Morality

Jonathan Haidt

University of Virginia

ABSTRACT—*Moral psychology is a rapidly growing field with two principle lineages. The main line began with Jean Piaget and includes developmental psychologists who have studied the acquisition of moral concepts and reasoning. The alternative line began in the 1990s with a new synthesis of evolutionary, neurological, and social-psychological research in which the central phenomena are moral emotions and intuitions. In this essay, I show how both of these lines have been shaped by an older debate between two 19th century narratives about modernity: one celebrating the liberation of individuals, the other mourning the loss of community and moral authority. I suggest that both lines of moral psychology have limited themselves to the moral domain prescribed by the liberation narrative, and so one future step for moral psychology should be to study alternative moral perspectives, particularly religious and politically conservative ones in which morality is, in part, about protecting groups, institutions, and souls.*

In this essay, I offer a brief history of moral psychology—where it came from, where it stands, and where it might go. I tell this history in two pairs of competing stories, all four of which contain some truth. The first pair contrasts the main line of research in cognitive development, which focuses on moral reasoning, against a diffuse "new synthesis" (Wilson, 1975) that focuses on evolved emotions and intuitions. But this first pair of stories has unfolded within a larger competition between two historical narratives about modernity: one featuring individuals, and the other featuring groups and institutions. I suggest that the individualist narrative has achieved near-total dominance and that an important next step in moral psychology will be to revive the lost narrative and study morality as the glue that binds together cooperative groups and suppresses selfishness within them.

MORALITY IS THE OLDEST TOPIC

In intellectual history, questions of morality show up in the first chapter. The very first writing in Mesopotamia appears to have been used to help merchants record who owed what to whom. If

Address correspondence to Jonathan Haidt, Department of Psychology, University of Virginia, P.O. Box 400400, Charlottesville, VA 22904; e-mail: Haidt@virginia.edu.

those first marks in clay do not strike you as moral texts then just skip ahead to the Code of Hammurabi, the Hindu Vedas, the Egyptian Instructions of Amenemope, and the Hebrew Bible. Or note that the Bible begins with a creation story in which the long, strange trip of human exile from Eden was launched by a moral transgression and that the transgression itself was obtaining knowledge of good and evil.

Morality spans the entire history of Western philosophy. Two of the greatest works of ancient Greek philosophy—Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*—are extended inquiries into the nature and origins of good persons and good societies. We rarely look back for guidance from centuries-old philosophical treatises on vision, ontology, or epistemology, but we keep our moral philosophers close. Aristotle's emphasis on habit, Hume's critique of reason, Kant's categorical imperative, and J.S. Mill's ideas on liberty and utility all crop up in modern discussions of moral education and moral psychology. Moral insights are rarely made irrelevant by the advances of science. But as I will argue in the next section, moral insights are sometimes gained or lost as societies change.

TWO STORIES ABOUT MODERNITY

In just a few hundred years, Europe was transformed from medieval Catholic feudalism to modern secular democracy. Was this change all for the good? That depends on the story you use to understand it. The sociologist Christian Smith (2003) has argued that humans are moral, believing, narrating animals. We need to live in a moral order that is created by shared stories and that offers beliefs about who we are, what we ought to do, and what is sacred. Smith extracted these stories, particularly the implicit metanarratives of various communities, including academic communities. He identified several metanarratives at work in academic circles, one of the most influential of which he called the *liberal-progress* narrative:

> 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. While modern social conditions hold the potential to maximize the individual freedom and pleasure of all, there is much work to be done to dismantle the powerful vestiges of inequality, exploitation, and repression. (p. 82)

If this is your metanarrative, then the change from feudalism to modernity is the greatest moral advance in Western history. But Smith noted that sociologists once had an alternate narrative, one based on German and English romanticism, which was a reaction to the rationalism and skepticism of the enlightenment. The *community-lost* narrative says that:

> 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 . . . 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. (Smith, 2003, p. 83)

If Smith was correct that this metanarrative has dropped out of the academic imagination (with a few notable exceptions, e.g., Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985; Putnam, 2000), then it probably rings less true to you than the liberal-progress narrative. But we can get a better sense of why many people experienced the arrival of modernity as a loss by viewing the transformation through the eyes of the early sociologists.

In 19th-century Europe, dramatic increases in wealth, material comfort, and political freedom were complemented by the rising importance of the welfare of the individual in social and political theory. Several of the founders of sociology wrote about the dangers inherent in these changes. Tocqueville, Tonnies, Marx, and Weber all warned, in different ways, of the alienating effects of the loss of social connection and animating purpose as people's lives became ever more governed by an industrial economy and a bureaucratic legal and political system.

