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Kin Selection and Its Critics

Jonathan Birch and Samir Okasha

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Abstract: Hamilton’s theory of kin selection is the best-known framework for understanding the evolution of social behaviour, but has long been a source of controversy in evolutionary biology. A recent critique of the theory by Nowak, Tarnita and Wilson sparked a new round of debate, which shows no signs of abating. In this overview we highlight a number of conceptual issues that lie at the heart of the current debate. We begin by emphasizing that there are various alternative formulations of Hamilton’s rule, including a ‘general’ version that is always true, an ‘approximate’ version that assumes weak selection, and a ‘special’ version that demands other restrictive assumptions. We then examine the relationship between the ‘neighbour-modulated fitness’ and ‘inclusive fitness’ approaches to kin selection. Finally, we consider the often strained relationship between the theories of kin and multi-level selection.

Keywords: Hamilton’s rule, social evolution, kin selection, inclusive fitness, multi-level selection

Introduction

The pithiest expression of the concept of kin selection was made long before the theory itself was devised, when J.B.S. Haldane is said to have quipped “I would lay down my life for two brothers or eight cousins”. The remark captures an intuitive and powerful thought: when interacting organisms share genes, they may have an evolutionary incentive to help each other. Moreover, and more profoundly, it suggests that the size of the incentive to help is proportional to the degree of relatedness between them. We owe the formal embodiment of this insight to Hamilton (1964), and the term ‘kin selection’ to Maynard Smith (1964). Today, Hamilton’s theory lies

25 at the heart of an established and sizeable research program, the explanatory domain of which
26 has steadily expanded (Bourke 2011a).

27 The basic empirical prediction of kin selection theory is that social behaviour should correlate
28 with genetic relatedness; in particular, ‘altruistic’ actions – which are costly to the actor but
29 benefit others – are more likely to be directed towards relatives. This qualitative prediction has
30 been amply confirmed in diverse taxa, including microbes, insects and vertebrates. Moreover,
31 kin selection has shed light on a range of biological phenomena including dispersal, sex-ratio
32 allocation, worker-queen conflicts in insect colonies, the distribution of reproduction in animal
33 societies (‘reproductive skew’), parasite virulence, genomic imprinting, the evolution of multi-
34 cellularity, and more (Bourke 2011a). The principles of kin selection also help illuminate aspects
35 of the ‘major transitions in evolution’, which occur when free-living individuals coalesce to form
36 a new higher-level entity which eventually becomes an ‘individual’ itself (Maynard Smith and
37 Szathmáry 1995; Bourke 2011a).

38 Despite its empirical success, kin selection theory is not without its critics. For example
39 E. O. Wilson, the famous author of *Sociobiology*, was once an enthusiastic supporter of kin
40 selection but has changed his mind. In their recent work on eusocial insect colonies, Wilson
41 and his co-author Bert Hölldobler argue that genetic relatedness is less important than is often
42 thought; on their view, ecological factors, rather than high levels of within-colony relatedness,
43 are the primary drivers of the evolution of eusociality (Wilson and Hölldobler 2005, Hölldobler
44 and Wilson 2008).

45 In August 2010, a strongly-worded critique of kin selection by Nowak, Tarnita and Wilson
46 (2010) ignited a new round of debate in *Nature*. In March 2011, a rebuttal was published
47 signed by 137 social evolution theorists, who claimed that Nowak and colleagues’ arguments “are
48 based on a misunderstanding of evolutionary theory, and a misrepresentation of the empirical
49 literature” (Abbot et al. 2011, p. E1). More detailed rebuttals have since appeared (Rousset
50 and Lion 2011; Gardner et al. 2011; Bourke 2011b), plus a response by Nowak and colleagues
51 (Nowak et al. 2011). Follow-up critiques by van Veelen et al. (2012), Wilson (2012), Allen et
52 al. (2013) and Wilson and Nowak (2014) have left continuing uncertainty about the status of
53 Hamilton’s theory. Does it lie in tatters? Or is it alive and kicking, healthier than ever? It
54 depends on who you ask.

