

Jovanović, G., Allolio-Näcke, L., Ratner, C. (2018). The Challenges Of Cultural Psychology: Reviving Historical Legacies, Engaging For Future Responsibilities. Routledge.

## Chapter 23

### The Genesis of Macro Cultural Psychology's Culture Theory from Traditional Cultural Psychology

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This chapter, and the next, explain the scientific and political aspects of macro cultural psychology, and their interdependence. This chapter explains macro cultural psychology's culture theory as it evolved from traditional cultural psychology. The following chapter explains the genesis of macro cultural psychology's culture theory as it evolved from interaction with cross-cultural psychology and micro cultural psychology. The following chapter also compares the political orientation of macro cultural psychology with the other approaches to cultural psychology.

Macro cultural psychology strives to become an emancipatory, psychological science. It does so by raising psychological phenomena to macro cultural phenomena – i.e., as formed in macro cultural factors (and systems) and embodying their features. Psychological phenomena thus reflect macro cultural factors and are windows into cultural factors. The quality of psychological functioning is a barometer of the quality of macro cultural factors. Psychology thus acts as social monitor and critic of cultural failures. Psychology ultimately calls for transforming cultural factors to rectify social failures and psychological failures. In this way, the cultural science of psychology becomes political and emancipatory.

It is the cultural science of psychology that makes it emancipatory. The cultural science identifies the cultural conditions, politics, and power that permeate psychology, so that they may be analyzed and negated in new cultural conditions, politics, and power. A non-cultural science of psychology would preclude its role as social monitor, social critic, and social activist for change. It is therefore crucial for psychology's participation in political emancipation to define and substantiate its cultural nature. That is what this chapter undertakes.

Macro cultural psychology recognizes psychological phenomena to be “centrifugal forces” that link us with cultural factors that form psychology; psychological phenomena are not “centripetal forces” that drive our attention inward to intra-personal processes.<sup>1</sup>

Macro cultural psychology encompasses micro level activities within macro cultural factors so that they can contribute to comprehending and improving those factors. We do not seek to understand or improve psychology in terms of individual processes, per se, as originating and expressing the individual. Nor do we utilize Psychology to “empower individual agency to make autonomous choices.” Nor do we utilize abstract techniques of

emancipation such as “respecting the humanity of others.” These personal and interpersonal foci are false, scientifically and politically. They ignore the cultural nature of the individual that ultimately lies at the macro cultural level, where decisions and policies structure the life activities of masses of people.

All social science approaches grow out of other approaches – just as the individual self develops through its relations with other people (as G.H. Mead explained). To understand macro cultural psychology, it is necessary to elucidate and explain it. This requires taking a “genetic” approach, i.e., to understand its genesis in its historical, and contemporary engagement with other approaches to cultural psychology. (Vygotsky, 1978, pp. 61-63 emphasized genetic analysis of cultural and psychological phenomena. This entailed “replacing object analysis [description of phenotypic, given, external, features] by process analysis [of genotypic origins and development].”) This engagement includes positive and negative provocations from other approaches. These ongoing, historical engagements with other approaches form macro cultural psychology’s extended self, or dialectical otherness.

In my account, there are three major approaches to cultural psychology that comprise the dialectical other to macro cultural psychology (MCP): 1) traditional cultural psychology (TCP), that developed in psychological anthropology (Shweder, Geertz, Lutz, M. Mead, Boas, Rosaldo, D’Andrade, LeVine, Schieffelin, and others), medical anthropology (Kleinman and others), and cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT) under the influence of Vygotsky’s school, 2) Cross-cultural psychology, 3) Micro cultural psychology (mcp), represented by Valsiner, Gonzales-Rey, Gergen, and others.

I will explain the scientific and political aspects of these other approaches that MCP has adopted, transformed, and rejected in advancing cultural psychology to an emancipatory, psychological science.<sup>2</sup>

The scientific and political value of these four approaches depends upon their theories of culture. Cultural theory determines what one considers to be the cultural origin, essence, character, operating processes, constituents, form, and function of psychological phenomena. Cultural theory determines how deeply culture is believed to permeate psychological phenomena (or, conversely, the independence of psychology from culture). I.e., is culture the basis, *raison d'être*, and constituent of psychology, or is it one influence among others, such as biology, which contribute independent features of psychology? Culture theory also frames cultural factors and their organization that are necessary and possible for political change to occur. Culture theory is thus political. Culture theory's determining role in cultural psychology means that the adequacy of culture theory determines the adequacy of cultural psychology. It is important to evaluate the adequacy of cultural theories as one means of evaluating their approaches to cultural psychology.

It is therefore peculiar that culture theory receives little attention by cultural psychologists. They typically define culture superficially, as beliefs and practices learned from and shared with others. Their underlying culture theories (e.g., political philosophy, moral philosophy, conception of the individual, freedom, and social organization/structure) are more tacit and general than explicit and specific. In identifying these, I follow Foucault's observation that: "the history of science... tries to restore what eluded the scientific consciousness: the influences that affected it, the implicit philosophies that were subjacent to it, the unformulated thematics, the unseen obstacles; it describes the unconscious of

science.” “These rules of formation were never formulated in their own right, but are to be found only in widely differing theories, concepts, and objects of study...This is an ‘archaeological system’ common to a whole series of scientific representations or ‘products’ (Foucault, 1994b, p. xi). Culture and politics have this status in cultural psychology. They are unconscious archeology, taxonomy, or historical epistemes, “a level that eludes the consciousness of the scientist and yet is part of scientific discourse” (ibid., p. xi).

The four approaches to cultural psychology and cultural theory are ideal types, in Weber’s sense of emphasizing essential characteristics in a pure or ideal form. Everyday practice often mingles these approaches in inconsistent ways. Certain scholars vacillate between approaches in different stages of their work, and even within a single work.

MCP has the closest affinity with, and reliance on, TCP. TCP has contributed substantial insights into culture theory, the relation of culture to the individual and psychology, the role of biology in human psychology and culture, the primacy of qualitative methodology for apprehending this relation, and empirical research that has achieved this. These form core elements of MCP.

Vygotsky was the pivotal figure in transitioning from TCP to MCP and integrating TCP-MCP. He contributed to both foci. I have followed his lead in developing MCP from TCP in this chapter. Following this, I shall explain how CCP and mcp have contributed to MCP’s science and politics.

For cultural psychology to possess any cohesiveness and substance, it must provide fundamental, essential, minimal, tenets, definitions, and concepts that all particular approaches include. These are “the stem” from which particular approaches branch off.

## Fundamental, Indispensable Tenets of Cultural Psychology: Culture, Civilization, Humanness, Psychology

Psychology, culture, and humanness are interdependent. Each is necessary for the others and constitutes the others. For instance, the individual creates cultural products while reciprocally being formed by cultural activities and social relations. This makes humans a new form of individual. It is this cultured, civilized, individual who is uniquely capable of developing psychology. Psychology reciprocally is the subjectivity that plans, maintains, and revises culture, civilization, and humanness.<sup>3</sup>

How and why does all this occur?

Culture has properties that stimulate and support advanced social and psychological capabilities of individuals. Cultural activities pool individuals together to produce a collective strength that is greater than individual strengths. Collective strength of individual acts is not the mere sum or sequence of individual strengths. It is a novel compounding of individuals into a qualitatively novel, emergent, compound that is supra-individual. Examples are a school, a religion, a corporation, a government. These organized, coordinated, collective organizations are uniquely capable of constructing vast physical artifacts such as a city, a railroad, a telephone system. These cultural factors maximize human survival and fulfillment, which makes humans the superior species.

This is the same kind of emergent compound that water is in relation to its constituents, hydrogen and oxygen. It is irreducible to its individual components, it is more than their sum, it is a new kind and a new level of phenomenon.

The human individual who participates in culture, achieves a new kind and level of capability that is able to produce vast, complex, organized, coordinated, collective social and physical products. The individual exists but in a new, higher, more complex form with new capabilities. James M. Baldwin called this individual “a socius.”

Durkheim expressed this supra-individual character of macro cultural factors with his term “social facts.”

