

**Hazel Rose Markus**  
**Curriculum Vitae**  
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**Office Address**

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**Personal Background**

Place of Birth: London, England  
Citizenship: Naturalized U.S.

**Academic Background**

B.A., California State University at San Diego (Psychology)  
Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (Psychology)

**Employment Background**

1975-1994, Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, and Professor of Psychology;  
Department of Psychology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan  
  
1975-1994, Assistant Research Scientist, Associate Research Scientist, and Research Scientist;  
Research Center for Group Dynamics, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan  
  
1992-1994, Directeur de Recherche; Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris, France  
  
1998-2007, 2014-2016, Director; Research Institute of Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity (RICSRE), Stanford University  
  
2007-2008, Director; Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity, (CCSRE), Stanford University

**Current Position**

1994-present, Davis-Brack Professor in the Behavioral Sciences;  
Department of Psychology, Stanford University, Stanford, CA  
  
2013-present, Faculty Director, Stanford SPARQ, Stanford University  
  
2014-2016, Director, Research Institute of Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity, Stanford University ([ccsre.stanford.edu](http://ccsre.stanford.edu))

### **Primary Interests**

- Self, identity, and agency
- Meaning, framing and representation
- Sociocultural psychology
- Cultural, historical, and sociostructural grounding of self, emotion, cognition, motivation, health
- Psychological consequences of race, ethnicity, social class, gender
- Well-being and life span development
- Choice and decision-making
- Psychological consequences of hierarchy, power, inequality and poverty

### **Awards**

Fellow, John Simon Guggenheim, 1984

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California, 1995-1996; 1980-1981; 2008-2009

Julia Certain Lockwood Award, University of Michigan, 1992

Distinguished Faculty Achievement Award, University of Michigan, 1992-1993

Fellow, American Psychological Society, 1993

Awarded Helen Peak Professorship, University of Michigan, 1993

Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1994

Awarded Davis-Brack Professorship in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, 1996

Fellow, American Psychological Society, 2000

San Diego State University Distinguished Alumni Recognition Award, 2002

Society for Personality and Social Psychology Donald Campbell Award, 2003

Career Award from the International Society for Self and Identity, 2003

Honorary Doctorate, University of Chicago, 2006

APA Division 1 Arthur Staats Award for the Integration of Psychology, 2006

American Psychological Association Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award, 2008

Society for Experimental Social Psychology Award for Scientific Impact, 2010.

Dean's Award for Achievements in Teaching, Stanford University, 2010 - 2011.

Presidential Citation, Western Psychological Association, 2012.

Distinguished Scientist Award, Society for Experimental Social Psychology (SESP), 2012.

SPSP Award for Service to the Field of Personality and Social Psychology, 2013.

APS William James Award for lifetime achievement award for basic research, 2017.

Outstanding Contribution Award to Cultural Psychology, 2017

Member, National Academy of Sciences, 2017

Margaret Olivia Sage Visiting Scholar, Russell Sage Foundation, Spring 2018, 2019

Visiting Fellow, SAGE Center, University of California, Santa Barbara, April 2019

John Etchemendy Student Affairs Faculty Award for Outstanding Service

Fellow, British Academy, 2019

### **Professional Activities**

Member, National Academy of Sciences Committee to Review the Status of Basic Research on the School-Age Child, February, 1982-1984

Member, National Science Foundation Advisory Panel, Social and Developmental Program, 1978-1981

Member, Social Science Research Council Committee on Culture, Health and Human Development, 1991-1997

Member, MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Successful Midlife Development, 1992-2008.

