

Stanford



Hazel Markus

Davis-Brack Professor of the Behavioral Sciences
Psychology

Curriculum Vitae available Online

Bio

BIO

Hazel Rose Markus is the Davis-Brack Professor in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. Her research focuses on the role of self in regulating behavior and on the ways in which the social world shapes the self. Her work examines how cultures, including those of nation or region of origin, gender, social class, race, ethnicity, religion, and occupation, shape thought, feeling, and action.

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

- Professor, Psychology

PROGRAM AFFILIATIONS

- Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

- Ph.D., University of Michigan , Psychology

LINKS

- Personal website: <http://web.stanford.edu/~hazelm///>

Research & Scholarship

CURRENT RESEARCH AND SCHOLARLY INTERESTS

My research focuses on the role of self in regulating behavior and on the ways in which the social world shapes the self. My work examines how cultures, including those of nation or region of origin, gender, social class, race, ethnicity, religion, and occupation, shape thought, feeling, and action.

Teaching

COURSES

2023-24

- Graduate Seminar in Social Psychology Research: PSYCH 258 (Aut, Win, Spr)
- Intergroup Communication Facilitation: CSRE 103F, PSYCH 103F, PSYCH 203F (Aut)
- Mind, Culture, and Society: PSYCH 215 (Win)
- The Sociocultural Shaping of Psychological Experience: PSYCH 144 (Spr)

2022-23

- Graduate Seminar in Social Psychology Research: PSYCH 258 (Aut, Win, Spr)
- Intergroup Communication Facilitation: CSRE 103F, PSYCH 103F, PSYCH 203F (Aut)
- Mind, Culture, and Society: PSYCH 215 (Aut)
- The Sociocultural Shaping of Psychological Experience: PSYCH 144 (Win)

2021-22

- Graduate Seminar in Social Psychology Research: PSYCH 258 (Aut, Win, Spr)
- Intergroup Communication: CSRE 103, PSYCH 103 (Aut, Spr)
- Intergroup Communication Facilitation: CSRE 103F, PSYCH 103F (Aut, Spr)
- Mind, Culture, and Society: PSYCH 215 (Aut)

2020-21

- Graduate Seminar in Social Psychology Research: PSYCH 258 (Aut, Win, Spr)
- Intergroup Communication: CSRE 103, PSYCH 103 (Aut)
- Intergroup Communication Facilitation: CSRE 103F, PSYCH 103F (Aut, Spr)
- Mind, Culture, and Society: PSYCH 215 (Win)

STANFORD ADVISEES

Leslie Remache

Doctoral Dissertation Reader (AC)

Sai Auelua-Toomey, Julie Cachia, Ayo Dada, Maggie Harrington, Joseph Moore, Huan Wang

Postdoctoral Faculty Sponsor

Efrain Garcia Sanchez

Doctoral Dissertation Advisor (AC)

Jenny Yang

Doctoral Dissertation Co-Advisor (AC)

Jacqueline Jenkins, Kengthsagn Louis

Doctoral (Program)

Monisha Dhingra

Postdoctoral Research Mentor

Chunchen Xu

Publications

PUBLICATIONS

- **Use of Crowdsourced Online Surveys to Study the Impact of Architectural and Design Choices on Wellbeing** *Frontiers in Sustainable Cities*
Altaf, B., Bianchi, E., Douglas, I. P., Douglas, K., Byers, B., Paredes, P. E., Ardooin, N. M., Markus, H. R., Murnane, E. L., Bencharit, L. Z., Landay, J. A., Billington, S. L.
2022: 19
- **'Better policies for better lives'?: constructive critique of the OECD's (mis)measure of student well-being** *JOURNAL OF EDUCATION POLICY*
Rappleye, J., Komatsu, H., Uchida, Y., Krys, K., Markus, H.
2020; 35 (2): 258–82