A social fact is to be recognized by the power of external coercion which it exercises or is capable of exercising over individuals, and the presence of this power may be recognized in its turn either by the existence of some specific sanction or by the resistance offered against every individual effort that tends to violate it...It is a group condition repeated in the individual...It is to be found in each part because it exists in the whole, rather than in the whole because it exists in the parts...A collective emotion that bursts forth in a crowd does not express merely what all the individual sentiments had in common; it is something entirely different, as we have shown...Each individual consciousness echoes the collective sentiment, by virtue of the special energy resident in its collective origin. If all hearts beat in unison, this is not the result of a spontaneous and pre-established harmony, but rather because an identical force propels them in the same direction (Durkheim, 1966, pp. 10, 9).

One of the new capabilities that human individuals develop in their cultural activities is psychology – the capability to think, speak, comprehend, imagine. These processes inform primitive, natural forms of animal perception, emotion, motivation, and desire, and elevate them into higher, conscious, cultural processes, as Vygotsky put it. Genuine psychological phenomena are cultural, and are only capable in cultural individuals, or sociuses. Psychology is not an individual attribute, it does not originate in individual processes (subjective or biological), it does not primarily function to enhance the individual, per se. Psychology is cultural and it functions to reproduce and reinforce cultural factors that are essential to human survival and fulfillment. Durkheim (1888/1978, pp. 63, 50-51, my emphasis) said this well: “In every society there exists a certain number of common ideas and sentiments...These assure the unity and the continuity of collective life...All these phenomena are psychological in nature, but they do not have their source in individual psychology, since they infinitely transcend the individual. They must, therefore, be the object of a special science charged with their description and the investigation of their preconditions. This science could be called social psychology.”

Individual members of society may initiate psychological phenomena, however they do not do so as individuals acting on their own. They act as cultural members who have been enculturated, and whose individual acts have social objectives and social consequences.<sup>4</sup>

Because culture is necessary for our survival and fulfillment, we must devote ourselves to initiating, maintaining, and refining culture. We must be culture-centric. We actively adapt ourselves to meet cultural requirements/parameters because they are our means of subsistence. If we do not internalize cultural psychology – education, knowledge, reasoning, perceiving, motivation, language, demeanor – we cannot avail ourselves of all the benefits



that culture provides. Individualistic, postmodernist notions of autonomous, non-cultural psychology/consciousness/agency would reduce us to uncivilized animals.

With our capabilities dependent upon culture, it is incumbent on us to develop the highest level of civilization possible in order to enrich our psychological capabilities to think, comprehend, communicate, perceive, and emote. In this sense, macro cultural psychology is political in that it prompts us to scrutinize our culture and improve it in the interest of enriching and advancing our psychology.

What makes individual behavior into collective, emergent form is cooperation. Cooperation is analogous to the physical process that compounds hydrogen and oxygen into water. Cooperation changes the character and function of individuals. It elevates them into a new kind of individual, a cultural individual, a socius, irreducible to its pre-cultural forms. A socius is created by cooperation “out of” non-cultural individuals. Cooperation is thus the uniquely human, culturalizing activity, the culturalizing process, that makes us cultural sociuses which create cultural factors that civilize us. Cooperation is not merely individuals negotiating with each other (this is the capitalist reduction of cooperation to egoism that gets the best deal from others). Cooperation is a collective act that merges individuals with others in a common act that creates a socius of cultural sensitivities, capabilities, and interests.

We can see that the macro cultural system is the real “zone of proximal development” (zpd) that stimulates and supports psychological development. Interpersonal support and stimulation – that is mistakenly taken to comprise zpd – depends upon the macro cultural structure of classes, conditions, roles, opportunities, and restrictions.

Leontiev explains that cultural activity not only organizes the specific features of psychological phenomena; it determines the very existence of psychological phenomena, i.e., conscious, intelligent, self-aware psychological phenomena. Leontiev (2009, pp. 198-199, 295, 298) explains:

It has now been shown that individual psychic processes are actually reorganised during historical development. It is known, for instance, that the memory of the people of certain economically and culturally backward nationalities has very unique features, e.g. a capacity to fix the features of a locality with amazing accuracy (so-called topographic memory)...

People living in different historical epochs and in different social conditions of course also differ in what are their processes of perception, memory, thought, etc. But does the difference between these processes exhaust the difference between their psyche and their consciousness? We assume that it does not, that changes also take place in the course of historical development in the general character of men's consciousness that are engendered by changes in their mode of life.

The transition from primitive, biological forms of memory to its highest, specifically human ones is the result of a long, complex process of cultural and historical development. Man had to master his

natural, biological memory, subordinate its activity to the new conditions of his social being, had to recreate it anew, making it *human* memory.

The former, *biological*, type of the development of behaviour is replaced by another type, *historical* development. Man's mastery of his own behaviour by means of external means is a moment of the greatest significance in the history of the development of his psychological functions.<sup>5</sup>

Because psychological phenomena are cultural, it follows that psychological development is cultural development in the sense that psychological development brings cultural forms that are embodied in psychology to peoples' minds and bodies. Psychological development is a civilizing process with a civilizing function. For example, people are sexualized in a cultural form. This makes sexual development, or sexual becoming, or sexualization, an element of civilizing people into a culture. Sex is political in that it as an element of society that reinforces society (see Lyon & Barbalet, 1994 for somatization of the body).

This general conception of cultural psychology is developed in diverse ways by the four approaches that we shall now explore. Our intent is to explain that macro cultural psychology is the most scientifically valid and politically useful development of cultural psychology. Because macro cultural psychology has been influenced most deeply and positively by traditional cultural psychology, we shall commence with exploring it.

Subsequently, we shall explain the contributions from cross-cultural and micro cultural psychology.

### Traditional Cultural Psychology

TCP's tradition dates back to the Human Sciences movement in Germany, Lazarus & Steintal's Journal of Folk Psychology and Linguistics (Zeitschrift fur Volkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft) which they founded in 1860 (see Chakkarath, 2012; Ratner, 2012b, pp. 44-47).

TCP studies psychology in relation to broad social factors, including the cultural spirit, or, Geist, of a historical era. This theme was developed by the Annales School of history that focused on "mentalities." L'Ecole des Les Annales was founded by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch in 1929. Fernand Braudel and Phillippe Aries joined later on. (This grew into the École des haute études en sciences sociales (EHESS), or "School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences," which Bourdieu joined. The Annales School was thus the intellectual background of Bourdieu.) Febvre called for an "inventory of the mental equipment" of Western man at various stages of his historical development. The task is to establish the mental horizons of an age - not only as these open upon the future, but also as they delimit the possibilities of thought in a given historical era. The culture of an age is to be grasped in the habits of mind common to masses of people. These constitute a powerful force of inertia that resists change. A people's mental equipment is a function of cultural factors, or forms, which regularize mental activity. These cultural factors include aesthetic

images, linguistic codes, expressive gestures, religious rituals, and social customs. (Hutton, 2004, 241-243).

TCP was developed contemporaneously mainly by psychological anthropologists (Shweder, Geertz, D'Andrade, Mead, Bateson, Lutz, Rosaldo), medical anthropologists (Kleinman), and cultural-historical activity theorists (Cole, Rogoff, Engestrom). These scholars have explored the panoply of psychological processes, from emotions, to cognition, to child development, to sexuality, to gender relations, to cognition and concepts, to mental illness, to language, in relation to macro cultural factors. Harvard University's Dept. of Social Relations was a key player in this movement.

The department was inaugurated in 1946 with faculty loaned by other departments. The 114 faculty included Bruner; Erickson; Riesman; Bales; David McClelland; Roger Brown; B. Moore. The department enrolled 300 undergrads/year. It produced 300 Phd.s in interdisciplinary subjects until it was dissolved 1972, in part through the opposition of Skinner. Its doctoral graduates included:

Robert Bellah, sociologist

Patricia Greenfield, cross-cultural psychologist

Bertram J. Cohler, psychoanalyst and cultural psychologist

Roy G. D'Andrade, cognitive anthropologist

Carol R. Ember, cultural anthropologist

Harold Garfinkel, sociologist

Clifford Geertz, cultural anthropologist

Leon Kamin, experimental psychologist

Jean Mandler, cognitive psychologist

Dan P. McAdams, social and personality psychologist

Stanley Milgram, social psychologist

Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, feminist theorist and psychological anthropologist

Renato Rosaldo, cultural anthropologist

Barbara Rogoff, developmental and cultural psychologist

Richard Shweder, psychological anthropologist and cultural psychologist

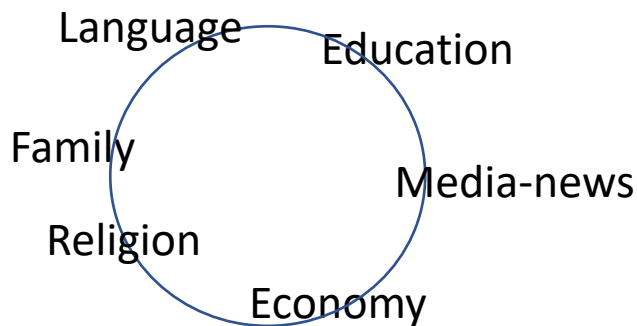
Because one's theory of culture defines one's approach to cultural psychology, and to political emancipation, we introduce TCP's contribution to MCP via its cultural theory.

