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INTRODUCTION

Young and Still Developing

Five Themes

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We have witnessed many exciting developments in cultural psychology over the past decade. They are grouped into five main themes: (1) the integration of culture and biology; (2) the expansion of cultural approaches into religion, social class, subcultures, and race; (3) the growth of research in application and intervention; (4) the continued emphasis on the re-creation of culture through the everyday practices, habits, and ways of being that help flesh out a cultural logic; and (5) methodological innovation and sophistication. Perhaps the best testament to the growth of the field, however, is its youth, as cultural psychology continues to attract young people who will take the field into the future.

People who write novels hope their work will stand the test of time. People who write for handbooks don't.

When the first edition of this handbook came out, we and our fellow contributors hoped it would quickly become outdated and obsolete.

We hoped it would be outdated because cultural psychology would grow and the state of knowledge would expand so much that new reviews of the field would be needed. We hoped it would be obsolete because the cultural perspective would so pervade mainstream psychology that there would be no need to demarcate a separate field. Culture would be so woven into psychology research that all studies would have a culturally informed perspective, even if they were not explicitly cross-cultural.

The first edition has certainly become outdated. As will be seen, culture research has come pouring out in the previous decade. Chapters in "staple" areas—cognition, motivation and emotion, and the acquisition of culture—needed major updating. A chapter in the first edition was the first to introduce the term "cultural neuroscience"; now the field by that name is so thick with findings that the chapter had to be quite extensive. Entirely new lines of work grew as well. Of the 32 chapters in this edition, about half are on entirely new topics, including, for example, chapters on innovation, terrorism, money, negotiation, health, wisdom, consumer behavior, and so on.

Thus, the first edition certainly got old before its time. Obsolescence was a more ambitious wish. That was not achieved, yet the progress has been remarkable. Culture research has gone from being a rebellious teenager to a respected member of the establishment—not because it has changed but because mainstream psychology recognized that it had something important to say. This process has occasionally been grudging and fitful, but it has proceeded nonetheless. Culture researchers now occupy high-level positions at major journals, and culture research is routinely published in many mainstream outlets including *Science, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Psychological Science,* and *Developmental Psychology,* just to name a few.

Perhaps someday we will achieve obsolescence and there will be about as much need for a *Handbook of Cultural Psychology* as there is for floppy disks, phone books, and spittoons. We hope this handbook is a step toward its own obsolescence. That may not happen soon, but we can still hope. In the meantime this second edition charts the growth of the field since the first edition and, we hope, paves the way forward.

Like many systems, the growth in cultural psychology has been bottom-up—unplanned, uncoordinated, and proceeding in many different directions at once. But like many adaptive systems, it is also self-organizing, coming together in ways that reflect the environment it is in and the challenges it faces. Below, we summarize five themes that seem to organize many of the exciting developments over the past decade. Each runs throughout many chapters of the book.

CULTURE AND BIOLOGY

One of the most salient themes has been the integration of culture and biology. As Kashima (Chapter 2) writes in one of the first chapters, culture has been "naturalized." The capacity for culture and the transmission of knowledge across time and space may be the greatest gift of our human nature. Chapters in this volume cover the cooption of biological systems (Rozin, Ruby, & Cohen, Chapter 17), the processes by which culture gets "embrained" (Kitayama, Varnum, & Salvador, Chapter 3), genetic vulnerabilities and gene × culture interactions (Chentsova-Dutton & Ryder, Chapter 14; Kim & Lawrie, Chapter 10; Kitayama et al., Chapter 3), and the coevolution of genes and culture (Mesoudi, Chapter 5; also Henrich, 2015). Biomarkers of health also feature prominently in some of the chapters (Kitayama et al., Chapter 3; Kraus, Callaghan, & Ondish, Chapter 27; Miyamoto, Yoo, & Wilken, Chapter 12). Just as nature versus nurture became nature through nurture, culture and biology are coming together in some intriguing ways. While culture is naturalized, nature is nurtured through culture to make one fully human.

