

people into voting against their economic self-interest. (That was the thesis of the popular 2004 book *What's the Matter with Kansas?*)<sup>61</sup> But from the perspective of Moral Foundations Theory, rural and working-class voters were in fact voting for their *moral* interests. They don't want to eat at The True Taste restaurant, and they don't want their nation to devote itself primarily to the care of victims and the pursuit of social justice. Until Democrats understand the Durkheimian vision of society and the difference between a six-foundation morality and a three-foundation morality, they will not understand what makes people vote Republican.

In Part I of this book I presented the first principle of moral psychology: *Intuitions come first, strategic reasoning second*. In Part II, I described those intuitions in detail while presenting the second principle: *There's more to morality than harm and fairness*. Now we're ready to examine how moral diversity can so easily divide good people into hostile groups that do not want to understand each other. We're ready to move on to the third principle: *Morality binds and blinds*.

## Morality Binds and Blinds

PART III

### Central Metaphor

*We Are 90 Percent Chimp and 10 Percent Bee.*

## Why Are We So Groupish?

In the terrible days after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, I felt an urge so primitive I was embarrassed to admit it to my friends: I wanted to put an American flag decal on my car.

The urge seemed to come out of nowhere, with no connection to anything I'd ever done. It was as if there was an ancient alarm box in the back of my brain with a sign on it that said, "In case of foreign attack, break glass and push button." I hadn't known the alarm box was there, but when those four planes broke the glass and pushed the button I had an overwhelming sense of being an American. I wanted to do something, anything, to support my team. Like so many others, I gave blood and donated money to the Red Cross. I was more open and helpful to strangers. And I wanted to display my team membership by showing the flag in some way.

But I was a professor, and professors don't do such things. Flag waving and nationalism are for conservatives. Professors are liberal globetrotting universalists, reflexively wary of saying that their nation is better than other nations.<sup>1</sup> When you see an American flag on a car in a UVA staff parking lot, you can bet that the car belongs to a secretary or a blue-collar worker.

After three days and a welter of feelings I'd never felt before, I found a solution to my dilemma. I put an American flag in one corner of my rear windshield, and I put the United Nations flag in the opposite corner. That way I could announce that I loved my country, but don't worry, folks, I don't place it above other countries, and this was, after all, an attack on the whole world, sort of, right?

So far in this book I've painted a portrait of human nature that is somewhat cynical. I've argued that Glaucon was right and that we care more about *looking* good than about truly *being* good.<sup>2</sup> Intuitions come first, *strategic* reasoning second. We lie, cheat, and cut ethical corners quite often when we think we can get away with it, and then we use our moral thinking to manage our reputations and justify ourselves to others. We believe our own post hoc reasoning so thoroughly that we end up self-righteously convinced of our own virtue.

I do believe that you can understand most of moral psychology by viewing it as a form of enlightened self-interest, and if it's self-interest, then it's easily explained by Darwinian natural selection working at the level of the individual. Genes are selfish,<sup>3</sup> selfish genes create people with various mental modules, and some of these mental modules make us strategically altruistic, not reliably or universally altruistic. Our righteous minds were shaped by kin selection plus reciprocal altruism augmented by gossip and reputation management. That's the message of nearly every book on the evolutionary origins of morality, and nothing I've said so far contradicts that message.

But in Part III of this book I'm going to show why that portrait is incomplete. Yes, people are often selfish, and a great deal of our moral, political, and religious behavior can

be understood as thinly veiled ways of pursuing self-interest. (Just look at the awful hypocrisy of so many politicians and religious leaders.) But it's also true that people are *groupish*. We love to join teams, clubs, leagues, and fraternities. We take on group identities and work shoulder to shoulder with strangers toward common goals so enthusiastically that it seems as if our minds were designed for teamwork. I don't think we can understand morality, politics, or religion until we have a good picture of human groupishness and its origins. We cannot understand conservative morality and the Durkheimian societies I described in the last chapter. Neither can we understand socialism, communism, and the communalism of the left.

Let me be more precise. When I say that human nature is *selfish*, I mean that our minds contain a variety of mental mechanisms that make us adept at promoting our own interests, in competition with our peers. When I say that human nature is also *groupish*, I mean that our minds contain a variety of mental mechanisms that make us adept at promoting our *group's* interests, in competition with other groups.<sup>4</sup> We are not saints, but we are sometimes good team players.

Stated in this way, the origin of these groupish mechanisms becomes a puzzle. Do we have groupish minds today because groupish individuals long ago outcompeted less groupish individuals *within the same group*? If so, then this is just standard, bread-and-butter natural selection operating at the level of the individual. And if that's the case, then this is Glauconian groupishness—we should expect to find that people care about the *appearance* of loyalty, not the reality.<sup>5</sup> Or do we have groupish mechanisms (such as the rally-round-the-flag reflex) because groups that succeeded in coalescing and cooperating outcompeted groups that couldn't get it together? If so, then I'm invoking a process known as “group selection,” and group

selection was banished as a heresy from scientific circles in the 1970s.<sup>6</sup>

In this chapter I'll argue that group selection was falsely convicted and unfairly banished. I'll present four pieces of new evidence that I believe exonerate group selection (in some but not all forms). This new evidence demonstrates the value of thinking about groups as real entities that compete with each other. This new evidence leads us directly to the third and final principle of moral psychology: *Morality binds and blinds*. I will suggest that human nature is mostly selfish, but with a groupish overlay that resulted from the fact that natural selection works at multiple levels simultaneously. Individuals compete with individuals, and that competition rewards selfishness—which includes some forms of strategic cooperation (even criminals can work together to further their own interests).<sup>7</sup> But at the same time, groups compete with groups, and that competition favors groups composed of true team players—those who are willing to cooperate and work for the good of the group, even when they could do better by slacking, cheating, or leaving the group.<sup>8</sup> These two processes pushed human nature in different directions and gave us the strange mix of selfishness and selflessness that we know today.

#### VICTORIOUS TRIBES?

Here's an example of one kind of group selection. In a few remarkable pages of *The Descent of Man*, Darwin made the case for group selection, raised the principal objection to it, and then proposed a way around the objection:

When two tribes of primeval man, living in the same country, came into competition, if (other circumstances

being equal) the one tribe included a great number of courageous, sympathetic and faithful members, who were always ready to warn each other of danger, to aid and defend each other, *this tribe would succeed better and conquer the other*. . . . The advantage which disciplined soldiers have over undisciplined hordes follows chiefly from the confidence which each man feels in his comrades. . . . *Selfish and contentious people will not cohere, and without coherence nothing can be effected. A tribe rich in the above qualities would spread and be victorious over other tribes.*<sup>9</sup>

Cohesive tribes began to function like individual organisms, competing with other organisms. The tribes that were more cohesive generally won. Natural selection therefore worked on tribes the same way it works on every other organism.

But in the very next paragraph, Darwin raised the free rider problem, which is still the main objection raised against group selection:

But if may be asked, how within the limits of the same tribe did a large number of members first become endowed with these social and moral qualities, and how was the standard of excellence raised? *It is extremely doubtful whether the offspring of the more sympathetic and benevolent parents, or of those who were the most faithful to their comrades, would be reared in greater numbers than the children of selfish and treacherous parents belonging to the same tribe.* He who was ready to sacrifice his life, as many a savage has been, rather than betray his comrades, would often leave no offspring to inherit his noble nature.<sup>10</sup>

Darwin grasped the basic logic of what is now known as *multilevel selection*.<sup>11</sup> Life is a hierarchy of nested levels, like Russian dolls: genes within chromosomes within cells within individual organisms within hives, societies, and other groups. There can be competition at any level of the hierarchy, but for our purposes (studying morality) the only two levels that matter are those of the individual organism and the group. When groups compete, the cohesive, cooperative group usually wins. But within each group, selfish individuals (free riders) come out ahead. They share in the group's gains while contributing little to its efforts. The bravest army wins, but within the bravest army, the few cowards who hang back are the most likely of all to survive the fight, go home alive, and become fathers.

Multilevel selection refers to a way of quantifying how strong the selection pressure is at each level, which means how strongly the competition of life favors genes for particular traits.<sup>12</sup> A gene for suicidal self-sacrifice would be favored by group-level selection (it would help the team win), but it would be so strongly opposed by selection at the individual level that such a trait could evolve only in species such as bees, where competition within the hive has been nearly eliminated and almost all selection is group selection.<sup>13</sup> Bees (and ants and termites) are the ultimate team players: one for all, all for one, all the time, even if that means dying to protect the hive from invaders.<sup>14</sup> (Humans can be turned into suicide bombers, but it takes a great deal of training, pressure, and psychological manipulation. It doesn't come naturally to us.)<sup>15</sup>

Once human groups had some minimal ability to band together and compete with other groups, then group-level selection came into play and the most groupish groups had an advantage over groups of selfish individualists. But how did early humans get those groupish abilities in the first place? Darwin proposed a series of "probable steps" by which

humans evolved to the point where there could be groups of team players in the first place.

The first step was the "social instincts." In ancient times, loners were more likely to get picked off by predators than were their more gregarious siblings, who felt a strong need to stay close to the group. The second step was reciprocity. People who helped others were more likely to get help when they needed it most.

But the most important "stimulus to the development of the social virtues" was the fact that people are passionately concerned with "the praise and blame of our fellow-men."<sup>16</sup> Darwin, writing in Victorian England, shared Glaucon's view (from aristocratic Athens) that people are obsessed with their reputations. Darwin believed that the emotions that drive this obsession were acquired by natural selection acting at the individual level: those who lacked a sense of shame or a love of glory were less likely to attract friends and mates. Darwin also added a final step: the capacity to treat duties and principles as sacred, which he saw as part of our religious nature.