The most important critique, from the point of view of moral psychology, came from Emile Durkheim. Durkheim grasped the essential truth that is now known as the *hedonic treadmill* (Brickman & Campbell, 1971). In his analysis of suicide, Durkheim (1897/1951) wrote, "The more one has, the more one wants, since satisfactions received only stimulate instead of filling needs" (p. 248). Durkheim believed that people need constraints to flourish and that a cohesive society provides a regulative force that plays "the same role for moral needs which the organism plays for physical needs" (p. 248). In Durkheim's view, society is like an organism that has an internal structure and a division of labor that allows it to function properly when it

achieves a high enough level of cohesiveness. But the rising wealth and individualism of the 19th century undermined social cohesion and increased individual striving, which Durkheim thought was a recipe for emptiness and misery. For Durkheim, the opposite of structure, order, and constraint was not freedom, it was *anomie*—the unhealthy state of a society in which norms are unclear or unshared.

Durkheim's arguments seem to support conservative, religious, and system-justifying positions, but Durkheim himself was politically liberal (Coser, 1977). In *Moral Education* (Durkheim, 1925/1973), he took on the challenge of how religion could be removed from French schools without eliminating the essential element of all morality—the feeling of respect for the authority of rules. He argued that secular socialization had to draw on many of the same mental mechanisms exploited by religious socialization: Schools would have to cultivate a spirit of discipline (the cold, authoritarian part of morality), an attachment to groups (the warm part that makes one want to fit in), and a sense of autonomy in subjecting oneself to the rules of valued groups. Durkheim believed that morality could not be inculcated solely through bottom-up educational efforts focused on children. With his special ability to see groups as organisms, he saw the importance of collective goals and projects for the health and virtue of society. Durkheim believed that one of sociology's great tasks was to guide the modernization and secularization of society while still preserving some of the cohesion and shared vision celebrated in the community-lost narrative.

THE MAIN LINE IN MORAL PSYCHOLOGY

When psychologists who study morality choose an ancestor to put at the head of the family tree, they most often choose Piaget, not Durkheim. Piaget (1932/1965) launched the cognitive-developmental approach, which forms the main line of mentors, students, and dissenters and includes most of the leading moral psychologists of the last 50 years. Piaget's work, however, was a direct response to Durkheim.

Piaget agreed with Durkheim (and with Freud) that the central question is how children develop respect for rules. Piaget also agreed that children go through a phase in which they have a quasi-mystical respect for adults and their rules. But Piaget saw this phase of unilateral respect for adult authority as a temporary stage in the development of a more mature understanding. When children begin spending more time cooperating with their peers to play games independent of adult supervision, they gradually come to respect rules out of respect for each other. They experience the benefits of fairness and reciprocity, and they develop more sophisticated notions of justice. For Piaget, the best thing adults can do to foster moral development is to get out of the way.

Reading Piaget and Durkheim today, one is likely to have subtle partisan reactions. Durkheim's emphasis on the value of discipline, constraint, and bending the will of the child fits closely with the *strict father* view of the family that Lakoff (1996)

said is the foundational metaphor of conservative thought. Piaget's child-centered and antiauthoritarian views harmonize with the *nurturant parent* ideal that Lakoff said is the foundational metaphor of liberal thought. In fact, Piaget's developmental story is the liberal-progress narrative writ small: Children start off being oppressed by their elders, but they come together to help each other throw off their shackles and claim their places as autonomous moral agents. As Piaget said, "democracy follows on theocracy and gerontocracy" (1932/1965, p. 65).

Lawrence Kohlberg (1969) extended Piaget's ideas by formulating a detailed scheme for conceptualizing and measuring moral development as a form of cognitive development. He gave children a series of moral dilemmas to resolve (e.g., should Heinz steal a drug to save his dying wife?) and then coded their reasoning. He found a stage-like progression from *preconventional* responses, in which actions are considered right or wrong on the basis of anticipated punishment, through *conventional* responses, in which actions are considered right or wrong depending on their fit with the rules of society. The highest moral stages, which many adolescents never reach, require *postconventional* responses, in which one goes beyond one's society and justifies rules with references to abstract and universal principles of justice.