- **The Paradoxical Consequences of Choice: Often Good for the Individual, Perhaps Less So for Society?** *CURRENT DIRECTIONS IN PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE*
Madan, S., Nanakdewa, K., Savani, K., Markus, H.
2019
- **Race influences professional investors' financial judgments.** *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*
Lyons-Padilla, S., Markus, H. R., Monk, A., Radhakrishna, S., Shah, R., Dodson, N. A., Eberhardt, J. L.
2019
- **The Rise of Opportunity Markets: How Did It Happen & What Can We Do?** *DAEDALUS*
Grusky, D. B., Hall, P. A., Markus, H.
2019; 148 (3): 19–45
- **Understanding Culture Clashes and Catalyzing Change: A Culture Cycle Approach.** *Frontiers in psychology*
Hamedani, M. Y., Markus, H. R.
2019; 10: 700
- **Understanding Culture Clashes and Catalyzing Change: A Culture Cycle Approach** *FRONTIERS IN PSYCHOLOGY*
Hamedani, M. G., Markus, H.
2019; 10
- **Americans' Health Mindsets: Content, Cultural Patterning, and Associations With Physical and Mental Health** *ANNALS OF BEHAVIORAL MEDICINE*
Conner, A. L., Boles, D. Z., Markus, H., Eberhardt, J. L., Crum, A. J.
2019; 53 (4): 321–32
- **Students of color show health advantages when they attend schools that emphasize the value of diversity** *PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*
Levine, C. S., Markus, H., Austin, M. K., Chen, E., Miller, G. E.
2019; 116 (13): 6013–18
- **Americans' Health Mindsets: Content, Cultural Patterning, and Associations With Physical and Mental Health.** *Annals of behavioral medicine : a publication of the Society of Behavioral Medicine*
Conner, A. L., Boles, D. Z., Markus, H. R., Eberhardt, J. L., Crum, A. J.
2019; 53 (4): 321–32
- **Students of color show health advantages when they attend schools that emphasize the value of diversity.** *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*
Levine, C. S., Markus, H. R., Austin, M. K., Chen, E., Miller, G. E.
2019
- **The Psychology of Neoliberalism and the Neoliberalism of Psychology** *JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES*
Adams, G., Estrada-Villalta, S., Sullivan, D., Markus, H.
2019; 75 (1): 189–216
- **Feeling excited or taking a bath: Do distinct pathways underlie the positive affect-health link in the U.S. and Japan?** *Emotion (Washington, D.C.)*
Clobert, M., Sims, T. L., Yoo, J., Miyamoto, Y., Markus, H. R., Karasawa, M., Levine, C. S.
2019
- **Culture and Social Hierarchy: Self- and Other-Oriented Correlates of Socioeconomic Status Across Cultures** *JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Miyamoto, Y., Yoo, J., Levine, C. S., Park, J., Boylan, J., Sims, T., Markus, H., Kitayama, S., Kawakami, N., Karasawa, M., Coe, C. L., Love, G. D., Ryff, et al
2018; 115 (3): 427–45
- **Behavioral Adjustment Moderates the Link Between Neuroticism and Biological Health Risk: A US-Japan Comparison Study** *PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY BULLETIN*
Kitayama, S., Park, J., Miyamoto, Y., Date, H., Boylan, J., Markus, H. R., Karasawa, M., Kawakami, N., Coe, C. L., Love, G. D., Ryff, C. D.
2018; 44 (6): 809–22
- **Hypocrisy and culture: Failing to practice what you preach receives harsher interpersonal reactions in independent (vs. interdependent) cultures** *JOURNAL OF EXPERIMENTAL SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Effron, D. A., Markus, H., Jackman, L. M., Muramoto, Y., Muluk, H.