55 In this overview, we offer a fresh look at some of the issues raised by this debate. As
56 philosophers of science, rather than practising biologists, we hope to bring a certain detachment

57 to the discussion. Our aim is not to debunk or vindicate kin selection, nor to take a stand on any
58 empirical questions, but to offer some conceptual clarifications. In Section 2, we discuss the core
59 explanatory principle of kin selection theory, ‘Hamilton’s rule’. We emphasize that although
60 the name suggests a single, unambiguous principle, there are in fact various formulations of
61 the rule which it is crucial to distinguish. In Section 3, we examine the relationship between
62 the ‘neighbour-modulated fitness’ and ‘inclusive fitness’ approaches to kin selection, and look
63 briefly at the idea that inclusive fitness is the quantity that organisms should appear designed
64 to maximize. In Section 4, we examine the often strained relationship between the theories of
65 kin and group selection, and ask whether these theories are ultimately equivalent, as is often
66 claimed. In Section 5, we close by highlighting some outstanding issues.

67 **The status of Hamilton’s rule**

68 The central explanatory principle of kin selection theory is ‘Hamilton’s rule’, which says that
69 a gene coding for a social behaviour will be favoured by natural selection if and only if $rb > c$,
70 where b represents the ‘benefit’ the behaviour confers on the recipient, c represents the ‘cost’
71 it imposes on the actor, and r is the ‘coefficient of relatedness’ between actor and recipient
72 (Hamilton 1964). The costs and benefits are measured in increments of reproductive fitness.
73 The rule tells us that an altruistic behaviour will be favoured by selection so long as the fitness
74 cost to the actor is offset by a sufficient amount of benefit to sufficient closely related recipients.

75 In contemporary discussions, r is intended to encompass any relevant genetic similarity be-
76 tween actors and recipients, regardless of the mechanism that led to it. Hence although Hamilton
77 originally defined r in genealogical terms, as a measure of shared ancestry, in principle Hamil-
78 ton’s rule still applies when genetic correlations arise by other means, including ‘greenbeard’
79 effects (Dawkins 1976; Gardner and West 2010), pleiotropic effects (Hamilton 1975), and, in
80 microbes, gene mobility (Mc Ginty et al. 2013; Birch 2014a). In practice, however, genealogical
81 kinship remains the most common source of genetic correlation between social partners.

82 In their 2010 paper, Nowak et al. (2010) say that Hamilton’s rule “almost never holds”
83 (p. 1059), in the sense that it almost never constitutes a true statement of the conditions under
84 which a social behaviour will be favoured by natural selection. This claim elicited vigorous
85 rebuttals from their opponents—most notably from Gardner, West and Wild (2011), who retort
86 that “it is simply incorrect to claim that Hamilton’s rule requires restrictive assumptions or that

87 it almost never holds” (p. 1038). There is, at present, no sign of an end to this divisive dispute
88 (see Nowak et al. 2011; Allen et al. 2013; West and Gardner 2013). It is hard to see how both
89 camps can be right, yet neither seems likely to budge.

90 **Three versions: HRS, HRG and HRA**

91 The key to understanding the current standoff is to see that, when social evolution theorists
92 talk about ‘Hamilton’s rule’, they may have a number of subtly different principles in mind.
93 Hamilton (1964) first derived a result of the form ‘ $rb > c$ ’ in a one-locus population-genetic
94 model that made a number of substantial assumptions, including weak selection, additive gene
95 action (i.e. no dominance or epistasis) and the additivity of fitness payoffs (i.e. a relatively simple
96 payoff structure). In the following decades, numerous theorists (including Hamilton himself)
97 explored the extent to which a similar result could be recovered when some or all of Hamilton’s
98 original assumptions were relaxed. The upshot was a variety of different routes to ‘ $rb > c$ ’-type
99 results, often with contrasting implications about the conditions under which the rule applies
100 (e.g. Hamilton 1975; Michod 1982; Grafen 1985; Queller 1984, 1992; Frank 1998, 2013; Rousset
101 2004; Lehmann and Keller 2006; Lehmann and Rousset 2010, 2014a, b).