Kohlberg is the towering figure in moral psychology who taught or inspired most of the subsequent researchers in moral development. In the 1970s and 1980s, progress in moral psychology largely consisted of corrections to Kohlberg's approach. The best known correction came from Gilligan (1982), who argued that Kohlberg's exclusive focus on justice as the culmination of moral maturity ignored the possibility of an equally postconventional *ethic of care*, which was not a byproduct of justice reasoning. A second correction came from Nucci and Turiel (1978; Turiel, 1983), who demonstrated that children conceptualize the social world in three separate domains: moral, social-conventional, and psychological (or personal). Children as young as 5 years old can distinguish moral rules, which protect people from harm and therefore cannot be changed by the whim of an adult, from social-conventional rules, which have no intrinsic tie to human welfare and can therefore be adjusted to suit human convenience. Moral development does not follow a single trajectory from conventionality to true morality; knowledge in each domain develops in parallel.
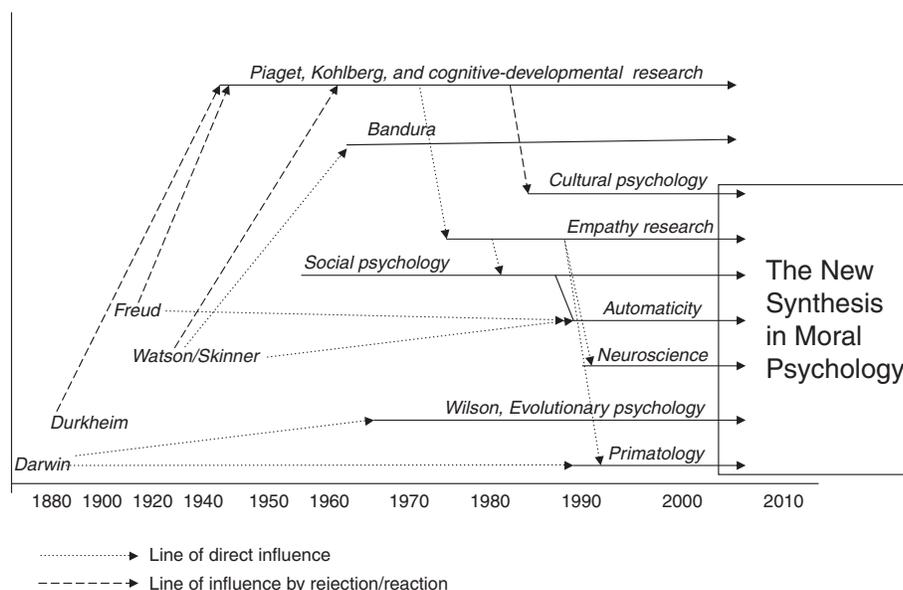
Kohlberg and his cognitive-developmental approach became the main line in moral psychology in part by defeating the twin dragons that had long dominated psychology: psychoanalysis and behaviorism. Morality was a concern in all of Freud's writings. His topographic model of the mind (conscious, preconscious, unconscious; Freud, 1900/1976) and his later structural model of the mind (id, ego, superego; Freud, 1923/1962) were both attempts to explain how people can know what is right and yet act or think in ways that cause them to feel shame. It is easy to propose explanations for why children have strong desires and how they develop a personality process that helps them satisfy those desires. The great puzzle is how children come to reign in their desires—why they feel badly when they hurt (some) people and violate (some) rules. Freud's developmental model of psychosexual stages (e.g., the Oedipal/Electra complex, followed by identification with the same-sex parent) was an effort to solve this puzzle.

Kohlberg (1969) criticized Freud fiercely, pointing to the consistent failure of empirical attempts to relate children's early family environments to later personality outcomes, including moral ones. Kohlberg agreed with Freud that children go through an invariant sequence of stages, but these, he argued, were the Piagetian stages of cognitive development, which enabled new ways of representing and transforming social knowledge. Kohlberg had good timing; in the 1960s and 1970s, the cognitive revolution was replacing behavioral and psychoanalytic approaches with a new emphasis on information processing. Freud's developmental ideas have fared particularly poorly and are almost never mentioned in current moral psychology. But it should be noted that Freud's ideas about the primacy of the unconscious have survived in a more cognitive and less symbolic form. In Figure 1, I have noted that Freud is a progenitor of modern work on automaticity in social psychology. Freud also popularized the notion of rationalization as an explanation for some instances of moral reasoning.

Kohlberg (1969) also fought against behaviorist approaches, including the more cognitively sophisticated forms of learning theory that arose in the 1960s. Learning theorists had always placed the emphasis on moral behavior (see Skinner, 1971) rather than on moral emotions (Freud) or moral reasoning (Kohlberg). The famous Bobo doll study (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961) showed that children will imitate aggressive behavior without regard to Oedipal attachments, Piagetian structural change, or even reinforcement. Although Kohlberg agreed that such studies showed the importance of imitation, he also argued that such learning was generally short-lived and that to understand lasting moral growth, one had to examine underlying cognitive structures and the ways that they change as a child interacts with and tries to make sense of a socially structured environment.

Learning theory approaches to moral psychology were largely overtaken by cognitive developmentalism in the 1970s, but they continued to evolve, particularly in the work of Albert Bandura. Bandura (1991) formulated *social-cognitive theory*, in which people are modeled as complex self-regulatory systems that feel, believe, reflect, and exert self-control in the service of action. By keeping the focus on action, Bandura has been able to study many real-world applications, such as the moral-disengagement strategies used by those who commit genocide and perform legal executions (Bandura, 1999). In Figure 1, I have shown that behaviorism had two lasting influences on moral psychology: one through Bandura, and the other through automaticity research. Bargh and Ferguson (2000) explicitly credit behaviorism for showing how profoundly and

Fig. 1. A visual history of moral psychology. The graph shows the main line of cognitive-developmental research and the many lines of research contributing to the new synthesis that began in the 1990s. The *x* axis shows the decades since Darwin—the lineage head of the new synthesis—and the *y* axis represents (very roughly) the degree to which each line takes reasoning and deliberation to be the major phenomena of moral psychology. Starting points for each line are approximate.

unconsciously human behavior is shaped by subtle cues in the environment.