Obviously, bringing in physiological measures and neuroscience provides a more complete picture of how humans respond to their environment. And Kitayama et al. (Chapter 3) also point out a number of ways we stand to gain from importing neuroscience and physiology into our studies:

1. The cumulative effects of socialization take place over time. "Snapshots" of people in situations cannot capture this. However, experience over time leaves its mark in patterns of neuronal firings (neurons that fire together, wire together), inflammation responses, and genes turned on or off (Kitayama et al., Chapter 3; Miyamoto et al., Chapter 12). One could say these physiological markers thus provide a "natural history" of socialization.
2. Behaviors and self-reports are often constrained in ways that physiology often is not, giving us a window into what is happening under the surface. Not all, but some of these windows let us know about participants' initial, very quick responses, before they are "edited" by more conscious processes.
3. Neuroscientific and other studies can also inform us about psychological processes that people could not tell us about even if they wanted to. People do not have access to some cognitive or emotional processes simply because they cannot introspect about them (Wilson, 2002) or defensively will not let themselves introspect about them (D. Cohen, Kim, & Hudson, 2017).

Cultural psychology clearly stands to gain from the import of biological understandings and methods. However, this is also an area in which cultural psychology has its greatest export value. Neuroscience studies, and biological studies more generally, often implicitly have strong universalistic assumptions. Scan the brains of 15 sophomores from Iowa and you see what a particular part of the *human* brain does; in mainstream work, bodies and brains are presumed to work pretty much the same way all over. Contrary to this currently prevailing assumption, however, new evidence shows that brain and body responses are culturally conditioned. Unlike in the U.S., anger may not be so bad for your health in Japan. The part of the brain that thinks about the self (for Westerners) may be the part that thinks about the self, one's mom, one's spouse, and the kids (for Easterners). And the "heritability" of some trait or ability or the seriousness of a risk factor may depend as much or more on the environment as it does on the underlying biology (Kitayama et al., Chapter 3; Nisbett, Chapter 7; Chentsova-Dutton & Ryder, Chapter 14; see also Falk et al., 2013; LeWinn, Sheridan, Keyes, Hamilton, & McLaughlin, 2017; Tucker-Drob & Bates, 2016).

Cultural psychology can become a paradigm-shifting force within psychology. It can potentially also become a paradigm-shifting force within neuroscience. More generally—and to the extent the data warrant it—cultural neuroscience may help in "taking back" the brain and the body from the biological scientists. The dominant way of thinking about adult brains and genes—among scientists and especially in the American public—is to regard them as biological blueprints that determine (or at least greatly influence) human behavior: People do things because their brains and their genes tell them to (Heine, 2017). To the extent that cultural psychologists show that experience (culture) shapes the brain and expression of genes, it may bring our understanding back toward a more moderate position—in which we shape our brains and genes, in addition to their shaping us.

Where the next great strides in biology will come from is unclear. Perhaps the next great breakthrough will come in the study of the human microbiome. If so, we might unite the study of gut bacteria with the topic of some of cultural psychology's finest ethnographic and experimental work—food (Rozin et al., Chapter 17).

EXPANDING THE TERRITORY COVERED BY THE "CULTURAL"

A second development has been the widening expanse of the cultural. In recent years, there has been an embrace of the idea that there are indeed "many forms of culture" (A. Cohen, 2009, 2014), including, for example, religion, race, social class, and subcultures (A. Cohen & Neuberg, Chapter 32; Mendoza-Denton & Worrell, Chapter 28; Kraus et al., Chapter 27; Rentfrow & Jokela, Chapter 29). The explosion of research on social class has probably made class the "form of culture" that has seen the biggest growth in the past decade. There are a variety of ways to examine social class (Wright, 2008). Kraus et al. (Chapter 27) outline and integrate several perspectives, but ideas about social class or socioeconomic circumstances run throughout various chapters (including those by Markus & Hamedani, Chapter 1; D. Cohen, Shin, & Liu, Chapter 22; Miyamoto et al., Chapter 12; Nisbett, Chapter 7; Kitayama et al., Chapter 3). As the world most of us researchers live in (that of the upper-middle class) grows more and more separate from everyone else (Murray, 2012) and as everyone else gets tired of feeling left behind with stagnating wages, insecure jobs, and inadequate credentials, understanding issues of social class becomes more and more urgent (D. Cohen et al., Chapter 22; D. Cohen, Shin, & Liu, 2019; D. Cohen, Shin, Liu, Ondish, & Kraus, 2017).

