





October 15, 2024

What Can Cultural Evolutionary Theory Teach Us about Obstacles to and Prospects for International Cooperation and Peace?

Washington, DC

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# What Can Cultural Evolutionary Theory Teach Us about Obstacles to and Prospects for International Cooperation and Peace?

# Tuesday, October 15, 2024

Time:	9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.
Location:	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
	1779 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
	Washington, DC 20036

Recent decades have witnessed breakthroughs in our understanding of the dynamics of cultural evolution, as well as nascent efforts to apply these insights to explain societal (mal)adaptations and consider alternative forms of institutional design for human flourishing in a variety of settings. At the same time, relatively few scholars and practitioners have brought cultural evolutionary perspectives and concepts, such as multi-level selection and dual-inheritance theory, to bear in their analysis of international relations, the world economy, and global order. (This reflects in part the sad historical legacy of crude concepts and misapplications of evolutionary thinking, from Social "Darwinism" to eugenics to reductionistic versions of human sociobiology). None of the major theoretical paradigms in the study of international relations, for example, explicitly incorporates cultural evolutionary theory. We believe that models of cultural evolution have the potential to illuminate both the history and current dynamics of world politics, and to inform strategies and institutions needed to advance international peace, shared prosperity, human dignity, and planetary habitability. This workshop is an initial brainstorming opportunity to consider what light evolutionary perspectives might shed on the past, present, and future of international cooperation and peace.

The workshop will take place on October 15, 2024. **In addition, we hope that participants will join us for a private dinner on the evening of October 14.** This workshop is being organized by **Dr. Stewart Patrick**, Senior Fellow and Director of the Global Order and Institutions Program at the Carnegie Endowment, **Dr. David Sloan Wilson**, President of ProSocial World, **Dr. Guru Madhavan**, Norman R. Augustine Senior Scholar of the National Academy of Engineering, and **Dr. Dennis Snower**, Founder and President of Global Solutions Initiative.

## Monday, October 14

6:00 to 9:00 p.m. Cocktails and Dinner, Agora DC (1527 17<sup>th</sup> St. NW, Washington, DC 20036)

## Tuesday, October 15

8:30 to 9:00 a.m. Light Breakfast, Carnegie Endowment

## Welcome

9:00 to 9:30 a.m. Framing Remarks and Introductions

Chair: Stewart Patrick, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

## Session 1: Foundations

9:30 to 11:00 a.m.

Chair and Presenter: David Sloan Wilson, President, ProSocial World Discussant: Rose McDermott, David and Mariana Fisher University Professor of International Relations, Brown University

11:00 to 11:15 a.m. Coffee Break

Session 2: Applications 11:15 a.m. to 12:45 p.m.

Chair: Guru Madhavan, Norman R. Augustine Senior Scholar, National Academy of Engineering

12:45 to 2:00 p.m. Lunch

Session 3: Implications

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## 2:00 to 3:30 p.m.

Chair: Stewart Patrick, Senior Fellow and Director, Global Order and Institutions Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Discussant: Miles Kahler, Senior Fellow, Global Governance, Council on Foreign Relations

3:30 to 3:45 p.m. Coffee Break

## Session 4: Open Forum

3:45 to 4:45 p.m.

4:45 to 5:00 p.m. Concluding Remarks and Next Steps

## **List of Participants**

**Faisal Al Saud** Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Lee-Or Ankori-Karlinsky Brown University

> **Cameron M. Curtin** Havard University

**Bill Durham** Stanford University

**Steven Feldstein** Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Jack Goldstone George Mason University

**Seva Gunitsky** University of Toronto

**Chip Hauss** Alliance for Peacebuilding

**Steven Hertler** Saint Elizabeth University

**Erica Hogan** Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**Daniel Hoyer** University of Toronto

Miles Kahler American University Michèle Ledgerwood Center for Strategic & International Studies

> Ian Lustick University of Pennsylvania

**Guru Madhavan** National Academy of Engineering

> **Rose McDermott** Brown University

Angela Nguyen Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**Stewart Patrick** Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

> Abby Rapoport Stranger's Guide

**Gretchen Sandles** Alliance for Peacebuilding

Jennifer Sterling-Folker University of Connecticut

Johnathan Schulz George Mason University

> Wesley Wildman Boston University

David Sloan Wilson ProSocial World

# **Participants**

#### **Faisal Al Saud**



**Faisal Al Saud** is a James C. Gaither Junior Fellow in the Global Order and Institutions Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Before joining Carnegie, Faisal studied political science and modern Middle East studies at Yale University.

