the six of us who prepared papers for this group of articles have a total of more than 300 years of experience in the psychological study of culture. It took the inauguration of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Research and the numerous conferences that followed to bring us and many others together (see below).

The Continuation of Developments

In 1969 the Center for Cross-Cultural Research was started at Western (R. Meade and W. Lonner, co-founders). I accepted the challenge of starting a journal, to which we simply gave the title Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. As its Founding Editor I had a full-time teaching load and having never done anything like it before, was on a fast track to learn about the many things associated with starting and running a journal. Desiring guidance from others, I conducted a survey in 1969 of about 200 psychologists and others from many countries who appeared to be keenly interested in studying culture. Many of them, as noted above, had already published culture-centered papers. About 97% of returns were positive. Ironically, Harry Triandis and John Berry, and a few others, were not in favor of starting a new and totally culture-oriented journal. They tended to favor, as they already had done with their own research, using existing journals for this purpose. Counterbalancing the dissenters were strong endorsements from Margaret Mead, Sid Irvine, Leonard Doob, Donald Campbell, Stanley Milgram, Simon Biesheuvel and others whose experiences and publications were influential. I went with the “yeasayers”. Thus, by mid1969 I formed the initial Editorial Advisory Board. Harrison Gough (UC Berkeley), Daniel Katz (University of Michigan) and Yasumasa Tanaka (Japan) accepted my invitation to be Associate Editors. Thirty-six scholars from numerous cultures and various disciplines, but mainly from psychology, accepted my invitations to be consulting editors.

¹ In the same issue of the American Psychologist there was an article, right after mine, by Martin Luther King Jr. entitled “The Role of the Behavioral Scientist in the Civil Rights Movement”. On April 4, 1968, just weeks after that issue appeared, Reverend King was assassinated. Two months later, on June 6, Robert F. Kennedy met the same fate. The explosive and fateful year of 1968 was one of the most tumultuous years in the history of the United States, with reverberations heard throughout the world. The entire decade of the 1960s, in retrospect, immensely helped create the mood for such things as JCCP and other factors that lead to the inauguration of IACCP and other incentives that involved the psychological study of people from other cultures and nations. The timing seemed perfect, in retrospect, for the launching of a journal that indeed wanted to publish solid material that resulted from enlightened research by dedicated and talented scholars.
Psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, psychiatrists, and criminologists were on the initial editorial advisory board. In the early days the subtitle of JCCP was "International and Interdisciplinary". Its initial slogan was "...to consult all that is human", which was part of a quote taken from an article by Gardner Murphy. Three members of the original EAB participated in the Bremen symposium: myself, John Berry, and Gustav Jahoda (Triandis joined later). Very few other members of the original EAB continue to be relatively active, and even they are certainly retired. Many have died. The following are highlights pertaining to the inauguration of JCCP:

- Modest, one-time “start-up” support was provided by Western’s Bureau for Faculty Research, with a friendly handshake and no reduction in my personal teaching load or other duties required of a full-time and relatively fresh academic. Numerous grant proposals to help start a culture-oriented journal were rejected. This meant that we had to be self-supporting.
- The first wave of subscriptions, numbering more than 1,000, were received in 1969. Many may have been attracted by the bargain inaugural subscription rates for the new quarterly journal. Annual rates: for Individuals: US $7; Institutions: $9.00. Three-year rates: $15.00 and $25.00 for individuals and institutions, respectively. **This included postage, both surface and domestic (U.S.) and air mail.** Western graciously assumed the postal expenses as part of its overall operating budget. Subscription rates were often “packaged” with the directories of cross-cultural research and researchers (e.g. cut rates or gratis directories) that Berry, then Berry and Lonner, and then Berry, Lonner and Leroux put together (see Berry’s article in this unit).
- I designed the “compass” logo in December 1969, a month after our second child, Alyssa, was born. She is now on the faculty at Wake Forest University (in the Department of German and Russian). The logo was soon to be co-opted as the logo of IACCP (see above).
- All of the processing: editing, correspondence, solicitation of subscriptions, mailing, and bookkeeping were done at Western, with only modest support from staff or students. The first three years (12 issues) were printed by Union Printing Company in Bellingham. The cost of printing 1,500 copies of first issue: was $1,486.93 – slightly less than $1.00 per unit. Single copies could be purchased for $3.00, **including postage.**
- Approximately 90 manuscripts were submitted the first year. Currently well more than 300 unsolicited manuscripts are received annually, not counting those that are part of special issues. Most of the current generation of manuscripts have benefitted immensely from increased sophistication in how to conceptualize and conduct cross-
cultural research. The rejection rate initially was about 75% (a figure that basically has remained unchanged over the years). Reviews and evaluations were mediated by mail only (the internet was still science fiction). Those over age 60 will remember typewriters and onion skin copies and mimeograph machines, as well as sometimes frightfully slow postal service.

