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to argue against the prevailing view that knowledge is justified true belief. These cases are supposed to show that a belief can be justified and true, without being an intuitive case of knowledge. For example, it is a majority view within Western philosophy that the following Gettier-inspired case does not qualify as knowledge: Bob has a friend, Jill, who has driven a Buick for many years. Bob therefore thinks that Jill drives an American car. He is not aware, however, that her Buick has recently been stolen, and he is also not aware that Jill has replaced it with a Pontiac, which is a different kind of American car. Does Bob really know that Jill drives an American car, or does he only believe it? Weinberg et al. gave this vignette to college students of European, East Asian, and South Asian descent. Most European Americans shared the intuition that Bob does not know that Jill drives an American car, but the majority of East and South Asians had the opposite intuition. Another cross-cultural study of philosophical intuitions is reported by Machery et al. (2004). They turned from epistemology to semantics, and found that one of the most influential thought experiments in the philosophy of language elicits different intuitions across cultural groups. The thought experiment owes to Kripke (1979), who was arguing against descriptive theories of reference. According to descriptive theories, a proper name refers to the individual who satisfies the descriptions most associated with that name. For example, descriptivists would say "Gödel" refers to the person who proved the incompleteness of arithmetic. Kripke objects by constructing an imaginary case in which someone else came up with the proof and the person we know as Gödel merely took credit for it. Kripke's intuition is that, even if this were so, "Gödel" would continue to refer to the same person, not to this other guy who discovered the proof. That intuition counts against descriptivism and in favor of a causal-historical theory of reference. Machery et al. show that American college students with a Western cultural background were much more likely to share Kripke's intuitions than students in Hong Kong in cases of this kind (for objections, see Marti, 2009; and replies in, Machery et al. 2009). In another study, Huebner et al. (2010) use cross-cultural methods to test an intuition that has been important in consciousness studies. Block (1979) argued against functionalism using thought experiments in which the functional organization of a human mind is realized by a population of people rather than a biological brain. Block's intuition is that this collective would not be conscious, and therefore functional organization is not sufficient for consciousness. Huebner et al. show that students in Hong Kong are significantly more likely than American students to be willing to ascribe consciousness to collectives. They conclude that the intuitions underlying Block's argument are not cross-culturally shared. The authors of these studies emphasize two points. First, the standard method of drawing philosophical conclusions by consulting intuitions may be problematic because those intuitions are not consistently held across cultures. If philosophers seek to discover the nature of knowledge, reference, or consciousness, by analyzing the corresponding concepts, they must reckon with the fact that these concepts vary, and no single analysis is likely to emerge. Second, some of the variance may be accounted for by cultural variables. This suggests that concepts are culturally influenced, and that philosophical theories based on concepts may reflect the attitudes of a cultural group, rather than universally shared understanding of the target domain. From this perspective, philosophy based on intuitive judgments begins to look more like auto-anthropology than a window into absolute truths. Opponents of experimental philosophy argue that surveys of college students reveal less about concepts than the intuitions of professional philosophers. These critics suggest that intuitions among professional philosophers engaged in careful discussion and argumentation are more likely to converge and are more reliable. But, this prognosis may be overly optimistic. Professional philosophers within the same culture do not converge, so there is little prima facie reason to expect cross-cultural converge. Moreover, it's important to bear in mind that intuitions are tapping into semantic knowledge, and semantic knowledge is not based on recollection of perfect forms in Plato's heaven. Rather, it is informed by everything from explicit instruction to language use within the community, and salient exemplars. These sources of semantic knowledge may vary cross-culturally. Thus, it remains possible that cherished philosophical theories are more parochial than we assumed. If so, research on the cognitive science of culture has important implications for philosophical practice.

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