102 Within this rather bewildering space of alternative formulations of Hamilton’s rule, one
103 three-way distinction is particularly salient. It concerns the meaning of the ‘cost’ and ‘benefit’
104 coefficients. First of all, there are formulations in which ‘cost’ and ‘benefit’ denote *payoff*
105 *parameters* of a specific evolutionary model. Examples include the formulations of Queller
106 (1984), Taylor and Nowak (2007), van Veelen (2009), Nowak et al. (2010) and van Veelen et
107 al (2012). Second, there are formulations in which the ‘cost’ and ‘benefit’ terms are partial
108 regression coefficients (i.e. ‘average effects’, in the sense of Fisher 1941) which quantify the
109 *overall statistical associations* in a population between an organism’s genotype/phenotype, its
110 fitness, and the genotype/phenotype of social partners—which can in principle be computed
111 for any model or set of population data. Queller’s (1992) formulation is one example, recently
112 defended and applied by Gardner et al. (2007, 2011). Third, there are formulations in which
113 ‘cost’ and ‘benefit’ refer to marginal, first-order *approximations* of regression coefficients. This is
114 the approach most commonly used by contemporary kin selection theorists. Roughly speaking
115 (since this is not the place for detailed mathematical exposition), the approximation works
116 by replacing differences with differentials. That is, it approximates the regression coefficients
117 corresponding to c and b with partial derivatives of a fitness function (Taylor and Frank 1996;

118 Frank 1998, 2013; Rousset 2004; Lehmann and Rousset 2010, 2014a, b).

119 Some clear labels will help us keep these versions apart. For the exact version of the rule
120 in which c and b are payoff parameters, we suggest the name ‘HRS’ (‘S’ for special). For the
121 exact, regression-based version of Queller (1992), we suggest the name ‘HRG’ (‘G’ for general).
122 For the marginal approximation of HRG, we suggest the name ‘HRA’ (‘A’ for ‘approximate’).

123 Which version we have in mind makes an important difference to the generality of Hamilton’s
124 rule. HRS is an exact result for any model with an additive payoff structure—that is, a payoff
125 structure in which the payoff an actor’s behaviour confers on a recipient is independent of the
126 recipient’s phenotype and combines with other payoffs by adding up. This, however, amounts to
127 a significant restriction. It is easy to construct counterexamples to HRS simply by considering
128 a non-additive payoff structure in which the payoff a given social action confers on a recipient
129 *does* depend on the recipient’s own phenotype. This point was noted by Queller (1984) and
130 has recently been emphasized by van Veelen (2009). Unsurprisingly, when the payoff structure
131 of social interaction is too complex to represent with just two parameters (as is the case in
132 non-additive scenarios), a rule more complicated than HRS is needed to describe the condition
133 for a social behaviour to spread (Queller 1984; van Veelen 2009).

134 However, if we define ‘ c ’ and ‘ b ’ as partial regression coefficients (as in HRG), we obtain a
135 version of Hamilton’s rule of much greater generality. Indeed, we end up with an exact version of
136 the rule that remains correct no matter how complicated the payoff structure may be, because all
137 relevant payoff parameters are implicitly taken into account in the calculation of cost and benefit
138 (Queller 1992; Gardner et al. 2007, 2011). In effect, this is because we are abstracting away from
139 the complex causal details of social interaction to focus on the overarching statistical relationship
140 between genotype and fitness. This generalized, regression-based version of Hamilton’s rule is
141 always true because it makes no assumptions at all about how these statistical relationships are
142 mediated phenotypically.