When you put these steps together, they take you along an evolutionary path from earlier primates to humans, among whom free riding is no longer so attractive. In a real army, which sacralizes honor, loyalty, and country, the coward is not the most likely to make it home and father children. He's the most likely to get beaten up, left behind, or shot in the back for committing sacrilege. And if he does make it home alive, his reputation will repel women and potential employers.<sup>17</sup> Real armies, like most effective groups, have many ways of suppressing selfishness. And anytime a group finds a way to suppress selfishness, it changes the balance of forces in a multilevel analysis: individual-level selection becomes less important, and group-level selection becomes more powerful. For example, if there is a genetic basis for feelings of loyalty and sanctity (i.e.,

the Loyalty and Sanctity foundations), then intense intergroup competition will make these genes become more common in the next generation. The reason is that groups in which these traits are common will replace groups in which they are rare, even if these genes impose a small cost on their bearers (relative to those that lack them within each group).

In what might be the pithiest and most prescient statement in the history of moral psychology, Darwin summarized the evolutionary origin of morality in this way:

Ultimately our moral sense or conscience becomes a highly complex sentiment—originating in the social instincts, largely guided by the approbation of our fellow-men, ruled by reason, self-interest, and in later times by deep religious feelings, and confirmed by instruction and habit.<sup>18</sup>

Darwin's response to the free rider problem satisfied readers for nearly a hundred years, and group selection became a standard part of evolutionary thinking. Unfortunately, most writers did not bother to work out exactly how each particular species solved the free rider problem, as Darwin had done for human beings. Claims about animals behaving "for the good of the group" proliferated—for example, the claim that individual animals restrain their grazing or their breeding so as not to put the group at risk of overexploiting its food supply. Even more lofty claims were made about animals acting for the good of the species, or even of the ecosystem.<sup>19</sup> These claims were naive because individuals that followed the selfless strategy would leave fewer surviving offspring and would soon be replaced in the population by the descendants of free riders.

In 1966, this loose thinking was brought to a halt, along with almost all thinking about group selection.

#### A FAST HERD OF DEER?

In 1955, a young biologist named George Williams attended a lecture at the University of Chicago by a termite specialist. The speaker claimed that many animals are cooperative and helpful, just like termites. He said that old age and death are the way that nature makes room for the younger and fitter members of each species. But Williams was well versed in genetics and evolution, and he was repulsed by the speaker's Panglossian mushiness. He saw that animals are not going to die to benefit others, except in very special circumstances such as those that prevail in a termite nest (where all are sisters). He set out to write a book that would "purge biology" of such sloppy thinking once and for all.<sup>20</sup>

In *Adaptation and Natural Selection* (published in 1966), Williams told biologists how to think clearly about adaptation. He saw natural selection as a design process. There's no conscious or intelligent designer, but Williams found the language of design useful nonetheless.<sup>21</sup> For example, wings can only be understood as biological mechanisms designed to produce flight. Williams noted that adaptation at a given level always implies a selection (design) process operating at that level, and he warned readers not to look to higher levels (such as groups) when selection effects at lower levels (such as individuals) can fully explain the trait.

He worked through the example of running speed in deer. When deer run in a herd, we observe a fast herd of deer, moving as a unit and sometimes changing course as a unit. We might be tempted to explain the herd's behavior by appealing to group selection: for millions of years, faster herds have escaped predators better than slower herds, and so over time fast herds replaced slower herds. But Williams pointed out that deer have been exquisitely well designed as *individuals* to

flee from predators. The selection process operated at the level of individuals: slower deer got eaten, while their faster cousins in the same herd escaped. There is no need to bring in selection at the level of the herd. A fast herd of deer is nothing more than a herd of fast deer.<sup>22</sup>

Williams gave an example of what it would take to force us up to a group-level analysis: behavioral mechanisms whose goal or function was clearly the protection of the *group*, rather than the individual. If deer with particularly keen senses served as sentinels, while the fastest runners in the herd tried to lure predators away from the herd, we'd have evidence of group-related adaptations, and, as Williams put it, "only by a theory of between-group selection could we achieve a scientific explanation of group-related adaptations."<sup>23</sup>

Williams said that group selection was possible in theory. But then he devoted most of the book to proving his thesis that "group-related adaptations do not in fact exist."<sup>24</sup> He gave examples from across the animal kingdom, showing in every case that what looks like altruism or self-sacrifice to a naive biologist (such as that termite specialist) turns out to be either individual selfishness or kin selection (whereby costly actions make sense because they benefit other copies of the same genes in closely related individuals, as happens with termites). Richard Dawkins did the same thing in his 1976 best seller *The Selfish Gene*, granting that group selection is possible but then debunking apparent cases of group-related adaptations. By the late 1970s there was a strong consensus that anyone who said that a behavior occurred "for the good of the group" was a fool who could be safely ignored.

We sometimes look back on the 1970s as the "me decade." That term was first applied to the growing individualism of American society, but it describes a broad set of changes in the social

sciences as well. The idea of people as *Homo economicus* spread far and wide. In social psychology, for example, the leading explanation of fairness (known as "equity theory") was based on four axioms, the first of which was "Individuals will try to maximize their outcomes." The authors then noted that "even the most contentious scientist would find it difficult to challenge our first proposition. Theories in a wide variety of disciplines rest on the assumption that 'man is selfish.'"<sup>25</sup> All acts of apparent altruism, cooperation, and even simple fairness had to be explained, ultimately, as covert forms of self-interest.<sup>26</sup>

Of course, real life is full of cases that violate the axiom. People leave tips in restaurants they'll never return to; they donate anonymously to charities; they sometimes drown after jumping into rivers to save children who are not their own. No problem, said the cynics; these are just misfirings of ancient systems designed for life in the small groups of the Pleistocene, where most people were close kin.<sup>27</sup> Now that we live in large anonymous societies, our ancient selfish circuits erroneously lead us to help strangers who will not help us in return. Our "moral qualities" are not adaptations, as Darwin had believed. They are by-products; they are mistakes. Morality, said Williams, is "an accidental capability produced, in its boundless stupidity, by a biological process that is normally opposed to the expression of such a capability."<sup>28</sup> Dawkins shared this cynicism: "Let us try to teach generosity and altruism because we are born selfish."<sup>29</sup>

I disagree. Human beings are the giraffes of altruism. We're one-of-a-kind freaks of nature who occasionally—even if rarely—can be as selfless and team-spirited as bees.<sup>30</sup> If your moral ideal is the person who devotes her life to helping strangers, well then, OK—such people are so rare that we send film crews out to record them for the evening news. But if your focus, as Darwin did, on behavior in *groups* of people who know each other and share goals and values, then our ability

rowers, each pulling just one oar. No fair! Two rowers joined together into one boat! And then, stranger still, you watch as that rowboat is overtaken by a train of three such rowboats, all tied together to form a single long boat. The rowers are identical septuplets. Six of them row in perfect synchrony while the seventh is the coxswain, steering the boat and calling out the beat for the rowers. But those cheaters are deprived of victory just before they cross the finish line, for they in turn are passed by an enterprising group of twenty-four sisters who rented a motorboat. It turns out that there are no rules in this race about what kinds of vehicles are allowed.

That was a metaphorical history of life on Earth. For the first billion years or so of life, the only organisms were prokaryotic cells (such as bacteria). Each was a solo operation, competing with others and reproducing copies of itself.

But then, around 2 billion years ago, two bacteria somehow joined together inside a single membrane, which explains why mitochondria have their own DNA, unrelated to the DNA in the nucleus.<sup>35</sup> These are the two-person rowboats in my example. Cells that had internal organelles could reap the benefits of cooperation and the division of labor (see Adam Smith). There was no longer any competition between these organelles, for they could reproduce only when the entire cell reproduced, so it was "one for all, all for one." Life on Earth underwent what biologists call a "major transition."<sup>36</sup> Natural selection went on as it always had, but now there was a radically new kind of creature to be selected. There was a new kind of *vehicle* by which selfish genes could replicate themselves. Single-celled eukaryotes were wildly successful and spread throughout the oceans.

A few hundred million years later, some of these eukaryotes developed a novel adaptation: they stayed together after cell division to form multicellular organisms in which every

cell had exactly the same genes. These are the three-boat septuplets in my example. Once again, competition is suppressed (because each cell can only reproduce if the organism reproduces, via its sperm or egg cells). A group of cells becomes an individual, able to divide labor among the cells (which specialize into limbs and organs). A powerful new kind of vehicle appears, and in a short span of time the world is covered with plants, animals, and fungi.<sup>37</sup> It's another major transition.

Major transitions are rare. The biologists John Maynard Smith and Eörs Szathmáry count just eight clear examples over the last 4 billion years (the last of which is human societies).<sup>38</sup> But these transitions are among the most important events in biological history, and they are examples of multilevel selection at work. It's the same story over and over again: Whenever a way is found to suppress free riding so that individual units can cooperate, work as a team, and divide labor, selection at the lower level becomes less important, selection at the higher level becomes more powerful, and that higher-level selection favors the most cohesive superorganisms.<sup>39</sup> (A superorganism is an organism made out of smaller organisms.) As these superorganisms proliferate, they begin to compete with each other, and to evolve for greater success in that competition. This competition among superorganisms is one form of group selection.<sup>40</sup> There is variation among the groups, and the fittest groups pass on their traits to future generations of groups.

Major transitions may be rare, but when they happen, the Earth often changes.<sup>41</sup> Just look at what happened more than 100 million years ago when some wasps developed the trick of dividing labor between a queen (who lays all the eggs) and several kinds of workers who maintain the nest and bring back food to share. This trick was discovered by the early hymenoptera (members of the order that includes wasps, which gave rise

to bees and ants) and it was discovered independently several dozen other times (by the ancestors of termites, naked mole rats, and some species of shrimp, aphids, beetles, and spiders).<sup>42</sup> In each case, the free rider problem was surmounted and selfish genes began to craft relatively selfless group members who together constituted a supremely selfish group.

These groups were a new kind of vehicle: a hive or colony of close genetic relatives, which functioned as a unit (e.g., in foraging and fighting) and reproduced as a unit. These are the motorboating sisters in my example, taking advantage of technological innovations and mechanical engineering that had never before existed. It was another transition. Another kind of group began to function as though it were a single organism, and the genes that got to ride around in colonies crushed the genes that couldn't "get it together" and rode around in the bodies of more selfish and solitary insects. The colonial insects represent just 2 percent of all insect species, but in a short period of time they claimed the best feeding and breeding sites for themselves, pushed their competitors to marginal grounds, and changed most of the Earth's terrestrial ecosystems (for example, by enabling the evolution of flowering plants, which need pollinators).<sup>43</sup> Now they're the majority, by weight, of all insects on Earth.