Research on subcultures has also deepened. As immigration remains an electrified "third rail," as refugee crises emerge, and as nationalistic movements appear across the West, knowledge about subcultures becomes more important. It should not be surprising then that the topics of acculturation, immigration, and cultural acquisition have captivated researchers and produced work that has fascinated the field (Keller, Chapter 15; Leung & Koh, Chapter 21; Morris, Fincher, & Savani, Chapter 18; Mesoudi, Chapter 5; Rentfrow & Jokela, Chapter 29; Mesquita, De Leersnyder, & Jasini, Chapter 19). Pioneering work in this area was done by John Berry, with contemporary work both building on and critiquing Berry's insights, as well as taking the field in new directions entirely.

The topic of race is also getting more attention in cultural psychology. Amazingly, the last *Handbook of Cultural Psychology* (published in the United States) did not have a chapter on "race"—probably the single largest dividing line in American history. "Ethnicity," at least in contemporary America, sounds innocuous enough. "Race," however, has always involved relations of dominance and ideas about biologically rooted inferiority. In the United States, of course, race primarily means black and white; and no serious discussion about multiculturalism, diversity, inclusion, or the future of the American project could ever be complete if it did not address this topic. This edition of the *Handbook* has a chapter on race (Mendoza-Denton & Worrell, Chapter 28). We consider it a start—and we hope, an encouragement to others to do work in one of cultural psychology's most profoundly underresearched topics.

Finally, compared to its massive influence across the globe, religion is also a hugely understudied topic in psychology. If one were to derive a *MOJO ratio*—computed as a variable's MOtivational force in the world ÷ the number of JOurnal pages devoted to it—religion would likely sit at the top of the list.

However, cultural psychologists have been starting to attend to religion as well. Some study little-r religion (the antecedents and consequences of generic religious beliefs and organization), but there has also been an expansion of work on big-r Religion (the *particular* belief systems, practices, and values that make one religious community different from another). Both types of work are included in this volume (A. Cohen & Neuberg, Chapter 32; Levine, Harrington, & Uhlmann, Chapter 23; Kim & Lawrie, Chapter 10; Atran, Chapter 31; Atran, 2007). Important contributions also include Norenzayan's articles on theodiversity (2016), as well as his book *Big Gods* (2013). The latter describes how large-scale cooperation was facilitated by the emergence of religions with one (or a few) gods who actually cared about what humans did to each other.

For centuries, religion shaped folk understandings of human nature. It also shaped professional psychologists' view of human nature, beginning with its most famous clinician, Freud. Though he aspired to universalism, Freudian psychology was—as the president of the American Psychiatric Association once said—"Calvinism in Bermuda Shorts" (Kim & Cohen, 2017). It was saturated with a Puritanism that was likely difficult to notice during the Victorian Era (Reiff, 1961, 1990). Whatever one may say about his methods, Freud was clearly a giant and a very astute psychologist—in fact, a cultural psychologist, though he may not have realized it. Some of his hypotheses about people sublimating forbidden desires into creative work or turning forbidden feelings into their opposites have recently been borne out in experimental research—though "Protestants" should be substituted for the word *people* (D. Cohen, Kim, & Hudson, 2014, 2017). But, this is only one example of recent cultural work examining the effects of big-R religion, as particular religious traditions seem quite influential in shaping valuations of emotions (Tsai & Clobert, Chapter 11), individualist–collectivist orientations (A. Cohen & Neuberg, Chapter 32; see Markus & Conner, 2014), workways (Levine et al., Chapter 23), foodways (Rozin et al., Chapter 17), wisdom (Grossmann & Kung, Chapter 13), conceptions of purity and divinity (Miller, Wice, & Goyal, Chapter 16), ingroups and outgroups (Mesquita et al., Chapter 19), and of course, the motivations of devoted actors participating in religious or ethnoreligious warfare (Atran, Chapter 31; A. Cohen & Neuberg, Chapter 32).