The cognitive-developmental approach to morality is the "main line" of moral psychology, which I have shown at the top of Figure 1. The line runs from Piaget to Kohlberg to Gilligan, Turiel, and Nucci and then on to their students and many other researchers who have analyzed children's reasoning and the development of cognitive structures related to morality (see Killen & Smetana, 2006; Rest, Narvaez, Bebeau, & Thoma, 1999). This varied and productive lineage includes the largest group of moral psychologists, and many additional branches could be drawn to illustrate its diversity. In the 1990s, however, a number of new approaches to morality arose and began merging with older lines that were not connected to the main line. These branches have since come together to create a very different approach to moral psychology.

THE NEW SYNTHESIS IN MORAL PSYCHOLOGY

In 1975, E.O. Wilson made the provocative suggestion that the time may be right for "ethics to be removed temporarily from the hands of the philosophers and biologicized" (p. 562). He predicted that ethics would soon become part of the new synthesis of sociobiology, in which the distal mechanism of natural selection is integrated with proximal mechanisms, such as neural processes, to explain human behavior. Wilson predicted that evolutionary and neural approaches would meet in the study of the moral emotions. Wilson even went so far as to debunk moral philosophy and psychology with the following assertion:

... ethical philosophers intuit the deontological canons of morality by consulting the emotive centers of their own hypothalamic-limbic system. This is also true of the developmentalists [such as Kohlberg], even when they are being their most severely objective. Only by interpreting the activity of the emotive centers as a biological adaptation can the meaning of the canons be deciphered. (p. 563)

In other words, evolution shaped human brains to have structures that enable us to experience moral emotions, these emotional reactions provide the basis for intuitions about right and wrong, and we (or, at least, many moral theorists) make up grand theories afterward to justify our intuitions.

Ten years later, Wilson's status as a prophet was in doubt. The cognitive-developmental school was at its zenith, and sociobiology was in full retreat, particularly in psychology where it was linked (inappropriately) to sexism, racism, and determinism and was therefore branded an enemy of the liberal-progress narrative (see Pinker, 2002). But two shifts occurred in the 1980s that laid the groundwork for Wilson's synthesis to begin in the 1990s. The first was the affective revolution—the broad new interest in emotions that followed the cognitive revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. The second was the rebirth of sociobiology as evolutionary psychology.

These two shifts had an enormous influence on social psychology, which had long been concerned with the causes of harmful and helpful behavior (e.g., Latane & Darley, 1970; Milgram, 1963). Social psychologists generally distrust people's ability to explain the true causes of their behavior (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977), so they had not been interested in the justifica-

tion-centered approach of the cognitive-developmental school. But social psychology readily embraced emotional explanations of moral and immoral behavior, on the basis of findings about the effects of anger (Berkowitz & Heimer, 1989), happiness (Isen & Levin, 1972), and empathy (Batson, O'Quinn, Fulty, Vanderplass, & Isen, 1983). This social-psychological interest in emotions led to frequent citations of one branch of moral-development research: the work of Hoffman (1982) and Eisenberg (1989) on empathy. I have shown this connection in Figure 1, along with subsequent links of empathy research to primatology (Preston & de Waal, 2002) and neuroscience (Singer et al., 2004), making it clear that empathy has become an important part of the new synthesis in moral psychology.

Social psychologists developed a variety of dual-process explanations of behavior in which affective and cognitive, or "hot" and "cool" systems, worked in tandem—and sometimes at cross-purposes—and the entire architecture was explained in evolutionary terms (Metcalfe & Mischel, 1999; Zajonc, 1980). In the 1990s, John Bargh (1994) proposed that mental processes fell along a continuum from fully automatic to fully controlled. Automatic processes are what brains have been doing for hundreds of millions of years: fast, effortless, and efficient mental processing that is closely linked to the perceived world. Automatic processes cause cognitive and behavioral changes in response to the environment without any need for conscious reflection or awareness. Controlled processes, in contrast, are made possible by the evolutionarily recent human acquisition of language and the capacity for private reflection. They are mental processes that occur more slowly, with conscious awareness, and that are more easily separated from perception. Bargh and his colleagues have shown that many morally relevant behaviors (e.g., altruism, racism, or rudeness) can be caused by automatic processes triggered by subtle environmental cues (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996). Bargh and Chartrand (1999) stated a part of Wilson's debunking thesis when they wrote the following:

> "it may be, especially for evaluations and judgments of novel people and objects, that what we think we are doing while consciously deliberating in actuality has no effect on the outcome of the judgment, as it has already been made through relatively immediate, automatic means" (p. 475).