What about human beings? Since ancient times, people have likened human societies to beehives. But is this just a loose analogy? If you map the queen of the hive onto the queen or king of a city-state, then yes, it's loose. A hive or colony has no ruler, no boss. The queen is just the ovary. But if we simply ask whether humans went through the same evolutionary process as bees—a major transition from selfish individualism to groupish hives that prosper when they find a way to suppress free riding—then the analogy gets much tighter.

Many animals are social: they live in groups, flocks, or

herds. But only a few animals have crossed the threshold and become *ultrasocial*, which means that they live in very large groups that have some internal structure, enabling them to reap the benefits of the division of labor.<sup>44</sup> Beehives and ant nests, with their separate castes of soldiers, scouts, and nursery attendants, are examples of ultrasociality, and so are human societies.

One of the key features that has helped all the nonhuman ultrasocials to cross over appears to be the *need to defend a shared nest*. The biologists Bert Hölldobler and E. O. Wilson summarize the recent finding that ultrasociality (also called "eusociality")<sup>45</sup> is found among a few species of shrimp, aphids, thrips, and beetles, as well as among wasps, bees, ants, and termites:

In all the known [species that] display the earliest stages of eusociality, their behavior protects a *persistent, defensible resource* from predators, parasites, or competitors. The resource is *invariably a nest plus dependable food* within foraging range of the nest inhabitants.<sup>46</sup>

Hölldobler and Wilson give supporting roles to two other factors: the need to feed offspring over an extended period (which gives an advantage to species that can recruit siblings or males to help out Mom) and intergroup conflict. All three of these factors applied to those first early wasps camped out together in defensible naturally occurring nests (such as holes in trees). From that point on, the most cooperative groups got to keep the best nesting sites, which they then modified in increasingly elaborate ways to make themselves even more productive and more protected. Their descendants include the honeybees we know today, whose hives have been described as "a factory inside a fortress."<sup>47</sup>

Those same three factors applied to human beings. Like bees, our ancestors were (1) territorial creatures with a fondness for defensible nests (such as caves) who (2) gave birth to needy offspring that required enormous amounts of care, which had to be given while (3) the group was under threat from neighboring groups. For hundreds of thousands of years, therefore, conditions were in place that pulled for the evolution of ultrasociality, and as a result, we are the only ultrasocial primate. The human lineage may have started off acting very much like chimps,<sup>48</sup> but by the time our ancestors started walking out of Africa, they had become at least a little bit like bees.

And much later, when some groups began planting crops and orchards, and then building granaries, storage sheds, and fenced pastures, and permanent homes, they had an even steadier food supply that had to be defended even more vigorously. Like bees, humans began building ever more elaborate nests, and in just a few thousand years, a new kind of vehicle appeared on Earth—the city-state, able to raise walls and armies.<sup>49</sup> City-states and, later, empires spread rapidly across Eurasia, North Africa, and Mesamerica, changing many of the Earth's ecosystems and allowing the total tonnage of human beings to shoot up from insignificance at the start of the Holocene (around twelve thousand years ago) to world domination today.<sup>50</sup> As the colonial insects did to the other insects, we have pushed all other mammals to the margins, to extinction, or to servitude. The analogy to bees is not shallow or loose. Despite their many differences, human civilizations and beehives are both products of major transitions in evolutionary history. They are motorboats.

The discovery of major transitions is Exhibit A in the retrieval of group selection. Group selection may or may not be common among other animals, but it happens whenever indi-

viduals find ways to suppress selfishness and work as a team, in competition with other teams.<sup>51</sup> Group selection creates group-related adaptations. It is not far-fetched, and it should not be a heresy to suggest that this is how we got the groupish overlay that makes up a crucial part of our righteous minds.

#### EXHIBIT B: SHARED INTENTIONALITY

In 49 BCE, Gaius Julius made the momentous decision to cross the Rubicon, a shallow river in northern Italy. He broke Roman law (which forbade generals to approach Rome with their armies), started a civil war, and became Julius Caesar, the absolute ruler of Rome. He also gave us a metaphor for any small action that sets in motion an unstoppable train of events with momentous consequences.

It's great fun to look back at history and identify Rubicon crossings. I used to believe that there were too many small steps in the evolution of morality to identify one as the Rubicon, but I changed my mind when I heard Michael Tomasello, one of the world's foremost experts on chimpanzee cognition, utter this sentence: "It is inconceivable that you would ever see two chimpanzees carrying a log together."<sup>52</sup>

I was stunned. Chimps are arguably the second-smartest species on the planet, able to make tools, learn sign language, predict the intentions of other chimps, and deceive each other to get what they want. As individuals, they're brilliant. So why can't they work together? What are they missing?

Tomasello's great innovation was to create a set of simple tasks that could be given to chimps and to human toddlers in nearly identical form.<sup>53</sup> Solving the task earned the chimp or child a treat (usually a piece of food for the chimp, a small toy for the child). Some of the tasks required thinking only

about physical objects in physical space—for example, using a stick to pull in a treat that was out of reach, or choosing the dish that had the larger number of treats in it rather than the smaller number. Across all ten tasks, the chimps and the two-year-olds did equally well, solving the problems correctly about 68 percent of the time.

But other tasks required collaborating with the experimenter, or at least recognizing that she intended to share information. For example, in one task, the experimenter demonstrated how to remove a treat from a clear tube by poking a hole in the paper that covered one end, and then she gave an identical tube to the chimp or child. Would the subjects understand that the experimenter was trying to teach them what to do? In another task, the experimenter hid the treat under one of two cups and then tried to show the chimp or child the correct cup (by looking at it or pointing to it). The kids aced these social challenges, solving them correctly 74 percent of the time. The chimps bombed, solving them just 35 percent of the time (no better than chance on many of the tasks).

According to Tomasello, human cognition veered away from that of other primates when our ancestors developed *shared intentionality*.<sup>54</sup> At some point in the last million years, a small group of our ancestors developed the ability to share mental representations of tasks that two or more of them were pursuing together. For example, while foraging, one person pulls down a branch while the other plucks the fruit, and they both share the meal. Chimps never do this. Or while hunting, the pair splits up to approach an animal from both sides. Chimps sometimes appear to do this, as in the widely reported cases of chimps hunting colobus monkeys,<sup>55</sup> but Tomasello argues that the chimps are not really working together. Rather, each chimp is surveying the scene and then taking the action

that seems best to him at that moment.<sup>56</sup> Tomasello notes that these monkey hunts are the *only* time that chimps seem to be working together, yet even in these rare cases they fail to show the signs of real cooperation. They make no effort to communicate with each other, for example, and they are terrible at sharing the spoils among the hunters, each of whom must use force to obtain a share of meat at the end. They all chase the monkey at the same time, yet they don't all seem to be on the same page about the hunt.

In contrast, when early humans began to share intentions, their ability to hunt, gather, raise children, and raid their neighbors increased exponentially. Everyone on the team now had a mental representation of the task, knew that his or her partners shared the same representation, knew when a partner had acted in a way that impeded success or that hogged the spoils, and reacted negatively to such violations. When everyone in a group began to share a common understanding of how things were supposed to be done, and then felt a flash of negativity when any individual violated those expectations, the first moral matrix was born.<sup>57</sup> (Remember that a matrix is a *consensual* hallucination.) That, I believe, was our Rubicon crossing.

Tomasello believes that human ultrasociality arose in two steps. The first was the ability to share intentions in groups of two or three people who were actively hunting or foraging together. (That was the Rubicon.) Then, after several hundred thousand years of evolution for better sharing and collaboration as nomadic hunter-gatherers, more collaborative groups began to get larger, perhaps in response to the threat of other groups. Victory went to the most cohesive groups—the ones that could scale up their ability to share intentions from three people to three hundred or three thousand people. This was the second step: Natural selection favored increas-

ing levels of what Tomasello calls “group-mindedness”—the ability to learn and conform to social norms, feel and share group-related emotions, and, ultimately, to create and obey social institutions, including religion. A new set of selection pressures operated *within* groups (e.g., nonconformists were punished, or at very least were less likely to be chosen as partners for joint ventures)<sup>58</sup> as well as *between* groups (cohesive groups took territory and other resources from less cohesive groups).

Shared intentionality is Exhibit B in the retrial of group selection. Once you grasp Tomasello’s deep insight, you begin to see the vast webs of shared intentionality out of which human groups are constructed. Many people assume that language was our Rubicon, but language became possible only *after* our ancestors got shared intentionality. Tomasello notes that a word is not a relationship between a sound and an object. It is an agreement *among people* who share a joint representation of the things in their world, and who share a set of conventions for communicating with each other about those things. If the key to group selection is a shared defensible nest, then shared intentionality allowed humans to construct nests that were vast and ornate yet weightless and portable. Bees construct hives out of wax and wood fibers, which they then fight, kill, and die to defend. Humans construct moral communities out of shared norms, institutions, and gods that, even in the twenty-first century, they fight, kill, and die to defend.