TCP construes culture as a set of macro cultural factors organized into a system in which each is interdependent with others and expresses them in itself. Macro cultural factors are institutions, artifacts, and cultural concepts (symbols, language). These are the cornerstones of culture; they provide the cultural advantages of support, stimulation, stability, security, and strength. This is obviously true for institutions such as schools, hospitals, governments, religious institutions, banks, computers, roads. Macro cultural factors are where culture is created and formed. Changes in the nature of institutions, artifacts, and concepts, radically and massively change culture. Macro cultural factors radiate throughout the society, enveloping all other social phenomena and social forms, e.g., interpersonal relations in the family or friendships.

The organization of macro cultural factors in a system is depicted in figure one.

Figure One

The Culture Theory of Traditional Cultural Psychology



This culture theory is emphasized in the notion of “the hermeneutic circle,” that was developed by Dilthey in the 19<sup>th</sup> -20<sup>th</sup> century. Dilthey argued that understanding any particular element, requires tracing it to its relationships in a system. This means that any factor is complex, determinate, variegated, and concrete, depending on its system. It is not singular and fixed, as “variables” assume.

Anthropologist Marcel Mauss articulated this in his concept of “total social facts” that “involve the totality of society and its institutions.” I.e. “they are at once legal, economic, religious, aesthetic, morphological and so on.”

the potlatch is much more than a juridical phenomenon: it is one that we propose to call 'total'. It is religious, mythological, and Shamanist, since the chiefs who are involved represent and incarnate their ancestors and the gods, whose name they bear, whose dances they dance and whose spirits possess them. The potlatch is also an economic phenomenon, and we must gauge the value, the importance, the reasons for, and the effect of these transactions, enormous even today, when they are calculated in European values. The potlatch is also a phenomenon of social structure: the gathering together of tribes, clans, and families, even of peoples, brings about a remarkable state of nerviness and excitement. One fraternizes, yet one remains a stranger; one communicates and opposes others in a gigantic act of trade and a constant tournament. We pass over the aesthetic phenomena, which are extremely numerous. Finally, even from the juridical viewpoint, to what we have already gleaned regarding the form of these contracts and what might be termed their human purpose, as well as the juridical status of the contracting parties (clans, families, ranks, and betrothals,) we must add this: the material purposes of the contracts, the things exchanged in them, also possess a special intrinsic power, which causes them to be given and above all to be reciprocated (Mauss, 1925/1966, p. 49).



The potlatch is also political and a moral phenomenon that defines one's moral character.

LeVine (1984, p. 72-73) explains the cultural constitution of a psychological phenomenon that must be apprehended to understand it:

customs are connected and comprehensible only as parts of a larger organization – of beliefs, norms, values, or social action...To comprehend “Gusii” witchcraft, one must be able to set it in at least three contexts: 1) the interpersonal relationships, social situations, and economic distributions that generate witchcraft accusations; 2) the representations of figures who can cause and/or eliminate afflictions with witches; 3) beliefs concerning emotions and bodily processes...These contexts constitute the meaning of witchcraft accusations, and the meaning determines how they will respond to it.

Farese (2016) articulates a rigorous methodology for elucidating the cultural meaning of psychological phenomena such as emotions.

Following our introductory, general description of cultural psychology, TCP localizes psychological phenomena in the various points of the cultural system – in the educational factor, in the religious factor, in the family, in the media, in work, etc. The cultural model is

thus the format or framework for psychological phenomena, and for the Psychological discipline that researches them. Each macro cultural factor, or cultural node, within the system, is a site of psychological formation. Each contributes its distinctive quality to cognition, perception, motivation, emotion, sexuality, gender, impulsiveness, memory, problem solving. Certain factors may be more or less influential on the general prevalence of any particular psychological phenomenon.

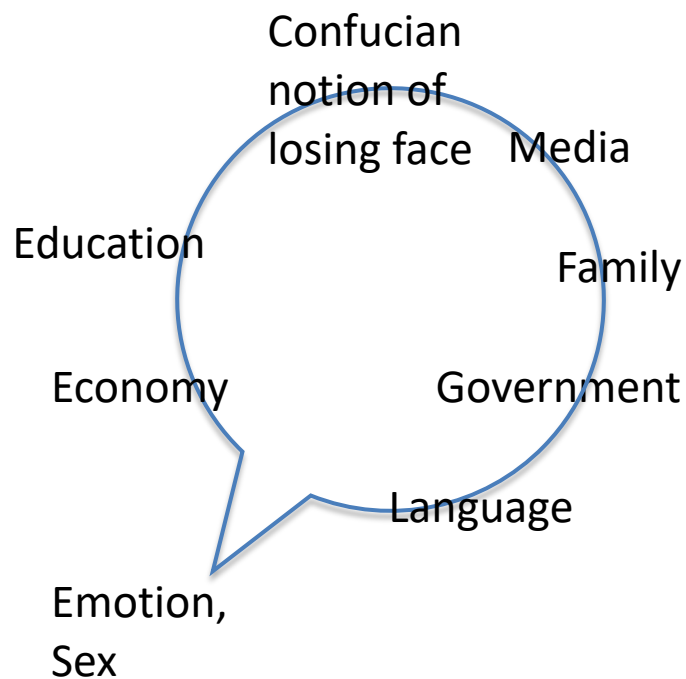
Each psychological phenomenon – e.g., emotionality, sexuality -- is a total social fact reflecting the relative inputs from diverse cultural factors. “Inscribed within the dispositions of the habitus is the whole structure of the system of conditions as it presents itself in the experience of a life-condition occupying a particular position within that structure” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 172).

TCP’s conception of psychology may be diagrammed in figure two:



Figure Two

Traditional Cultural Psychology



This model is illustrated in a sociologist's observations about hook-up sex within college campuses: "these young people are not getting their ideas about sexuality out of thin air, and they're not inventing them whole cloth when they get to college. And they certainly don't apply simply to college. I think that what we see on college campuses is almost a concentrated, crystallized, clear demonstration of many of the [cultural] values

that are driving all of our sexualities...So I think that anyone of any age, whether they went to college or not, is going to be able to recognize many of those dynamics in their own lives” (<http://www.alternet.org/culture/hooking-core-requirement-casual-sex-college-isnt-optional-anymore-its-imperative?akid=15201.152322.ZxHY-e&rd=1&src=newsletter1072149&t=18>).

Individuals exercise some choice over the cultural factors they utilize to mediate their experiences. Certain Americans resort to guns to deal with their misfortunes and anxieties, while other individuals resort to religion. Nevertheless, any and all of the mediations that individuals use are cultural-political mediations. This is what Vygotsky meant by psychological tools; it is what Foucault meant by technologies of the self. Individuals do not invent these on their own, as expressions of their personal agency. The choice of mediations that individuals utilize to address other cultural factors is heavily influenced by cultural processes. The choice of guns in the U.S. is heavily influenced by the massive propaganda efforts of the gun industry (National Rifle Association) to promote guns as freedom, heroic, protective, “American.” It is impossible to predict which cultural mediation any particular individual will utilize in expressing his experience, however, it is possible to predict the social demography of these choices based upon their cultural proliferation through advertising, appearance in entertainment programs, and political endorsements.