Around the same time that Bargh (1994) published an early major statement on automaticity, two books were released that made complementary developments in neuroscience and primatology accessible to many psychologists. In *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain,* Antonio Damasio (1994) described his studies of people who had sustained damage to the ventromedial prefrontal cortex. These patients retained a basic knowledge of moral and social rules, yet they had great difficulty incorporating this knowledge into their behavior. When experiments revealed that these patients lacked the flashes of affect that people normally feel when they view emotionally evocative slides or play a game in which a particular move is gradually discovered to be risky, Damasio formulated the *somatic marker hypothesis.* He suggested that brain areas that are involved in bodily reactions to real events are activated when we merely imagine similar events. These activations provide us with gut feelings—visceral flashes of positive or negative affect. In essence we use our bodies—as represented in the brain—as sounding boards that tell us instantly, without the need for reflection, that a certain course of action is repulsive or attractive. The ventromedial prefrontal cortex is a crucial site for integrating these somatic markers into executive control, and if that structure is damaged, the patient is deprived of the affective flashes that make most judgments and decisions so quick, easy, and automatic for the rest of us.

Two years later, Frans de Waal (1996) published *Good Natured: The Origins of Right and Wrong in Humans and Other Animals.* De Waal analyzed four areas of primate sociality: sympathy and caring behaviors, rank and social order, reciprocity, and *community concern*—the ways that chimpanzees seem to care about and regulate conflict within their groups. De Waal did not claim that chimpanzees had morality; he argued only that apes show most of the psychological building blocks that humans use to construct moral systems and communities. These building blocks are primarily emotions—such as feelings of sympathy, fear, anger, and affection—that motivate animals to behave in ways that are adaptive and context-dependent.

By 1997, Wilson was looking more prophetic. The ideas of Bargh, Damasio, de Waal, and others (e.g., Frank, 1988; Gibbard, 1990; Kagan, 1984) converged so well that they inspired me to formulate the *social intuitionist model* (SIM) of moral judgment (Haidt, 2001). The SIM posits that moral judgment is much like aesthetic judgment—a rapid intuitive process—and defines moral intuitions as follows:

> "the sudden appearance in consciousness, or at the fringe of consciousness, of an evaluative feeling (like-dislike, good-bad) about the character or actions of a person, without any conscious awareness of having gone through steps of search, weighing evidence, or inferring a conclusion" (Haidt & Bjorklund, 2008, p. 188).

The model suggests that moral reasoning is frequent, but given the speed and ubiquity of moral intuition, moral reasoning rarely has a chance to play out in an open and unbiased way, as is often assumed by cognitive-developmental researchers. Rather, consistent with research on motivated reasoning (Kunda, 1990) and everyday reasoning (Kuhn, 1991), people engage in moral reasoning primarily to seek evidence in support of their initial intuition and also to resolve those rare but difficult cases when multiple intuitions conflict.

The SIM is essentially Wilson's theory of moral judgment but with more elaboration of the social nature of moral judgment. Much subsequent research in social psychology (Skitka, 2002;

Wheatley & Haidt, 2005), neuroscience (Damasio, 2003; Greene, Sommerville, Nystrom, Darley, & Cohen, 2001; Sanfey, Rilling, Aronson, Nystrom, & Cohen, 2003), and primatology (Flack & de Waal, 2000) supports the SIM and Wilson's theory by demonstrating that most of the action in moral judgment is in the automatic, affectively laden intuitions, not in conscious verbal reasoning (for reviews, see Haidt, 2007; Haidt & Bjorklund, 2008).

In Figure 1, I have illustrated many of the lines of research that are contributing to the fulfillment of Wilson's prophecy. Greene (in press) has even combined his fMRI research with philosophical arguments to support Wilson's debunking thesis; he argues that deontological philosophy is at its heart a post hoc justification of gut feelings about rights.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS: BROADENING THE DEFINITION OF MORALITY

Definitions are tools but they can be blinders as well. The most influential definition of morality in psychology comes from Turiel (1983), who defined the moral domain as "prescriptive judgments of justice, rights, and welfare pertaining to how people ought to relate to each other" (p. 3). Turiel (2006) explicitly links this definition of morality to the long tradition of liberal political theory from Kant, through John Stuart Mill, to John Rawls. Common to this tradition is a conception of persons as reasoning beings who have equal worth and who must always be treated as ends in themselves—never solely as means to other goals. This approach makes sense if one endorses the liberal-progress narrative, but what would have happened if morality researchers had endorsed the community-lost narrative, or if they had looked to Durkheim rather than Piaget for guidance?