Almost surely this expansion of cultural topics—into big-R and little-r religion, social class, subculture and acculturation, and race—will continue. This should be true because of the fascinating work cultural psychologists have produced so far. It should also be true because these topics are all highly related to what some see as a future growth area for cultural psychology—namely, explorations of power dynamics and intergroup relations (Markus & Hamedani, Chapter 1; Miller et al., Chapter 16; A. Cohen & Neuberg, Chapter 32). Finally, this research should continue because headlines keep pushing these topics into the forefront of national and international conversations. If religion threatens to create civilizational fault lines; if have-nots feel increasingly left behind; if immigration issues, separatist movements, revanchism, and refugee crises continue to rile nation-states; and if backlashes and white nationalism intensify, then these topics will continue to capture researchers' attention and seem more urgent to study.

REAL-WORLD APPLICATIONS: ORGANIZATION, HEALTH, MONEY, AND BEYOND

Cultural psychology has also expanded its focus from "basic" research, with an increasing emphasis on application and intervention. The division between "basic" and applied may be seen as relatively artificial. This is what one would expect from any discipline that partially has its roots in social psychology. The founder of social psychology, Kurt Lewin, is credited with various dicta, among them (1) “There is nothing so practical as a good theory” and (2) “If you want to understand something, try to change it.”

The spread into applied work can be seen just in the chapter titles. Since Hofstede’s (1980) landmark work, studies of culture have often had some connection to studies of commerce. Here, these connections are fleshed out in chapters on work, innovation, money, consumer behavior, and negotiation (Levine et al., Chapter 23; Chiu & Hong, Chapter 26; D. Cohen et al., Chapter 22; Shavitt, Cho, & Barnes, Chapter 25; Gelfand & Jackson, Chapter 24). But the applications go beyond this area and extend to topics such as terrorism, health and well-being, and cultural learning and adjustment (Atran, Chapter 31; Miyamoto et al., Chapter 12; Morris et al., Chapter 18; Oyserman & Yan, Chapter 20; also see Tov & Diener, 2007). We have broken out cultural learning as its own “staple” topic in cultural psychology, but Morris et al. and Mesquita et al. (Chapters 18 and 19, respectively) illustrate how arbitrary some of these classifications actually are. Both cover very practical questions about adjustment to new cultures—by immigrants or by sojourners—though one has a decidedly emotional focus (Mesquita et al., Chapter 19), whereas the other is more cognitive (Morris et al., Chapter 18).

In terms of intervention studies, some of the most exciting work in the social sciences in the past decade has involved controlled trials done by economists. Many of the economists’ studies involve creating interventions to help the poor of the developing world and comparing participants randomly assigned to the intervention versus control conditions. Such research has upended much of what we thought we knew about the world’s poor and how we might tailor policy and intervention to help them (Banerjee & Duflo, 2011a, 2011b; D. Cohen et al., Chapter 22; Collins, Morduch, Rutherford, & Ruthven, 2009; Morduch & Schneider, 2017).

Unfortunately, although Lewinian “action research” should be considered the birthright of sociocultural psychologists, we have been surprisingly uninvolved in many of these intervention studies. There are exceptions. For example, there have been culturally informed interventions designed to facilitate the adjustment of nonwhite college students to majority-white college campuses or to help first-generation college students who might otherwise feel out of place in the individualistic, expressive ethos of most universities (Mendoza-Denton & Worrell, Chapter 28; Markus & Hamedani, Chapter 1; Miyamoto et al., Chapter 12; also Oyserman, 2015). However, these intervention studies have been relatively rare. This represents an area in which cultural psychology has much more room to grow. Such studies are not “low-hanging fruit.” They are the opposite of the quick, easy, and cheap Internet and Mechanical Turk studies that have been proliferating in psychology. These intervention studies are time-consuming, expensive, and difficult to run (see Karlan & Appel, 2016; D. Cohen, Chapter 6; D. Cohen et al., Chapter 22). However, they offer a potentially huge and important payout—one that, we hope, compensates for all the toil, tears, and sweat.