TCP moves psychological phenomena from the individual plane to the cultural plane. Psychology is stimulated, supported, and socialized by macro cultural factors and systems; psychology embodies the form and content of macro cultural factors; psychology is objectified in macro cultural factors; and psychology is the subjectivity that envisions,

implements, and maintains cultural factors. Traditional cultural psychologists this as follows: "Culture, far more than a mere catalogue of rituals and beliefs, is instead the very stuff of which our subjectivities are created." "What individuals can think and feel is overwhelmingly a product of socially organized modes of action and of talk; society itself provides its actors images that combine such things as action, thought, emotion, and health." "Affects and conceptions of the self assume a shape that corresponds – at least in part – with the societies and polities within which actors live their lives, the kinds of claims that they defend, the conflicts they are apt to know, and their experiences of social relations." "The affects, whatever their similarities, are no more similar than the societies in which we live" (Rosaldo, 1984, pp. 150, 147, 149, 145). Psychological anthropologist, Lutz (1988, pp, 5-6) says "emotional meaning is fundamentally structured by particular cultural systems and particular social and material environments...Talk about emotions is simultaneously talk about society – about power and politics, about kinship and marriage, about normality and deviance..." Vygotsky (1934/1987, p. 132) said, "In contrast to the maturation of instincts or innate tendencies, the motive force that ... sets in action the maturational mechanism of behavior impelling it forward along the path of further development is located not inside but outside the adolescent. The tasks that are posed for the maturing adolescent by the social environment – tasks that are associated with his entry into the cultural, professional, and social life of the adult world – are an essential functional factor in the formation of concepts." Vygotsky espoused culture-centric, environmental affordances of psychology (see Ratner, 2015, pp. 53-56 for the following quotations from Vygotsky): "Between man and the outside world there stands the social environment, which in its own way refracts and directs the stimuli acting upon the individual and guides all the reactions

that emanate from the individual." "The environment is a factor in the realm of personality development, and its role is to act as the source of this development...and not its context."

Bericat's (2016) description of anxiety illustrates this approach. He says that anxieties should not be thought of solely as a highly individual experience, but rather more accurately as the shared experience of individuals living within the same sociocultural-historical context. Anxiety is embedded in the institutions that surround the individual and is routinized in one's daily life. While anxieties may be experienced on a personal level, we must consider the broader sociological, historical, and geographical dimensions of anxiety, including how anxieties are culturally created, framed, mediated, and institutionalized at the macro cultural level; how they spread and are contained, and how they shift between social fields and vary across space and time (see also Clay-Warner and Robinson, 2008; Donnan, 2017, p. 2).

Macro cultural psychological phenomena such as these supersede individual causes, explanations, predictions, and solutions. Atilola & Ayinde (2015, p. 458) document the failure of individual treatments, including anti-depressant medication, to reduce suicide rates. Social problems requires cultural analysis of cultural causes, and cultural changes to eradicate them.

#### Internalizing and individualizing macro cultural psychology

With psychological phenomena essentially macro cultural phenomena, individual utilization of them is a derivative activity, not an originating activity. Vygotsky said, "We derive individual functions from forms of collective life. Development proceeds not toward

socialization, but toward individualization of social functions (transformation of social functions into psychological functions)” (cited in Ratner, 2015, pp. 53-56). This is an important phrasing of the process of socialization. Vygotsky meant that cultural psychology was already built into macro cultural factors, and that individuals internalize it into their psyches. He stated this explicitly: “Development is achieved under particular conditions of interaction with the environment, where the ideal and final form of development is already there in the environment and actually exerts a real influence on the primary form, on the first steps of the child’s development. Something which is only supposed to take shape at the very end of development somehow influences the very first steps in this development.” “If no appropriate ideal form can be found in the environment, and the development of the child, for whatever reasons, has to take place outside those specific conditions, i.e., without any interaction with the final form, then this proper form will fail to develop properly in the child” (in Ratner, 2015, pp. 53-56.)

This is a difficult process for psychologists to grasp because they construe psychology as individually-based. It is thus necessary to explain how psychology is primarily a macro cultural activity and only secondarily an individual activity.

Macro cultural factors are affordances, inspirations, and supports for generating psychological cognitions, perceptions, language, emotions, motives, and imagination. Individuals are culture-centric in developing psychology that promotes macro cultural factors which are vital to our survival and fulfillment. Culturally-inspired and supported psychological phenomena are objectified in macro cultural factors such as norms, policies, instrumental design, architecture (churches, houses, schools, offices), and cultural concepts. These culturally inspired, supported, and objectified psychological phenomena



become normalized templates or models for individual psychological functioning

For example, Western housing is designed and build to provide personal privacy for each individual in the form of personal space. A baby is provided her “own” room to objectify her individuality and privacy. When she needs something, she has to exert herself to bridge the spatial separation by calling out to her caretakers. This private infrastructure structures a sense as a private, distinct, possessive, individual. The private, possessive, individualized room subsequently becomes her psychological tool for dealing with events. Children who are unhappy with unsatisfactory social relations with family members, utilize the private, individualized, physical space of their room to assert a social and psychological space with which to escape from these interactions. The room becomes a “technology of the self” in Foucault’s terms.

Western domiciles are not conducive to collective living. This is by design, because they are designed to objectify and promote the individualistic Geist of the time. To practice collective social relations in the home, these must be objectified in new forms of architecture which afford them.

Following Vygotsky, Leontiev (1978, chap. 3) explained how: “social conditions carry in themselves motives and goals of his activity, his means and methods; in a word, society produces the activity of the individuals, forming it. Of course, this does not mean at all that their activity only personifies the relationships of society and its culture. There are complex transformations and transitions that connect them...” Another example is lace lingerie that has the public, objective, built-in meaning of “sexiness.” When a woman wishes to feel sexy, or stimulate sexual desire for her in a partner, she dons this cultural artifact to convey its sexiness to herself and her partner (Jantzen, et al., 2006).

Vygotsky argued that macro cultural factors comprise psychological tools, or mechanisms of mind that perform mental work:

Psychological tools are artificial formations. By their nature they are social and not organic or individual devices. They are directed toward the mastery of [mental] processes – one’s own or someone else’s – just as technical devices are directed toward the mastery of processes of nature...The following may serve as examples of psychological tools and their complex systems: language, different forms of numeration and counting, mnemotechnic techniques, algebraic symbolism, works of art, writing, schemes, diagrams, maps, blueprints, all sorts of conventional signs, etc. (in Ratner, 2015, pp. 53-56).

These cultural-psychological tools are similar to the mental equipment identified by the Annales historians of mentalities. They have been variously termed “schemata” or “templates” or “collective representations” which overlay and organize psychological functions such as perception, cognition, emotion, desire, and sexuality. The classical sonata form exemplifies the manner in which cultural forms take up sensory (auditory) impressions and elevate them into beautiful, sensitive music.<sup>6</sup>

Pedersen and Bang deepen our understanding of how objective cultural-psychology is transferred to individual psyches. They relate it to Gibson’s notion of affordances in the field of perception. Institutions, artifacts, and cultural concepts all contain affordances that

call for and channel the manner in which people perceive, think about, feel about, attend to, and imagine them.

Gibson's concept of affordance is inspired by Gestalt psychology and the idea that things have meaning in themselves. Thus, Koffka talked about the "demand character" of the thing, and Lewin created the term "Aufforderungscharakter." Other concepts with a similar idea occurred, such as the "invitation character" or "valence" of things...

Gibson stressed that organisms come to know their environment through their own exploratory activities. These activities are a necessity in order to gain access to the relevant informative structures, to the affordances, which support perception. Rather than viewing the surroundings as shapes, colors, and layouts, to him they are "the meaning of things for action." "The *affordances* of the environment are what it *offers* the animal, what it *provides* or *furnishes*, either for good or ill" (Pedersen and Bang, 2016, p. 733).

Macro cultural affordances, as psychological tools and techniques of subjectification, are organized in the conical cultural system and embody its characteristics and dynamics. They comprise the political-economic origins, characteristics, availability, and reproductive

function of psychological phenomena along lines of the social structure – i.e., racial and class lines (Kirsch & Braun, 2016; Massey & Brodmann, 2014).

Anyon (1980, 1981) documents how public schools in complex industrial societies make available different types of educational experience and curriculum knowledge to students in different social classes. Schools reward classroom behaviors that correspond to different occupational strata.

Roy explains how property is a macro cultural factor that contains affordances for behavior: Roy (1997, p. 10) explains how a corporation is a form of property. It is materialized subjectivity in property that is an emergent “substance” or entity or order of reality. It affords certain kinds of actions, and prohibits other kinds. “Property can be defined as the set of politically enforced rights, entitlements, and obligations that people have in relationship to objects and in relationship to other individuals (owners and non-owners).” “The specific rights, entitlements, and obligations that are embedded within institutions shape the context within which people make decisions.” “The fact that an actor rationally decides to maximize his or her utility does not mean that power is irrelevant to an explanation of behavior; power operates in setting up the choices the actor faces and the consequences of any particular action” (p. 13).