2018; 76: 371–84

- **Social class shapes the form and function of relationships and selves** *CURRENT OPINION IN PSYCHOLOGY*
Carey, R. M., Markus, H.
2017; 18: 123–30
- **Editorial overview: Inequality and social class: The psychological and behavioral consequences of inequality and social class: a theoretical integration** *CURRENT OPINION IN PSYCHOLOGY*
Markus, H., Stephens, N. M.
2017; 18: IV-xii
- **Choice as an Engine of Analytic Thought** *JOURNAL OF EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY-GENERAL*
Savani, K., Stephens, N. M., Markus, H.
2017; 146 (9): 1234–46
- **In This Together: Doing and Undoing Inequality and Social Class Divides** *JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES*
Markus, H. R.
2017; 73 (1): 211-221
- **American = Independent? Perspectives on psychological science : a journal of the Association for Psychological Science**
Markus, H. R.
2017; 12 (5): 855–66
- **Culture and Healthy Eating: The Role of Independence and Interdependence in the United States and Japan** *PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY BULLETIN*
Levine, C. S., Miyamoto, Y., Markus, H. R., Rigotti, A., Boylan, J. M., Park, J., Kitayama, S., Karasawa, M., Kawakami, N., Coe, C. L., Love, G. D., Ryff, C. D.
2016; 42 (10): 1335-1348
- **Understanding consumer psychology in working-class contexts** *JOURNAL OF CONSUMER PSYCHOLOGY*
Carey, R. M., Markus, H. R.
2016; 26 (4): 568-582
- **Social class matters: A rejoinder** *JOURNAL OF CONSUMER PSYCHOLOGY*
Carey, R. M., Markus, H. R.
2016; 26 (4): 599-602
- **Teaching a lay theory before college narrows achievement gaps at scale** *PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*
Yeager, D. S., Walton, G. M., Brady, S. T., Akcinar, E. N., Paunesku, D., Keane, L., Kamentz, D., Ritter, G., Duckworth, A. L., Urstein, R., Gomez, E. M., Markus, H. R., Cohen, et al
2016; 113 (24): E3341-E3348
- **What moves people to action? Culture and motivation.** *Current opinion in psychology*
Markus, H. R.
2016; 8: 161–66
- **"Two Souls, Two Thoughts," Two Self-Schemas: Double Consciousness Can Have Positive Academic Consequences for African Americans** *JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Brannon, T. N., Markus, H. R., Taylor, V. J.
2015; 108 (4): 586-609
- **Expression of Anger and Ill Health in Two Cultures: An Examination of Inflammation and Cardiovascular Risk** *PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE*
Kitayama, S., Park, J., Boylan, J. M., Miyamoto, Y., Levine, C. S., Markus, H. R., Karasawa, M., Coe, C. L., Kawakami, N., Love, G. D., Ryff, C. D.
2015; 26 (2): 211-220
- **Feeling at Home in College: Fortifying School-Relevant Selves to Reduce Social Class Disparities in Higher Education** *SOCIAL ISSUES AND POLICY REVIEW*
Stephens, N. M., Brannon, T. N., Markus, H. R., Nelson, J. E.
2015; 9 (1): 1-24
- **Culture, inequality, and health: evidence from the MIDUS and MIDJA comparison.** *Culture and brain*

Ryff, C. D., Miyamoto, Y. n., Boylan, J. M., Coe, C. L., Karasawa, M. n., Kawakami, N. n., Kan, C. n., Love, G. D., Levine, C. n., Markus, H. R., Park, J. n., Kitayama, S. n.
2015; 3 (1): 1–20

• **Just how bad negative affect is for your health depends on culture.** *Psychological science*

Curhan, K. B., Sims, T., Markus, H. R., Kitayama, S., Karasawa, M., Kawakami, N., Love, G. D., Coe, C. L., Miyamoto, Y., Ryff, C. D.
2014; 25 (12): 2277-2280

• **Subjective and Objective Hierarchies and Their Relations to Psychological Well-Being: A U.S./Japan Comparison** *SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PERSONALITY SCIENCE*

Curhan, K. B., Levine, C. S., Markus, H. R., Kitayama, S., Park, J., Karasawa, M., Kawakami, N., Love, G. D., Coe, C. L., Miyamoto, Y., Ryff, C. D.
2014; 5 (8): 855-864

• **Subjective and Objective Hierarchies and Their Relations to Psychological Well-Being: A U.S./Japan Comparison.** *Social psychological and personality science*

Curhan, K. B., Levine, C. S., Markus, H. R., Kitayama, S., Park, J., Karasawa, M., Kawakami, N., Love, G. D., Coe, C. L., Miyamoto, Y., Ryff, C. D.
2014; 5 (8): 855-864

• **Preferences Don't Have to Be Personal: Expanding Attitude Theorizing With a Cross-Cultural Perspective** *PSYCHOLOGICAL REVIEW*

Riemer, H., Shavitt, S., Koo, M., Markus, H. R.
2014; 121 (4): 619-648

• **Preferences don't have to be personal: expanding attitude theorizing with a cross-cultural perspective.** *Psychological review*

Riemer, H., Shavitt, S., Koo, M., Markus, H. R.
2014; 121 (4): 619-48

• **My Mother and Me: Why Tiger Mothers Motivate Asian Americans But Not European Americans** *PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY BULLETIN*

Fu, A. S., Markus, H. R.
2014; 40 (6): 739-749

• **My Mother and Me: Why Tiger Mothers Motivate Asian Americans But Not European Americans.** *Personality & social psychology bulletin*