Member, Scientific Advisory Board, Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung, Berlin, 1994-1999

Member, Social Science Research Council Committee on Ethnic Customs, Assimilation and American Law, 1998-present

Member, CCSRE Faculty Network of Meanings and Practices of Diversity, 1999-present

Member, National Academy of Sciences Committee on Future Directions of Cognitive Research on Aging, 1999-present

President, Personality and Social Psychology Society, 2003-2004

Executive Committee, Society for Experimental Social Psychology, 2002-2004

Member, Board of Scientific Affairs, American Psychological Association, 2004-2006

Member, NCAA Academic Integrity Sub-Committee, 2008

Editorial Board, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*

Consulting Editor, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Psychological Inquiry*

Consulting Editor, *Personality and Social Psychology Review*

Member, Advisory Committee for Social Science Research Council (SSRC) "New Directions in the Study of Prayer."

Member, American Psychological Association Committee on Scientific Awards

Advisory Board Member, CIFAR-Canadian Institute for Advanced Research -- Successful Societies Program; Boundaries, Membership and Belonging Program.

Urban Institute-Gates Foundation Mobility Metrics Working Group

Trustee, Russell Sage Foundation

#### **Invited Presentations, 2018-2019:**

Positive Links Speaker Series, University of Michigan, Ross School of Business  
 Office of the Vice Provost of Undergraduate Education  
 L. Starling Reid Keynote Lecture, University of Virginia  
 USC Center for Law and Social Science, University of Southern California  
 Department of Psychology, University of Southern California  
 Stanford Graduate School of Business  
 Foundation Academia Platonica, Korea  
 Open Self Conference, Technical University of Berlin  
 AI for Culturally Relevant Interactions, Stanford Media X  
 Colloquium, New York University  
 Bridging Social Class Divides, Russell Sage Foundation  
 National Academy of Sciences: Social Class  
 Assessing Social Class, American Voices Project, Stanford University  
 Inequality as a Multidimensional Process, Harvard University  
 Notes from the Field, Society for Personality and Social Psychology  
 Colloquium, University of California, Santa Barbara  
 International Academy of Intercultural Research, Shanghai, China  
 Swedish Royal Academy, Stockholm, Sweden

#### **Teaching**

Cultural Psychology  
 Mind, Culture and Society  
 Introduction to Social Psychology  
 Advanced Social Psychology: A Survey  
 Attitudes and Social Behavior  
 Culture and Self  
 Introduction to Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity  
 Social Construction of Personality  
 Stigma: A Social Psychological Analysis  
 The Self: A Social Psychological Analysis  
 Social Cognition  
 Culture, Health and Well-being  
 Intergroup Communication

#### **Grants**

National Institute for Health  
 Title: The Role of Schemas in Processing Social Information  
 Principal Investigator: Hazel Markus  
 Dates: July 1, 1977 - June 30, 1979

Ford Foundation  
 Title: The Education/Employment Transition: An Adult Development Approach

Principal Investigators: Hazel Markus and Jean Campbell  
Dates: June, 1977 - 1979

Ford Foundation

Title: Status in One's Own Right: A Life Course Perspective on Work, Women, and Well-Being  
Principal Investigators: Jean Manis and Hazel Markus  
Dates: June 1, 1980 - June 30, 1982

National Science Foundation

Title: The Self as a System of Schemas  
Principal Investigator: Hazel Markus  
Dates: May 1, 1980 - April 30, 1982

National Institute of Mental Health

Title: A Cognitive Approach to the Self  
Principal Investigator: Hazel Markus  
Dates: February 1, 1981 - March, 31 1984

National Institute of Mental Health and National Science Foundation

Title: Affect and Cognition  
Principal Investigators: R. B. Zajonc and Hazel Markus  
Dates: August 1, 1982 - January 31, 1984

National Science Foundation

Title: Self-Concept: A Dynamic View  
Principal Investigator: Hazel Markus  
Dates: September 1, 1984 - June 30, 1987

National Science Foundation

Title: Culture and Self: Implications for Social Thinking  
Principal Investigators: Hazel Markus, University of Michigan and Shinobu Kitayama, University of Oregon  
Dates: August 15, 1990 - June 30, 1994