143 The marginal approximation of HRG (i.e. HRA) sacrifices a degree of this generality, since
144 the approximation of differences by differentials is justified only if selection is weak and gene
145 action is additive (Frank 1998; Lehmann and Rousset 2014b). However, HRA does not pre-
146 suppose an additive payoff structure, and it thus holds (unlike HRS) across a wide range of
147 game-theoretic scenarios. The key is to note that HRA is fundamentally an approximate re-
148 sult. Rather than assuming that the payoff structure is additive, HRA relies on the idea that,
149 when selection is weak, a first-order approximation that neglects deviations from payoff addi-

150 tivity is justified. In broad terms, then, HRA provides an intermediate degree of generality. Its
151 assumptions are more restrictive than those of HRG, but less restrictive than those of HRS.

152 We can use this three-way distinction to make sense of the ongoing standoff. When Nowak
153 et al. (2010) say that “Hamilton’s rule almost never holds”, they are referring to HRS, the
154 exact version of the rule in which c and b refer to payoff parameters. Meanwhile, when Gardner
155 et al. (2011) say that “it is simply incorrect to say that Hamilton’s rule requires restrictive
156 assumptions or almost never holds”, they are referring to the exact, regression-based version
157 employed by Queller (1992), Gardner et al. (2007) and others. Once we distinguish HRS from
158 HRG, we see that both of these apparently contradictory statements are correct (Birch 2014b).
159 Neither statement here is referring to HRA, even though this approximate version of the rule
160 is the version most commonly used by kin selection theorists.

161 **Does HRG explain anything?**

162 Getting clear about the definitions of ‘cost’ and ‘benefit’ does not wholly resolve the conflict
163 over Hamilton’s rule, because underneath the terminological fog of war there are substantive
164 issues at stake. One question is whether, if (as in HRG) we define the c and b terms so that
165 Hamilton’s rule is always true, we buy generality at the cost of explanatory power. As far as
166 Nowak et al. are concerned, HRG adds nothing to our understanding of social evolution:

167 There are attempts to make Hamilton’s rule work by choosing generalized cost and
168 benefit parameters [HRG], but these parameters are no longer properties of individ-
169 ual phenotypes. They depend on the entire system including population structure.
170 These extended versions of Hamilton’s rule have no explanatory power for theory or
171 experiment. (Nowak et al. 2011)

172 Do Nowak et al. have a case? It is undoubtedly true that HRG has predictive limitations.
173 For example, one might expect Hamilton’s rule to predict that if we were to intervene to
174 increase the genetic relatedness between social partners, cooperative behaviour would be more
175 likely to evolve. But there are simple models in which the r , c , and b coefficients in HRG
176 are all interdependent, with the result that intervening to increase relatedness also increases
177 the cost/benefit ratio, making cooperative behaviour less likely to evolve. Similarly, one might
178 intuitively predict that if a social behaviour satisfies Hamilton’s rule at one time, it will continue
179 to do so in the future, provided there is no change in the underlying payoff structure or the

180 relatedness between social partners. But the c and b coefficients in HRG will typically depend
181 on population gene frequency—with the consequence that a social behaviour may satisfy HRG
182 at a low frequency but not at a higher frequency (Allen et al. 2013; Birch 2014b; Lehmann and
183 Rousset 2014a).

184 These concerns about the predictive limitations of HRG are real, but do not imply that
185 it has no explanatory power at all. This is because, although prediction and explanation are
186 related, they are not exactly the same thing. As philosophers of science have often noted, a
187 principle can be explanatory without being predictive, and vice versa (Salmon 1989). In the
188 philosophy of science, there is a long tradition of pointing to unification as an important aspect
189 of scientific explanation (Kitcher 1989). In this spirit, some defenders of HRG have argued that
190 it constitutes a unifying principle in social evolution theory which helps us see what otherwise
191 disparate models have in common (Gardner et al. 2007; Birch 2014b).