#### EXHIBIT C: GENES AND CULTURES COEVOLVE

When did our ancestors cross the Rubicon? We’ll never know when the first pair of foragers worked as a team to pluck figs from a tree, but when we begin to see signs in the fossil record

of cultural innovations accumulating and building on earlier innovations, we can guess that the innovators had crossed over. When culture accumulates, it means that people are learning from each other, adding their own innovations, and then passing their ideas on to later generations.<sup>59</sup>

Our ancestors first began to diverge from the common ancestor we share with chimps and bonobos between 5 million and 7 million years ago. For the next few million years, there were many species of hominids walking around on two legs in Africa. But judging from their brain size and their limited use of tools, these creatures (including australopithecines such as “Lucy”) are better thought of as bipedal apes than as early humans.<sup>60</sup>

Then, beginning around 2.4 million years ago, hominids with larger brains begin to appear in the fossil record. These were the first members of the genus *Homo*, including *Homo habilis*, so named because these creatures were “handy men” compared to their ancestors. They left behind a profusion of

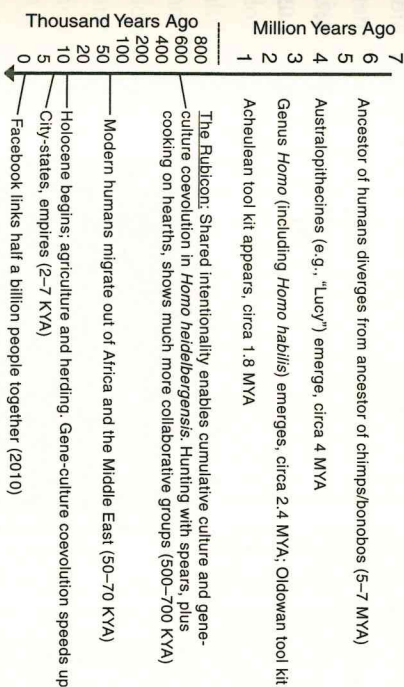


FIGURE 9.1. *Time line of major events in human evolution.* MYA = million years ago; KYA = thousand years ago. Dates drawn from Potts and Sloan 2010; Richerson and Boyd 2005; and Tattersall 2009.

simple stone tools known as the Oldowan tool kit. These tools, mostly just sharp flakes they had knocked off larger stones, helped *Homo habilis* to cut and scrape meat off carcasses killed by other animals. *Homo habilis* was not much of a hunter.

Then, beginning around 1.8 million years ago, some hominids in East Africa began making new and more finely crafted tools, known as the Acheulean tool kit.<sup>61</sup> The main tool was a teardrop-shaped hand axe, and its symmetry and careful crafting jump out at us as something new under the sun, something made by minds like ours (see figure 9.2). This seems like a promising place to start talking about cumulative culture. But here's the weird thing: Acheulean tools are nearly identical everywhere, from Africa to Europe to Asia, for more than a million years. *There's hardly any variation*, which suggests that the knowledge of how to make these tools may not have been passed on culturally. Rather, the knowledge of how to make these tools may have become innate, just as the "knowledge" of how to build a dam is innate in beavers.<sup>62</sup>

It's only around 600,000 or 700,000 years ago that we begin to see creatures who may have crossed over. The first hominids with brains as large as ours begin appearing in Africa and then Europe. They are known collectively as *Homo heidelbergensis*, and they were the ancestors of Neanderthals as well as of us.



FIGURE 9.2. Acheulean hand axe.

At their campsites we find the first clear evidence of hearths, and of spears. The oldest known spears were just sharpened sticks, but later they became sharp stone points attached to wooden shafts and balanced for accurate throwing. These people made complex weapons and then worked together to hunt and kill large animals, which they brought back to a central campsite to be butchered, cooked, and shared.<sup>63</sup>

*Homo heidelbergensis* is therefore our best candidate for Rubicon crosser.<sup>64</sup> These people had cumulative culture, teamwork, and a division of labor. They must have had shared intentionality, including at least some rudimentary moral matrix that helped them work together and then share the fruits of their labor. By crossing over, they transformed not just the course of human evolution but the very nature of the evolutionary process. From that point onward, people lived in an environment that was increasingly of their own making.

The anthropologists Pete Richerson and Rob Boyd have argued that cultural innovations (such as spears, cooking techniques, and religions) evolve in much the same way that biological innovations evolve, and the two streams of evolution are so intertwined that you can't study one without studying both.<sup>65</sup> For example, one of the best-understood cases of gene-culture coevolution occurred among the first people who domesticated cattle. In humans, as in all other mammals, the ability to digest lactose (the sugar in milk) is lost during childhood. The gene that makes lactase (the enzyme that breaks down lactose) shuts off after a few years of service, because mammals don't drink milk after they are weaned. But those first cattle keepers, in northern Europe and in a few parts of Africa, had a vast new supply of fresh milk, which could be given to their children but not to adults. Any individual whose mutated genes delayed the shutdown of lactase production had an advantage. Over time, such people left more milk-drinking

descendants than did their lactose-intolerant cousins. (The gene itself has been identified.)<sup>66</sup> Genetic changes then drove cultural innovations as well: groups with the new lactase gene then kept even larger herds, and found more ways to use and process milk, such as turning it into cheese. These cultural innovations then drove further genetic changes, and on and on it went.

If cultural innovations (such as keeping cattle) can lead to genetic responses (such as adult lactose tolerance), then might cultural innovations related to morality have led to genetic responses as well? Yes. Richerson and Boyd argue that gene-culture coevolution helped to move humanity up from the small-group sociability of other primates to the tribal ultrasociality that is found today in all human societies.<sup>67</sup>

According to their “tribal instincts hypothesis,” human groups have always been in competition to some degree with neighboring groups. The groups that figured out (or stumbled upon) cultural innovations that helped them cooperate and cohere in groups larger than the family tended to win these competitions (just as Darwin said).

Among the most important such innovations is the human love of using symbolic markers to show our group memberships. From the tattoos and face piercings used among Amazonian tribes through the male circumcision required of Jews to the tattoos and facial piercings used by punks in the United Kingdom, human beings take extraordinary, costly, and sometimes painful steps to make their bodies advertise their group memberships. This practice surely started modestly, perhaps just with colored powders for body painting.<sup>68</sup> But however it began, groups that built on it and invented more permanent markers found a way to forge a sense of “we” that extended beyond kinship. We trust and cooperate more readily with people who look and sound like us.<sup>69</sup> We expect them to share our values and norms.

And once some groups developed the *cultural* innovation of prototribalism, they changed the environment within which *genetic* evolution took place. As Richerson and Boyd explain:

Such environments favored the evolution of a suite of new social instincts suited to life in such groups, including a psychology which “expects” life to be structured by moral norms and is designed to learn and internalize such norms; new emotions such as shame and guilt, which increase the chance that the norms are followed, and a psychology which “expects” the social world to be divided into symbolically marked groups.<sup>70</sup>

In such prototribal societies, individuals who found it harder to play along, to restrain their antisocial impulses, and to conform to the most important collective norms would not have been anyone’s top choice when it came time to choose partners for hunting, foraging, or mating. In particular, people who were violent would have been shunned, punished, or in extreme cases killed.

This process has been described as “self-domestication.”<sup>71</sup> The ancestors of dogs, cats, and pigs got less aggressive as they were domesticated and shaped for partnership with human beings. Only the friendliest ones approached human settlements in the first place; they volunteered to become the ancestors of today’s pets and farm animals.

In a similar way, early humans domesticated themselves when they began to select friends and partners based on their ability to live within the tribe’s moral matrix. In fact, our brains, bodies, and behavior show many of the same signs of domestication that are found in our domestic animals: smaller teeth, smaller body, reduced aggression, and greater playfulness, carried on even into adulthood.<sup>72</sup> The reason is that domestication generally takes traits that disappear at the end

of childhood and keeps them turned on for life. Domesticated animals (including humans) are more childlike, sociable, and gentler than their wild ancestors.

These tribal instincts are a kind of overlay, a set of groupish emotions and mental mechanisms laid down over our older and more selfish primate nature.<sup>73</sup> It may sound depressing to think that our righteous minds are basically tribal minds, but consider the alternative. Our tribal minds make it easy to divide us, but without our long period of tribal living there'd be nothing to divide in the first place. There'd be only small families of foragers—not nearly as sociable as today's hunter-gatherers—eking out a living and losing most of their members to starvation during every prolonged drought. The coevolution of tribal minds and tribal cultures didn't just prepare us for war; it also prepared us for far more peaceful coexistence within our groups, and, in modern times, for cooperation on a vast scale as well.

Gene-culture coevolution is Exhibit C in the retrial of group selection. Once our ancestors crossed the Rubicon and became cumulatively cultural creatures, their genes began to coevolve with their cultural innovations. At least some of these innovations were directed at marking members of a moral community, fostering group cohesion, suppressing aggression and free riding within the group, and defending the territory shared by that moral community. These are precisely the sorts of changes that make major transitions happen.<sup>74</sup> Even if group selection played no role in the evolution of any other mammal,<sup>75</sup> human evolution has been so different since the arrival of shared intentionality and gene-culture coevolution that humans may well be a special case. The wholesale dismissal of group selection in the 1960s and 1970s, based mostly on arguments and examples from other species, was premature.

## EXHIBIT D: EVOLUTION CAN BE FAST

When exactly did we become ultrasocial? Humans everywhere are so groupish that most of the genetic changes must have been in place before our ancestors spread out from Africa and the Middle East around 50,000 years ago.<sup>76</sup> (I suspect it was the development of cooperative groupishness that enabled these ancestors to conquer the world and take over Neanderthal territory so quickly.) But did gene-culture coevolution stop at that point? Did our genes freeze in place, leaving all later adaptation to be handled by cultural innovation? For decades, many anthropologists and evolutionary theorists said yes. In an interview in 2000, the paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould said that “natural selection has almost become irrelevant in human evolution” because cultural change works “orders of magnitude” faster than genetic change. He next asserted that “there’s been *no biological change* in humans in 40,000 or 50,000 years. Everything we call culture and civilization we’ve built *with the same body and brain*.”<sup>77</sup>

If you believe Gould’s assertion that there’s been no biological evolution in the last 50,000 years, then you’ll be most interested in the Pleistocene era (the roughly 2 million years prior to the rise of agriculture), and you’ll dismiss the Holocene (the last 12,000 years) as irrelevant for understanding human evolution. But is 12,000 years really just an eye blink in evolutionary time? Darwin didn’t think so; he wrote frequently about the effects obtained by animal and plant breeders in just a few generations.