Fu, A. S., Markus, H. R.
2014; 40 (6): 739-749

• **Obscuring Gender Bias with "Choice"** *SCIENCE*

Conner, A. L., Cook, K. S., Correll, S. J., Markus, H. R., Moss-Racusin, C. A., Muller, C. B., Raymond, J. L., Simard, C.
2014; 343 (6176): 1200-1200

• **Psychological Resources as Mediators of the Association Between Social Class and Health: Comparative Findings from Japan and the USA** *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF BEHAVIORAL MEDICINE*

Kan, C., Kawakami, N., Karasawa, M., Love, G. D., Coe, C. L., Miyamoto, Y., Ryff, C. D., Kitayama, S., Curhan, K. B., Markus, H. R.
2014; 21 (1): 53-65

• **Social Class Culture Cycles: How Three Gateway Contexts Shape Selves and Fuel Inequality** *ANNUAL REVIEW OF PSYCHOLOGY, VOL 65*

Stephens, N. M., Markus, H. R., Phillips, L. T.
2014; 65: 611-634

• **Social Status and Anger Expression: The Cultural Moderation Hypothesis** *EMOTION*

Park, J., Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., Coe, C. L., Miyamoto, Y., Karasawa, M., Curhan, K. B., Love, G. D., Kawakami, N., Boylan, J. M., Ryff, C. D.
2013; 13 (6): 1122-1131

• **Negative emotions predict elevated interleukin-6 in the United States but not in Japan** *BRAIN BEHAVIOR AND IMMUNITY*

Miyamoto, Y., Boylan, J. M., Coe, C. L., Curhan, K. B., Levine, C. S., Markus, H. R., Park, J., Kitayama, S., Kawakami, N., Karasawa, M., Love, G. D., Ryff, C. D.
2013; 34: 79-85

• **Feeling close and doing well: The prevalence and motivational effects of interpersonally engaging emotions in Mexican and European American cultural contexts** *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY*

Savani, K., Alvarez, A., Mesquita, B., Markus, H. R.
2013; 48 (4): 682-694

- Who Explains Hurricane Katrina and the Chilean Earthquake as an Act of God? The Experience of Extreme Hardship Predicts Religious Meaning-Making *JOURNAL OF CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Stephens, N. M., Fryberg, S. A., Markus, H. R., Hamedani, M. G.
2013; 44 (4): 606-619
- Social Class and Race: Burdens but Also Some Benefits of Chronic Low Rank *PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY*
Brannon, T. N., Markus, H. R.
2013; 24 (2): 97-101
- In the Land of the Free, Interdependent Action Undermines Motivation *PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE*
Hamedani, M. G., Markus, H. R., Fu, A. S.
2013; 24 (2): 189-196
- Clarifying the links between social support and health: Culture, stress, and neuroticism matter *JOURNAL OF HEALTH PSYCHOLOGY*
Park, J., Kitayama, S., Karasawa, M., Curhan, K., Markus, H. R., Kawakami, N., Miyamoto, Y., Love, G. D., Coe, C. L., Ryff, C. D.
2013; 18 (2): 226-235
- How the Media Frames the Immigration Debate: The Critical Role of Location and Politics *ANALYSES OF SOCIAL ISSUES AND PUBLIC POLICY*
Fryberg, S. A., Stephens, N. M., Covarrubias, R., Markus, H. R., Carter, E. D., Laiduc, G. A., Salido, A. J.
2012; 12 (1): 96-112
- The Cultural Construction of Self and Well-Being: A Tale of Two Cities *PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY BULLETIN*
Plaut, V. C., Markus, H. R., Treadway, J. R., Fu, A. S.
2012; 38 (12): 1644-1658
- A cultural mismatch: Independent cultural norms produce greater increases in cortisol and more negative emotions among first-generation college students *JOURNAL OF EXPERIMENTAL SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Stephens, N. M., Townsend, S. S., Markus, H. R., Phillips, L. T.
2012; 48 (6): 1389-1393
- Social Class Disparities in Health and Education: Reducing Inequality by Applying a Sociocultural Self Model of Behavior *PSYCHOLOGICAL REVIEW*
Stephens, N. M., Markus, H. R., Fryberg, S. A.
2012; 119 (4): 723-744
- Unseen Disadvantage: How American Universities' Focus on Independence Undermines the Academic Performance of First-Generation College Students *JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Stephens, N. M., Fryberg, S. A., Markus, H. R., Johnson, C. S., Covarrubias, R.
2012; 102 (6): 1178-1197
- A processing advantage associated with analytic perceptual tendencies: European Americans outperform Asians on multiple object tracking *JOURNAL OF EXPERIMENTAL SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Savani, K., Markus, H. R.
2012; 48 (3): 766-769
- Being Mixed: Who Claims a Biracial Identity? *CULTURAL DIVERSITY & ETHNIC MINORITY PSYCHOLOGY*
Townsend, S. S., Fryberg, S. A., Wilkins, C. L., Markus, H. R.
2012; 18 (1): 91-96
- Influencing and adjusting in daily emotional situations: A comparison of European and Asian American action styles *COGNITION & EMOTION*
Boiger, M., Mesquita, B., Tsai, A. Y., Markus, H.
2012; 26 (2): 332-340
- The Unanticipated Interpersonal and Societal Consequences of Choice: Victim Blaming and Reduced Support for the Public Good *PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE*
Savani, K., Stephens, N. M., Markus, H. R.
2011; 22 (6): 795-802
- My Nation, My Self: Divergent Framings of America Influence American Selves *PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY BULLETIN*
Hamedani, M. G., Markus, H. R., Fu, A. S.
2011; 37 (3): 350-364