192 However, in addition to its unifying power, Hamilton’s rule is often also taken to embody
193 an important *causal* insight about social evolution, namely that a costly social behaviour will
194 spread only if the direct fitness *effect* of the behaviour on the actor who performs it is outweighed
195 by the indirect fitness *effect* on the recipient, weighted by the relatedness between them, where
196 ‘effect’ is understood causally and not just statistically. This causal interpretation of HRG is
197 valid only if the ‘ c ’ and ‘ b ’ regression coefficients admit of an interpretation as causal effects.
198 It is not entirely clear when it is legitimate to interpret them in this way, because there is
199 no general theory of when exactly a partial regression coefficient (or Fisherian ‘average effect’)
200 admits of a causal interpretation. The debate is on-going, and connects in interesting ways to
201 debates surrounding Fisher’s fundamental theorem (Lee and Chow 2013). What we do know,
202 however, is that, partial regression coefficients are certainly not causally interpretable in *all*
203 cases (Spirtes et al. 2000; Queller 2011; Allen et al. 2013; Birch 2014b). To think otherwise is
204 to confuse causation and correlation. Indeed, Allen et al. (2013) provide several hypothetical
205 examples in which a causal interpretation of the coefficients is not reasonable.

206 By this point, it is clear that the debate has taken on a partly philosophical character, turning
207 on subtle issues concerning the relation between causality and statistics, and the explanatory
208 function that Hamilton’s rule is intended to serve. These are issues that neither mathematical
209 modelling nor empirical studies can decisively settle. For this reason, debates about the value
210 of HRG are unlikely to go away. But if researchers manage to steer clear of semantic confusions
211 fostered by the alternative formulations of Hamilton’s rule, then there is room for a constructive

212 debate regarding the rule’s explanatory uses and limitations.

213 **The status of inclusive fitness**

214 Hamilton’s original 1964 paper introduced the concept of ‘inclusive fitness’, a modification of
215 the classical fitness concept for dealing with social interactions. An organism’s inclusive fitness
216 is defined as a weighted sum, over all individuals in the population (including itself), of those
217 portions of each individual’s reproductive output for which the organism is causally responsible,
218 with the weights given by relatedness coefficients. Hamilton observed that an altruistic action,
219 which by definition will reduce an organism’s personal fitness, may nonetheless enhance its
220 inclusive fitness; and he proposed that social evolution be understood as a process of inclusive
221 fitness maximization. The status of the inclusive fitness concept is another bone of contention
222 in the current controversy. Nowak et al. (2010) and Allen et al. (2013) argue that the concept
223 has no advantages over the traditional fitness concept. By contrast, Grafen (2006), Bourke
224 (2011a) and West and Gardner (2013) argue that inclusive fitness is the key to understanding
225 social evolution.

226 **Neighbour-modulated and inclusive fitness**

227 Inclusive fitness is not the only way to formulate kin selection theory. As Hamilton himself
228 noted, an alternative is to use ‘neighbour-modulated fitness’, which is in some ways a more
229 intuitive notion. To see the difference between them, consider two viewpoints on what happens
230 when altruism evolves by virtue of relatedness between social partners (Box 1). One is to
231 view relatedness as a source of *correlated interaction*: when r is high, bearers of the genes for
232 altruism are differentially likely to interact with other bearers, hence to receive the benefits of
233 other agents’ altruism. Thus high r means that bearers of the genes for altruism may have
234 greater reproductive success, on average, than non-bearers. The other is to view relatedness
235 as a source of *indirect reproduction*: when r is high, recipients provide actors with an indirect
236 means of securing genetic representation in the next generation. Thus genes for altruism may
237 spread, if the indirect representation an altruist secures through helping its relatives exceeds
238 the representation it loses through sacrificing a portion of its own reproduction success.

239 The first perspective is captured in the ‘neighbour-modulated fitness’ framework (Figure 1),
240 which looks at the correlations between an individual’s genotype and its social neighbourhood,

241 and helps predict when these correlations will make bearers of the genes for altruism fitter, on
242 average, than non-bearers (Hamilton 1964; Taylor and Frank 1996; Frank 1998, 2013). The
243 second perspective is captured in the ‘inclusive fitness’ framework (Figure 2), which adds up all
244 the fitness effects causally attributable to a social actor—weighting each component by the re-
245 latedness between actor and recipient—in order to calculate the net effect of a social behaviour
246 on the actor’s overall genetic representation in the next generation (Hamilton 1964; Frank 1998,
247 2013; Grafen 2006).