Here is my alternative approach to defining morality, written to capture the cross-disciplinary nature of the new synthesis: Moral systems are interlocking sets of values, practices, institutions, and evolved psychological mechanisms that work together to suppress or regulate selfishness and make social life possible. This is a functionalist definition that welcomes evolutionary theorists and anthropologists. It assumes that human morality arises from the coevolution of genes and cultural innovations (Richerson & Boyd, 2005), and it assumes that cultures have found many ways to build on the broad potential of the human mind to suppress selfishness and form cooperative communities. One of those ways was laid out by John Stuart Mill and the rationalist traditions that lead up through Kohlberg. We might call it an individualist approach to morality because individuals are the fundamental units of moral value. In this approach, selfishness is suppressed by encouraging individuals to empathize with and care for the needy and vulnerable (Gilligan) and to respect the rights of others and fight for justice (Kohlberg). Authority and tradition have no value in and of themselves; they should be questioned and altered anew in each generation to suit society's changing needs. Groups also have no

special value in and of themselves. People are free to form voluntary cooperatives, but we must always be vigilant against the ancient tribal instincts that lead to group-based discrimination.

Most of the world, however, does not take this approach to suppressing selfishness. Research in cultural psychology suggests that, outside of Western nations, issues related to ingroup loyalty, authority, respect, and spiritual purity are often important parts of the moral domain (Haidt, Koller, & Dias, 1993; Jensen, 1998; Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, & Park, 1997). Even within Western nations, political conservatives and conservative religious communities show this broader domain (Ault, 2005; Haidt & Graham, 2007; Jensen, 1998). It should be noted that issues related to harm, fairness, and justice appear to be found in all cultures, including non-Western ones (Hauser, 2006; Waynryb, 2006). Nonetheless, many moral systems do not strive to protect the welfare and autonomy of individuals above all else. Traditional moralities more often aim to suppress and regulate selfishness by binding people into larger collectives, such as families, guilds, teams, and congregations. These societies, which exemplify the Durkheimian virtues of cohesiveness, interdependence, and limitations on choice and acquisitiveness (up to a point), exemplify what we might call a *binding* approach to morality because they treat the group as the fundamental source of moral value and they expect individuals to limit their desires and play their roles within the group. These are the *Gemeinschaften* celebrated by Tonnies (1887/2001)—the folk communities whose loss is mourned in the community-lost narrative. In these communities, the moral domain appears to include at least three additional clusters of issues: ingroup/loyalty, authority/respect, and purity/sanctity (Haidt & Graham, 2007).

People in such communities, particularly in rural areas, do poorly on Kohlbergian measures of moral development (Snarey, 1985). They cannot seem to transcend traditions and think for themselves about justice. Western conservatives also seem to be morally challenged, although their scores mysteriously rise when they are told to respond to questions in a politically liberal way (Emler, Renwick, & Malone, 1983). An individualist liberal-progress bias seems to be built into Kohlberg's developmental theory and into the perspectives of many moral psychologists who limit the moral domain to issues of justice, rights, and welfare.

Redding (2001) has argued that the intellectual benefits that we believe arise from diversity should arise particularly from ideological diversity, yet academic psychology is largely lacking this kind of diversity. Given that we are unlikely to enact affirmative action for conservatives anytime soon, the alternative is for future moral psychologists to make a special effort to seek out and study moralities that differ from their own, including those of conservative and religious groups within their own countries. If moral psychology can overcome its ethos-centrism and expand its conception of the moral domain, then it can use many of its current tools to study additional phenomena.

For example, we now have many fMRI studies of what happens in the brain when people make tradeoffs between harm and rights (as in trolley dilemmas; Greene et al., 2001; Koenigs et al., 2007) and when they are treated unfairly (as in ultimatum bargaining games; Sanfey et al., 2003). But what happens when people judge stories about treason, disrespect, gluttony, or licentiousness? Are there additional brain systems contributing to binding moralities? Alternatively, we know a lot about how children develop concepts of justice and fairness (Damon, 1975; Kohlberg, 1969), but what about the development of ideas related to purity, sanctity, asceticism, and sin?

In conclusion, morality is an ancient topic of perennial interest. Moral inquiry is strongly shaped by the kinds of societies that researchers inhabit, and I have argued that the dominance of the liberal-progress narrative among academics has obscured parts of the moral domain held dear by most of the world's inhabitants, including those who are hostile to the liberal societies of the West. Moral inquiry is also shaped by the disciplinary training and intellectual lineage of each researcher. In this brief review, I have mentioned (but not done justice to) most (but not all) of the lines of research that have shaped the state-of-the-art in moral psychology. I have highlighted some of the disagreements; but all of these lines are contributing to the solution of a fundamental question for the social sciences: Why do people live together so well most of the time and so spectacularly badly at other times? As our planet becomes ever more crowded, interconnected, and armed, moral psychology seems likely to attract increasing interest from researchers and from the public.

REFERENCES

Ault, J.M., Jr. (2005). *Spirit and flesh: Life in a fundamentalist Baptist church*. New York: Knopf.

