

19 The moral mind: How five sets of innate intuitions guide the development of many culture-specific virtues, and perhaps even modules

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1 Introduction

Morality is one of the few topics in academe endowed with its own protective spell. A biologist is not blinded by her biological nature to the workings of biology. An economist is not confused by his own economic activity when he tries to understand the workings of markets¹. But students of morality are often biased by their own moral commitments. Morality is so contested and so important to people that it is often difficult to set aside one's humanity and study morality in a clinically detached way. One problem is that the psychological study of morality, like psychology itself (Redding, 2001), has been dominated by politically liberal researchers (which includes us). The lack of moral and political diversity among researchers has led to an inappropriate narrowing of the moral domain to issues of harm/care and fairness/reciprocity/justice (Haidt & Graham, 2007). Morality in most cultures (and for social conservatives in Western cultures), is in fact much broader, including issues of ingroup/loyalty, authority/respect, and purity/sanctity (Haidt & Graham, 2007; in press).

This article is about how morality might be partially innate, by which we simply mean organized, to some extent, in advance of experience (Marcus, 2004). We begin by arguing for a broader conception of morality and suggesting that most of the discussion of innateness to date has not been about morality per se; it has been about whether the psychology of *harm* and *fairness* is innate. Once we have made our case that morality involves five domains, not two, we turn our attention to the ways in which this diverse collection of motives and concepts might be innate. We consider five hypotheses about the origins of moral knowledge and value, and we endorse one of them (a form of flexible and generative modularity) as being the best candidate. Next, we develop this version of modular morality by describing how the innately specified "first draft" of the moral mind gets modified during development.

¹ Of course biologists and economists may be blindly loyal to academic theories, but we suggest that these biases are themselves often manifestations of moral commitments, e.g., the polemics of Steven Jay Gould.

Specifically, we link our view of moral innateness with *virtue theory*, an ancient approach that is consistent with the insights of many modern perspectives. In doing so, we are extending our exploration of the possibilities of virtue theory, which we began in a previous article (Haidt & Joseph, 2004). We are not proposing that virtue ethics is the best normative moral theory. We speak only descriptively, and we note that there is a growing consilience between philosophical writings on virtue and emotions, empirical research on moral functioning, and cognitive science, a consilience that suggests that virtue theory may yield deep insights into the architecture of human social and moral cognition.

In the final section, we discuss the importance of narrativity in moral functioning. In some respects, this is another corrective to what we see as an over-emphasis on deductive and calculative conceptions of value and rationality, among both philosophers and psychologists. We attempt to show, in this last section, that a narrative approach to morality fits well with the nativist “five foundations” view we developed in the first part of the paper, and also helps to explain how the intuitive, evolved foundations of morality are elaborated by cultural activity into the complex, diverse moral functioning that mature human beings display.

2 Morality is many things

Soon after human beings began to write, they began to write about morality. Many of the earliest moral texts are largely lists of laws and prohibitions (e.g., the Code of Hammurabi; the older parts of the Old Testament). But as the Axial Age progressed (800 BCE – 200 BCE), many cultures East and West began to develop a more sophisticated psychology of the virtues. We find explicit discussions of virtues, often in the context of stories about role models who exemplified them (e.g., Homer and Aesop in Greece; the Mahabharata in India). An important feature of this approach is that moral education is accomplished by shaping emotions and intuitions, rather than by dictating explicit rationales or principles. The wisdom of Confucius and of Buddha, for example, comes down to us as lists of aphorisms and metaphors that produce flashes of intuitive understanding.

A second feature of these virtue-based approaches is that they emphasize practice and habit rather than propositional knowledge and reasoning. Buddha urged his disciples to follow the Eightfold Noble Path – a set of daily practices---to reach moral and psychological perfection. Aristotle and Confucius both compared the development of virtue to the slow practice needed to develop what we now call “virtuosity” on a musical instrument (Aristotle, 1941; Hansen, 1991).

For the ancients there were many virtues, covering most aspects of human activity. Virtues were excellences that people were expected to cultivate in themselves, depending on their social roles and stations in life. Two of the greatest thinkers in ancient Greek philosophy - Plato and Aristotle - conducted much of their inquiries into ethics by examining the concept of virtue and the individual virtues, although they had very different notions of what virtues were, what grounded them, and how they were acquired.

2.1 *Quandary ethics and the great narrowing*

The idea that morality is a set of virtues to be cultivated through practice remained the dominant approach throughout the world until at least the time of the Middle Ages. St. Thomas Aquinas followed Aristotle in ethics as in other things, and even Islamic thinkers, such as Miskawayh and al-Ghazali, borrowed from Aristotle in constructing their theories of morality. Even up to the middle of the twentieth century, influential philosophers and psychologists (Dewey, 1922; Hartshorne and May, 1928) continued to assume the essential validity of virtue theory and to base empirical research programs on the assumption that virtues were psychologically real and served to organize much of moral life.

But Western philosophers' ideas about morality began to change in the 18th century. For the most part, virtue- and religiously-based moralities are characterized by specific, substantive beliefs and commitments, “thick” ideas about human nature and society. With the Enlightenment, those assumptions came under increasing scrutiny, and philosophers began to search for groundings for moral judgment that did not depend upon specific metaphysical beliefs or group identities. What MacIntyre (1981) has called “the Enlightenment project” was the attempt to ground morality in highly abstract, even logical truths, and to disengage it (especially) from religious belief. Two types of alternatives emerged that are of continuing relevance today: *formalist* theories and *consequentialist* theories. Formalist theories of ethics, of which Kant is the best-known example, define moral judgments by reference to their logical form, for example as maxims or prescriptive judgments, rather than by their content. The moral status of an action is judged by reference to the kind of norm that underlies it. “Formalist” theories, in the sense we are using the term here, would also include most varieties of contractualist theory, such as those of John Rawls (1971) and Thomas Scanlon (1998), as well as Locke, Hobbes and Rousseau. Like strictly formalist theories, contractualism attempts to ground (or explain) moral judgments by positing hypothetical contract-like relationships between agents. Though they are more attentive to the realities of human nature and of social and political arrangements, they still attempt to ground morality in formal (in this case contractual) relations (in this case between individuals).

In contrast, consequentialist theories, including especially utilitarianism, attempt to explain and ground moral judgments in pre-moral assessments of the consequences of actions; the morally right thing to do is defined, fundamentally, as the thing that will have the best consequences (however that very important phrase is understood).

Despite their differences – and they are great – both formalist and consequentialist approaches to morality seek to detach moral judgment as much as possible from the messy world of social practices and specific behaviors. Formalism replaces substantive moral judgment with a logical rationality, while consequentialism replaces it with a calculative rationality. Both approaches privilege parsimony: moral decisions should be made with respect to a foundational

principle, such as the categorical imperative or the maximization of utility. Both insist that moral decisions should be governed by reason and logic, not emotion and intuition. And both devalue the particular in favor of the abstract.

The commonalities between these two approaches to ethics have led to a modern consensus about the scope of ethical inquiry: morality is about resolving dilemmas involving the competing interests of people. The philosopher Edmund Pincoffs (1986) calls this modern approach “quandary ethics,” and he laments the loss of the older philosophical interest in virtue. Where the Greeks focused on *character* and asked what kind of person we should each *become*, modern ethics focuses on *actions*, trying to determine which ones we should *do*.