Social relations and social behavior are built into property where they are legally required and enforced. You must utilize these objectified forms of behavior in order to participate. For example, the only way you can have input into the policies of a corporation is to purchase shares of stock. And you must purchase a large enough portfolio that can outweigh others. A small portfolio grants you no significant voice in policy. In addition, this corporate equation of voice with shares means that you don’t need to have any other

qualifications to have input into policy. Your input has nothing to do with the validity of your reasons for desiring a policy. Your policies can be unreasonable, however, they will be accepted simply because you have sufficient shares to win a vote. This is all built into the cultural properties of property.

The fact that trans-individual entities, such as social institutions and cultural concepts, generate, embody, afford, model, and convey behavior, motives, and goals, justifies terms such as “institutional racism,” or “institutional violence,” or “institutional intelligence.”

### Macro Cultural Psychology’s Conception of Culture

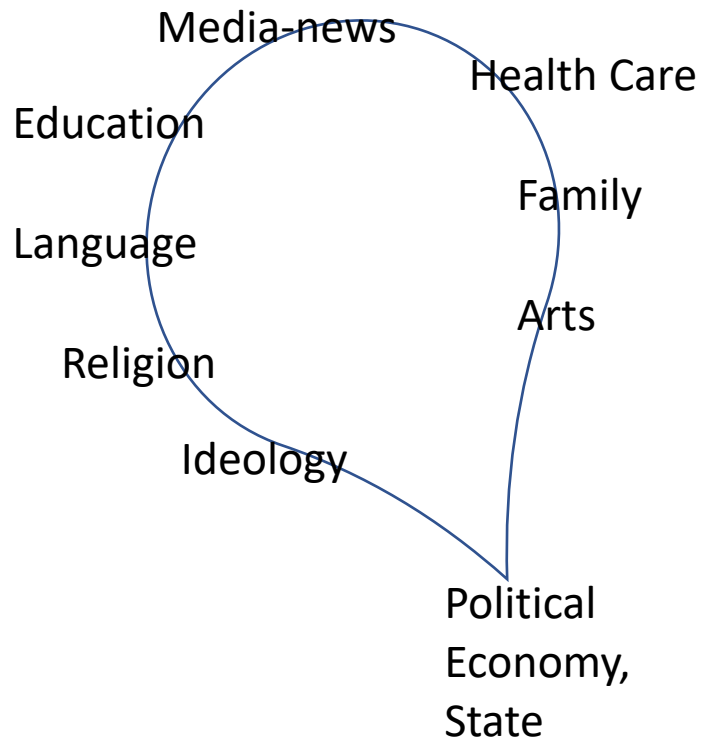
MCP incorporates, deepens, and supersedes the culture theory, psychological theory, methodology, research, and politics of TCP. MCP is the dialectical aufhebung of TCP. Vygotsky was the pivotal figure in making this transition; he developed both sides in the process.

MCP deepens the conception of culture, individual, psychology, and biology that TCP outlines. MCP enhances TCP by 1) adding crucial political-economic cultural factors to the cultural system, 2) deepening the organization (structure) of the cultural system, 3) explaining how these organize psychology, 4) utilizing psychology’s grounding in cultural factors and processes to propose directions for progressive social change.

Macro cultural psychology distinguishes itself from other approaches to cultural psychology by introducing political economy as the core of the cultural system of macro factors. (Social Reproduction Theory similarly develops this approach; Bhattacharya, 2017). This means that the cultural system is not a simple circle or sphere. Rather, the system takes the form of a cone with the political economy at the base of the cone. This is depicted in figure three.

Figure Three

Conical Cultural Model of Macro Cultural Psychology



The political economic core of society introduces important features such as the mode of production, social classes, power and politics, oppression, alienation, mystification, ideology, commodification, dispossession, social emancipation, conscientization, class consciousness. These features add to, and concretize, the macro cultural factors in the

cultural system; they also explain the origin of these factors; they explain their unity/congruence; and they explain why/how they should be improved and can be improved.

The political economic core of society provides its unitary, systemic character. For instance, the low wage economy of the poor working class has a systemic affect on the totality of social life that encompasses poor-quality jobs, inferior schools, dilapidated housing, medical problems, and short longevity (Seefeldt, 2017).

Bourdieu describes the political-economic core of society in his volume, On The State (2014) where he described the state as not only the seat of political power, but also as a concentration of symbolic resources which the society utilizes. “The state is defined by possession of the monopoly of legitimate physical and symbolic violence” “The state is the principle of the organization of consent as adhesion to the social order.” “The state is the foundation of both the logical and moral conformity of the social world. Logical conformity, in Durkheim’s sense, consists in the fact that the agents of the social world have the same logical perceptions...the same categories of thought, of perception, of construction of reality” (ibid., p. 4). Bourdieu endorses the Marxist view of the state: “the state is not an apparatus oriented to the common good, it is an apparatus of constraint, of maintenance of public order but to the benefit of the dominant...It fulfills, as I see it, certain of the functions that the Marxist tradition ascribes to it” (ibid., pp. 5-6).

The political-economic model of society is confirmed and practiced by the neoliberal revolution. It has extended the capitalist political economy to every domain of capitalist society: education, health care, medical research, prisons, exploration of outer space, the military, and national security have all been commoditized for private profit of capitalist



investors. Business groups have established organizations to systematically carry out this capitalization of society as a whole. The ruling class is vitally aware of the need to make society a cohesive whole in which all the elements reflect and reinforce the base. (For the Koch brothers' take-over of curricula and research in public universities, see <http://www.alternet.org/education/koch-brothers-fsu?akid=15176.152322.GXgLik&rd=1&src=newsletter1071654&t=8>).

Erickson (2017) describes how schools are integrated into the political economy and both reflect and promote its inequities through academic and local business activities in the pursuit of economic growth. Her history of four decades of school desegregation in Nashville demonstrates how federal and municipal policies consistently reproduced racial inequality across the metropolitan landscape and inside the classrooms of one of the nation's most successful 'statistically desegregated' districts during the era of court-ordered busing. In their geographical location, curricula, and apparent social benefits, schools helped those in power selectively encourage economic investment and divide the haves from the have-nots. Even well-meaning reforms meant to ensure growth or desegregation advanced new forms of white power and privilege through governmental decisions that redistributed material (i.e., schools), human, and social resources to privileged, white suburban students. Recognizing educational inequality as "a total social fact" corrects attributing inequality to individual racism.

Political-economic oppression has structured cognitive and educational performance among lower class pupils in school (Dynarski, Aug. 14, 2016). A seeming educational problem is a broader socio-economic problem.

Religion is also encompassed by political economy. Islam, for example, was a moderate, progressive, scientific religion during the Middle Ages when Muslims were the most advanced scientists in the world. The reactionary, despotic State of contemporary Saudi Arabia transformed Islam into a monstrous, oppressive, reactionary, mystical, anti-scientific dogmatic religion that has left Saudi Arabia an intellectual, scientific, and cultural wasteland. Kruse (2015) explains how 'Christian America' is not a legacy of the nation's founders. Rather, it was the deliberate invention of conservative corporate leaders who allied with like-minded clergymen in the 1930s to fight Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal political economy.

Cohen (2017) explains how artistic genre such as operas are based in, embody, and promulgate political values. Ideology is a major cultural factor in all societies that are exploitive and oppressive – that is, all societies that are stratified in a class pyramid.

Ideology is a major cultural factor in all societies that are exploitive and oppressive – that is, all societies that are stratified in a class pyramid. This is why ideology appears in the conical social system of figure three. Ideology obfuscates the fundamental oppression and exploitation in class societies. This is necessary to legitimize social class by exempting it from notice, critique, and transformation.

Ideology takes numerous forms in different societies. American ideology obscures the class structure and capitalist autocracy with fictitious notions about individual freedom, agency, and democracy. Chinese ideology obscures the class structure with fictitious pronouncements that China is a people's socialist republic. Ideology is rooted in the exploitive political economy, and it pervades all the macro cultural factors of the social system. All of them cultivate and promulgate ideological obfuscation of their

oppressive, political-economic character. Ideology is a cultural mechanism for obscuring the reality of culture. Ideology is a cultural mechanism that obscures, distorts, and denies that political economy is the basis of culture, and that culture is the basis of psychology/behavior. Ideology enables culture to be self-obscuring through one of culture's own mechanisms.