National Institute on Aging

Title: Self-Concept in Later Adulthood: Past, Current, Possible  
Principal Investigators: Hazel Markus and A. Regula Herzog, University of Michigan  
Dates: March 1, 1991 - February 28, 1995

American Psychological Association

Title: Conference on Emotion and Culture  
Principal Investigators: Hazel Markus and Shinobu Kitayama, University of Oregon  
Dates: January 1, 1992 - December 31, 1992

SSRC - ACLS Transnational and Comparative Competition

Title: Culture, Identity, and Conflict  
Principal Investigators: Hazel Markus, Richard Shweder, and Peggy Miller  
Dates: February 1, 1993 - December 31, 1994

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Title: Diversity in Ways of Being Well  
Principal Investigators: Hazel Markus and Carol Ryff  
Dates: May 1, 1996 - April 30, 1998

Ford Foundation

Title: Undergraduate Education in a Global Context

Principal Investigator: Hazel Markus  
 Dates: January 1, 1996 - October 31, 1996

Russell Sage Foundation  
 Title: Ethnic Customs, Assimilation and American Law  
 Principal Investigators: Hazel Markus, Richard Shweder, and Martha Minow  
 Dates: July 1, 1998 - July 1, 2000

Humanities & Sciences, and the Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity  
 Title: Cultural Psychology: Mini-Conference  
 Principal Investigator: Hazel Markus  
 Dates: August 19-20, 1998

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation  
 Title: The Everyday Well-Being Study  
 Principal Investigators: Hazel Markus and Carol Ryff  
 Dates: January 1, 1999 - January 1, 2000

Russell Sage Foundation  
 Title: From Diversity to Community: Models of Difference and Inclusion in American Life  
 Principal Investigators: Dorothy Steele, Hazel Markus and Claude Steele  
 Dates: December 1, 2000 - January 1, 2003

Russell Sage Foundation  
 Title: Law and Culture: Engaging Differences in Everyday Settings  
 Principal Investigators: Richard Shweder, Martha Minow, & Hazel Markus  
 Dates: July 1, 2000 - December 31, 2000

The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation  
 Title: Visiting and Senior Fellows Program, Research Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity (RICSRE)  
 Principal Investigators: Albert Camarillo, George M. Fredrickson, Hazel Rose Markus  
 January 1, 2001 - December 1, 2003

National Science Foundation  
 Principal Investigators: Hazel Markus and Shinobu Kitayama  
 Title: "Sociocultural Models of Agency: Implications for Motivation, Choice, and Well-being  
 Dates: June 1, 2001 - December 31, 2006

National Institute of Aging  
 Title: Sociocultural Diversity in Well-Being: A Japanese Survey  
 Principal Investigator: Hazel Markus  
 Dates: February 1, 2001 - December 21, 2001

Russell Sage Foundation  
 Title: Models of Diversity and Identity Safety  
 Principal Investigators: Claude Steele and Hazel Markus  
 Date: 2002 - 2004

The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation  
 Title: Visiting and Senior Fellows Program, Research Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity (RICSRE)  
 Principal Investigators: Hazel Rose Markus and Dorothy Steele  
 Dates: September 1, 2004 - August 31, 2006

National Science Foundation

Principal Investigator: Hazel Markus  
Title: Confronting Katrina: "Choosing" to Stay or Go  
Dates: December 1, 2005 - November 30, 2006

National Institute of Aging  
Title: Midlife in Japan (Awarded)  
Principal Investigators: Carol Ryff, Shinobu Kitayama and Hazel Markus  
Dates: April 1, 2007 - March 30, 2011

Spencer Foundation  
Title: How Culture and Race Shape Psychological Experience  
Principal Investigators: Hazel Markus  
Dates: September 1, 2008 - August 31, 2009

National Science Foundation  
Title: When and Why is Choice Beneficial or Detrimental in Three Cultural Contexts  
Principal Investigator: Hazel Markus  
Dates: June 1, 2009 - May 31, 2015