## Lee-Or Ankori-Karlinsky



**Lee-Or Ankori-Karlinsky** is a PhD candidate in political science at Brown University. He studies the political psychology of conflict and violence in the United States and the Middle East. Previously, he worked in global conflict resolution, where his work included leading initiatives aimed at applying insights from cognitive and behavioral sciences to improve peacebuilding practices.

#### **Cameron M. Curtin**



**Dr. Cameron Curtin** is a Lecturer in the Department of Human Evolutionary Biology at Harvard University, where she is affiliated with the Culture, Cognition, and Coevolution Lab. She studies cultural evolution, with a special interest in how culture shapes social structure, social psychology, and behavior. Her recent research, which was awarded the Richerson Award for Best PhD in Cultural Evolution, examines how social norms and informal institutions sustain cooperation within indigenous communities of Oaxaca, Mexico. Dr. Curtin's research combines cultural evolutionary theory with methods from anthropology, psychology, and economics, including

ethnographic fieldwork, surveys, behavioral economics games, natural experiments, and econometrics with secondary data. Dr. Curtin completed her PhD in Human Evolution Biology with Dr. Joseph Henrich at Harvard University, and her BA in Neuroscience at Middlebury College.

### William (Bill) Durham



**William (Bill) Durham**, Bing Professor in Human Biology, Emeritus, and Yang and Yamazaki University Fellow, Emeritus. Following his undergraduate studies at Stanford, Bill received his PhD in Ecology and Evolutionary Biology at the University of Michigan in 1977. Ever since, he has been jointly appointed in the faculty of Human Biology and Anthropology at Stanford.

Bill's career has focused on two main themes (1) putting principles of evolution

to work in understanding and sustaining biological and cultural diversity in the world today; and (2) identifying the social dimensions of contemporary environmental problems and working with local people to help solve them. He has carried out field work in Peru, Brazil, and Ecuador (especially Galápagos) in South America, and in El Salvador, Honduras, Panama, and Costa Rica in Central America.

Bill has received five awards for research and teaching at Stanford and was one of the first recipients of the MacArthur Prize Fellowship (1983). Bill's publications include Scarcity and Survival in Central America (1979), Coevolution: Genes, Culture and Human Diversity (1991), Social Causes of Environmental Destruction in Latin America (1995) co-edited with M. Painter; Ecotourism and Conservation in the Americas (2008), co-edited with A. Stronza; and Exuberant

Life: An Evolutionary Approach to Conservation in Galápagos (2021), awarded a silver medallion in the 2022 PROSE Award competition, Association of American Publishers. Bill was invited to design the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, Germany, as well as the Center for Responsible Travel in Washington D.C. where he served for a decade as Co-Founder and Co-Director. He served sixteen years as editor of the Annual Review of Anthropology and as Co-Director of the Osa and Golfito Initiative (INOGO) in Costa Rica for the Woods Institute for the Environment at Stanford. In 2023 he was elected a Governing Member of the Charles Darwin Foundation of Galapagos. Bill's favorite hobbies are photography, fossil collecting (which dates to childhood), and cooking.

#### **Steven Feldstein**



**Steven Feldstein** is a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in the Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program. His research focuses on technology and politics, U.S. foreign policy, international relations, and the global context for democracy.

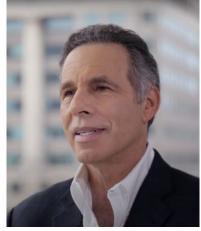
Feldstein is the author of The Rise of Digital Repression: How Technology is Reshaping Power, Politics, and Resistance (Oxford, 2021), which is the recipient of the 2023 Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order. He is currently writing a book about how technology is upending geopolitics and war, under contract with St. Martin's Press.

He has published research on digital technology's impact on war, the role of artificial intelligence is reshaping repression, the geopolitics of technology, China's advancing digital authoritarianism, and new patterns of internet shutdowns. He has released a global index tracking the spread of global AI surveillance and published a global inventory measuring the prevalence of commercial spyware and digital forensics.

Previously, Feldstein was the holder of the Frank and Bethine Church Chair of Public Affairs and an associate professor at Boise State University. He has served in multiple foreign policy positions in the U.S. government. He was a deputy assistant secretary in the democracy, human rights, and labor bureau in the U.S. Department of State under President Obama. Prior to that role, he served as the director of policy at the U.S. Agency for International Development and also worked as counsel on the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations under Chairmen Joseph Biden and John Kerry.