- The title of first manuscript was: “Clinical Psychology in an African Context” (rejected). The title of first accepted article was: “A Cross-National Comparison of Cognitive Conflict.”

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**IACCP Enters the Picture**

In a sense, JCCP and IACCP “grew up” together. For the first two years JCCP was basically on its own and not attached to any particular group of individuals beyond the three or four at Western Washington State College who were early associates of the Center. Then in 1971 John L. M. B. Dawson led an initiative to establish IACCP. That year I had some correspondence with Dawson, whom I had never met, regarding JCCP becoming part of the effort he had in mind. IACCP’s first meeting was at the University of Hong Kong, August 1972. JCCP became associated with IACCP the same year. WWSC
essentially permitted IACCP to call JCCP its “official publication”, with WWSC retaining copyrighted ownership. Sage Publications, a young family-owned publishing company in Beverly Hills, California, approached me in 1972 and inquired about becoming JCCP’s publisher. I met with Sara Miller McCune, co-founder of Sage, that summer, just weeks before the inaugural IACCP meeting. During the Hong Kong meeting we discussed this potential three-way relationship. Shortly after that meeting Sage was officially JCCP’s publisher, thus becoming the 8th journal published by Sage (it now publishes more than 400). Volume 4, No. 1 (1973) was the first issue published by Sage. Since then, the growth and influence of JCCP became increasingly noticeable. Because of increasing demands for limited space, JCCP started bi-monthly publication in 1995. Subsequently, in 2000 the trim size and usable printed pages increased to its present format.

Other Particulars of Historical Interest

Chronologically, JCCP’s editors have been W. J. Lonner (1970-82); R. S. Malpass (1982-86), J. G. Draguns (1987-90), J. E. Williams (1991-95), P. B. Smith (1996-2001), F. J. R van de Vijver (2002-mid-2007), and D. Matsumoto (mid-2007-present). I have retained a central role in JCCP, using the title Founding and Special Issues Editor. A number of special sections and special issues have been published. About 180 scholars have served on the EAB, either as associate editors or consulting editors.

A most significant development took place in 2004. Sage purchased the JCCP copyright from Western after lengthy negotiations that began in 2003 during a regional IACCP meeting in Budapest. IACCP and Sage immediately entered into a publication agreement, and Western Washington University, while enjoying the financial benefits of the transaction, officially terminated its 34-year ownership and identification with JCCP and IACCP. Royalties accruing to IACCP are used for a number of activities that the Association could not afford in the past. I sincerely wish the financial arrangements could have been more generous to IACCP. The association and the dedicated and committed international community of culture-oriented psychologists, especially IACCP members, deserves it. JCCP’s 40th year began in January, 2009. But at the time of the Bremen conference JCCP activities were already in their 41st year. The Journal boasts a high “citation index” and arguably can claim “primacy”, or at least leadership, in the publication of the results of cross-cultural research.

I wish to thank the many scholars who have served on the editorial advisory board, especially those who served as associate editors and book review editors. JCCP simply could not have survived without them. It has been quite an experience to work with so many dedicated and talented people. I wish also to thank IACCP for providing a stable and
I hope enduring “home” for JCCP. It is completely up to IACCP and the EAB to make this happen. It is important that JCCP continues to develop along the lines originally envisioned, and to do so with the most enlightened methodology – both quantitative and qualitative – and conceptual clarity that culturally-oriented psychologists can muster.

I am grateful to Western Washington University for serving as JCCP’s institutional home from the late 1960s to May 5, 2004 – the official date of the sale of the copyright to Sage. I especially want to thank Merle E. Meyer, chair of the Department of Psychology who said “go for it” (that is, for the inauguration of JCCP as well as for a career oriented around cross-cultural psychology) shortly after I joined Western’s faculty in 1968 and to Peter J. Elich who, during his period as chairperson of the department in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and later as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, supported me in various ways.

I thank all present and future members of the EAB who will play a continuing role in the further development and continued importance JCCP. Hard work is especially critical now that all psychology journals have “found” culture. And I thank my wife, Marilyn, for putting up with me and JCCP in a career-long “labor of love”. My involvement and immersion were quite intense for a long time and Marilyn showed great patience. But I believe that the benefits have been well worth the effort, and I hope that the international cross-cultural community agrees with me and will carry the torch with the enthusiasm and hard work it will continue to demand. The slogan, “...to consult all that is human”, a guiding slogan I used in the first issue, is perhaps even more important today.

Reference