National Institute of Aging  
Title: Midlife in Japan (Awarded)  
Principal Investigators: Carol Ryff, Hazel Markus, Shinobu Kitayama  
Dates: May 1, 2011 - April 30, 2017

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation  
Title: Changing Mindsets to Build Cultures of Health (Awarded)  
Principal Investigators: Alia Crum, Hazel Markus, Jennifer Eberhardt  
Dates: January 1, 2015 - January 1, 2017

Stanford Institute for Innovation (SEED)  
Interdependent Agency  
Principal Investigators: Hazel Markus, Alana Conner  
Dates: February 1, 2015 - February, 2017

Los Angeles Philharmonic, Youth Orchestra Los Angeles (YOLA)  
Principal Investigators: Hazel Markus, Alana Conner  
Measuring YOLA's Impact and Sharing Best Practices  
Dates: November 1, 2015 - September 30, 2017

Wellspring Advisors, LLC  
Agenda Setting and Piloting on the Social Psychology of Barriers to Agency in Low-Income Countries  
Principal Investigators: Hazel Markus, Catherine Thomas  
Dates: October, 2016 - October, 2018

MacArthur Foundation  
Leveraging Technology and Social Tactics to Improve Police-Community Relations  
Principal Investigators: Jennifer L. Eberhardt, Hazel Markus  
Dates: May, 2016 - May, 2018

Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST)  
Policing Racial Bias Toolkit Development, Dissemination, Evaluation, & Support  
Principal Investigators: Jennifer L. Eberhardt, Hazel Markus  
Dates: December, 2016 - December, 2017

Prudential Insurance

Bias Research in Financial Markets and Convenings to Disseminate Research  
 Principal Investigators: Jennifer L. Eberhardt, Hazel Markus  
 Dates: March, 2017 - August, 2020

Stanford Diversity Innovation Fund  
 The Stanford Equity Toolbox  
 Principal Investigators: Alana Conner, Hazel Markus, Dereca Blackmon  
 Dates: April, 2017 - August, 2019

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation  
 Title: Changing Mindsets to Build Cultures of Health (Awarded)  
 Principal Investigators: Alia Crum, Hazel Markus, Jennifer Eberhardt  
 Dates: January 1, 2018 - January 1, 2020

Stanford Catalyst Award  
 Title: Hybrid Physical + Digital Spaces for Enhanced Sustainability and Well-Being  
 Principal Investigators: James Landay, Sarah Billington, Nicole Ardoin, Sherri Sheppard, Hazel Markus, and others  
 Dates: September, 2018 - September, 2020

#### **Department and University Service**

Chair, Search Committee, Department of Psychology  
 Fellow, Clayman Center  
 Clayman Beyond Bias Fellows Working Group  
 Stanford University Provost Advisory Board (2010-2014)  
 Graduate Fellowships Faculty Advisory Committee (GFFAC) (2010-present)  
 Co-Director and Director, Research Institute of Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity (RICSRE) (2000-2008), 2014-present  
 Director, Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity (CCSRE) (2008-2009)  
 Member, Committee on Graduate Studies (1998-2000)  
 Committee on Graduate Studies, Subcommittee on Diversity  
 Advisory Committee, Feminist Studies  
 CSRE Faculty Advisory Committee  
 Developmental Area Search Committee, Psychology Department  
 Stanford CCSRE Faculty Network of Meanings and Practices of Diversity  
 Stanford Ford Faculty Workshop on Identity and Inequalities  
 Stanford Faculty Senate (1999-2001); (2002-2003); (2007-2008); (2018-2020)  
 Faculty Senate Steering Committee (2000-2001), (2007-2008), (2019-2020)  
 Chair, Member, Committee on University Admissions and Finance C-UAFA (2001-2007)  
 Board of Trustees Committee on Academic Policy, Planning, and Management (2001-2004)  
 Search Committee, Dean of Admissions (2005)  
 Psychology Department Committee on Graduate Education (2004-2005)  
 Psychology Department Committee on Undergraduate Education (2006-2008; 2018-2020)  
 New Strategies for Diversity (2007)  
 Center for Inequality Advisory Committee (2006-present)  
 Diversity Action Council (2007-2008)  
 Bing Overseas Studies Program Advisory Committee (2007-2008, 2014-2017, 2018-2019)  
 Senate's Committee on Committees (2018-2020)  
 VPSA Search Committee for Associate Vice Provost for Inclusion, Community, and Integrative Learning (2018)  
 Diversity and First Generation Office (DGen), Faculty Chair (2018-2019)  
 Associate Vice Provost Search Committee for Inclusion, Community and Integrative Learning (2019)  
 Stanford Global Discovery Committee (2019)