Nevertheless, quandary ethics has continued to flourish in philosophy and in psychology, where it has guided the operationalization of morality. Lawrence Kohlberg’s (1969) pioneering method was the longitudinal study of how children resolve moral dilemmas: should Heinz steal a drug to save his dying wife? Kohlberg’s conclusion was that children get progressively better at quandary ethics until they reach the highest stage, stage 5, at which all decisions are made by reference to the universally applicable, self-constructed, and non-consequentialist principle of justice. Carol Gilligan (1982) challenged Kohlberg’s conclusions by using a different dilemma: she interviewed women facing the quandary of an unwanted pregnancy, and she offered a competing highest principle: care. Social psychologists have also operationalized morality as quandary, putting research subjects into difficult situations where they must make choices that will help or harm a stranger (e.g., the “good Samaritan” study, Darley & Batson, 1973; empathy-altruism research: Batson et al., 1983; obedience studies: Milgram, 1963). Baron (1993) has declared that consequentialism is the normatively correct understanding of morality, and much of the research done in connection with his approach involves presenting subjects with tradeoffs between decision alternatives, each of which has costs and benefits. And when moral philosophers conduct experiments, as they are beginning to do, they experiment primarily on quandaries such as trolley and lifeboat problems that pit utilitarian and deontological concerns against each other (Greene et al., 2001; Petrinovich, O’Neill, & Jorgensen, 1993).

Even when research methods have not used quandaries per se, they have adopted the implicit boundary condition of quandary ethics: moral issues are those that pertain to the rights and welfare of *individuals*. Morality is about helping and hurting people. Elliot Turiel, a former student of Kohlberg and a major figure in moral psychology, codified this individual-centered view of morality in his influential definition of the moral domain as

prescriptive judgments of justice, rights, and welfare pertaining to how people ought to relate to each other. Moral prescriptions are not relative to the social context, nor are they defined by it. Correspondingly, children's moral judgments are not derived directly from social institutional systems but from features inherent to social relationships -- including experiences involving harm to

persons, violations of rights, and conflicts of competing claims. (Turiel, 1983, p.3)

Turiel's delimiting of the moral domain seems obviously valid to many people in modern Western cultures. However, for people in more traditional cultures, the definition does not capture all that they see as falling within the moral domain. In other words, Turiel's definition (we are asserting) is inadequate as an inductive generalization. It is a stipulative definition which does not match the empirical facts. When the moral domain is *defined* as "justice, rights, and welfare," then the psychology that emerges cannot be a true psychology of morality; it can only be a psychology of judgments about justice, rights, and welfare. And when the domain of morality is narrowed in this way, then overly parsimonious theories of moral psychology flourish. For example: morality can be explained evolutionarily as the extension of kin-altruism plus reciprocal altruism out to larger groups than those in which we evolved. And morality can be explained developmentally as the progressive extension of the child's understanding that harming others (which includes treating them unfairly, unreciprocally) is bad.

But what if there is more to morality than harm, rights, and justice? What if these concerns are part of a bigger and more complicated human capacity that can't be explained so parsimoniously? Might theories about the origins and development of morality have been formulated prematurely?

2.3 *The rebirth of breadth*

One of the distinctions that has been most important in the study of morality, but also most problematic, is that between "moral" and "conventional" judgments. Turiel (and cognitive-developmental theorists generally) distinguish the two domains of social judgment on the basis of the presence of issues of "justice, rights and welfare." Moral rules are those related to justice, rights, and harm/welfare (e.g., don't hit, cheat, or steal), and they can't be changed by consensus because doing so would create new classes of victims. In contrast, all those other rules children encounter (e.g., don't call adults by first name, do place your hand over your heart while saying the pledge of allegiance) are matters of tradition, efficiency, or social coordination that could just as well be different if people in power, or if people in general, chose to change them.

In Western societies in which people accept a version of contractualism as the basis for society, this distinction makes sense. But in most cultures the social order is a moral order, and rules about clothing, gender roles, food, and forms of address are profoundly moral issues (Abu-Lughod, 1986; Meigs, 1984; Parish, 1994; Shweder, Mahapatra & Miller, 1987; Hampshire, 1982). In many cultures the social order is a sacred order as well. Even a cursory look at foundational religious texts reveals that, while the gods do seem to care about whether we help or hurt each other, they care about many other things besides. It would be a gross misunderstanding of ancient Judaism, for example, to describe the Ten Commandments as a

mixture of moral rules (about not stealing, killing, or lying) and social conventions (about the Sabbath, and prescribed ways of speaking and worshipping.) Kelly and Stich (this volume), in fact, argue that the domain theory propounded by Turiel and others is simply false. They question the very categories of “moral” and “conventional” as psychologically distinct domains, and they point to their own research showing that, even for some matters of harm, rights, and justice (e.g., flogging a disobedient sailor), Western adults judge transgressions to be somewhat authority-dependent and historically contingent (Kelly et al., in press).

As cultural psychologists, we share Kelly and Stich’s concerns. We approach moral functioning as an example of the general proposition that culture and mind “make each other up,” to use Shweder’s (1990) phrase. In contrast with Kohlberg (for example), we think it is important to begin the explanation of moral functioning by observing the individual and cultural facts about moral functioning, not with a stipulative definition of the moral domain inherited from moral philosophers. This approach is more “bottom-up,” not just empirically but also conceptually. We take as given (at least at the beginning of analysis) that what people think are their moral concepts are, in fact, moral concepts – rather than dividing them into “moral” and “conventional” concepts at the outset.

All human societies generate and enforce norms (Brown, 1991). Sripada and Stich (in press, p.2) have provided a useful definition of “norm,” namely, “a rule or principle that specifies actions which are required, permissible or forbidden independently of any legal or social institution.” To summarize their discussion, they characterize norms as (a) rules or principles, (b) with independent normativity and which generate (c) intrinsic motivation and (d) punitive attitudes toward violators. Quite simply, people expect others to act in certain ways and not in others, and they *care* about whether or not others are following these norms. The first step in mapping the moral domain of any culture, we believe, should therefore be to list and count the norms that get the most attention. What norms and norm violations do people gossip about? What norms are broken and punished in myths and folk tales? When people reject or criticize other members of their community, or when they express shock at the practices of another community, which norms are involved? (See Cosmides and Tooby, this volume, for a similar approach to defining the moral domain.)

Such quantitative ethnography is difficult, but several research projects have attempted to draw maps experimentally. Using their knowledge of the local norms in Orissa, India, Shweder, Mahapatra, and Miller (1987) created a list of 39 actions, some of which directly caused harm, others of which involved matters of food, clothing, forms of address, and other traditions that would count as social conventions on Turiel’s definition. Shweder’s Oriya subjects – adults and children -- gave responses that revealed a very different moral domain from his comparison sample of adults and children in Chicago. The American respondents saw harm and rights violations in many of the actions (e.g., a husband beats his wife for disobedience), and moralized them accordingly. The Oriya respondents, in contrast, revealed a broader moral world in which

issues of respect and hierarchy (e.g., a wife's obedience to her husband) and spiritual purity/sanctity (e.g., not eating spiritually polluting foods at proscribed times) seemed to be at least as important as issues of harm, rights, and justice. Haidt, Koller, and Dias (1993) later showed that the cultural difference was not due to "hidden harms," as Turiel et al. (1987) had charged. Using a new set of harmless norm violations (including using a flag to clean a toilet, and having sex with a chicken carcass), Haidt et al. found that only an elite American college population limited the moral domain to matters of harm, rights, and justice. For other groups, particularly for low SES groups in Brazil and the United States, actions that were disrespectful or disgusting were said to be morally wrong (universally wrong and unchangeable) even when respondents specifically stated that nobody was harmed by the action.

Shweder (1990, Shweder, et al., 1997) later offered a useful systematization of the breadth and variation of the moral domain. From cluster analyses of the moral discourse provided by his Oriya respondents, and from his own reading of the anthropological literature, Shweder proposed that moral discourse around the world generally draws on one or more of three "ethics:" autonomy, community, and divinity. Each ethic is a set of interrelated moral claims that function to protect a different entity. The "ethic of autonomy" functions to protect individuals, using concepts such as harm and suffering, rights and justice, freedom and autonomy. This is the moral domain as Turiel defines it.