The speed at which genetic evolution can occur is best illustrated by an extraordinary study by Dmitri Belyaev, a Soviet scientist who had been demoted in 1948 for his belief in Mendelian genetics. (Soviet morality required the belief that traits acquired during one’s lifetime could be passed on

to one's children.)<sup>78</sup> Belyaev moved to a Siberian research institute, where he decided to test his ideas by conducting a simple breeding experiment with foxes. Rather than selecting foxes based on the quality of their pelts, as fox breeders would normally do, he selected them for tameness. Whichever fox pups were least fearful of humans were bred to create the next generation. Within just a few generations the foxes became tamer. But more important, after nine generations, novel traits began to appear in a few of the pups, and they were largely the same ones that distinguish dogs from wolves. For example, patches of white fur appeared on the head and chest; jaws and teeth shrank; and tails formerly straight began to curl. After just thirty generations the foxes had become so tame that they could be kept as pets. Lyudmila Trut, a geneticist



FIGURE 9.3. Lyudmila Trut with Pavlik, a forty-second generation descendant of Belyaev's original study.

who had worked with Belyaev on the project and who ran it after his death, described the foxes as “docile, eager to please, and unmistakably domesticated.”<sup>79</sup>

It's not just individual-level selection that is fast. A second study done with chickens shows that group selection can produce equally dramatic results. If you want to increase egg output, common sense tells you to breed only the hens that lay the most eggs. But the reality of the egg industry is that hens live crammed together into cages, and the best laying hens tend to be the more aggressive, dominant hens. Therefore, if you use individual selection (breeding only the most productive hens), total productivity actually goes down because aggressive behavior—including killing and cannibalism—goes up.

In the 1980s the geneticist William Muir used group selection to get around this problem.<sup>80</sup> He worked with cages containing twelve hens each, and he simply picked the *cages* that produced the most eggs in each generation. Then he bred *all* of the hens in those cages to produce the next generation. Within just three generations, aggression levels plummeted. By the sixth generation, the death rate fell from the horrific baseline of 67 percent to a mere 8 percent. Total eggs produced per hen jumped from 91 to 237, mostly because the hens started living longer, but also because they laid more eggs per day. The group-selected hens were more productive than were those subjected to individual-level selection. They also actually looked like the pictures of chickens you see in children's books—plump and well-feathered, in contrast to the battered, beaten-up, and partially defeathered hens that resulted from individual-level selection.

Humans were probably never subjected to such a strong and consistent selection pressure as were those foxes and hens, so it would take more than six or ten generations to produce novel traits. But how much longer? Can the human genome

respond to new selection pressures in, say, thirty generations (six hundred years)? Or would it take more than five hundred generations (ten thousand years) for a new selection pressure to produce any genetic adaptation?

The actual speed of genetic evolution is a question that can be answered with data, and thanks to the Human Genome Project, we now have that data. Several teams have sequenced the genomes of thousands of people from every continent. Genes mutate and drift through populations, but it is possible to distinguish such random drift from cases in which genes are being “pulled” by natural selection.<sup>81</sup> The results are astonishing, and they are exactly the opposite of Gould’s claim: genetic evolution *greatly accelerated* during the last 50,000 years. The rate at which genes changed in response to selection pressures began rising around 40,000 years ago, and the curve got steeper and steeper after 20,000 years ago. Genetic change reached a crescendo during the Holocene era, in Africa as well as in Eurasia.

It makes perfect sense. In the last ten years, geneticists have discovered just how active genes are. Genes are constantly turning on and off in response to conditions such as stress, starvation, or sickness. Now imagine these dynamic genes building vehicles (people) who are hell-bent on exposing themselves to new climates, predators, parasites, food options, social structures, and forms of warfare. Imagine population densities skyrocketing during the Holocene, so that there are more people putting more genetic mutations into play. If genes and cultural adaptations coevolve in a “swirling waltz” (as Richerson and Boyd put it), and if the cultural partner suddenly starts dancing the jitterbug, the genes are going to pick up the pace too.<sup>82</sup> This is why genetic evolution kicked into overdrive in the Holocene era, pulling along mutations such as the lactose tolerance gene, or a gene that changed the

blood of Tibetans so that they could live at high altitudes.<sup>83</sup> Genes for these recent traits and dozens of others have already been identified.<sup>84</sup> If genetic evolution was able to fine-tune our bones, teeth, skin, and metabolism in just a few thousand years as our diets and climates changed, how could genetic evolution not have tinkered with our brains and behaviors as our social environments underwent the most radical transformation in primate history?

I don’t think evolution can create a new mental module from scratch in just 12,000 years, but I can see no reason why existing features—such as the six foundations I described in chapters 7 and 8, or the tendency to feel shame—would not be tweaked if conditions changed and then stayed stable for a thousand years. For example, when a society becomes more hierarchical or entrepreneurial, or when a group takes up rice farming, herding, or trade, these changes alter human relationships in many ways, and reward very different sets of virtues.<sup>85</sup> Cultural change would happen very rapidly—the moral matrix constructed upon the six foundations can change radically within a few generations. But if that new moral matrix then stays somewhat steady for a few dozen generations, new selection pressures will apply and there could be some additional gene-culture coevolution.<sup>86</sup>

Fast evolution is Exhibit D in the retrial of group selection. If genetic evolution can be fast, and if the human genome coevolves with cultural innovations, then it becomes quite possible that human nature was altered in just a few thousand years, somewhere in Africa, by group selection during particularly harsh periods.

For example, the climate in Africa fluctuated wildly between 70,000 and 140,000 years ago.<sup>87</sup> With each swing from warmer to cooler, or from wetter to drier, food sources changed and widespread starvation was probably common.

A catastrophic volcanic eruption 74,000 years ago from the Toba volcano in Indonesia may have dramatically changed the Earth's climate within a single year.<sup>88</sup> Whatever the cause, we know that almost all humans were killed off at some point during this time period. Every person alive today is descended from just a few thousand people who made it through one or more population bottlenecks.<sup>89</sup>

What was their secret? We'll probably never know, but let's imagine that 95 percent of the food on Earth magically disappears tonight, guaranteeing that almost all of us will starve to death within two months. Law and order collapse. Chaos and mayhem ensue. Who among us will still be alive a year from now? Will it be the biggest, strongest, and most violent individuals in each town? Or will it be the people who manage to work together in groups to monopolize, hide, and share the remaining food supplies among themselves?

Now imagine starvations like that occurring every few centuries, and think about what a few such events would do to the human gene pool. Even if group selection was confined to just a few thousand years, or to the longer period between 70,000 and 140,000 years ago, it could have given us the group-related adaptations that allowed us to burst forth from Africa soon after the bottleneck to conquer and populate the globe.<sup>90</sup>

#### IT'S NOT ALL ABOUT WAR

I've presented group selection so far in its simplest possible form: groups compete with each other as if they were individual organisms, and the most cohesive groups wipe out and replace the less cohesive ones during intertribal warfare. That's the way that Darwin first imagined it. But when the

evolutionary psychologist Lesley Newson read an early draft of this chapter, she sent me this note:

I think it is important not to give readers the impression that groups competing necessarily meant groups being at war or fighting with one another. They were competing to be the most efficient at turning resources into offspring. Don't forget that women and children were also very important members of these groups.

Of course she's right. Group selection does not require war or violence. Whatever traits make a group more efficient at procuring food and turning it into children makes that group more fit than its neighbors. Group selection pulls for cooperation, for the ability to suppress antisocial behavior and spur individuals to act in ways that benefit their groups. Group-serving behaviors sometimes impose a terrible cost on outsiders (as in warfare). But in general, groupishness is focused on improving the welfare of the in-group, not on harming an out-group.

#### IN SUM

Darwin believed that morality was an adaptation that evolved by natural selection operating at the individual level *and* at the group level. Tribes with more virtuous members replaced tribes with more selfish members. But Darwin's idea was banished from the academic world when Williams and Dawkins argued that the free rider problem dooms group selection. The sciences then entered a three-decade period during which competition *between* groups was downplayed and everyone focused on competition among individuals *within* groups.

Seemingly altruistic acts had to be explained as covert forms of selfishness.

But in recent years new scholarship has emerged that elevates the role of groups in evolutionary thinking. Natural selection works at multiple levels simultaneously, sometimes including groups of organisms. I can't say for sure that human nature was shaped by group selection—there are scientists whose views I respect on both sides of the debate. But as a psychologist studying morality, I can say that multilevel selection would go a long way toward explaining why people are simultaneously so selfish and so groupish.<sup>91</sup>

There is a great deal of new scholarship since the 1970s that compels us to think anew about group selection (as a part of multilevel selection). I organized that scholarship into four “exhibits” that collectively amount to a defense<sup>92</sup> of group selection.

*Exhibit A: Major transitions produce superorganisms.*

The history of life on Earth shows repeated examples of “major transitions.” When the free rider problem is muted at one level of the biological hierarchy, larger and more powerful vehicles (superorganisms) arise at the next level up in the hierarchy, with new properties such as a division of labor, cooperation, and altruism within the group.

*Exhibit B: Shared intentionality generates moral*

*matrices.* The Rubicon crossing that let our ancestors function so well in their groups was the emergence of the uniquely human ability to share intentions and other mental representations. This ability enabled early humans to collaborate, divide labor, and develop shared norms for judging each other's behavior. These shared norms were the beginning of the moral matrices that govern our social lives today.

*Exhibit C: Genes and cultures coevolve.* Once our ancestors crossed the Rubicon and began to share intentions, our evolution became a two-stranded affair. People created new customs, norms, and institutions that altered the degree to which many groupish traits were adaptive. In particular, gene-culture coevolution gave us a set of tribal instincts: we love to mark group membership, and then we cooperate preferentially with members of our group.

*Exhibit D: Evolution can be fast.* Human evolution did not stop or slow down 50,000 years ago. It sped up. Gene-culture coevolution reached a fever pitch during the last 12,000 years. We can't just examine modern-day hunter-gatherers and assume that they represent universal human nature as it was locked into place 50,000 years ago. Periods of massive environmental change (as occurred between 70,000 and 140,000 years ago) and cultural change (as occurred during the Holocene era) should figure more prominently in our attempts to understand who we are, and how we got our righteous minds.