#### **Publications and Papers**

- Zajonc, R. B., Markus, H., & Wilson, W. R. (1974). Exposure effects and associative learning. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 10*, 248-263.
- Zajonc, R. B., Markus, H., & Wilson, W. R. (1974). Exposure object preference and distress in the domestic chick. *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology, 86*, 581-585.
- Zajonc, R. B., & Markus, H. (1975). Attitudes and their measurement. In G. Lindzey, C. Hall, & R. Thompson (Eds.), *Psychology*.
- Markus, H. (1976). Continuing education for women: Factors influencing a return to school and the school experience. In J. Pottker & A. Fishel (Eds.), *Sex bias in the schools: The research evidence* (pp. 354-379). New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Markus, H. (1976). The return to school. *Educational Horizons, 54*, 172-176.
- Markus, H. (1977). Self-schemata and processing information about the self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 35*, 63-78.
- Markus, H. (1978). The effect of mere presence on social facilitation: An unobtrusive test. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 14*, 389-397.
- Zajonc, R. B., Markus, H., & Markus, G. B. (1979). The birth order puzzle. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 37*, 1325-1341.
- Manis, J., & Markus, H. (1979). Families, careers, and self-evaluation: Views from different points in the life cycle. In D. McGuigan (Ed.), *Changing family, changing workplace*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan.
- Markus, H. (1980). The self in thought and memory. In D. M. Wegner & R. R. Vallacher (Eds.), *The self in social psychology* (pp. 102-130). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum.
- Markus, H. (1980). Work, women, and well-being: A life course perspective. In D. McGuigan (Ed.), *Women's lives: New theory, research, and policy* (pp. 269-281). Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan.
- Markus, H., & Smith, J. (1981). The influence of self-schemas on the perception of others. In N. Cantor & J. Kihlstrom (Eds.), *Cognition, social interaction, and personality* (pp. 233-262). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum.
- Markus, H. (1981). Sibling personalities: The luck of the draw. *Psychology Today, (June)*, 35-37
- Markus, H. (1981). The drive for integration: Some comments. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 17*, 257-261.
- Markus, H., & Sentis, K. (1982). The self in social information processing. In J. Suls (Ed.), *Social psychological perspectives on the self* (pp. 41-70). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum.
- Markus, H., Crane, M., Bernstein, S., & Siladi, M. (1982). Self-schemas and gender. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 42*, 38-50.
- Fong, G. T., & Markus, H. (1982). Self-schemas and judgments about others: Seeking information about others. *Social Cognition, 1*, 191-204.
- Crane, M., & Markus, H. (1982). Gender identity: Benefits of a self-schema approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 43*, 1195-1197.