In most cultures, however, people believe that there are things worth protecting besides individuals. The "ethic of community" functions to protect groups, institutions, and other collective entities using concepts such as duty, respect, honor, loyalty, and tradition. The ethic of divinity functions to protect and glorify God, particularly as God is manifested within each person. This ethic involves moral concepts such as purity, piety, chastity, and other forms of self-restraint that help people live in a more divine, less carnal way. When empirical comparisons of moral discourse are made between more and less Westernized groups (Haidt et al., 1993; Jensen, 1998), or between more or less politically and religiously conservative groups in the United States (Haidt & Graham, 2007, in press; Haidt & Hersh, 2001; Jensen, 1997), it is generally found that well-educated secular liberal Westerners largely limit their moral discourse to the ethic of autonomy, whereas other groups make use of a wider set of concepts, drawing heavily on the ethic of community, and often (though not as pervasively) on the ethic of divinity.

This broader conception of morality raises two challenges for innateness theorists. First, they must explain how knowledge of or responses to this full set of moral issues—not just harm, rights, and justice—are innate. Second, they must reconcile their story about innateness with the obvious variation of moral rules and practices, and of the moral domain itself, across cultures.

3 Five ways morality could be innate

Given the theme of this volume, our goal here is to explore whether a broad and heterogeneous set of moral concepts and motives—beyond harm, rights, and justice—might reflect the

existence of some kind of innately given mental content. We had better, then, be clear about what we mean by innate. The word has been used in so many ways by philosophers, biologists and ethologists (Wimsatt, 1999, lists 13 distinct meanings) that some scholars have despaired of finding the concept useful at all (e.g., Griffiths, 2002). But we find a simple and congenial approach in the writings of Gary Marcus (2004), who studies the developmental pathways by which genes guide the construction of brains. Marcus uses the metaphor that genes create the *first draft* of the brain, and experience later *edits* it: “Nature bestows upon the newborn a considerably complex brain, but one that is best seen as prewired – flexible and subject to change – rather than hardwired, fixed, and immutable” (p. 12). Marcus further explains that the editing – the changes in the brain as it learns and grows – is itself governed by genetic processes. Genes are not just templates for making proteins, as was thought decades ago; rather, a part of each gene is devoted to regulatory processes – switching the gene on and off in response to various chemical signals. Marcus (2004, p. 40) explains that “‘built-in’ does not mean unmalleable; it means organized in advance of experience.” (Samuels, 2004, and this volume, considers many meanings of innateness and reaches a similar conclusion.) We adopt Marcus’s view of innateness, and in this section and the next one we try to explain the ways that human morality may be “organized in advance of experience.” In sections 5 and 6 we try to explain how cultural and personal experience revises the first (universal) draft during childhood development.

We now describe five ways that morality could be innate. We begin with two theories of moral development – constructivism and connectionism – that are essentially “blank-slate” theories in that they posit only innate general learning processes, not innate moral content (e.g. ideas, knowledge). We suggest that both theories are partially correct as descriptions of the editing process, and that both can be improved by positing at least some content that is organized in advance of experience. We then describe three approaches that *do* posit domain-specific innate moral content. We believe that all five of these approaches are useful, particularly when the first draft and editing processes are distinguished. In section 4 we propose our own hypotheses as to what is inscribed in the first draft of moral judgment, and in sections 5 and 6 we describe how we think it is edited.

3.1 *Piagetian constructivism*

Jean Piaget (1965/1932) got down on his knees and played marbles to study the process by which children come to understand rules. In contrast to his contemporaries who stressed the child’s passive internalization of the morals of the father (Freud) or society (Durkheim), Piaget showed that children are active participants in their own development. Development in any domain was, for Piaget, the product of the child’s continuous interaction with her environment, as a result of which she continually constructed and re-constructed a progressively more adequate understanding. (Piagetian theory is therefore often referred to as “constructivism.”) Lawrence Kohlberg worked out the sequence of progressively more adequate understandings of

morality in his famous six stages, and he credited the process of “role taking” with being the driving force of moral development.

For Piaget and Kohlberg, there was just one word written in the first draft of the moral mind: empathy (or perhaps a compound word: “perspective-taking”). There were also some words written in other (non-moral) chapters of the first draft: like and dislike. As long as the child liked some things (such as pleasure, candy, or friendship) and disliked others (such as pain, frustration, or rejection), then as she became increasingly good at taking the perspective of others during the concrete operational stage, the child could feel for herself (empathetically) that actions that hurt others were bad, while actions that made others happy were good. In this way children come to understand the value of different kinds of rules, and to appreciate that rules and social practices have to be justified by reference to something else. For Kohlberg, that something else was tradition, authority, and society for “conventional” moral reasoners, but it was justice for the most advanced moral reasoners. The knowledge of justice was not innate; it was the crowning achievement of the editing process, and the editing process was constructivism driven by the experience of role-taking.

This approach is elegant in explaining how so much can be derived from so little innate knowledge, and it is reasonable if you believe that the moral domain is restricted to matters of harm, rights, and justice. However, if you believe that concepts such as obedience, respect, honor, chastity, temperance, and sacrilege are truly moral concepts that need to be explained (rather than overcome by the child on her way to moral autonomy and perfect justice reasoning), then it is not clear how these can be derived from empathy and role-taking. Why not posit that the first draft of the moral mind has several words written into it, beyond empathy, and that Piaget and Kohlberg are correct that constructivism is a part of the editing process?

3.2 *Connectionism*

A second approach that focuses on the editing process is the connectionist paradigm proposed by Paul Churchland (1996, 1998). Churchland starts from the manifest fact that in addition to the physical environment, human beings are born into and live in a sociomoral world that is extremely dense and complex. The problem for such creatures is to learn to navigate this environment successfully by developing adequate representations of it and pairing those representations with appropriate behavioral responses. There is no special faculty for accomplishing this task; it is accomplished in the same way that people learn to represent and live in their physical environments: through the gradual tuning up of expertise by a mind that is produced by a brain that is a neural network.

Churchland’s connectionist account of moral functioning is essentially an account of moral learning. For Churchland, moral development does not mean, as it did for Kohlberg, the gradual formulation of abstract, universal moral principles; rather, it is “a matter of slowly generating a hierarchy of moral prototypes, presumably from a substantial number of relevant

examples of the moral kinds at issue” (Churchland, 1996, p. 102). Churchland’s account of moral cognition and competence is closely congruent with one modern view of cognition, and it is also congruent with some of the most ancient understandings of moral development, particularly Aristotle’s (Casebeer, 2003). Churchland’s approach is essentially a translation of the terms of virtue ethics into connectionist language. It treats moral competence as a set of skills cultivated gradually, by practice, and helped along by adult emphasis on moral stories, fables, and role models.

Churchland’s approach is eloquent on how the editing process occurs, but it is silent on the contents of the first draft. In fact, it invites the inference that there is no first draft, other than an innate interest in people and social events. We see this as an easily correctible flaw, for it implies equipotentiality in moral learning: children could just as easily learn to navigate and value any artificial moral world that adults created for them, such as those of communes and kibbutzim that tried, unsuccessfully, to overcome people’s preferences for sharing material goods with their close kin, and their aversion to mating with the people they were raised with. Just as children enter the world with some initial settings in the food domain (a liking for sweet, a dislike of bitter) which are then extended by cultural learning, it seems likely that children enter the world with some initial settings in the social domain (a liking for fairness, a dislike of harm) which are then extended by cultural learning. It does little violence to Churchland’s theory to propose that the initial state of the system, for example, the initial weights of particular synaptic connections, is “organized in advance of experience,” and then edited by experience in the way that Churchland describes. (See Clark’s [2000] critique of Churchland for a similar point).