Culture is only exposed for what it is by elucidating its organization by an objective political economy. This requires looking past superficial appearances of cultural factors and official accounts of culture that deny oppressive features. In the discipline of cultural psychology, only macro cultural psychology has this orientation to expose the ideological mask of cultural factors and psychology by articulating the true character of political economy. All other approaches to cultural psychology are ideological insofar as they preserve ideological myths and mystification.

The political economic core of society is where most attention should focus on understanding and improving society. Focusing on other, particular macro cultural factors, apart from the political economy, cannot improve them because it ignores their core and its supportive system. For example, the massive interest in educational psychology and pedagogy assumes that education, per se, can enrich cognitive functions. However, education is modulated by social class. Lower class children benefit very little from pedagogical techniques, per se, because those are contradicted by the political-economic restraints on upward mobility among the lower class. Education of these children would be enhanced much more by eradicating the class structure of lower class social conditions. Physical health follows the same pattern. A healthy environment, free of contaminants from

the economy, would enhance public health far more than individual treatments can amidst a contaminated ecology. Focusing on individual treatment -- educational and medical -- is not only unsuccessful; it impedes success by distracting attention from the political economy, and pretending that individual enrichment can occur through pedagogical and medical techniques without transforming the political economy.

The conical model of culture, with power and politics at its base/core, resonates with the work of Marx and Bourdieu. (Political culture theory, pioneered by political scientist Gabriel Almond, contributes to this genre.) Macro cultural psychology draws heavily on their work. Theoretical and empirical advances in macro cultural psychology are found in the critical tendencies of social science disciplines -- e.g., critical sociology, critical anthropology, critical geography, critical discourse analysis, all of which add politics and power to the apolitical, traditional approaches to these fields. Critical psychologists in the Holtzkamp tradition have contributed to macro cultural Psychology (Schraube & Osterkamp, 2013). Critical psychologists in the psychoanalytic tradition have not developed any substantive theoretical concepts or general, empirical conclusions about human psychology because psychoanalysis is fundamentally anti-cultural and anti-radical (Ratner, 2017a).<sup>7</sup>

Vygotsky's school of cultural-historical psychology accepted the conical culture theory: "every epoch has its own form of education" because educational activity has always corresponded to "those particular economic and social structures of society that defined the whole history of the epoch." "Pedagogics is never and was never politically indifferent, since, willingly or unwillingly, through its own work on the psyche, it has always

adopted a particular social pattern, i.e., political line, in accordance with the dominant social class that has guided its interests.” “Since we know that each person’s individual experience is conditioned by the role he plays in his environment, and that it is the class membership which also defines this role, it is clear that class membership defines man’s psychology and man’s behavior. Social stimuli that have been established in the course of historical development...are permeated through and through with the class structure of society that generated them and serve as the class organization of production. They are responsible for all of human behavior, and in this sense we are justified in speaking of man’s class behavior” (Vygotsky (1997b, pp. 55, 56, 348, 211-212). This emphasis reflects the Marxist orientation of Vygotsky and his colleagues, Luria and Leontiev (see Ratner & Nunes, 2017). Vygotsky’s Marxism is expressed in his enthusiastic support of the Russian Revolution in its early days, before it was deformed by Stalin. On Dec. 23, 1923, in Poleskaia Pravda, Vygotsky wrote an enthusiastic review of John Reed’s positive book on the Russian Revolution, Ten Days That Shook the World.

Adding the political-economic element as the basis of culture and psychology introduces massive qualitative differences between macro cultural psychology and the traditional cultural psychological system depicted in figure 1. This is akin to the small, quantitative, 1%, difference between human genes and chimp genes generating massive qualitative differences in the capacities and competencies of the two species -- of the three billion letters that make up the human genome, only 15 million of them—less than 1 percent—have changed in the six million years or so since the human and chimp lineages diverged (<https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/what-makes-us-different>).<sup>8</sup>

The political-economic core of society means that cultural factors are re-defined in political terms, explained in political terms, functional for political objectives, and evaluated in political terms. They are no longer defined in abstract, neutral, technical terms. For instance, Skeggs & Yuill (2015, p. 3) emphasize how “Facebook is better understood as a powerful advertising oligopoly that lubricates the circulation of capital rather than just as a social network...The relationship between property and personhood is being currently reconfigured as Facebook experiments with ways to accrue maximum profit.” Agger & Shelton (2017) similarly describe how, under the commodification of ‘college labor’ where degreed labor and credit hours are produced, the course syllabus becomes far more than merely introducing the course subject matter and requirements; it is now a labor contract between instructor and students, that spells out precise conditions under which student work will be evaluated and credit hours awarded, and the behavioral and attitudinal expectations of students.

Education (and “zones of proximal development” in general) is similarly not a neutral, technical imparting of information; it is a concrete pedagogy of concrete information and concrete competencies that serve the political-economic system (Anyon, 1980, 1981). The same is true for the news media. Similarly, psychiatry is not an institution that neutrally identifies and cures psychological problems. It is politically driven in its conception and explanation of mental illness, its ideal of psychological health, and its procedures for achieving health (Ma, 2012, Yang, 2017; see Ratner, 2018 for a conception of zpd as cultural capital).

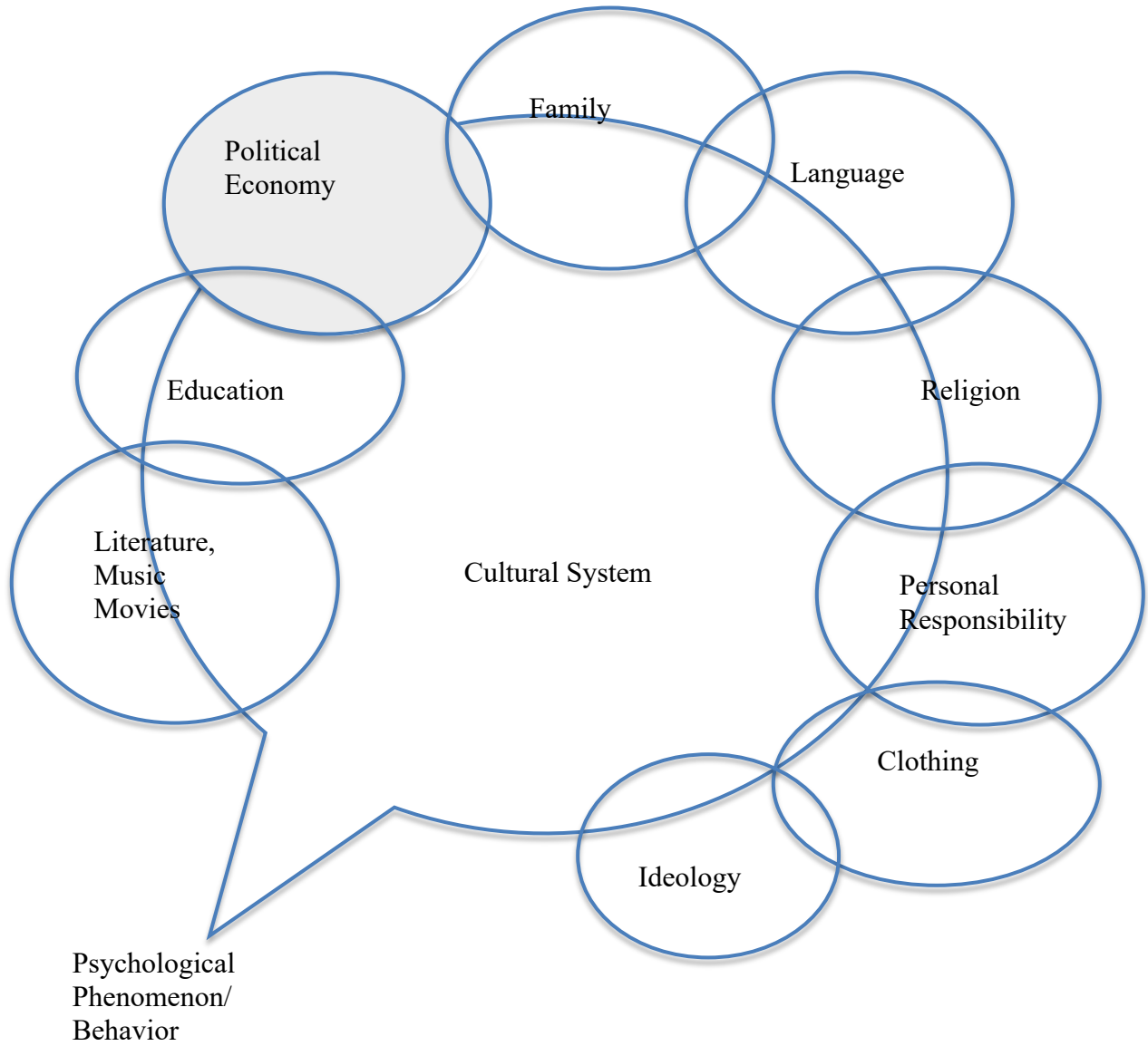
Individualistic culture -- a major construct of cross-cultural psychologists -- is redefined as capitalist culture, with the fullness of its economic, political, imperialist, and ideological features that cross-cultural psychologists ignore. Similarly, poverty is not simply meager material resources, it crystallizes a particular role within a concrete political-economy, e.g., the proletariat in capitalism. Wealth is also not simply a quantity of money or property (which the phrase "upper 1%" connotes), it is a political-economic phenomenon rooted in a concrete socioeconomic relation and system (e.g., wealth from capital that depends upon wage labor and incessant, competitive, capital accumulation). Equally abstract and rejected by MCP are terms such as urbanization, globalization, collectivism, womanhood, agency, mental health. These only exist as concrete historical, political-economic forms.