- Zajonc, R. B., & Markus, H. (1982). Affective and cognitive factors in preferences. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 9, 123-131.
- Markus, H. (1983). Self-knowledge: An expanded view. *Journal of Personality*, 51(3), 543-565.
- Markus, H., & Nurius, P. (1984). Self-understanding and self-regulation in middle childhood. In W. A. Collins (Ed.), *Development during middle childhood: The years from six to twelve* (pp. 147-183). Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Zajonc, R. B., & Markus, H. (1984). Affect and cognition: The hard interface. In C. Izard, J. Kagan, & R. B. Zajonc (Eds.), *Emotion, Cognition, and Behavior* (pp. 73-102). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Cantor, N., Markus, H., Niedenthal, P., & Nurius, P. (1985). On motivation and the self-concept. In R. M. Sorrentino & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Motivation and cognition: Foundations of social behavior* (pp. 96-121). New York: Guilford Press.
- Markus, H., Smith, J., & Moreland, R. L. (1985). The role of the self-concept in the perception of others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 49, 1494-1512.
- Zajonc, R. B., & Markus, H. (1985). Must all affect be mediated by cognition? *Journal of Consumer Research*, 363-364.
- Pietromonaco, P. R., & Markus, H. (1985). The nature of negative thoughts in depression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 48, 799-807.
- Markus, H., & Zajonc, R. B. (1985). The cognitive perspective in social psychology. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (pp. 137-229, 3rd ed.). New York: Random House.
- Markus, H., & Kunda, Z. (1986). Stability and malleability in the self-concept in the perception of others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51(4), 858-866.
- Markus, H., & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist*, 41, 954-969.
- Sentis, K., & Markus, H. (1986). Brand personality and self. In J. Olson & K. Sentis (Eds.), *Advertising and consumer psychology* (Vol. 3, pp. 132-148). New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Pietromonaco, P. R., Manis, J., & Markus, H. (1987). The relationship of employment to self-perception and well-being in women: A cognitive analysis. *Sex Roles*, 17, 467-477.
- Markus, H., & Nurius, P. (1987). Possible selves: The interface between motivation and the self-concept. In K. M. Yardley & T. M. Honess (Eds.), *Self and identity: Psychosocial perspectives* (pp. 157-172). Sussex: Wiley.
- Markus, H., & Wurf, E. (1987). The dynamic self-concept: A social psychological perspective. In M. R. Rosenweig & L. W. Porter (Eds.), *Annual Review of Psychology*, 38, 299-337.
- Catrambone, R., & Markus, H. (1987). The role of self-schemas in going beyond the information given. *Social Cognition*, 4, 349-368.
- Markus, H., Hamill, R., & Sentis, K. (1987). Thinking fat: Self-schemas for body weight and the processing of weight relevant information. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 17, 50-71.
- Gurin, P., & Markus, H. (1988). Group identity: The psychological mechanisms of durable salience. *Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale*, 2, 257-274.