He has authored numerous essays, articles, book chapters, policy reports, and commentary in major media outlets and policy journals. He is a graduate of Princeton University and Berkeley Law. He was born and raised in Bloomington, Indiana.

#### Jack Goldstone



**Jack A. Goldstone** (PhD Harvard) is the Virginia E. and John T. Hazel, Jr. Chair Professor of Public Policy at George Mason University, and a Global Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center. Previously, Dr. Goldstone was on the faculty of Northwestern University and the University of California, and has been a visiting scholar at Cambridge University and the California Institute of Technology. He is the author of Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World, awarded the 1993 Distinguished Scholarly Research Award of the American Sociological Association; Why Europe? The Rise of the West in World History; and nine other books as well as two hundred research articles on topics in politics, social

movements, democratization, and long-term social change. He has appeared on NPR, CNN, Al-Jazeera, Fox News, and written for Foreign Policy, The Atlantic, the Washington Post, Al-Hayat and the International Herald Tribune.

#### Seva Gunitsky



**Seva Gunitsky** is an associate professor of political science at the University of Toronto. His work examines how international forces like war and globalization shape democracy and domestic reforms. He is the author of Aftershocks: Great Powers and Domestic Reforms in the Twentieth Century (Princeton University Press), selected by Foreign Affairs as one of the best books of 2017. Some of his work has appeared in International Organization, International Studies Quarterly, International Theory, and Perspectives on Politics, as well as popular outlets like Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, The Washington Post, The New Republic, and others.

#### **Charles "Chip" Hauss**



**Charles "Chip" Hauss** has been exploring ways of producing large scale social and political change through nonviolent and cooperative means since his undergraduate days at Oberlin College in the late 1960s. In all of this work, Hauss has tried to be a political bridge builder who brings "strange political bedfellows" together to help solve problems that can only be effectively addressed if they work together. Hauss is currently Senior Fellow for Innovation at the Alliance for Peacebuilding where he will help lead its Peacebuilding Starts at Home initiative which will address problems that cross issue-based and ideological lines. He is the author of nineteen books on

peacebuilding and comparative politics and is currently working on a new book with Patricia Shafer, Peace is a Verb, which will focus on intersectional social change movements in the United States. Hauss holds a BA from Oberlin (where he is an active alumni fundraiser) and a PhD from the University of Michigan. He and his wife, Gretchen Sandles, live in the Washington DC area. Their family trust supports the Alliance for Peacebuilding and makes small startup grants to new peacebuilding and related initiatives.

#### Steven Hertler



**Steven Hertler** is an assistant professor at Saint Elizabeth University in Morristown, New Jersey interested in multi-level selection theory, cliodynamics, and history as it documents war, pestilence, migration, famine, the rise of cites, and agricultural innovations, as well as the social, industrial and agricultural revolutions which have rapidly shaped our evolutionary history over the last few millennia.

#### Erica Hogan



**Erica Hogan** is a James C. Gaither Junior Fellow in the Global Order and Institutions Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Before joining Carnegie, Erica studied Economics and Fundamentals: Issues and Texts at the University of Chicago.

#### **Daniel Hoyer**



**Daniel Hoyer** is a computational historian and complexity scientist. Since 2014 he has been part of Seshat: Global History Databank and recently founded a new organization – SoDy – the historical policy lab.

His research seeks to understand societal responses to shifting ecological, social, and economic contexts that determine wellbeing outcomes in the past, as well as how this may shed light on critical social pressures today.

#### **Miles Kahler**



**Miles Kahler** is Research Professor-in-Residence and Distinguished Professor Emeritus at the School of International Service, American University. He is Senior Fellow for Global Governance at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, DC. Before joining the faculty of American University, he was Rohr Professor of Pacific International Relations and Distinguished Professor at the School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California, San Diego.

He has published widely in the fields of international politics and international political economy, including articles and books on global governance, international financial institutions, and Asia-Pacific regionalism. Current research projects include the development of institutions of complex global governance and the changing role of emerging economies in world politics and global governance. He is an

associate editor of Global Summitry, senior advisor to the editorial board of International Organization, and past associate editor in the Cambridge Elements Series in International Relations.