Bandura, A. (1991). Social cognitive theory of moral thought and action. In W.M. Kurtines & J.L. Gewirtz (Eds.), *Handbook of moral behavior and development: Theory, research, and applications, Vol. 1*. Hillsdale NJ: Erlbaum.

Bandura, A. (1999). Moral disengagement in the perpetration of inhumanities. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *3*, 193–209.

Bandura, A., Ross, D., & Ross, S.A. (1961). Transmission of aggression through imitation of aggressive models. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *63*, 575–582.

Bargh, J.A. (1994). The four horsemen of automaticity: Awareness, efficiency, intention, and control in social cognition. In J.R.S. Wyer & T.K. Srull (Eds.), *Handbook of social cognition* (2nd ed., pp. 1–40). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Bargh, J.A., & Chartrand, T.L. (1999). The unbearable automaticity of being. *American Psychologist*, *54*, 462–479.

Bargh, J.A., Chen, M., & Burrows, L. (1996). Automaticity of social behavior: Direct effects of trait construct and stereotype activa-
tion on action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *71*, 230–244.

Bargh, J.A., & Ferguson, M.J. (2000). Beyond behaviorism: On the automaticity of higher mental processes. *Psychological Bulletin*, *126*, 925–945.

Batson, C.D., O'Quinn, K., Fulty, J., Vanderplass, M., & Isen, A.M. (1983). Influence of self-reported distress and empathy on egoistic versus altruistic motivation to help. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *45*, 706–718.

Bellah, R., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W.M., Swidler, A., & Tipton, S. (1985). *Habits of the heart*. New York: Harper and Row.

Berkowitz, L., & Heimer, K. (1989). On the construction of the anger experience: Aversive events and negative priming in the formation of feelings. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 22, pp. 1–37). New York: Academic Press.

Brickman, P., & Campbell, D.T. (1971). Hedonic relativism and planning the good society. In M.H. Apley (Ed.), *Adaptation-level theory: A symposium* (pp. 287–302). New York: Academic Press.

Coser, L.A. (1977). *Masters of sociological thought* (2nd ed.). Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.

Damasio, A. (1994). *Descartes' error: Emotion, reason, and the human brain*. New York: Putnam.

Damasio, A. (2003). *Looking for Spinoza*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt.

Damon, W. (1975). Early conceptions of positive justice as related to the development of logical operations. *Child Development*, *46*, 301–312.

de Waal, F.B.M. (1996). *Good natured: The origins of right and wrong in humans and other animals*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard.

Durkheim, E. (1973). *Moral education* (E. Wilson, H. Schnurer, Trans.). New York: The Free Press. (Original work published 1925)

Durkheim, E. (1951). *Suicide* (J.A. Spalding & G. Simpson, Trans.). New York: The Free Press. (Original work published 1897)

Eisenberg, N. (Ed.). (1989). *Empathy and related emotional responses*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Emler, N., Renwick, S., & Malone, B. (1983). The relationship between moral reasoning and political orientation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *45*, 1073–1080.

Flack, J.C., & de Waal, F.B.M. (2000). "Any animal whatever": Darwinian building blocks of morality in monkeys and apes. In L.D. Katz (Ed.), *Evolutionary origins of morality* (pp. 1–29). Thorverton, United Kingdom: Imprint Academic.

Frank, R. (1988). *Passions within reason: The strategic role of the emotions*. New York: Norton.

Freud, S. (1962). The ego and the id. (J. Riviere, Trans.). New York: Norton. (Original work published 1923)

Freud, S. (1976). *The interpretation of dreams* (J. Strachey, Trans.). New York: Norton. (Original work published 1900)

Gibbard, A. (1990). *Wise choices, apt feelings*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Greene, J.D. (in press). The secret joke of Kant's soul. In W. Sinnott-Armstrong (Ed.), *Moral psychology: Vol. 2. The cognitive science of morality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Greene, J.D., Sommerville, R.B., Nystrom, L.E., Darley, J.M., & Cohen, J.D. (2001). An fMRI study of emotional engagement in moral judgment. *Science*, *293*, 2105–2108.

Haidt, J. (2001). The emotional dog and its rational tail: A social intuitionist approach to moral judgment. *Psychological Review*, *108*, 814–834.

Haidt, J. (2007). The new synthesis in moral psychology. *Science*, *316*, 998–1002.

Haidt, J., & Bjorklund, F. (2008). Social intuitionists answer six questions about morality. In W. Sinnott-Armstrong (Ed.), *Moral psychology: Vol. 2. The cognitive science of morality* (pp. 181–217). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Haidt, J., & Graham, J. (2007). When morality opposes justice: Conservatives have moral intuitions that liberals may not recognize. *Social Justice Research*, *20*, 98–116.

Haidt, J., Koller, S., & Dias, M. (1993). Affect, culture, and morality, or is it wrong to eat your dog? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *65*, 613–628.