- Markus, H., & Oyserman, D. (1989). Gender and thought: The role of the self-concept. In M. Crawford & M. Gentry (Eds.), *Gender and thought* (pp. 100-127). New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.
- Markus, H., & Ruvolo, A. (1989). Possible selves: Personalized representations of goals. In L. Pervin (Ed.), *Goal concepts in personality and social psychology* (pp. 211-241). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Gurin, P., & Markus, H. (1989). The cognitive consequences of gender identity. In S. Skevington & D. Baker (Eds.), *The social identity of women* (pp. 152-172). Sage Publications.
- Inglehart, M. R., Markus, H., Brown, D. R. (1989). The effects of possible selves on academic achievement: A panel study. In J. P. Forgas & J. M. Innes (Eds.), *Recent advances in social psychology: An international perspective* (pp. 469-477). Elsevier Science Publishers B. V. (North-Holland).
- Markus, H., Cross, S., Wurf, E. (1990). The role of the self-system in competence. In R. J. Sternberg & J. Kolligian, Jr. (Eds.), *Competence considered* (pp. 205-225). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Markus, H. (1990). On splitting the universe. *Psychological Science*, 1, 181-185.
- Oyserman, D., & Markus, H. (1990). Possible selves and delinquency. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 112-125.
- Markus, H., & Cross, S. (1990). The interpersonal self. In L. Pervin (Ed.), *Handbook of personality: Theory and research* (pp. 576-608). New York: Guilford.
- Markus, H. (1990). Unresolved issues of self-representation. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 14, 241-253.
- Cross, S., & Markus, H. (1990). The willful self. *Personality and Social Psychological Bulletin*, 16, 726-742.
- Oyserman, D., & Markus, H. (1990). Possible selves in balance: Implications for delinquency. *Journal of Social Issues*, 46, 141-157.
- Nurius, P. S., & Markus, H. (1990). Situational variability in the self-concept: Appraisals, expectancies, and asymmetries. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 9, 316-333.
- Markus, H., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224-253.
- Wurf, E., & Markus, H. (1991). Possible selves and the psychology of personal growth. In D. Ozer, A. Stewart, & J. Healey (Eds.), *Perspectives on personality: Theory, research and interpersonal dynamics* (Vol. 3, pp. 39-62). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Cross, S., & Markus, H. (1991). Possible selves across the life span. *Human Development*, 34, 230-255.
- Markus, H., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Cultural variation in the self-concept. In J. Strauss & G. R. Goethals (Eds.), *The self: Interdisciplinary approaches* (pp. 18-48). New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Markus, H., & Herzog, A. R. (1991). The role of the self-concept in aging. In K. W. Schaie (Ed.), *Annual review of gerontology and geriatrics: Vol. 11*, (110-143). New York: Springer.
- Ruvolo, A., & Markus, H. (1992). Possible selves and performance: The power of self-relevant imagery. *Social Cognition*, 10, 95-125.

- Josephs, R. A., Markus, H., & Tafarodi, R. W. (1992). Gender and self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 63*, 391-402.
- Markus, H., & Kitayama, S. (1992). The what, why, and how of cultural psychology: A review of R. Shweder's thinking through cultures. *Psychological Inquiry, 3*, 357-364.
- Oyserman, D., & Markus, H. R. (1993). The sociocultural self. In J. Suls (Ed.), *Psychological perspectives on the self* (Vol. 4, pp. 187-220). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Cross, S., & Markus, H. R. (1993). Gender in thought, belief and action: A cognitive approach. In A. E. Beall & R. J. Sternberg (Eds.), *The psychology of gender* (pp. 55-98). New York: Guilford.
- Kato, K., & Markus, H. R. (1993). The role of possible selves in memory. *Psychologia, 36*, 73-83.
- Kitayama, S., & Markus, H. R. (Eds.). (1994). Introduction to cultural psychology and emotion research. In S. Kitayama & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Emotion and culture: Empirical studies of mutual influence* (pp. 1-19). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association Press.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1994). The cultural construction of self and emotion: Implications for social behavior. In S. Kitayama & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Emotion and culture: Empirical studies of mutual influence* (pp. 89-130). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association Press.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1994). The cultural shaping of emotion: A conceptual framework. In S. Kitayama & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Emotion and culture: Empirical studies of mutual influence* (pp. 333-345). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association Press.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1994). A collective fear of the collective: Implications for selves and theories of selves. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 20*, 568-579.
- Kitayama, S., & Markus, H. R. (1994). Culture and self: How cultures influence the way we view ourselves. In D. Matsumoto (Ed.), *People: Psychology from a cultural perspective* (pp. 17-37). Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Cross, S. E., & Markus, H. R. (1994). Self-schemas, possible selves, and competent performance. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 86*, 423-438.
- Stein, K. F., & Markus, H. R. (1994). The organization of the self: An alternative focus for psychopathology and behavioral change. *Journal of Psychotherapy Integration, 4*, 317-353.
- Kitayama, S., & Markus, H. R. (1995). Culture and self: Implications for internationalizing psychology. In N. R. Goldberger & J. B. Veroff (Eds.), *The culture and psychology reader* (pp. 366-383). New York: NYU press.
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