#### Michèle Ledgerwood



**Michèle Ledgerwood** is an independent consultant with 30 years of experience in the U.S. and European security, healthcare, and scientific research environments. She has directed and facilitated multidisciplinary research programs and working groups for government, academic, and private sector clients, in areas as diverse as emerging science and technology; global infectious disease research and surveillance; terrorist financing; trusted international collaborative security networks; virtual diplomacy; and the role of women in shaping future global outcomes.

Michèle is a nonresident senior advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), engaging with partners in the global health, strategic foresight, and terrorism and irregular

warfare spaces. She was previously at Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC), where she was the Senior Analyst for the U.S. Department of Defense's (DoD) cross-disciplinary Highlands Forum and spearheaded initiatives for multiple agencies related to biological terrorism prevention and response. She currently co-chairs the Highlands Forum's nonprofit suite of activities and is a founding member of its Board of Directors.

Michèle has keynoted major industry conferences and executive leadership meetings worldwide and has been an advisor and guest lecturer at Stanford, Georgetown, George Mason, and the University of Louisville. She has spent 25 years of her life overseas, has traveled to 40 U.S. States and over 50 countries, and speaks six languages with varying degrees of proficiency. She holds degrees from Stanford University and the Harvard Kennedy School.

## Ian Lustick



**Dr. Ian S. Lustick** holds the Bess W. Heyman Chair (Emeritus) in the Political Science Department of the University of Pennsylvania. Since 1975 he has been teaching Middle Eastern politics, comparative politics, and international politics as well as seminars on evolution, complexity, and agent-based modeling. Among his methodological interests are how to address selection bias in the use of competing accounts of historical cases, how to apply principles of verification and validation against social science models, and how to build computational models consistent with substantive knowledge produced by social scientists. He is a

recipient of awards from the Carnegie Corporation, the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Social Sciences Research Council.

Before coming to Penn he taught for fifteen years at Dartmouth College and worked for one year in the Department of State. He served as a consultant on Middle East politics and policies for most agencies of the US government and across almost every administration since the late 1970s. His PS-I modeling platform for agent-based modeling was used to produce theory testing and generating studies of a wide range of social science problems and was the basis for the Virtual Strategic Analysis and Forecasting Tool (V-SAFT) which supplied geopolitical forecasts and analyses to US government agencies and various foundations. Recent research projects have included a number of studies of the implications of the disappearance of the option of a negotiated "two-state solution" to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and assessments of competing geopolitical forecasting techniques. He is a past president of the Politics and History Section of the American Political Science Association, a founder and past president of the Association for Israel Studies, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Among his books are Arabs in the Jewish State (1980); For the Land and the Lord (1988, 1994); Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, and Israel and the West Bank/Gaza (1993); Trapped in the War on Terror (2006); and Paradigm Lost: From Two-State Solution to One-State Reality (2019).

#### Guru Madhavan



**Guru Madhavan** is the Norman R. Augustine Senior Scholar and senior director of programs of the National Academy of Engineering, where he is also founding director of the Forum on Complex Unifiable Systems (FOCUS). He has served as a technical advisor to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the European Union Malaria Fund. Earlier in the medical device industry, he has contributed to the research and development of surgical catheters for cardiac ablation and neuromuscular stimulators for improving blood circulation.

A systems engineer by background, he received his M.S. and Ph.D. in biomedical engineering and an M.B.A. from the State University of New York that awarded him the Edward Weisband Distinguished Alumni Award for Public Service or

Contribution to Public Affairs. His recent awards include the: IEEE Norbert Wiener Award (for social and professional responsibility), ASME Henry Laurence Gantt Medal (for business leadership), AAMI Laufman-Greatbatch Award (for contributions to health technology), IEEE Alfred Goldsmith Award for Outstanding Achievement in Engineering Communication, and IEEE-USA Award for Distinguished Literary Contributions Furthering Public Understanding and the Advancement of the Engineering Profession.

He is an elected fellow of the Institution of Engineering and Technology (UK), the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Institute of Medical and Biological Engineering, and the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. He is a Companion of the Royal Aeronautical Society and a member of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts. His books include the popular nonfiction "Applied Minds: How Engineers Think" and "Wicked Problems: How to Engineer a Better World," both from W.W. Norton.