3.3 *Relational models*

A third approach to innateness is Alan Fiske’s (1991, 1992) theory of “relational models.” Fiske’s theory is elegant and parsimonious; it was designed to explain both cross-cultural similarity and diversity in a wide range of cultural domains. Fiske (2004, p. 3) gives the following capsule summary:

Relational models theory is simple: People relate to each other in just four ways. Interaction can be structured with respect to (1) what people have in common, (2) ordered differences, (3) additive imbalances, or (4) ratios. When people focus on what they have in common, they are using a model we call Communal Sharing. When people construct some aspect of an interaction in terms of ordered differences, the model is Authority Ranking. When people attend to additive imbalances, they are framing the interaction in terms of the Equality Matching model. When they coordinate their actions according to proportions or rates, the model is Market Pricing. ... In

short, four innate, open-ended relational structures, completed by congruent socially transmitted complements, structure most social action, thought, and motivation. That's the theory.

Fiske suggests that the first three models are innate, and are clearly found in other primates (Haslam, 1997). But Market Pricing – social relations based on ratios – appears to be uniquely human, emerging later in both phylogenetic and ontogenetic development than Communal Sharing, Authority Ranking and Equality Matching. The case for the innateness of Market Pricing is therefore much weaker, and Fiske suggests that it might be in the process of becoming an innate psychological mechanism for social relationships. Fiske therefore is very clear that the first draft of the social mind contains three primitive and inescapable social-perceptual tendencies: to see people as groups in which all are the same, as rank-orderable on one or more dimensions, or as entities whose relative position must be kept equal despite periodic shifts out of balance. These innate models are used in all cultures to structure the social world, although cultures often choose to use different combinations of models to govern any given relationship. For example, the division of household labor may rely on Authority Ranking in some cultures (e.g., the husband is the authority and dictates who does what); or on equality matching (both spouses take turns at each job); or on Communal Sharing (everyone pitches in without keeping track of who does what) or on Market Pricing (jobs are assigned values proportional to their difficulty, and children, or hired helpers, are paid to perform them).

Most of Fiske's relational models theory is about the editing process: how this first draft, with three (or four) simple and open cognitive frames gets filled in and tuned up during childhood development. We have no criticism of Fiske's theory, except that we think a bit more is given in the first draft, as we explain below.

3.4 *Massive modularity*

The fourth and most widely discussed approach to innateness is the concept of *modularity*. One can distinguish between *minimalist* and *maximalist* theories of modularity. On the minimalist view (Fodor, 1983), a very small number of mental functions – primarily having to do with sense perception and language – are modular, in the sense that they are innate, fast, informationally encapsulated, functionally specialized computational mechanisms. Fodor offered a stringent definition of what it takes to be a module and then claimed that there are very few modules in the mind, and none for handling higher-order tasks like reasoning or moral judgment.

On the maximalist view proposed by evolutionary psychologists (e.g., Barkow, Cosmides, & Tooby, 1992, and this volume; Buss, 2004; Pinker, 1997), the vast majority of the mind is composed of modules—hundreds or thousands of them—designed by natural selection to solve specific problems that were recurrent in the ancestral environment. According to Tooby, Cosmides, and Barrett (2005), many of these modules play an important role in our moral lives.

They argue that the study of valuation, even more than other kinds of cognition, reveals just how crucial it is to posit innate mental *content*, not just innate learning processes. Children are born with a preference (value) for sweetness and against bitterness; any parent knows that the preference for candy over broccoli is not learned by “socialization” and cannot be undone by role models, threats, or rewards. Tooby et al. suggest that the same thing is true for valuation in all domains:

The proprietary content introduced by the architecture constitutes a form of knowledge: the architecture must know (in some sense) that living children are better than dead children, social approval is better than disapproval, salt and sweet are better than acrid or putrefying, sex with your mother or father is to be avoided, helping siblings is (within certain tradeoffs) better than helping fungi, your mate copulating with your sexual rival is worse than his or her fidelity, spiders on your cheek are worse than in the garden, understanding is better than confusion, skill mastery is better than inept performance, and so on. (317)

In this passage Tooby et al. gather many kinds of valuation together under the rubric of what they elsewhere call “motivational principles,” and not all of them are relevant for our purpose, which is to think through the ways in which specifically *moral* judgment might have an innate foundation. Salt, sweetness, and spiders, for example, while clearly the objects of tastes and preferences, seem different in kind from preferences connected with understanding, sexual fidelity, and helping, if for no other reason than the latter seem to have more conceptual and less perceptual content. Tooby et al. are interested in developing an inventory and a science of motivation *in general*, rather than a theory of morality, and while the latter is certainly related to the former (and may, perhaps, turn out to be just a special case of it), the moral domain is distinctive enough that their very useful account will need a little modification.

We agree with Tooby et al. that valuation – for social behavior as for food – is impossible to explain if one refuses to entertain the notion that there is innate structure and content built into the mind. As they put it:

there must be an irreducible core set of initial, evolved, architecture-derived content-specific valuation assignment procedures, or the system could not get started. The debate cannot sensibly be over the necessary existence of this core set. The real debate is over how large the core set must be, and what the proper computational description of these valuation procedures and their associated motivational circuitry is (p. 317).

Massive modularity is a controversial notion. Jerry Fodor, the original author of the concept of mental modules, has said that “the massive modularity thesis pretty clearly *isn't* true” (Fodor 2000, p. 23), and a number of other thinkers have followed his lead for diverse reasons (see, e.g., Buller, 2005, Buller and Hardcastle, 2000). We see two principal difficulties in applying the massive modularity thesis to morality.

The first is one of Fodor’s main concerns, known as the “flexibility problem.” Higher order human cognition—and certainly moral cognition—is quite flexible. People and societies are quite good at invoking moral concepts that suit their purposes, or twisting those that don’t into more amenable shapes. Reactions that are often said to be based on modularized knowledge, such as fear of spiders, seem to have a more low-level stimulus-response quality to them².

The second problem is the encapsulation problem: while many moral judgments meet most of Fodor’s criteria for modularity – including domain specificity and speed – it is implausible to think that moral judgments are as informationally encapsulated as the sorts of phenomena usually used to illustrate modularity at the perceptual level. For example, the Müller-Lyer illusion is unaffected by one’s knowledge of the true lengths of the lines, but moral judgments are easily affected by learning new facts about the situation, or by experimental manipulations of mood or other factors that seem extraneous to the operation of a moral module (e.g., Valdesolo & de Steno, 2006). We are sympathetic to the possibility of substantial domain-specific knowledge in the first draft of the moral mind, but we would like a version of modularity that can solve these two problems.

3.5 “Teeming” modularity

Several theorists (e.g. Carruthers³) have sought a middle way between completely non-modular conceptions of the mind and massively modular theories. These thinkers speak of “moderately massive modularity” or “modularity to some interesting degree.” They doubt that there are *no* conceptual modules, but they are also skeptical that the mind is a Swiss army knife crammed with tools that were fully designed long ago. One of the most important of these moderate modularists is the anthropologist Dan Sperber (1994, 2005). As an anthropologist, Sperber’s goal was to explain both the diversity and the stability of culture. Massive modularity with Fodorean modules is hard (though not impossible) to reconcile with the cultural diversity of concepts and behavioral patterns, and with the sometimes rapid pace of cultural change. But on the other hand, the nearly blank slate models assumed by many anthropologists cannot explain either the deep and surprising similarities between cultures (e.g., in gods, ghosts, and witches;

² Of course modules can be combined to create systems that generate flexible behavior, as is said to be the case with the “language organ” (Pinker, 1997). But because we do not believe there is a single morality organ (see Greene & Haidt, 2002), we search for moral modules at a simpler level, as multiple sources of intuition. Hauser, 2006, claims that there is a moral organ, but we believe he has described just a harm-processing organ.

³ Available at <http://www.philosophy.umd.edu/Faculty/pcarruthers/Moderate-modularity.htm>.

Boyer, 2001), or the degree of cross-generational stability that most cultures achieve (Sperber & Hirschfeld, 2004).