Most of human nature was shaped by natural selection operating at the level of the individual. Most, but not all. We have a few group-related adaptations too, as many Americans discovered in the days after 9/11. We humans have a dual nature—we are selfish primates who long to be a part of something larger and nobler than ourselves. We are 90 percent chimp and 10 percent bee.<sup>93</sup> If you take that claim metaphorically, then the groupish and hivish things that people do will make a lot more sense. It's almost as though there's a switch in our heads that activates our hivish potential when conditions are just right.

TEN

## The Hive Switch

In September 1941, William McNeill was drafted into the U.S. Army. He spent several months in basic training, which consisted mostly of marching around the drill field in close formation with a few dozen other men. At first McNeill thought the marching was just a way to pass the time, because his base had no weapons with which to train. But after a few weeks, when his unit began to synchronize well, he began to experience an altered state of consciousness:

Words are inadequate to describe the emotion aroused by the prolonged movement in unison that drilling involved. A sense of pervasive well-being is what I recall; more specifically, a strange sense of personal enlargement; a sort of swelling out, becoming bigger than life, thanks to participation in collective ritual.<sup>1</sup>

McNeill fought in World War II and later became a distinguished historian. His research led him to the conclusion that the key innovation of Greek, Roman, and later European armies was the sort of synchronous drilling and marching the army had forced him to do years before. He hypothesized

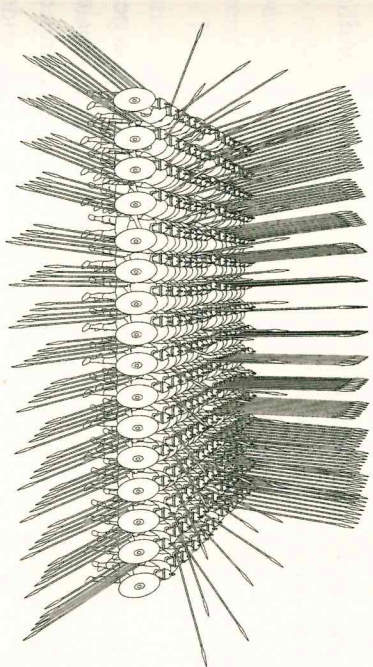


FIGURE 10.1. *The Macaonian phalanx.*

that the process of “muscular bonding”—moving together in time—was a mechanism that evolved long before the beginning of recorded history for shutting down the self and creating a temporary superorganism. Muscular bonding enabled people to forget themselves, trust each other, function as a unit, and then crush less cohesive groups. Figure 10.1 shows the superorganism that Alexander the Great used to defeat much larger armies.

McNeill studied accounts of men in battle and found that men risk their lives not so much for their country or their ideals as for their comrades-in-arms. He quoted one veteran who gave this example of what happens when “I” becomes “we”:

Many veterans who are honest with themselves will admit, I believe, that the experience of communal effort in battle . . . has been the high point of their lives. . . . Their “I” passes insensibly into a “we,” “my” becomes “our,” and individual fate loses its central importance. . . . I believe that it is nothing less than the assurance of immortality that makes self sacrifice at

these moments so relatively easy. . . . I may fall, but I do not die, for that which is real in me goes forward and lives on in the comrades for whom I gave up my life.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE HIVE HYPOTHESIS

In the last chapter, I suggested that human nature is 90 percent chimp and 10 percent bee. We are like chimps in being primates whose minds were shaped by the relentless competition of individuals with their neighbors. We are descended from a long string of winners in the game of social life. This is why we are Glauconians, usually more concerned about the appearance of virtue than the reality (as in Glaucon's story about the ring of Gyges).<sup>3</sup>

But human nature also has a more recent groupish overlay. We are like bees in being ultrasocial creatures whose minds were shaped by the relentless competition of groups with other groups. We are descended from earlier humans whose groupish minds helped them cohere, cooperate, and outcompete other groups. That doesn't mean that our ancestors were mindless or unconditional team players; it means they were selective. Under the right conditions, they were able to enter a mind-set of "one for all, all for one" in which they were truly working for the good of the group, and not just for their own advancement within the group.

My hypothesis in this chapter is that *human beings are conditional hive creatures*. We have the ability (under special conditions) to transcend self-interest and lose ourselves (temporarily and ecstatically) in something larger than ourselves. That ability is what I'm calling *the hive switch*. The hive switch, I propose, is a group-related adaptation that can only be explained "by a theory of between-group selection,"

as Williams said.<sup>4</sup> It cannot be explained by selection at the individual level. (How would this strange ability help a person to outcompete his neighbors in the same group?) The hive switch is an adaptation for making groups more cohesive, and therefore more successful in competition with other groups.<sup>5</sup> If the hive hypothesis is true, then it has enormous implications for how we should design organizations, study religion, and search for meaning and joy in our lives.<sup>6</sup> Is it true? Is there really a hive switch?

#### COLLECTIVE EMOTIONS

When Europeans began to explore the world in the late fifteenth century, they brought back an extraordinary variety of plants and animals. Each continent had its own wonders; the diversity of the natural world was vast beyond imagination. But reports about the inhabitants of these far-flung lands were, in some ways, more uniform. European travelers to every continent witnessed people coming together to dance with wild abandon around a fire, synchronized to the beat of drums, often to the point of exhaustion. In *Dancing in the Streets: A History of Collective Joy*, Barbara Ehrenreich describes how European explorers reacted to these dances: with disgust. The masks, body paints, and guttural shrieks made the dancers seem like animals. The rhythmically undulating bodies and occasional sexual pantomimes were, to most Europeans, degrading, grotesque, and thoroughly "savage."

The Europeans were unprepared to understand what they were seeing. As Ehrenreich argues, collective and ecstatic dancing is a nearly universal "biotechnology" for binding groups together.<sup>7</sup> She agrees with McNeill that it is a form of musical bonding. It fosters love, trust, and equality. It was com-

mon in ancient Greece (think of Dionysus and his cult) and in early Christianity (which she says was a “danced” religion until dancing in church was suppressed in the Middle Ages).

But if ecstatic dancing is so beneficial and so widespread, then why did Europeans give it up? Ehenreich’s historical explanation is too nuanced to summarize here, but the last part of the story is the rise of individualism and more refined notions of the self in Europe, beginning in the sixteenth century. These cultural changes accelerated during the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. It is the same historical process that gave rise to WEIRD culture in the nineteenth century (that is, Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic).<sup>8</sup> As I said in chapter 5, the WEIRD you are, the more you perceive a world full of separate objects, rather than relationships. The WEIRD you are, the harder it is to understand what those “savages” were doing.

Ehenreich was surprised to discover how little help she could get from psychology in her quest to understand collective joy. Psychology has a rich language for describing relationships among pairs of people, from fleeting attractions to ego-dissolving love to pathological obsession. But what about the love that can exist among dozens of people? She notes that “if homosexual attraction is the love that ‘dares not speak its name,’ the love that binds people to the collective has no name at all to speak.”<sup>9</sup>

Among the few useful scholars she found in her quest was Emile Durkheim. Durkheim insisted that there were “social facts” that were not reducible to facts about individuals. Social facts—such as the suicide rate or norms about patriotism—emerge as people interact. They are just as real and worthy of study (by sociology) as are people and their mental states (studied by psychology). Durkheim didn’t know about multilevel selection and major transitions theory, but his sociology fits uncannily well with both ideas.

Durkheim frequently criticized his contemporaries, such as Freud, who tried to explain morality and religion using only the psychology of individuals and their pairwise relationships. (God is just a father figure, said Freud.) Durkheim argued, in contrast, that *Homo sapiens* was really *Homo duplex*, a creature who exists at two levels: as an individual and as part of the larger society. From his studies of religion he concluded that people have two distinct sets of “social sentiments,” one for each level. The first set of sentiments “bind[s] each individual to the person of his fellow-citizens: these are manifest within the community, in the day-to-day relationships of life. These include the sentiments of honour, respect, affection and fear which we may feel towards one another.”<sup>10</sup> These sentiments are easily explained by natural selection operating at the level of the individual: just as Darwin said, people avoid partners who lack these sentiments.<sup>11</sup>

But Durkheim noted that people also had the capacity to experience another set of emotions:

The second are those which bind me to the social entity as a whole; these manifest themselves primarily in the relationships of the society with other societies, and could be called “inter-social.” The first [set of emotions] leave[s] my autonomy and personality almost intact. No doubt they tie me to others, but without taking much of my independence from me. When I act under the influence of the second, by contrast, I am simply a part of a whole, whose actions I follow, and whose influence I am subject to.<sup>12</sup>

I find it stunning that Durkheim invokes the logic of multilevel selection, proposing that a new set of social sentiments exists to help groups (which are real things) with their “inter-social” relationships. These second-level sentiments

flip the hive switch, shut down the self, activate the groupish overlay, and allow the person to become "simply a part of a whole."

The most important of these Durkheimian higher-level sentiments is "collective effervescence," which describes the passion and ecstasy that group rituals can generate. As Durkheim put it:

The very act of congregating is an exceptionally powerful stimulant. Once the individuals are gathered together, a sort of electricity is generated from their closeness and quickly launches them to an extraordinary height of exaltation.<sup>13</sup>

In such a state, "the vital energies become hyperexcited, the passions more intense, the sensations more powerful."<sup>14</sup> Durkheim believed that these collective emotions pull humans fully but temporarily into the higher of our two realms, the realm of the *sacred*, where the self disappears and collective interests predominate. The realm of the *profane*, in contrast, is the ordinary day-to-day world where we live most of our lives, concerned about wealth, health, and reputation, but nagged by the sense that there is, somewhere, something higher and nobler.

Durkheim believed that our movements back and forth between these two realms gave rise to our ideas about gods, spirits, heavens, and the very notion of an objective moral order. These are social facts that cannot be understood by psychologists studying individuals (or pairs) any more than the structure of a beehive could be deduced by entomologists examining lone bees (or pairs).

#### SO MANY WAYS TO FLIP THE SWITCH

Collective effervescence sounds great, right? Too bad you need twenty-three friends and a bonfire to get it. Or do you? One of the most intriguing facts about the hive switch is that there are many ways to turn it on. Even if you doubt that the switch is a group-level adaptation, I hope you'll agree with me that the switch exists, and that it generally makes people less selfish and more loving. Here are three examples of switch flipping that you might have experienced yourself.

