

moral systems that are individualistic, rule-based, and universalist. That's the morality you need to govern a society of autonomous individuals.

But when holistic thinkers in a non-WEIRD culture write about morality, we get something more like the Analects of Confucius, a collection of aphorisms and anecdotes that can't be reduced to a single rule.<sup>6</sup> Confucius talks about a variety of relationship-specific duties and virtues (such as filial piety and the proper treatment of one's subordinates).

If WEIRD and non-WEIRD people think differently and see the world differently, then it stands to reason that they'd have different moral concerns. If you see a world full of individuals, then you'll want the morality of Kohlberg and Turiel—a morality that protects those individuals and their individual rights. You'll emphasize concerns about harm and fairness.

But if you live in a non-WEIRD society in which people are more likely to see relationships, contexts, groups, and institutions, then you won't be so focused on protecting individuals. You'll have a more *sociocentric* morality, which means (as Shweder described it back in chapter 1) that you place the needs of groups and institutions first, often ahead of the needs of individuals. If you do that, then a morality based on concerns about harm and fairness won't be sufficient. You'll have additional concerns, and you'll need additional virtues to bind people together.

Part II of this book is about those additional concerns and virtues. It's about the second principle of moral psychology: *There's more to morality than harm and fairness*. I'm going to try to convince you that this principle is true *descriptively*—that is, as a portrait of the moralities we see when we look around the world. I'll set aside the question of whether any of these alternative moralities are *really* good, true, or justifiable. As an

intuitionist, I believe it is a mistake to even *raise* that emotionally powerful question until we've calmed our elephants and cultivated some understanding of what such moralities are trying to accomplish. It's just too easy for our riders to build a case against every morality, political party, and religion that we don't like.<sup>7</sup> So let's try to understand moral diversity first, before we judge other moralities.

### THREE ETHICS ARE MORE DESCRIPTIVE THAN ONE

The University of Chicago is proud of its ranking by *Playboy* magazine as the “worst party school” in the United States. Winters are long and brutal, bookstores outnumber bars, and students wear T-shirts showing the university crest above phrases such as “Where Fun Goes to Die” and “Hell Does Freeze Over.” I arrived at the university on a September evening in 1992, unpacked my rental truck, and went out for a beer. At the table next to mine, there was a heated argument. A bearded man slammed his hands on the table and shouted, “Damn it, I’m talking about Marx!”

This was Richard Shweder’s culture. I had been granted a fellowship to work with Shweder for two years after I finished my Ph.D. at Penn. Shweder was the leading thinker in cultural psychology—a new discipline that combined the anthropologist’s love of context and variability with the psychologist’s interest in mental processes.<sup>8</sup> A dictum of cultural psychology is that “culture and psyche make each other up.”<sup>9</sup> In other words, you can’t study the mind while ignoring culture, as psychologists usually do, because minds function only once they’ve been filled out by a particular culture. And you can’t study culture while ignoring psychology, as anthropologists usually do, because social practices and institutions (such