Sperber's solution is a version of massive modularity, but his modules are decidedly non-Fodorian: they are highly variable (some meet all of Fodor's criteria, some meet only a few); they are often nested within each other (just as the digestive system is a biological module that contains many sub-modules), and most importantly, most of Sperber's modules are not innate; they are generated during development by a smaller set of "learning modules" which are innate templates or "learning instincts" (Sperber, 2005, p.57, citing Marler, 1991). Some of these innate modules have specific perceptual content built in; for example, a fruit-learning module will "know" that fruit is sweet, and will only generate subsequent fruit-recognition sub-modules (e.g., one for apples, one for bananas) for objects in the environment that meet those pre-specified criteria. Other learning modules may be more purely conceptual; for example, if there is an innate learning module for fairness, it generates a host of culture-specific unfairness-detection modules, such as a "cutting-in-line detector" in cultures where people queue up, but not in cultures where they don't; an "unequal division of food" detector in cultures where children expect to get exactly equal portions as their siblings, but not in cultures where portions are given out by age. Because Sperber envisions a core set of innate modules generating a great diversity of other modules, he uses the evocative term "teeming modularity."

At this point, any reader who is not already a modularity theorist is likely to think that we have joined Sperber in a jump off a cliff into a land where everything and everybody is named "module." Let us explain why we are intrigued by Sperber's ideas. Our goal is to understand the first draft and the revision processes that create the moral mind. Our empirical research is on moral intuition and moral dumbfounding (for Haidt) and on culture and virtue (for Joseph). We have both found that moral judgment is not well described by the domain-general application of rules and principles to specific cases, as though moral judgment was a product of moral reasoning in the Kohlbergian sense. Rather, when people are interviewed about taboo violations (such as consensual sibling incest, or harmless cannibalism), they answer very quickly, and their answers show what appears to be a kind of Müller-Lyer-like encapsulation: people can sometimes be pushed in cross-examination to say "I don't know why, I can't explain it, I just know it's wrong" (Haidt, 2001; Haidt & Bjorklund, in press). We have argued (Haidt & Joseph, 2004) that the adult mind is full of moral intuitions, which are like little bits of input-output programming connecting the perception of a pattern in the social world (often a virtue or vice) to an evaluation and in many cases a specific moral emotion (e.g., anger, contempt, admiration). When people think, gossip, and argue about moral issues, the playing field is not affectively flat and open to any kind of reason; it is more like a minefield or pinball machine where flash after flash of affectively laden intuition bounces around one's attention and pushes one toward specific conclusions. (See Damasio, 1994, for a similar idea, and for descriptions of what happens to moral thinking when these flashes are removed.) These intuitions are not Fodor

modules, but they are modular “to some interesting degree” (Sperber, 1994). They are fast, domain-specific bits of mental structure that strongly influence moral judgment (Haidt, 2001). Where do all these intuitions come from?

Perhaps they are all innate, and people simply learn what events, in their culture, count as acts of harm or unfairness (e.g., cutting in line). But Sperber’s approach allows us to explain certain *acquired moral tastes* in much the way that other kinds of acquired tastes and fears are explained. People are innately attracted to fruits and to meat, but there are special learning mechanisms that can generate a new and enduring disgust towards specific foods, particularly meats. For example, in 1805, when the Lewis and Clark expedition survived months of starvation in the Bitterroot mountains of Idaho and first made contact with the Nez Perce tribe along the Columbia river, the men gorged themselves on salmon and on a root vegetable, both of which were new to them. Many of them got sick that night, probably from the barely digestible root vegetable, but because of innate one-trial learning mechanisms that associate nausea preferentially with meat (meats are much more likely to contain bacterial contaminants than are vegetables), they developed a disgust towards salmon. The disgust was so strong that in subsequent days the men purchased dogs from the locals to eat because that was the only meat available to them other than salmon (Burns, 1997). Was this an example of domain-general learning? Fodor would have to say yes, but Sperber would say no, it was the genesis of a new module from an innate learning module. We agree with Sperber; we see this as a new intuition (a gut feeling) generated by an innate learning process that can radically alter the value of things on the basis of experience, but only within limits related to evolutionary adaptation. The new intuition was partially encapsulated: If Lewis and Clark had convinced their crew that the root vegetable was the real culprit, the men would still have felt disgust towards salmon.

Moral development shows some of these same features. Children gradually come to recognize a large set of input patterns to which they then react quickly, automatically, and emotionally. For example, Americans in recent decades have become finely attuned to the issue of sexual abuse of children, so much so that they are horrified by social patterns that are quite normal in other parts of the world, such as having children sleep in the same bed as an opposite sex parent through middle childhood (Shweder, Balle-Jensen, & Goldstein, 1995), or kissing the genitals of infant boys as an expression of affection (Shweder, in press). Explaining to Americans that these practices are not thought by participants to have anything to do with sexuality is not going to eliminate the disgust and condemnation – or the charge of child abuse. Is there an innate sexual abuse detector? Probably not. But as we will explain below, we think there is something innate – something “organized in advance of experience” -- that makes sexual activity, and the protection of children, evolutionarily prepared domains for moral concern. Other examples would be the speed, ease, and passion with which the American “religious right” sees sin, temptation, and sacrilege, or the American political left sees racism, oppression, and victimization. Whether or not these moral reactions are seen as manifestations of acquired

(teeming) modules or just as sub-cultural expertise, they are examples of moral intuitions: bits of mental structure that connect the perception of specific patterns in the social world to evaluations and emotions that are not fully controllable or revisable by the person who experiences them.

4 The first draft of morality: the five foundations of intuitive ethics

We have long been searching for the foundations of intuitive ethics—the psychological primitives that are the building blocks from which cultures create moralities that are unique yet constrained in their variations. Recently we (Haidt & Joseph, 2004) examined a number of theories (including Shweder’s and Fiske’s) about the breadth of human morality and about its precursors in other primates (e.g., de Waal, 1996). We tried to identify the full range of phenomena across cultures that would need to be explained by any adequate theory of human morality. We identified five sets of concerns, each linked to an adaptive challenge and to one or more moral emotions, as the best candidates for the psychological foundations of human morality. The five foundations we identified are harm/care, fairness/reciprocity, ingroup/loyalty, authority/respect, and purity/sanctity. Each of these five is a good candidate for a Sperber-style learning module. However, readers who do not like modularity theories can think of each one as an evolutionary preparedness (Seligman, 1971) to link certain patterns of social appraisal to specific emotional and motivational reactions. All we insist upon is that the moral mind is partially structured in advance of experience so that five (or more) classes of social concerns are likely to become moralized during development. Social issues that cannot be related to one of the foundations are much harder to teach, or to inspire people to care about.

Table 1 gives our theory in a concise form. The first row lists five longstanding adaptive challenges that highly social mammals such as our ancestors faced for millions of years, creating conditions that favored the reproductive success of individuals who could solve the problems more effectively. For each challenge, effective adaptation meant being able to detect certain patterns in the social world and respond to them with an altered motivational profile. Sperber (1994) refers to the set of objects that a module was “designed” to detect as the *proper domain* for that module. He contrasts the proper domain with the *actual domain*, which is the set of all objects that in fact trigger the module. Even when an animal lives in the environment for which it is adapted, the actual domain never perfectly matches the proper domain; the module produces false positives and false negatives. For a species such as ours, which has experienced rapid environmental change, and which deliberately manipulates its physical and social environment for a variety of reasons, we can be quite certain that the actual domain diverges from the proper domain to a substantial degree: our moral intuitions are sure to be engaged – or suppressed -- in ways that do not contribute to each individual’s Darwinian success.