##### 1. *Awe in Nature*

In the 1830s, Ralph Waldo Emerson delivered a set of lectures on nature that formed the foundation of American Transcendentalism, a movement that rejected the analytic hyperintellectualism of America's top universities. Emerson argued that the deepest truths must be known by intuition, not reason, and that experiences of awe in nature were among the best ways to trigger such intuitions. He described the rejuvenation and joy he gained from looking at the stars, or at a vista of rolling farmland, or from a simple walk in the woods:

Standing on the bare ground,—my head bathed by the blithe air and uplifted into infinite space,—*all mean egotism vanishes*. I become a transparent eye-ball; I am nothing; I see all; the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or particle of God.<sup>15</sup>

Darwin records a similar experience in his autobiography:

In my journal I wrote that whilst standing in midst of the grandeur of a Brazilian forest, "it is not possible to

give an adequate idea of the higher feelings of wonder, admiration, and devotion which fill and elevate the mind." I well remember my conviction that there is more in man than the breath of his body.<sup>16</sup>

Emerson and Darwin each found in nature a portal between the realm of the profane and the realm of the sacred. Even if the hive switch was originally a group-related adaptation, it can be flipped when you're alone by feelings of awe in nature, as mystics and ascetics have known for millennia.

The emotion of awe is most often triggered when we face situations with two features: vastness (something overwhelms us and makes us feel small) and a need for accommodation (that is, our experience is not easily assimilated into our existing mental structures; we must "accommodate" the experience by changing those structures).<sup>17</sup> Awe acts like a kind of reset button: it makes people forget themselves and their petty concerns. Awe opens people to new possibilities, values, and directions in life. Awe is one of the emotions most closely linked to the hive switch, along with collective love and collective joy. People describe nature in spiritual terms—as both Emerson and Darwin did—precisely because nature can trigger the hive switch and shut down the self, making you feel that you are *simply a part of a whole*.

## 2. *Durkheimogens*

When Cortés captured Mexico in 1519, he found the Aztecs practicing a religion based on mushrooms containing the hallucinogen psilocybin. The mushrooms were called *teonanacatl*—literally "God's flesh" in the local language. The early Christian missionaries noted the similarity of mushroom eating to the Christian Eucharist, but the Aztec practice was

more than a symbolic ritual. *Teonanacatl* took people directly from the profane to the sacred realm in about thirty minutes.<sup>18</sup> Figure 10.2 shows a god about to grab hold of a mushroom eater, from a sixteenth-century Aztec scroll. Religious practices north of the Aztecs focused on consumption of peyote, harvested from a cactus containing mescaline. Religious practices south of the Aztecs focused on consumption of *ayahuasca* (Quechua for "spirit vine"), a brew made from vines and leaves containing DMT (dimethyltryptamine).

These three drugs are classed together as hallucinogens (along with LSD and other synthetic compounds) because the class of chemically similar alkaloids in such drugs induces a range of visual and auditory hallucinations. But I think these drugs could just as well be called Durkheimogens, given their unique (though unreliable) ability to shut down the self and give people experiences they later describe as "religious" or "transformative."<sup>19</sup>



FIGURE 10.2. An Aztec mushroom eater, about to be whisked away to the realm of the sacred. Detail from the Codex Magliabechiano, CL.XIII.3, sixteenth century.

Most traditional societies have some sort of ritual for transforming boys into men and girls into women. It's usually far more grueling than a bar mitzvah; it frequently involves fear, pain, symbolism of death and rebirth, and a revelation of knowledge by gods or elders.<sup>20</sup> Many societies used hallucinogenic drugs to catalyze this transformation. The drugs flip the hive switch and help the selfish child disappear. The person who returns from the other world is then treated as a morally responsible adult. One anthropological review of such rites concludes: "These states were induced to heighten learning and to create a bonding among members of the cohort group, when appropriate, so that individual psychic needs would be subsumed to the needs of the social group."<sup>21</sup>

When Westerners take these drugs, shorn of all rites and rituals, they don't usually commit to any group, but they often have experiences that are hard to distinguish from the "peak experiences" described by the humanistic psychologist Abe Maslow.<sup>22</sup> In one of the few controlled experiments, done before the drugs were made illegal in most Western countries, twenty divinity students were brought together in the basement chapel of a church in Boston.<sup>23</sup> All took a pill, but for the first twenty minutes, nobody knew who had taken psilocybin and who had taken niacin (a B vitamin that gives people a warm, flushed feeling). But by forty minutes into the experiment, it was clear to all. The ten who took niacin (and who had been the first to feel something happening) were struck on Earth wishing the other ten well on their fantastic voyage.

The experimenters collected detailed reports from all participants before and after the study, as well as six months later. They found that psilocybin had produced statistically significant effects on nine kinds of experiences: (1) unity, including loss of sense of self, and a feeling of underlying oneness, (2) transcendence of time and space, (3) deeply felt positive

mood, (4) a sense of sacredness, (5) a sense of gaining intuitive knowledge that felt deeply and authoritatively true, (6) paradoxicality, (7) difficulty describing what had happened, (8) transiency, with all returning to normal within a few hours, and (9) persisting positive changes in attitude and behavior.

Twenty-five years later, Rick Doblin tracked down nineteen of the twenty original subjects and interviewed them.<sup>24</sup> He concluded that "all psilocybin subjects participating in the long-term follow-up, but none of the controls, still considered their original experience to have had genuinely mystical elements and to have made a uniquely valuable contribution to their spiritual lives." One of the psilocybin subjects recalled his experience like this:

All of a sudden I felt sort of drawn out into infinity, and all of a sudden I had lost touch with my mind. I felt that I was caught up in the vastness of Creation. . . . Sometimes you would look up and see the light on the altar and it would just be a blinding sort of light and radiations. . . . We took such an infinitesimal amount of psilocybin, and yet it connected me to infinity.

### 3. *Raves*

Rock music has always been associated with wild abandon and sexuality. American parents in the 1950s often shared the horror of those seventeenth-century Europeans faced with the ecstatic dancing of the "savages." But in the 1980s, British youth mixed together new technologies to create a new kind of dancing that replaced the individualism and sexuality of rock with more communal feelings. Advances in electronics brought new and more hypnotic genres of music, such as techno, trance, house, and drum and bass. Advances in laser

technology made it possible to bring spectacular visual effects into any party. And advances in pharmacology made a host of new drugs available to the dancing class, particularly MDMA, a variant of amphetamine that gives people long-lasting energy, along with heightened feelings of love and openness. (Revealingly, the colloquial name for MDMA is ecstasy.) When some or all of these ingredients were combined, the result was so deeply appealing that young people began converging by the thousands for all-night dance parties, first in the United Kingdom and then, in the 1990s, throughout the developed world.

There's a description of a rave experience in Tony Hsieh's autobiography *Delivering Happiness*. Hsieh (pronounced "Shay") is the CEO of the online retailer Zappos.com. He made a fortune at the age of twenty-four when he sold his start-up tech company to Microsoft. For the next few years Hsieh wondered what to do with his life. He had a small group of friends who hung out together in San Francisco. The first time Hsieh and his "tribe" (as they called themselves) attended a rave, it flipped his hive switch. Here is his description:

What I experienced next changed my perspective forever. . . . Yes, the decorations and lasers were pretty cool, and yes, this was the largest single room full of people dancing that I had ever seen. But neither of those things explained the feeling of awe that I was experiencing. . . . As someone who is usually known as being the most logical and rational person in a group, I was surprised to find myself swept with an overwhelming sense of spirituality—not in the religious sense, but a sense of *deep connection with everyone who was there as well as the rest of the universe*. There was a feeling of no judgment. . . . Here there was *no sense of*

*self-consciousness* or feeling that anyone was dancing to be seen dancing. . . . Everyone was facing the DJ, who was elevated up on a stage. . . . The entire room felt like *one massive, united tribe of thousands of people*, and the DJ was the tribal leader of the group. . . . The steady wordless electronic beats were the unifying heartbeats that synchronized the crowd. It was as if *the existence of individual consciousness had disappeared and been replaced by a single unifying group consciousness*.<sup>25</sup>

Hsieh had stumbled into a modern version of the muscular bonding that Ehrenreich and McNeill had described. The scene and the experience awed him, shut down his "I," and merged him into a giant "we." That night was a turning point in his life; it started him on the path to creating a new kind of business embodying some of the communalism and ego suppression he had felt at the rave.

There are many other ways to flip the hive switch. In the ten years during which I've been discussing these ideas with my students at UVA, I've heard reports of people getting "turned on" by singing in choruses, performing in marching bands, listening to sermons, attending political rallies, and meditating. Most of my students have experienced the switch at least once, although only a few had a life-changing experience. More commonly, the effects fade away within a few hours or days.

Now that I know what can happen when the hive switch gets flipped in the right way at the right time, I look at my students differently. I still see them as individuals competing with each other for grades, honors, and romantic partners. But I have a new appreciation for the zeal with which they throw

themselves into extracurricular activities, most of which turn them into team players. They put on plays, compete in sports, rally for political causes, and volunteer for dozens of projects to help the poor and the sick in Charlottesville and in faraway countries. I see them searching for a calling, which they can only find as part of a larger group. I now see them striving and searching on two levels simultaneously, for we are all *Homo duplex*.