#### **Rose McDermott**



Rose McDermott is the David and Mariana Fisher University Professor of International Relations at Brown University and a Fellow in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. She directs the Watson Postdoctoral Program. She works in the area of political psychology. She received her Ph.D.(Political Science) and M.A. (Experimental Social Psychology) from Stanford University and has also taught at Cornell and UCSB. She has held fellowships at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies and the Women and Public Policy Program, all at Harvard University, and has been a fellow at the Stanford Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences twice. She is the author of six books, a coeditor of two additional volumes, and author of over two hundred academic articles across a wide variety of disciplines encompassing topics such as American foreign and defense policy, experimentation, national security intelligence, gender,

social identity, cybersecurity, emotion and decision-making, and the biological and genetic bases of political behavior.

#### Angela Nguyen



**Angela Nguyen** is a program coordinator in the Global Order and Institution Program and Europe Program at the Carnegie Endowment for Internation Peace. Prior to joining Carnegie, she was a Fulbright U.S. Student English Teaching Assistant in Kinmen, Taiwan. She holds a B.A. from Macalester College where she studied International Studies, Asian Studies, and History.

#### Stewart Patrick



**Stewart Patrick** is senior fellow and director of the Global Order and Institutions Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His primary areas of research focus are the shifting foundations of world order, the future of American internationalism, and the requirements for effective multilateral cooperation on transnational challenges. He is particularly interested in the international governance dilemmas posed by emerging technologies, the planetary ecological crisis, and growing competition in the global commons, including the oceans and outer space. Patrick is the author of three books, including The Sovereignty Wars: Reconciling America with the World; Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security; and The Best Laid Plans: The Origins of

American Multilateralism and the Dawn of the Cold War. Patrick has served on the policy planning staff at the U.S. Department of State, helped establish the Council of Councils, a global think tank network, and served on the steering committee of the Paris Peace Forum.

#### **Abby Rapoport**



**Abby Rapoport** helps build beneficial, sustainable interfaces between communities and media. She is the cofounder and publisher of Stranger's Guide, a National Magazine Award winning publication that uses place-based stories to explore how culture, power and access inform our lives and identities. She has worked with the National Trust for Local News and served as Acting Publisher for the Texas Observer. She began her career as the first employee of the Texas Tribune and was subsequently a staff writer on politics and policy for the Texas Observer and then for The American Prospect. Abby sits on the boards of numerous non-profits

and philanthropies, including the Freedom of Information Foundation of Texas and TYPE Media.

### **Gretchen Sandals**



**Gretchen Sandles** supports research at the Alliance for Peacebuilding on Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion issues and U.S. peacebuilding. She retired in 2005 after a career as a U.S. intelligence analyst, researcher, and editor.

Jonathan F. Schulz



**Jonathan F. Schulz** is an Assistant Prof. in the Department of Economics at George Mason University and Co-PI of the interdisciplinary Historical Psychology Project that investigates the role of kinship for psychological, political and economic outcomes. work focuses on Cultural Evolution, exploring the co-evolution of human psychology with formal and informal institutions and its influence on shaping our contemporary world. His work has been published in leading general interest journals such as Science, Nature, and PNAS, and has been discussed in major news outlets including The Washington Post, The New York Times, The Economist, The Wallstreet Journal, The New Yorker among many others. I was awarded the Royal Economic Society Prize for my work on Kin-networks and Institutional Development.

## Jennifer Sterling-Folker



**Professor Jennifer Sterling-Folker** is an international relations theorist whose writing focuses on theories of international organization, global governance and world order. She has been a Vice-President of the International Studies Association, Chair of ISA's Long-Range Planning Committee, and a member of ISA's Nominations and Publications Committees. She has served as co-editor of Review of International Studies, co-editor of International Studies Review, and an Associate Editor of International Studies Perspective.

Wesley J. Wildman



**Wesley J. Wildman** is Professor in the School of Theology and in the Faculty of Computing and Data Sciences at Boston University, Executive Director of Just Horizons Alliance, and Chief Scientist in the Center for Mind and Culture. Author of two dozen books and numerous articles, he is a philosopher, ethicist, psychologist, and computational social scientist specializing in understanding complex human social systems, including those involving religion, and he uses high-tech computational and data-science methods to study the seemingly intractable problems that arise within those systems.

#### David Sloan Wilson



**David Sloan Wilson** is president of ProSocial World and SUNY Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Biology and Anthropology at Binghamton University. He applies evolutionary theory to all aspects of humanity in addition to the rest of life, through ProSocial World and in his own research and writing. A complete archive of his work is available at www.David SloanWilson.world. His most recent books include his first novel, Atlas Hugged: The Autobiography of John Galt III, and a memoir, A Life Informed by Evolution.