The way to read the table is to read down each column. For example, the Harm/Care foundation can be understood by beginning with the fact that mammals by definition face the

need to care for vulnerable offspring, and nothing could be more central to evolutionary success than keeping these offspring alive. It is therefore implausible that mammals learn entirely through domain-general learning mechanisms how to recognize suffering or distress in their offspring. Rather, many mammals have innate harm-detection modules that were shaped by evolution to be responsive to the proper domain of signs of suffering in their own offspring. In actual practice this module (or set of modules) is responsive to many things besides the suffering and distress of one's own children. For humans, suffering by or harm to almost any child-like entity is part of the actual domain of this module. (A poster showing neotenuous baby seals being clubbed to death by large men is a deliberately contrived superstimulus for this module.) These modules generally have as one of their outputs the emotion of compassion: the individual is motivated to act so as to relieve suffering or otherwise protect the child. We do not know whether there is a single harm module that has both innate and learned triggers (as Hauser, 2006, suggests), or whether the teeming modularity account is correct in which the human mind is innately prepared to generate a host of specific harm-related modules. However, if all people have an emotional sensitivity to harm, particularly harm to the weak or vulnerable, and if people have language, then they are likely to develop a vocabulary for talking about their emotional reactions. They are likely to have virtue and vice words with which to praise and condemn people, and to instruct their children. Such virtue talk can then feed back to fine tune the bounds and applications of the modules: cultures can become expert in perceiving certain kinds of harm (e.g., sexual abuse, or witchcraft).

We tell a similar story for each of the other four columns. The Fairness/Reciprocity foundation, for example, is just an elaboration of the story told by Trivers (1971) about how a suite of emotions may have evolved that helps social organisms reap the gains of reciprocal altruism with non-kin or distant kin. Along with the evolved individual-level attributes of heightened interest in and emotional reactivity to signs of cheating and cooperation comes a suite of cultural products, such as virtue and vice words related to fairness, religious injunctions about reciprocity, cultural constructs such as rights, and social institutions related to justice.

The next column, for the Ingroup/Loyalty foundation, organizes phenomena related to the well-studied human tendency to aggregate into tribes, gangs, and teams that compete with other tribes, gangs, and teams. Tajfel et al.'s (1971) minimal group experiments demonstrate that people will form such groups on the basis of even trivial similarities; groups based on shared blood, religion, or language are vastly more powerful. Conflicts over territory or attacks from other groups seem to call particularly keenly upon virtues related to this foundation, such as loyalty, heroism, and self-sacrifice for the common good. When these ingroup virtues are prominent, the group is correspondingly likely to be highly vigilant about and punitive towards traitors, profiteers, and slackers. The destructive potential of this module is on daily display around the world, including episodes of genocide and ethnic cleansing. The moralization of unity during wartime is also evident in the title of a recent book by an American arch-conservative,

outraged at dissent during the Iraq war: *Treason: Liberal treachery from the cold war to the war on terrorism* (Coulter, 2003).

The fourth column is about the psychological and social concomitants of life in dominance hierarchies. Many primates live in such hierarchies, and the common display patterns of dominance and submission across species and across cultures strongly suggests that something in the human mind was organized in advance of experience, making it easy for humans to develop a suite of emotions and behaviors related to authority and power. (See Boehm, 1999, for a discussion of how egalitarian societies arise despite the human predisposition for hierarchical living.) However, as Fiske points out repeatedly, Authority Ranking is a two way street: subordinates must show respect and deference, but superiors must then protect them from external threats and maintain order within the group. This prosocial side of authority seems to go unrecognized in many contemporary psychological accounts of hierarchy which, as Shweder et al. (1997) point out, see all forms of inequality as forms of oppression. In societies that value authority, however, norms and related virtues govern the behavior of superiors (e.g., impartiality, magnanimity, fatherliness) and subordinates (e.g., respect, deference).

And finally, the fifth foundation, purity, is unique in that it is the only one for which the original adaptive challenge was not social, it was nutritive. The omnivorous food strategy of human beings, combined with our relatively large group sizes (compared to other primates; Dunbar, 1993) means that we have long been exposed to very high levels of threat from bacteria and parasites, which spread by physical contact. Humans (but no other animals) therefore developed a suite of cognitive and emotional adaptations related to disgust that make us wary but flexible about the kinds of things we eat, and about the contact histories of the things we eat (Rozin & Fallon, 1987). This food evaluation and rejection system was well adapted for social evaluation and rejection, and most if not all human societies use some of the vocabulary and logic of physical disgust in its moral life (Haidt, et al., 1997; Rozin, Haidt, & McCauley, 2000). In some societies the ability to track contagion and value purity seems to contribute to ideas about sacredness – about keeping religious objects set apart from pollutants and profane objects, and about overcoming carnal desires and treating the body as a temple (see Eliade, 1957, on sacredness). This foundation therefore often generates virtues such as chastity and temperance, and vices such as lust and intemperance.

Purity is often deeply moralized, not only as a concern about the self but in the form of beliefs and feelings about groups and the world as a whole. This is one source of what might be called the “dark side” of purity intuitions, and indeed a concern (or obsession) with purity is often associated with horrific violence and oppression, particularly when it pairs up with intuitions from the Ingroup foundation, for example, the holocaust, ethnic “cleansing,” and the Jim Crow laws in the American South that kept African American bodies and body processes separated from those of Whites.

We believe these five sets of issues, sensitivities, and social-perceptual skills are the best candidates for being the foundations of intuitive ethics for several reasons. First, in the ways that cultures deal with these five adaptive challenges we find a surprising degree of similarity – for example, in the logic of initiation rites that create a strong ingroup; in the ways that hierarchy and submission are marked; and in the purity and pollution rules that so often regulate biological processes such as menstruation, birth, and defecation. Second, four of our proposed five foundations (all but purity) appear to involve psychological “building blocks” that are present in other primates (de Waal, 1996; although reciprocity is still debated; Hauser, 2006), giving us further confidence that something about these foundations is “specified in advance of experience.” Third, our five foundations fit perfectly with Shweder’s three ethics (the Harm and Fairness foundations give rise to the discourse of the ethic of autonomy; the Ingroup and Authority foundations support the ethic of community; and the Purity foundation supports the ethic of divinity). Fourth, three of our foundations are coincident with Fiske’s first three relational models (Fairness = Equality matching; Ingroup = Communal Sharing; Authority = Authority Ranking). To the extent that our five foundations don’t match Fiske’s four models, the discrepancy is due to the fact that Harm and Purity are not primarily modes of interpersonal relationship. We include them because they are important and probably innate sources of human moral valuation, but we do not include Market Pricing because we do not think it is so clearly innate. We could easily be wrong about excluding Market Pricing. We do not claim that there are *only* five foundations. There are probably many more, but we believe the five we have identified are the most important ones for explaining human morality and moral diversity.

5 The editing process: developing virtues

The five foundations are, to propose an analogy, the innate “taste buds” of the moral sense. The human tongue has five kinds of receptor, each of which translates a chemical pattern in a substance to an affective experience that is positive (for sweet, salt, and glutamate) or negative (for bitter and, beyond a certain level of intensity, for sour). These taste buds tell us something about how our ancestors lived: they ate fruit and meat, and had a variety of perceptual tools in their tongues (and noses and eyes) that meshed with conceptual tools in their brains to help guide them to fruit and meat. Similarly, the five foundations suggest some things about how our ancestors lived: they were ultrasocial creatures (Richerson & Boyd, 1998), finely tuned for 1) rearing children and helping kin, 2) selectively cooperating with non-kin while remaining vigilant for cheaters, 3) forming strong ingroups for the purpose of cross-group competition, 4) organizing themselves hierarchically, and 5) attending to each other’s physical states and altering interactions and contacts accordingly. The taste buds on the tongue gather perceptual information (about sugars, acids, etc.) whereas the taste buds of the moral sense respond to more abstract, conceptual patterns (such as cheating, disrespect, or treason). Nonetheless, in both cases, the

output is an affectively valenced experience (like, dislike) that guides subsequent decisions about whether to approach or avoid the object/agent in question.

Of course there is much more to moral judgment (and to food selection) than the operation of five “taste buds.” Mature moral functioning does not consist only, or even primarily, of simple affective or intuitive reactions to social stimuli. Disgust felt towards dog feces, or even towards an act of homosexual intercourse, is not in itself a moral judgment. Moral development is also characterized by the acquisition and use of a wide variety of moral concepts. Some of these are categories of actions – lies, betrayals, favors, and so on. Others are categories of persons, or more specifically, categories of characteristics of persons, including positively valenced traits⁴ such as kindness, loyalty and trustworthiness, and negatively valenced ones such as cruelty, dishonesty and cowardice.