### Macro Culture and Psychology

The cultural model is the format or framework for psychological phenomena, and for the Psychological discipline that researches them. Each macro cultural factor, or cultural node, within the system, is a site of psychological formation. Each cultural node contributes its distinctive quality (of the system) to cognition, perception, motivation, emotion, sexuality, gender, impulsiveness, memory, problem solving.

This relationship may depicted as in figure 4

Figure Four  
Psychology as Laden with Political Culture





Explaining this model of psychology, Vygotsky's school argued that it is not simply "culture" in general that stimulates psychological development. More specifically, "the transition to the higher type of psyche comes about as a consequence of the emergence of men's production relations. The features of men's psyche are also determined by the features of these [production] relations and depend on them." "With a radical change in men's production relations their consciousness is also altered in a radical way and becomes qualitatively different. The task is to find the concrete psychological features of these different types of consciousness" Leontiev (2009, p. 199). Vygotsky (1994 , p. 176) similarly said that "in highly developed society, which has acquired a complex class structure, the influence of the basis [i.e., "the degree of the production forces and the structure of the group to which the individual belongs"] on the psychological superstructure of man turns out to be not direct but mediated by a large number of very complex material and spiritual factors." This is depicted in figure four.

Luria's research in Uzbekistan, in 1931 and 1932, sought to find the psychological effects of economic changes that occurred as a result of the Russian revolution. Communities at different stages of economic development were compared on psychological competencies.

Psychological phenomena are mapped into the macro cultural factors in the conical cultural system. Macro cultural factors are the sites that contain ideal forms of development, the motives and goals of activity, and the requirements for activity. Macro cultural factors constitute psychological tools that organize psychological phenomena in the form of a habitus. Macro cultural factors are social roles that demand and support psychological phenomena. Each macro cultural factor contains a variant of

psychological phenomena. Work organizes emotions in a particular way that is different from the emotionality of family life. Gender relations are different in workplaces than in parties. Cognition and perception are different in religious activities than in scientific activities. Any general character of psychological phenomena is punctuated by cultural differences (that are rooted in the overarching political economy of society), and also by sub-cultural differences in particular social roles and cultural factors. All of these psychological issues are mapped into, and informed by, and isomorphic with particular macro cultural factors within the conical cultural system.

The psychological system is carried along by the dynamics of macro cultural factors and their interrelationships in the system. Vygotsky said this explicitly: "Once we acknowledge the historical character of verbal thought, we must consider it subject to all the premises of historical materialism, which are valid for any historical phenomenon in human society. It is only to be expected that on this level the development of behavior will be governed essentially by the general laws of the historical development of human society" (cited in Ratner, 2015; see Ratner, 2012b, 204--207). A.N. Leontiev (1978) further explained: "Despite all its diversity, all its special features, the activity [Tätigkeit] of the human individual is a system that obeys the system of relations of society."

Luria (1934, p. 255) took this exact perspective as the basis of his second expedition to central Asia in 1932:

The fundamental aim was to study those peculiarities of the psyche

which are the result of various historical conditions and to trace out the fundamental laws of development of psychological processes. In this respect, central Asia is of exceptional interest on account of the residuals of primitive economic conditions which are now undergoing tremendous industrial, political, and cultural transformation. This change gives opportunity for studying not only the peculiarities of psychological processes under various conditions, but, what is more important, the very dynamics of the transition from the more elementary psychological laws to the more complex processes.

The aim was in pointing out those changes which thinking undergoes in social and cultural transformation connected with socialistic growth.

With the change of economic conditions,

situational thinking very quickly becomes changed,

giving place to other more complex forms of thought. It

was the aim of the second expedition to study in more detail the characteristics of the structure of the ‘situational’ thinking and its various functions as well as to study those paths along which the transformation of the situational thinking takes place by the development of thought into concepts under the influence of such new molding forces as collectivization, cultural development, literature, etc. (my emphasis).

Vygotsky (1994, p. 176) stated that contradictions among these structured social relations permeate psychology: “The life of society does not represent a single and uniform whole; society is subdivided into different classes...The various internal contradictions which are to be found in different social systems find their expression both in the type of personality and in the structure of human psychology in that historical period” (Ratner, 2015, pp. 53-56 for citation).

Bourdieu emphasized the capitalist shaping of psychological functions by conceptualizing them as “cultural capital,” i.e., linguistic capital, emotional capital, cognitive capital, sexual capital (Ratner, 2017c)

Foucault has provided the most comprehensive, detailed, and powerful description of the political forces in society that organize subjectivity (Foucault, 1994a, p. 331). Foucault (1980, p. 39) describes “the mechanisms of power, its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes, and everyday lives.”

“While the human subject is placed in relations of production and of signification, he is equally placed in power relations” (Foucault, 1994a, p. 327) that form individual subjectivity. “It is certain that the mechanisms of subjection cannot be studied outside their relation to the mechanisms of exploitation and domination. But they do not merely constitute the ‘terminal’ of more fundamental mechanisms. They entertain complex and circular relations with other forms” (p. 332).

Foucault discusses “the politics of ourselves” in his lectures about the hermeneutics of the self (Foucault, 2005, 1993). The lectures trace how techniques inherited from the Christian confession allow for the self to be created and subjected within relations of power that constitute modern social institutions. This is “at one and the same time the historical analysis of the limits that are imposed on us and an experiment with the possibility of going beyond them...” (Foucault, 1993, p. 200). Thus, politics and power do not prevent cultural and psychological change. Power and politics are the keys to understanding what must be changed, the strategies and directions that are most effective in change.

Foucault correctly recognized that power forms subjectivity and subjectivation. Power does not extinguish subjectivity, as critics of macro cultural psychology complain.

Bonneuil (2016) explains the macro cultural basis and character of romantic love: “Courtly love appeared in twelfth-century Europe as a dissent from the emotional regime established by the Gregorian Reform, by setting the lady, instead of God, as the object of worship...” Bonneuil articulates the concept of *emotional regime* as “the set of normative emotions and the official rituals, practices, and ‘emotives’ that express and inculcate them; a necessary underpinning of any stable political regime.” He articulates three emotional regimes: the Carolingian regime, which was ousted by the new framework of rules for intimate relationships imposed by the Gregorian Reform, against which the troubadours in turn reacted by giving poetical expression to the dissenting vision of courtly love (pp. 253-254). This statement depicts emotions as components of political-religious institutions and systems, which therefore follow their broad, political, religious purposes, struggles, and logics. For example, “the making of romantic love lies in the Gregorian Reform. Begun in the mid-eleventh century and conclusively established in 1122, this movement of reform transformed the feudalism-vassalage system controlled by the princes into a system dominated by the Roman Church. In that it fixed the rules of intimate conduct for aristocratic men and women, the Gregorian Reform redefined social and emotional identities.” This given an entirely new basis and significance to romantic love compared to its personal, individual, natural treatment in academic psychology and in popular thinking. Psychology is not only formed at the macro cultural level, in macro cultural factors; it is formed by the leaders of those factors, such as princes and Church authorities (and today, by entertainment and media owners and advertisers).