A MOSAIC PICTURE OF CULTURE

The field has also been less Mosaic, and more mosaic. That is, “Mosaic” (which means of or relating to Moses and his laws) and “mosaic” (meaning, a picture created out of the patterning of smaller, diverse elements) represent two very different approaches to culture. In the former, one might describe cultures in terms of an abstract set of values, sacrosanct and delivered from on high, as if from Moses walking down the mountain with the 10 commandments. One learns about these key abstract values by asking people about them and having people rate or rank them. The values are articulable, and people can clearly order them in terms of importance. The list of possible values is relatively small and reasonably universal, though cultures differ in how people rank them. Individuals within a culture differ, though there is likely some rough consensus. Behaviors in most situations can be predicted by consulting this value ranking and determining what behavior maximizes the most important value(s).

There is much to be said for this approach. It has been foundational, generative both within and outside psychology, clear-eyed, and foresighted. It boils down what a culture believes is important to a manageable set of dimensions, facilitates comparisons of similarities and differences across cultures, and is extremely parsimonious, potentially allowing one to predict a wide array of behaviors by knowing a relatively small amount of information about how core values are ranked. The contributions from this approach have been—and continue to be—substantial (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Schwartz et al., 2012; Vauclair & Fischer, 2011).

However, this is not cultural psychology's approach—or at least, not its main approach. It is more mosaic, trying to determine overall patterns or an underlying cultural logic from understanding smaller, concrete elements of a culture (practices, habits, ways of doing) and how they fit together in some sensible, coherent way. It recognizes that there are multiple different cultural logics that can coherently organize a social world, that values can be instantiated in many different ways according to local meanings and practices, that culture is realized and re-created in the mundane and everyday, and that many important, central ideas are not fully articulable—even though it is incredibly important to find out what people think they are doing (Geertz, 1983; Markus & Hamedani, Chapter 1). Studies in cultural psychology do not necessarily begin bottom-up (D. Cohen, Chapter 6), but they assume cultures are mostly constructed that way—through the sometimes harmonious, sometimes messy meshing of ideas, rituals, beliefs, interactions, conflicts, institutional and situational affordances, public knowledge, and private understandings and misunderstandings about the social order (D. Cohen, Liu, & Shin, in press).

Cultural psychology examines practices, habits, ways of thinking, sleeping, eating, talking, walking, joking, insulting, fighting, relating, preening, playing, praying, getting, spending, and so on. Not only are all these "little" elements of culture worth examining on their own, but it is also important to see how these "little" elements fit together and form (like a mosaic) a big picture—of meanings and patterns, organized by an underlying cultural logic.

To be fair, this emphasis on the mosaic rather than the Mosaic is not a new direction but actually represents continuity rather than change. It is what might be expected from a field where seminal articles have tried to "extract the moral goods" by examining family sleeping arrangements of who sleeps with who (Shweder, Jensen, & Goldstein, 1995), or by asking the question "Why do men barbecue?" given that women usually do most of the cooking (one answer: because it's outside rather than within the home) (Shweder, 1993; but see Casserly, 2010; Moss, 2014; Rhodes, 2012).

Cultural psychology has historically been mosaic. However, it is useful to see how this tradition has continued with analyses of practices related to interaction patterns with young infants, food, worship, fighting, working, sharing, shopping, saving, persuading, supporting, talking, noticing, creating, relating, drinking, getting sick, and healing (Keller, Chapter 15; Rozin et al., Chapter 17; D. Cohen et al., Chapter 22; A. Cohen & Neuberg, Chapter 32; Uskul, Cross, Günsoy, & Gul, Chapter 30; Oyserman & Yan, Chapter 20; Levine et al., Chapter 23; Shavitt, Cho, & Barnes, Chapter 25; Loewenstein, Chapter 9; Masuda et al., Chapter 8; Nisbett, Chapter 7; Talhelm & Oishi, Chapter 4; Kim & Lawrie, Chapter 10; Chentsova-Dutton & Ryder, Chapter 14). In organizing the chapters of this book, we couldn't have a dedicated, separate section on mosaic approaches to culture, because the section would have swallowed the book.