These traits – virtues and vices – are beginning to re-emerge in empirical moral psychology after a long period of exile, occasioned in part by critiques by Lawrence Kohlberg and other theorists. We have previously discussed the role that virtues can play in a comprehensive theory of moral functioning and moral development (Haidt and Joseph, 2004). We repeat our main points here, as a prelude to a discussion of one aspect of virtue theory and of our theory in particular, namely, narrative.

First, what is a virtue? There are many views, but most virtue theorists would agree at least that virtues are characteristics of a person that are morally praiseworthy. Virtues are therefore traits, as long as one doesn't think of traits as global tendencies to act in a particular way (e.g., honest, brave) across widely varying circumstances. Rather, we think of traits as John Dewey did: as dynamic patternings of perception, emotion, judgment, and action (Dewey, 1922; see also Churchland, 1998). Virtues are social skills. To possess a virtue is to have extended and refined one's abilities to perceive morally-relevant information so that one is fully responsive to the local sociomoral context. To be kind, for example, is to have a perceptual sensitivity to certain features of situations, including those having to do with the well-being of others, and for one's motivations to be appropriately shaped and affected. To be courageous is to have a different kind of sensitivity; to be patient, still another.⁵

One of the crucial tenets of virtue theory is that the virtues are acquired inductively,

⁴ The word “trait” is fraught with significance in psychology; in particular, it is the focus of a heated debate between personality and social psychologists. Some psychologists have placed traits at the center of the study of personality, while others, for various reasons, are skeptical or dismissive of the very concept (Mischel 1968; Ross & Nisbett, 1991). This debate has penetrated philosophical and psychological discussions of morality, with “situationists” like John Doris (1998) and Gilbert Harman (1999) construing virtues as traits and then dismissing their existence, and virtue theorists (Sreenivasan 2002, Merritt 2000) defending versions of virtue theory against the situationist critique. We believe the virtue theorists are right; virtues, as we construe them, are highly situation-specific *skills* or *capacities* rather than broad behavioral dispositions. This way of seeing virtues obviates the basic charge of the situationists, and is consistent with Mischel's original and ongoing critique of trait theories (Cervone and Shoda 1999), and with recent work in cognitive neuroscience (e.g. Casebeer 2003, Churchland 1998).

⁵ For a classic exposition of the construal of virtues as sensitivities or perceptual capacities, see McDowell (1979).

through exposure to -- sometimes with efforts to copy -- many examples of the virtue in practice. Each of these examples contains information about a number of aspects of the situation, including the motivations of the protagonists, their state of being (suffering, disabled, hostile, rich, etc.), the categorization of the situation, and the evaluation of the outcome offered by more experienced others. Only over time will the moral learner recognize what information is important to notice and retain, and what can be safely disregarded.

Philosophers and cognitive scientists have recently been arguing, with respect both to morality and to cognition more generally, that this kind of learning cannot be replaced with top-down learning, such as the acceptance of a rule or principle and the deduction of specific responses from it. Interestingly, this aspect of virtue theory shows Aristotle to have been a forerunner of the current application of the connectionist approach to morality that we described above (see May, Friedman, & Clark, 1997). In this model, the mind, like the brain itself, is a network that gets tuned up gradually by experience. With training, the mind does a progressively better job of recognizing important patterns of input and of responding with the appropriate pattern of output.

For those who emphasize the importance of virtues in moral functioning, then, moral maturity is a matter of achieving a comprehensive attunement to the world, a set of highly sophisticated sensitivities embodied in the individual virtues. Reasoning and deliberation play important roles in this conception as well; part of being a virtuous person is being able to reason in the right way about difficult or problematic situations. But virtue theory is nevertheless a departure from theories of morality that see deliberation as the basic moral psychological activity.

Virtue theory posits a particular kind of organization of moral competence, one in which perception, motivation, action and reasoning correspond to demands placed on the person by features of situations. Naturally, the objectivity of these demands, and the moral relevance of features of situations, are to some degree dictated by culture, by the moral concepts, social structures, and narratives that are current in the immediate social context. But this does not mean that the content or structure of a virtue is completely culturally relative. As Aristotle pointed out, and as current virtue ethicists have elaborated (Nussbaum, 1993), what it means for a personality characteristic to be a *virtue*, and not simply a behavioral regularity, is largely that it consists in functioning well in a specific “sphere of existence.” And what Aristotle and Nussbaum mean by “spheres of existence” is similar to what evolutionary biologists would recognize as persistent adaptive challenges and other types of environmental constraint. Virtues are therefore quite at home in a scientific theory of moral functioning based on evolutionary psychology and cultural psychology.

The intersection of virtue theory, cognitive science and the empirical study of morality is just beginning to be explored in earnest, and many questions remain open. We have discussed connectionist accounts of cognition and their extension to social perception and social cognition,

because connectionist theorists (Casebeer, Churchland) have taken a notable interest in social and moral cognition. But it is quite possible that some other account of cognition is as well suited to describing and explaining morality.

Our commitment to virtue theory in particular, however, is more firm. In our view, it draws together what is true and useful in the five approaches that we sketched out in Section 3. The child is indeed an active participant in her own development; moral knowledge and skills are not just “downloaded” into the child’s mind, as blank-slate socialization theories would have it. Piaget and Kohlberg are correct that there is a substantial element of self-construction in moral development. However, what is being learned is best described as the skills of social perception and reaction discussed by connectionists and virtue theorists. Most of these skills are about how to interact with other people – how to fill in the three (or four) innately given models for social relationships described by Fiske. However, some of this knowledge is not about relationships per se; there is also much else that is innate, particularly when we look at the origins of valuation, as described by Tooby et al. (2005). In addition to being “organized in advance of experience” for Fiske’s first three models (which involve ingroups, authority, and reciprocity), the mind is also innately prepared to perceive and care about harm from a very early age (Zahn-Waxler et al., 1979), and also about disgust, purity, and pollution (from a later age, perhaps not fully until the age of 8; Rozin, Haidt, & McCauley, 2000). Turiel may have been correct to focus on harm, and the child’s ability to understand and dislike suffering, as the most important intuition of early moral development. We believe he was wrong, however, to suggest that children derive all of their other moral concepts by self-constructing them on this single foundation.

To summarize: the characteristic developmental trajectory in the moral domain is a movement from crude, global judgments articulated using a small number of innate moral intuitions to highly sophisticated and differentiated perceptions, beliefs, emotional responses and judgments. This is consistent with Sperber’s notion of “teeming modularity:” domain-specific, module-like intuitive mini-programs give rise, in the mature moral agent, to an expansive and flexible set of moral modules that are more powerful and subtle than the innate modules that compose the five foundations of intuitive ethics that we have been discussing. Sperber’s approach suggests that virtues are not themselves innate, but rather are acquired through a generative process in which the domain-specific capacities of the modules that compose the five foundations are multiplied, expanded and refined.

6 The editing process: learning narratives

Constructivists such as Piaget and Kohlberg called our attention to the ways that children actively create ever more nuanced understandings of moral issues. Kohlberg studied the most explicit, discursive, deliberative aspects of moral functioning. Stage growth was measured through the analysis of verbal reasoning used to justify responses to hypothetical moral

dilemmas. In the cognitive-developmental tradition, moral thinking was seen as akin to logical thinking; Piaget (1965/1932, p. 398) said explicitly that “Logic is the morality of thought just as morality is the logic of action.”