#### THE BIOLOGY OF THE HIVE SWITCH

If the hive switch is real—if it's a group-level adaptation designed by group-level selection for group binding—then it must be made out of neurons, neurotransmitters, and hormones. It's not going to be a spot in the brain—a clump of neurons that humans have and chimpanzees lack. Rather, it will be a *functional* system cobbled together from preexisting circuits and substances reused in slightly novel ways to produce a radically novel ability. In the last ten years there's been an avalanche of research on the two<sup>26</sup> most likely building materials of this functional system.<sup>27</sup>

If evolution chanced upon a way to bind people together into large groups, the most obvious glue is oxytocin, a hormone and neurotransmitter produced by the hypothalamus. Oxytocin is widely used among vertebrates to prepare females for motherhood. In mammals it causes uterine contractions and milk letdown, as well as a powerful motivation to touch and care for one's children. Evolution has often reused oxytocin to forge other kinds of bonds. In species in which males stick by their mates or protect their own offspring, it's because male brains were slightly modified to be more responsive to oxytocin.<sup>28</sup>

In people, oxytocin reaches far beyond family life. If you squirt oxytocin spray into a person's nose, he or she will be more trusting in a game that involves transferring money temporarily to an anonymous partner.<sup>29</sup> Conversely, people who behave trustingly cause oxytocin levels to increase in the partner they trusted. Oxytocin levels also rise when people watch videos about other people suffering—at least among those who report feelings of empathy and a desire to help.<sup>30</sup> Your brain secretes more oxytocin when you have intimate contact with another person, even if that contact is just a back rub from a stranger.<sup>31</sup>

What a lovely hormone! It's no wonder the press has swooned in recent years, dubbing it the "love drug" and the "cuddle hormone." If we could put oxytocin into the world's drinking water, might there be an end to war and cruelty?

Unfortunately, no. If the hive switch is a product of group selection, then it should show the signature feature of group selection: parochial altruism.<sup>32</sup> Oxytocin should bond us to our partners and our groups, so that we can more effectively compete with other groups. It should not bond us to humanity in general.

Several recent studies have validated this prediction. In one set of studies, Dutch men played a variety of economic games while sitting alone in cubicles, linked via computers into small teams.<sup>33</sup> Half of the men had been given a nasal spray of oxytocin, and half got a placebo spray. The men who received oxytocin made less selfish decisions—they cared more about helping their group, but they showed no concern at all for improving the outcomes of men in the other groups. In one of these studies, oxytocin made men more willing to hurt other teams (in a prisoner's dilemma game) because doing so was the best way to protect their own group. In a set of follow-up studies, the authors found that oxytocin caused Dutch men to

like Dutch names more and to value saving Dutch lives more (in trolley-type dilemmas). Over and over again the researchers looked for signs that this increased in-group love would be paired with increased out-group hate (toward Muslims), but they failed to find it.<sup>34</sup> Oxytocin simply makes people love their in-group more. It makes them parochial altruists. The authors conclude that their findings “provide evidence for the idea that neurobiological mechanisms in general, and oxytocinergic systems in particular, evolved to sustain and facilitate within-group coordination and cooperation.”

The second candidate for sustaining within-group coordination is the mirror neuron system. Mirror neurons were discovered accidentally in the 1980s when a team of Italian scientists began inserting tiny electrodes into individual neurons in the brains of Macaque monkeys. The researchers were trying to find out what some individual cells were doing in a region of the cerebral cortex that they knew controls fine motor movements. They discovered that there were some neurons that fired rapidly only when the monkey made a very specific movement, such as grasping a nut between thumb and forefinger (versus, say, grabbing the nut with the entire hand). But once they had these electrodes implanted and hooked up to a speaker (so that they could hear the rate of firing), they began to hear firing noises at odd times, such as when a monkey was perfectly still and it was the *researcher* who had just picked up something with his thumb and forefinger. This made no sense because perception and action were supposed to occur in separate regions of the brain. Yet here were neurons that didn't care whether the monkey was doing something or watching someone else do it. The monkey seemed to *mirror* the actions of others in the same part of its brain that it would use to do those actions itself.<sup>35</sup>

Later work demonstrated that most mirror neurons fire

not when they see a specific physical movement but when they see an action that indicates a more general goal or intention. For example, watching a video of a hand picking up a cup from a clean table, as if to bring it to the person's mouth, triggers a mirror neuron for eating. But the exact same hand movement and the exact same cup picked up from a *messy* table (where a meal seems to be finished) triggers a different mirror neuron for picking things up in general. The monkeys have neural systems that infer the *intentions* of others—which is clearly a prerequisite for Tomasello's shared intentionality<sup>36</sup>—but they aren't yet ready to share. Mirror neurons seem designed for the monkeys' own *private* use, either to help them learn from others or to help them predict what another monkey will do next.

In humans the mirror neuron system is found in brain regions that correspond directly to those studied in macaques. But in humans the mirror neurons have a much stronger connection to emotion-related areas of the brain—first to the insular cortex, and from there to the amygdala and other limbic areas.<sup>37</sup> People feel each other's pain and joy to a much greater degree than do any other primates. Just seeing someone else smile activates some of the same neurons as when you smile. The other person is effectively smiling in your brain, which makes you happy and likely to smile, which in turn passes the smile into someone else's brain.

Mirror neurons are perfectly suited for Durkheim's collective sentiments, particularly the emotional “electricity” of collective effervescence. But their Durkheimian nature comes out even more clearly in a study led by the neuroscientist Tania Singer.<sup>38</sup> Subjects first played an economic game with two strangers, one of whom played nicely while the other played selfishly. In the next part of the study, subjects' brains were scanned while mild electric shocks were delivered randomly to the hand of the subject, the hand of the nice player,

*economicus*, they are truly team players.

What can leaders do to create more hivish organizations? The first step is to stop thinking so much about leadership. One group of scholars has used multilevel selection to think about what leadership really is. Robert Hogan, Robert Kaiser, and Mark van Vugt argue that leadership can only be understood as the complement of followership.<sup>45</sup> Focusing on leadership alone is like trying to understand clapping by studying only the left hand. They point out that leadership is not even the more interesting hand; it's no puzzle to understand why people want to lead. The real puzzle is why people are willing to follow.

These scholars note that people evolved to live in groups of up to 150 that were relatively egalitarian and wary of alpha males (as Chris Boehm said).<sup>46</sup> But we also evolved the ability to rally around leaders when our group is under threat or is competing with other groups. Remember how the Rattlers and the Eagles instantly became more tribal and hierarchical the instant they discovered the presence of the other group?<sup>47</sup> Research also shows that strangers will spontaneously organize themselves into leaders and followers when natural disasters strike.<sup>48</sup> People are happy to follow when they see that their group needs to get something done, and when the person who emerges as the leader doesn't activate their hypersensitive oppression detectors. A leader must construct a moral matrix based in some way on the Authority foundation (to legitimize the authority of the leader), the Liberty foundation (to make sure that subordinates don't feel oppressed, and don't want to band together to oppose a bullying alpha male), and above all, the Loyalty foundation (which I defined in chapter 7 as a response to the challenge of forming cohesive coalitions).

Using this evolutionary framework, we can draw some direct lessons for anyone who wants to make a team, com-

pany, school, or other organization more hivish, happy, and productive. You don't need to slip ecstasy into the watercooler and then throw a rave party in the cafeteria. The hive switch may be more of a slider switch than an on-off switch, and with a few institutional changes you can create environments that will nudge everyone's sliders a bit closer to the hive position. For example:

- *Increase similarity, not diversity.* To make a human hive, you want to make everyone feel like a family. So don't call attention to racial and ethnic differences; make them less relevant by ramping up similarity and celebrating the group's shared values and common identity.<sup>49</sup> A great deal of research in social psychology shows that people are warmer and more trusting toward people who look like them, dress like them, talk like them, or even just share their first name or birthday.<sup>50</sup> There's nothing special about race. You can make people care less about race by drowning race differences in a sea of similarities, shared goals, and mutual interdependencies.<sup>51</sup>
- *Exploit synchrony.* People who move together are saying, "We are one, we are a team; just look how perfectly we are able to do that Tomasello shared-intention thing." Japanese corporations such as Toyota begin their days with synchronous companywide exercises. Groups prepare for battle—in war and sports—with group chants and ritualized movements. (If you want to see an impressive one in rugby, Google "All Blacks Haka.") If you ask people to sing a song together, or to march in step, or just to tap out some beats together on a table, it makes them trust each other more and be more willing to

help each other out, in part because it makes people feel more similar to each other.<sup>52</sup> If it's too creepy to ask your employees or fellow group members to do synchronized calisthenics, perhaps you can just try to have more parties with dancing or karaoke. Synchrony builds trust.

- *Create healthy competition among teams, not individuals.* As McNeill said, soldiers don't risk their lives for their country or for the army; they do so for their buddies in the same squad or platoon. Studies show that intergroup competition increases love of the in-group far more than it increases dislike of the out-group.<sup>53</sup> Intergroup competitions, such as friendly rivalries between corporate divisions, or intramural sports competitions, should have a net positive effect on hivishness and social capital. But pitting individuals against each other in a competition for scarce resources (such as bonuses) will destroy hivishness, trust, and morale.

Much more could be said about leading a hivish organization.<sup>54</sup> Kaiser and Hogan offer this summary of the research literature:

Transactional leadership appeals to followers' self-interest, but transformational leadership changes the way followers see themselves—from *isolated individuals to members of a larger group*. Transformational leaders do this by modeling collective commitment (e.g., through self-sacrifice and the use of "we" rather than "I"), emphasizing the similarity of group members, and reinforcing collective goals, shared values, and common interests.<sup>55</sup>

In other words, transformational leaders understand (at least implicitly) that human beings have a dual nature. They set up organizations that engage, to some degree, the higher level of that nature. Good leaders create good followers, but followership in a hivish organization is better described as membership.

#### POLITICAL HIVES

Great leaders understand Durkheim, even if they've never read his work. For Americans born before 1950, you can activate their Durkheimian higher nature by saying just two words: "Ask not." The full sentence they'll hear in their minds comes from John F. Kennedy's 1961 inaugural address. After calling on all Americans to "bear the burden of a long twilight struggle"—that is, to pay the costs and take the risks of fighting the cold war against the Soviet Union—Kennedy delivered one of the most famous lines in American history: "And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

The yearning to serve something larger than the self has been the basis of so many modern political movements. Here's another brilliantly Durkheimian appeal:

[Our movement rejects the view of man] as an individual, standing by himself, self-centered, subject to natural law, which instinctively urges him toward a life of selfish momentary pleasure; it sees not only the individual but the nation and the country; individuals and generations bound together by a moral law, with common traditions and a mission which, suppressing the instinct for life closed in a brief circle of plea-