METHODOLOGICAL PLURALISM AND INNOVATION

Also representing continuity is the field's increasing methodological innovativeness. Cultural psychology has always been pluralistic in its methods. Notable in the past decade has been the increased use of neuroscientific and physiological measures, techniques of situation sampling, designs measuring person–environment fit, agent-based modeling, and data collected near the front lines of battle (Chiu & Hong, Chapter 26; Gelfand & Jackson, Chapter 24; Mesoudi, Chapter 5; Kitayama et al., Chapter 3; Kraus et al., Chapter 27; Chentsova-Dutton & Ryder, Chapter 14; Morris et al., Chapter 18; Kim & Lawrie, Chapter 10; Atran, Chapter 31; D. Cohen, Chapter 6; Uskul et al., Chapter 30). The field also continues its critique of how some of psychology's standard measurement tools are culture-drenched, such as those measuring intelligence, wisdom, attachment, and morality (Grossman & Kung, Chapter 13; Keller, Chapter 15; Miller et al., Chapter 16; Nisbett, Chapter 7).

It is unclear where the next methodological innovation will come from, but possibilities include the use of "Big Data" (Stephens-Davidowitz, 2017), better tools for monitoring participants' attention and experience in real-world settings (e.g., Google glasses; Dietze & Knowles, 2016), the incorporation of augmented reality in experiments, improved modeling techniques or statistical tools for dealing with correlational data, and so on. The payoffs from using these tools are still unknown, and we would be well advised to remember the mantra that "correlation is not causation" and be cautious that "Big Data" might lead to "Thin Description." "Factoid" understandings of culture will not get us very far. However, we need to keep our eyes open for promising techniques developed in our field and others.

Even the replication crisis—currently rocking the social sciences, as well as medical science and genetics—will do more than simply establish a new set of scientific norms. As noted in Chapter 6, cultural psychologists may profit greatly from the chaos of conflicting studies. Most fields aim for robustness; variation in results is bad. However, in Taleb's (2014) terminology, cultural psychology as a field is "antifragile"; it gains from variation and disorder. There are many reasons that studies may not replicate, but one is that participant populations are different (Greenfield, 2017; Sternberg, 2017). Effects that hold in one population may not hold in another. This is our field's bread and butter. However, to prove its worth, cultural psychology has to have more to say than "It's cultural." We need to be able to measure the elements of culture that lead to effects occurring in one place but not another. Then we need to test what we learn on new data—ideally (if possible) with a manipulation of the underlying cultural element hypothesized to produce the variation (D. Cohen, Chapter 6). "Just so" stories will not be enough.

These five themes illustrate some of the important ways the field has grown over the past decade. But there is more that suggests optimism for the field's future. Perhaps the best testament to the growth of cultural psychology (and its trajectory) may be its youth.

Flipping through the book, readers will likely note a large proportion of citations to relatively new work. This is probably not the best metric of growth and trajectory, however, because (1) new articles can express old ideas and (2) as editors, we purposely asked authors to especially highlight work done since the last handbook. Perhaps a better metric is the age of the authors. Taking the *senior* authors on all chapters, the median number of years post-PhD was 15. (In contrast, the median for the first edition of the handbook was 29 years post-PhD). Now, of course, (1) new professors can express old ideas, but (2) as editors, we (for the most part) did *not* purposely tilt young in our choice of authors. Those invited to contribute the 32 chapters here were the people we thought were doing some of the most exciting work or could provide the most insightful take on the field.

Fields grow when they attract young people. They die when they don't. Based on what has happened in the past decade and the field's success in drawing in young people, the relative youth of our authors suggests that cultural psychology potentially has many years of expansion ahead.

As a field, cultural psychology is still young and growing—while hoping for its own obsolescence.

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