It is true that children reflect on moral questions, particularly when in discussion with others, and it is attractive to posit a domain-general workspace where moral thinking (as well as other kinds of thinking) is carried out. But must all conscious verbal moral thinking be logical thinking? Do children really think about moral principles and the ways that they do or do not apply to a given situation? There is another kind of thinking, a different kind of rationality that seems to play a crucial role in moral thinking and development. Jerome Bruner (1990) distinguished between the *narrative* mode of cognition and the *paradigmatic* or *logico-scientific* mode:

There are two modes of cognitive functioning, two modes of thought, each providing distinctive ways of ordering experience, of constructing reality.... A good story and a well-formed argument are different natural kinds. Both can be used as a means for convincing another. Yet what they convince *of* is fundamentally different: arguments convince one of their truth, stories of their lifelikeness. The one verifies by eventual appeal to procedures for establishing formal and empirical proof. The other establishes not truth but verisimilitude. (Bruner, 1990, p. 11)

Bruner observes that we know a great deal more about the paradigmatic mode of thought, because cognitive psychology has concentrated its attention on it while the narrative mode has been comparatively ignored. More importantly for the purposes of this essay, he also points out that each mode of thought relies upon its own “prostheses” – aids to thinking provided by a culture. For the paradigmatic mode, prostheses include logic, mathematics, and the sciences; for the narrative mode, the most common prosthetic devices are texts. Texts, among their many other functions, serve to store up cultural meanings, and, through both their content and their structure, they help to guide the thinking of individuals. We think that moral thinking, argument, and reflection (outside of philosophy departments, at least) is much better described as a kind of narrative thinking than as a kind of paradigmatic thinking.

There are many different kinds of narratives, of varying levels of complexity, and as a result narrativity (see Carrithers, 1991, for a discussion of this concept) shapes moral functioning and moral development at several levels of organization. Some of the most powerful moral narratives are the simplest. For Westerners, parables such as those found in Jesus’ teaching in the New Testament are familiar examples, and other religions have similar tools, for example the *hadith*, or sayings and doings of the Prophet Muhammad, in Islam. Shweder and Much (1991) found that narratives are commonly invoked in Hindu cultures as a mode of moral argument. In

their interviews with Indian informants on moral dilemmas, they often found that questions about the rightness or wrongness of a particular act elicited a response beginning, “Let me tell you a story about ...” (for example, stealing). Revealingly, when Shweder sent interview texts of this kind to Kohlberg for scoring, Kohlberg reported that much of the interview material was uncodable in his system.

More recently, the sociologist Christian Smith (2003, p.64) has observed that we are “animals who make stories but also animals who are *made by* our stories.” Smith describes a variety of high-order often unconscious narratives that organize identity and moral judgment at both the individual and group levels. For example, he notes that Americans and “militant Muslims” interpret the 9/11 attacks in the light of very different metanarratives: Americans see things through what Smith calls “the American Experiment narrative” in which Americans fled the oppression of the old world and ever since have been a shining beacon of liberty and hope, while the “Militant Islamic Resurgence” narrative gives a radically different view in which America has long been a bully and a hypocrite. There are other narratives, each of which Smith spells out almost like a recipe. Among them are the “Capitalist Prosperity” narrative, the “Progressive Socialism” narrative, the “Expressive Romantic” narrative, and the “Scientific Enlightenment” narrative.

Smith is especially helpful in making explicit the narratives that motivate and guide American sociologists and other academics. For example, the “liberal progress” narrative tells the story of how

Once upon a time, the vast majority of human persons suffered in societies and social institutions that were unjust, unhealthy, repressive, and oppressive. These traditional societies were reprehensible because of their deep-rooted inequality, exploitation, and irrational traditionalism... But the noble human aspiration for autonomy, equality, and prosperity struggled mightily against the forces of misery and oppression, and eventually succeeded in establishing modern, liberal, democratic, capitalist, welfare societies. [However] there is much work to be done to dismantle the powerful vestiges of inequality, exploitation, and repression. This struggle... is the one mission truly worth dedicating one’s life to achieving.

This narrative clearly draws heavily on the Harm and Fairness foundations to tell a story of triumph. It explicitly rejects the Authority foundation as a source of value, portraying authority and its attendant valuation of tradition as the root cause of evil in the world.

In contrast, the “Community Lost” narrative is more politically conservative; it relies primarily on the Ingroup and Authority foundations to tell a story of decline and decay:

Once upon a time, folk lived together in local, face to face communities where we knew and took care of each other... life was securely woven in homespun fabrics of organic, integrated culture, faith, and tradition. We truly knew who we were and felt deeply for our land, our kin, our customs. But then a dreadful thing happened: Folk community was overrun by the barbarisms of modern industry, urbanization, rationality, science, fragmentation, anonymity... Faith began to erode, social trust dissipate, folk customs vanish.... All that remains today are tattered vestiges of a world we have lost. The task of those who see clearly now is to memorialize and celebrate folk community, mourn its ruin, and resist and denounce the depravities of modern, scientific rationalism that would kill the Human Spirit.

Neither narrative is correct in any objective sense. Both are ways that sociologists have tried to make sense of history. As though employing two different cuisines, liberal and conservative academics artfully combine and recombining a few favored elements. Without the innately-given five foundations there could be no emotionally compelling moral narratives. But without narrative, our moral concepts would be disjointed and hard to integrate into coherent action plans.

We have included this extended discussion of narrative in our essay on moral innateness for two main reasons. First, narrative is a major cultural tool for the modification and socialization of the fundamental intuitions that are at the core of this essay. The telling of stories is an indispensable part of moral education in every culture, and even adult moral discourse frequently reverts to appeals to narratives as a means of claiming authority. Secondly, as the reference to Bruner makes plain, narrative thinking itself is innate and a fundamental aspect of our cognitive architecture – at least, it is as fundamental as the “propositional” mode of thought. It seems plausible that human morality and the human capacity for narrativity have co-evolved, mutually reinforcing one another in our recent phylogenetic development.

7 Conclusion

de Waal (1996) suggests that a building block of human morality visible in chimpanzees is the desire for peace and harmony within the group. Celebrations break out when long-simmering power struggles are resolved. We think this desire is related to the Ingroup foundation: group-living creatures prefer (have an innate tendency to value) harmony within the cooperative groups upon which they depend both for material sustenance and inter-group defense. We find this desire in ourselves: we are a part of the community of morality researchers that has long been divided on the question of moral innateness. This makes us uncomfortable, for we truly like and value the many members of our community, and we have tried, in this essay, to show how all are

right about something, all have something to contribute. We propose that some degree of harmony and synergy can be restored if most morality researchers are willing to endorse this statement: *The first draft of the moral mind has diverse moral content that was specified in advance of experience, but this innately given content gets revised and greatly extended during the course of development as children actively construct their moral knowledge within a cultural context that uses narrative to shape and guide the development of specific virtues.* Is anyone ready to celebrate with us – or to propose an alternative consensus statement?

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	Harm/Care	Fairness/ Reciprocity	Ingroup/ Loyalty	Authority/ Respect	Purity/ Sanctity
Adaptive challenge	Protect and care for young, vulnerable, or injured kin	Reap benefits of dyadic cooperation with non-kin	Reap benefits of group cooperation	Negotiate hierarchy, defer selectively	Avoid microbes and parasites
Proper domain (adaptive triggers)	Suffering, distress, or threat to one's kin	Cheating, cooperation, deception	Threat or challenge to group	Signs of dominance and submission	Waste products, diseased people
Actual domain (the set of all triggers)	Baby seals, cartoon characters	Marital fidelity, broken vending machines	Sports teams one roots for	Bosses, respected professionals	Taboo ideas (communism, racism)
Characteristic emotions	Compassion	anger, gratitude, guilt	Group pride, belongingness; rage at traitors	Respect, fear	Disgust
Relevant virtues [and vices]	Caring, kindness, [cruelty]	fairness, justice, honesty, trustworthiness [dishonesty]	Loyalty, patriotism, self-sacrifice [treason, cowardice]	Obedience, deference [disobedience, uppitiness]	Temperance, chastity, piety, cleanliness [lust, intemperance]

Table 1. The five foundations of intuitive ethics.