Bourdieu & Passeron (1990, p. 109, 110) explain how a professor's lecture totalizes, crystallizes, and reproduces the entire system of academic conditions that is depicted in figure four.

To reduce the pedagogic relation to a purely communicative relation [of the professor and students] would make it impossible to account for the specific characteristics it owes to the authority of the pedagogic institution...The lecturer finds in the particularities of the space which the traditional institution arranges for him (the platform, the professorial chair at the focal point on which all gazes converge) material and symbolic conditions which enable him to keep the students at a respectful distance and would oblige him to do so even if he did not wish to. Elevated and enclosed in the space which crowns him orator, separated from his audience, if numbers permit, by a few empty rows which materially mark the distance the laity fearfully keep before the mana of the Word and which at all events are only ever occupied by the most seasoned zealots, pious ministers of the magisterial utterance, the professor, remote and intangible, shrouded in vague and terrifying rumour, is condemned to theatrical monologue and virtuoso exhibition by a necessity of position far more coercive than the most imperious regulations. The professorial chair commandeers, willy-nilly, the intonation, the diction, the delivery, the oratorical gestures of its occupant, so that

the student who presents an expose excathedra is seen to inherit the professor's oratorical manner. Such a context governs teachers' and students' behaviour so rigorously that efforts to set up a dialogue immediately tum into fiction or farce. The lecturer can call for participation or objection without fear of it really happening: questions to the audience are often purely rhetorical; the answers, serving chiefly to express the part the faithful take in the service, are generally no more than responses.

Magisterial language, a status attribute which owes most of its effects to the institution, since it can never be dissociated from the relation of academic authority in which it is manifested, is able to appear as an intrinsic quality of the person when it merely diverts an advantage of office onto the office-holder.

Once we understand the locus, impetus, organization, administration, and function of psychological phenomena in macro cultural factors, we may proceed to comprehending how they become individualized (as Vygotsky said) in our psyches.

### Techniques of subjectification

Foucault emphasizes that macro cultural factors such as political forces stimulate, demand, organize, support, and reward forms of subjectivity and psychology. These



techniques of self-construction, or subjectivation, comprise a distinctive type of technique in society that complements other techniques:

techniques which permit one to produce, to transform, to manipulate things; techniques which permit one to use sign systems; and techniques which permit one to determine the conduct of individuals, to impose certain wills on them, and to submit them to certain ends or objectives. That is to say, there are techniques of production, techniques of signification, and techniques of domination... But, analyzing the experience of sexuality, I became more and more aware that there is in all societies, another type of technique: techniques which permit individuals to effect, by their own means, a certain number of operations on their own bodies, on their own souls, on their own thoughts, on their own conduct, and this in a manner so as to transform themselves, modify themselves, and to attain a certain state of perfection, of happiness, of purity, of supernatural power, and so on. Let's call this kind of techniques a techniques or technology of the self. I think that if one wants to analyze the genealogy of the subject in Western civilization, he has to take into account the interaction between techniques of domination and techniques of the self. He has to take into account the points where the technologies of domination of individuals over one another have recourse to processes by which the individual acts upon himself. And conversely, he has to take into account the points where the techniques of the self are integrated into

structures of coercion or domination. The contact point, where the individuals are driven by others is tied to the way they conduct themselves,' is what we can call, I think, government. Governing people, in the broad meaning of the word, is not a way to force people to do what the governor wants; it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts between techniques which assure coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself... We must not understand the exercise of power as pure violence or strict coercion. Power consists in complex relations: these relations involve a set of rational techniques, and the efficiency of those techniques is due to a subtle integration of coercion technologies and self-technologies (Foucault, 1993, pp. 203-204).

Foucault solves a persistent problem in Western thought/philosophy: the relation of structures of power and individual agency or subjectivity. The former act through subjective processes that they generate. Structures of power develop cultural processes – e.g., techniques of self-formation -- that cultivate subjectivity in individuals which are congruent with power structures. This makes subjectivity a form of government. It is a way of producing behavior that is congruent with power and structures.

Techniques of self are macro-cultural and historical. Foucault (1993, p. 211) speaks of “Christian techniques of self” and “Latin-Greek techniques of self.” These are what Vygotsky called “psychological tools,” and what the Annales historians called “mental equipment.” They are “master narratives” that act as schemata for organizing psychology

and behavior. Jantzen, Østergaard, & Vieira (2006) demonstrate how consumer products such as lingerie are techniques of forming sexual identity.

Foucault's model of macro cultural psychology explains that subjectivity is active social agency. Subjectivity is neither passive conformity to structures, nor an autonomous, individual process.

Because psychology is cultural subjectivity, it cannot circumvent culture to change itself. It must change its cultural basis, stimulus, affordance, support, operating mechanisms (psychological tools), and telos in order to change itself. Psychological change demands social change, and new form and content rest upon social change – just as existing psychological processes are rooted in, and rest upon, existing macro cultural factors. Psychological change is bounded by what social movements can accomplish in pressing for social change.

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Hegel (1965, p. 10) said: “The highest and final aim of philosophic science is to bring about...a reconciliation of self-conscious reason with the reason which is in the world — in other words, with actuality.”

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<sup>2</sup> My comparison of these four approaches to cultural psychology complements previous comparisons (Ratner, 1999, 2008, 2012a, b; 2013; 2014a, b, c; 2015; 2016).

<sup>3</sup> This means that embryos and fetuses are not (yet) human beings.

<sup>4</sup> Marx & Engels explained this as follows: "Individuals have always built on themselves, but naturally on themselves within their given historical conditions and relationships, not on the "pure" individual in the sense of the ideologists."

(<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01d.htm>).

Bourdieu similarly states that the situated individual 'determines herself insofar as she constructs the situation that determines her', but 'she has not chosen the principle of her choice.' Culturally formed habitus operates as the 'unchosen principle of all choices' (cited in Wacquant, 2016, p. 67).

<sup>5</sup> In comparing different approaches to cultural psychology, it is useful to point out that Leontiev's macro cultural psychological explanation of the relation between psychology, culture, and biology is more detailed than traditional cultural psychological explanations. Geertz, for example, simply observes that "We live in an 'information gap.' Between what our body tells us and what we have to know in order to function, there is a vacuum we must fill ourselves, and we fill it with information (or misinformation) provided by our culture" (Geertz, 1973, p. 50). Geertz does not specify any process by which biology recedes from a specific determinism of behavior as in animals and infants, to a general

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substratum which is concretized by culture, in people. Leontiev does indicate this process of mastering behavior through the use of external, cultural means.

<sup>6</sup> Vygotsky, and macro cultural psychology, espouse Darwinian environmentalism. The keys to behavior lie in the environment (that is humanly constructed). However, the human, cultural environment is more determining of behavior than the natural environment is of animal behavior. Human culture generates behavioral mechanisms such as psychology and its biological substratum. The environment of animals only selects among biologically determined attributes such anatomical features. Human behavior and its social environment (culture) are more organic than the interaction between animal behavior and its natural environment. It follows that understanding the human individual requires deeply understanding his “otherness,” or social environment. Improving the individual requires deeply improving his social environment.

<sup>7</sup> Critical psychology is only fully critical, in the sense of correctly criticizing the status quo and humanizing it, if it is macro cultural psychology. Criticizing shortcomings of the status quo without an alternative does not transform the given into its concrete negation. Furthermore, without the solid theory of MCP, critique has no coherent, viable direction. “Critical psychology” is then open to any and all critiques of the status quo, including specious, dangerous ones such as postmodernism, social constructionism, neo-fascism, and evangelicism.

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<sup>8</sup> Sociobiologists use the positivistic, quantitative argument that the 99% genetic commonality makes humans behaviorally close to chimps. This claim fails to appreciate the fact that the genotype is a network in which certain key genes produce inordinate changes in behavioral capacities. E.g., the ASPM gene regulates human brain volume which has more than tripled since the chimp-human ancestor. This gene is selected for by the unique cultural environment.