- **Population differences in proinflammatory biology: Japanese have healthier profiles than Americans** *BRAIN BEHAVIOR AND IMMUNITY*
Coe, C. L., Love, G. D., Karasawa, M., Kawakami, N., Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., Tracy, R. P., Ryff, C. D.
2011; 25 (3): 494-502
- **CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES ON AGING AND WELL-BEING: A COMPARISON OF JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES** *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AGING & HUMAN DEVELOPMENT*
Karasawa, M., Curhan, K. B., Markus, H. R., Kitayama, S. S., Love, G. D., Radler, B. T., Ryff, C. D.
2011; 73 (1): 73-98
- **When Choice Does Not Equal Freedom: A Sociocultural Analysis of Agency in Working-Class American Contexts** *SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PERSONALITY SCIENCE*
Stephens, N. M., Fryberg, S. A., Markus, H. R.
2011; 2 (1): 33-41
- **Culture and Social Psychology: Converging Perspectives** *SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY QUARTERLY*
DiMaggio, P., Markus, H. R.
2010; 73 (4): 347-352
- **Does Choice Mean Freedom and Well-Being?** *JOURNAL OF CONSUMER RESEARCH*
Markus, H. R., Schwartz, B.
2010; 37 (2): 344-355
- **Cultures and Selves: A Cycle of Mutual Constitution** *PERSPECTIVES ON PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE*
Markus, H. R., Kitayama, S.
2010; 5 (4): 420-430
- **Cultures and Selves: A Cycle of Mutual Constitution.** *Perspectives on psychological science : a journal of the Association for Psychological Science*
Markus, H. R., Kitayama, S.
2010; 5 (4): 420-30
- **Temperament trait of sensory processing sensitivity moderates cultural differences in neural response** *SOCIAL COGNITIVE AND AFFECTIVE NEUROSCIENCE*
Aron, A., Ketay, S., Hedden, T., Aron, E. N., Markus, H. R., Gabrieli, J. D.
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- **What Counts as a Choice? US Americans Are More Likely Than Indians to Construe Actions as Choices** *PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE*
Savani, K., Markus, H. R., Naidu, N. V., Kumar, S., Berlia, N.
2010; 21 (3): 391-398
- **Independence and interdependence predict health and wellbeing: divergent patterns in the United States and Japan** *FRONTIERS IN PSYCHOLOGY*
Kitayama, S., Karasawa, M., Curhan, K. B., Ryff, C. D., Markus, H. R.
2010; 1
- **Emotions as Within or Between People? Cultural Variation in Lay Theories of Emotion Expression and Inference** *PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY BULLETIN*
Uchida, Y., Townsend, S. S., Markus, H. R., Bergsieker, H. B.
2009; 35 (11): 1427-1439
- **Why Did They "Choose" to Stay? Perspectives of Hurricane Katrina Observers and Survivors** *PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE*
Stephens, N. M., Hamedani, M. G., Markus, H. R., Bergsieker, H. B., Eloul, L.
2009; 20 (7): 878-886
- **My Choice, Your Categories: The Denial of Multiracial Identities** *JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES*
Townsend, S. S., Markus, H. R., Bergsieker, H. B.
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- **Pride, Prejudice, and Ambivalence: Toward a Unified Theory of Race and Ethnicity** *AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGIST*
Markus, H. R.
2008; 63 (8): 651-670