Hauser, M. (2006). *Moral minds: How nature designed our universal sense of right and wrong*. New York: Harper Collins.

Hoffman, M.L. (1982). Development of prosocial motivation: Empathy and guilt. In N. Eisenberg (Ed.), *The development of prosocial behavior* (pp. 218–231). New York: Academic Press.

Isen, A.M., & Levin, P.F. (1972). Effect of feeling good on helping: Cookies and kindness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *21*, 384–388.

Jensen, L.A. (1998). Moral divisions within countries between orthodoxy and progressivism: India and the United States. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *37*, 90–107.

Kagan, J. (1984). *The nature of the child*. New York: Basic Books.

Killen, M., & Smetana, J.G. (2006). *Handbook of moral development*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Koenigs, M., Young, L., Adolphs, R., Tranel, D., Cushman, F., Hauser, M., & Damasio, A. (2007). Damage to the prefrontal cortex increases utilitarian moral judgments. *Nature*, *446*, 865–866.

Kohlberg, L. (1969). Stage and sequence: The cognitive-developmental approach to socialization. In D.A. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research*. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Kuhn, D. (1991). *The skills of argument*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Kunda, Z. (1990). The case for motivated reasoning. *Psychological Bulletin*, *108*, 480–498.

Lakoff, G. (1996). *Moral politics: What conservatives know that liberals don't*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Latane, B., & Darley, J.M. (1970). *The unresponsive bystander*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Metcalfe, J., & Mischel, W. (1999). A hot/cool-system analysis of delay of gratification: Dynamics of willpower. *Psychological Review*, *106*, 3–19.

Milgram, S. (1963). Behavioral study of obedience. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *67*, 371–378.

Nisbett, R.E., & Wilson, T.D. (1977). Telling more than we can know: Verbal reports on mental processes. *Psychological Review*, *84*, 231–259.

Nucci, L., & Turiel, E. (1978). Social interactions and the development of social concepts in preschool children. *Child Development*, *49*, 400–407.

Piaget, J. (1965). *The moral judgement of the child* (M. Gabain, Trans.). New York: Free Press. (Original work published 1932)

Pinker, S. (2002). *The blank slate: The modern denial of human nature*. New York: Viking.

Preston, S.D., & deWaal, F.B. (2002). Empathy: Its ultimate and proximate bases. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *25*, 1–72.

Putnam, R.D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Redding, R.E. (2001). Sociopolitical diversity in psychology: The case for pluralism. *American Psychologist*, *56*, 205–215.

Rest, J.R., Narvaez, D., Bebeau, M., & Thoma, S.J. (1999). *Postconventional moral thinking: A neo-Kohlbergian approach*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Richerson, P.J., & Boyd, R. (2005). *Not by genes alone: How culture transformed human evolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sanfey, A.G., Rilling, J.K., Aronson, J.A., Nystrom, L.E., & Cohen, J.D. (2003). The neural basis of economic decision-making in the ultimatum game. *Science*, *300*, 1755–1758.

Shweder, R.A., Much, N.C., Mahapatra, M., & Park, L. (1997). The "big three" of morality (autonomy, community, and divinity), and the "big three" explanations of suffering. In A. Brandt & P. Rozin (Eds.), *Morality and health* (pp. 119–169). New York: Routledge.

Singer, T., Seymour, B., O'Doherty, J., Kaube, H., Dolan, R.J., & Frith, C.D. (2004). Empathy for pain involves the affective but not sensory components of pain. *Science*, *303*, 1157–1162.

Skinner, B.F. (1971). *Beyond freedom and dignity*. New York: Alfred. A. Knopf.

Skitka, L.J. (2002). Do the means always justify the ends, or do the ends sometimes justify the means? A value protection model of justice reasoning. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *28*, 588–597.

Smith, C. (2003). *Moral, believing animals: Human personhood and culture*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Snarey, J.R. (1985). Cross-cultural universality of social-moral development: A critical review of Kohlbergian research. *Psychological Bulletin*, *97*, 202–232.

Tonnies, F. (1887/2001). *Community and civil society* (J. Harris & M. Hollis, Trans.). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Turiel, E. (1983). *The development of social knowledge: Morality and convention*. Cambridge, Englang: Cambridge University Press.

Turiel, E. (2006). Thought, emotions, and social interactional processes in moral development. In M. Killen & J.G. Smetana (Eds.), *Handbook of moral development* (pp. 7–35). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Wainryb, C. (2006). Moral development in culture: Diversity, tolerance, and justice. In M. Killen & J.G. Smetana (Eds.), *Handbook of moral development* (pp. 211–240). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Wheatley, T., & Haidt, J. (2005). Hypnotic disgust makes moral judgments more severe. *Psychological Science*, *16*, 780–784.

Wilson, E.O. (1975). *Sociobiology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Zajonc, R.B. (1980). Feeling and thinking: Preferences need no inferences. *American Psychologist*, *35*, 151–175.