- **Let your preference be your guide? Preferences and choices are more tightly linked for North Americans than for Indians** *JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Savani, K., Markus, H. R., Conner, A. L.
2008; 95 (4): 861-876
- **A nation challenged: The impact of foreign threat on America's tolerance for diversity** *JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Davies, P. G., Steele, C. M., Markus, H. R.
2008; 95 (2): 308-318
- **Of Warrior Chiefs and Indian Princesses: The Psychological Consequences of American Indian Mascots** *BASIC AND APPLIED SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Fryberg, S. A., Markus, H. R., Oyserman, D., Stone, J. M.
2008; 30 (3): 208-218
- **Cultural influences on neural substrates of attentional control** *PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE*
Hedden, T., Ketay, S., Aron, A., Markus, H. R., Gabrieli, J. D.
2008; 19 (1): 12-17
- **The ethics of characterizing difference: guiding principles on using racial categories in human genetics** *GENOME BIOLOGY*
Lee, S. S., Mountain, J., Koenig, B., Altman, R., Brown, M., Camarillo, A., Cavalli-Sforza, L., Cho, M., Eberhardt, J., Feldman, M., Ford, R., Greely, H., King, et al
2008; 9 (7)
- **Choice as an act of meaning: The case of social class** *JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Stephens, N. M., Markus, H. R., Townsend, S. S.
2007; 93 (5): 814-830
- **Going for the gold - Models of agency in Japanese and American contexts** *PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE*
Markus, H. R., Uchida, Y., Omorige, H., Townsend, S. S., Kitayama, S.
2006; 17 (2): 103-112
- **You can't always get what you want: Educational attainment, agency, and choice** *JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Snibbe, A. C., Markus, H. R.
2005; 88 (4): 703-720
- **On telling less than we can know: The too tacit wisdom of social psychology** *PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY*
Markus, H. R.
2005; 16 (4): 180-184
- **Is there any "free" choice? Self and dissonance in two cultures** *PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE*
Kitayama, S., Snibbe, A. C., Markus, H. R., Suzuki, T.
2004; 15 (8): 527-533
- **Culture and personality: Brief for an arranged marriage** *3rd Annual Conference of the Association-for-Research-in-Personality*
Markus, H. R.
ACADEMIC PRESS INC ELSEVIER SCIENCE.2004: 75-83
- **Self-Portraits: Possible Selves in European-American, Chilean, Japanese and Japanese-American Cultural Contexts** *SELF AND IDENTITY*
Unemori, P., Omorige, H., Markus, H. R.
2004; 3 (4): 321-338
- **They saw a game - A Japanese and American (football) field study** *JOURNAL OF CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Snibbe, A. C., Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., Suzuki, T.
2003; 34 (5): 581-595
- **Culture, self, and the reality of the social** *PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY*
Markus, H. R., Kitayama, S.
2003; 14 (3-4): 277-283
- **On Being American Indian: Current and Possible Selves** *SELF AND IDENTITY*
Fryberg, S. A., Markus, H. R.
2003; 2 (4): 325-344

- **Models of agency: Sociocultural diversity in the construction of action** *49th Annual Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*
Markus, H. R., Kitayama, S.
UNIV NEBRASKA PRESS.2003: 1-57
- **Place matters: Consensual features and regional variation in American well-being and self** *JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*
Plaut, V. C., Markus, H. R., Lachman, M. E.
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- **The psychology of religion and the religion of psychology** *PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY*
Snibbe, A. C., Markus, H. R.
2002; 13 (3): 229-234
- **"Who am I?" - The cultural psychology of the conceptual self** *PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY BULLETIN*
Kanagawa, C., Cross, S. E., Markus, H. R.
2001; 27 (1): 90-103
- **Colorblindness as a barrier to inclusion: Assimilation and nonimmigrant minorities** *DAEDALUS*
Markus, H. R., Steele, C. M., Steele, D. M.
2000; 129 (4): 233-259
- **Culture, emotion, and well-being: Good feelings in Japan and the United States** *COGNITION & EMOTION*
Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., Kurokawa, M.
2000; 14 (1): 93-124
- **Is there a universal need for positive self-regard?** *PSYCHOLOGICAL REVIEW*
Heine, S. J., Lehman, D. R., Markus, H. R., Kitayama, S.
1999; 106 (4): 766-794
- **Deviance or uniqueness, harmony or conformity? A cultural analysis** *JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*
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