248

249 **[BOX 1 GOES HERE]**

250 **[FIGURE 1 GOES HERE]**

251 **[FIGURE 2 GOES HERE]**

252

253 Although correlated interaction and indirect reproduction may sound like different mecha-
254 nisms, the inclusive and neighbour-modulated fitness frameworks are usually considered equiv-
255 alent, as they generally yield identical results about when a social behaviour will evolve (Taylor
256 et al. 2007). Thus the choice is one of modelling convenience, not empirical fact. Hamilton
257 (1964) and Maynard Smith (1983) both regarded inclusive fitness as easier to apply in practice.
258 But in recent years this situation has largely reversed: kin selection theorists have increasingly
259 come to favour the neighbour-modulated fitness framework, citing *its* greater simplicity and
260 ease of application (Taylor and Frank 1996; Taylor et al. 2007; Gardner et al. 2007).

261 In one respect, the neighbour-modulated approach is more general. To perform an inclusive
262 fitness analysis, we need to be able to attribute each social phenotype to a single controlling
263 genotype (Frank 1998). By contrast, a neighbour-modulated fitness analysis simply ignores the
264 pathway from actor genotypes to social phenotypes, leaving us with one fewer causal path to
265 worry about. A corollary is that the neighbour-modulated framework can apply in cases where
266 there is no principled way to ascribe a social character to a single controlling genotype. As Frank
267 (1998, 2013) notes, cases in which phenotypes are controlled by actors of a different species to the
268 recipient—such as host-parasite interaction—arguably fall into this category (though cf. Taylor
269 et al. 2007).

270 **Inclusive fitness and the ‘objective’ of social behaviour**

271 One advantage of the inclusive fitness approach is that it helps to make precise the idea that
272 organisms’ social behaviour is ‘purposive’, or goal-oriented. This idea of purpose, or apparent
273 purpose, is a key component of the ‘adaptationist’ approach to evolution that Darwin initiated.
274 Where non-social traits are concerned, biologists typically assume that an evolved trait will serve
275 to enhance an organism’s expected reproductive output; models based on the assumption often
276 enjoy empirical success. But altruistic behaviours seemingly do not fit this paradigm, as they
277 reduce rather than enhance an organism’s personal fitness. It is here that the inclusive fitness
278 concept comes into its own, allowing us to rescue the idea that social behaviour should appear
279 purposive by suitably re-defining the ‘purpose’ in question, namely enhancement of inclusive,
280 rather than personal, fitness. This feature of the inclusive fitness concept explains its popularity
281 among behavioural ecologists, and has been emphasized in recent work by Grafen (2006, 2014),
282 Gardner, West and Wild (2011), Okasha, Weymark and Bossert (2014) and others.

283 What enables inclusive fitness to play this role is its focus on which actors control which
284 phenotypes. Recall that an actor’s inclusive fitness is a relatedness-weighted sum of the fitness
285 effects for which it is causally responsible. Thus we can put ourselves in the position of the
286 actor and ask: ‘How should I behave, in order to maximize my expected inclusive fitness?’ Since
287 natural selection tends to favour traits that promote inclusive fitness on average, this question
288 can serve as an informal route to predictions of which social behaviours will evolve. By contrast,
289 we cannot usefully ask the same question with regard to neighbour-modulated fitness, because
290 an individual’s neighbour-modulated fitness contains components over which it may have no
291 control. All we can do is put ourselves in the position of a recipient and ask: ‘What genotypes
292 are “good news”, as far as my neighbour-modulated fitness is concerned?’ But this heuristic
293 is considerably less intuitive, because considerations of causation and control are replaced by
294 considerations of statistical auspiciousness.

295 The idea that social behaviour should serve to maximize an organism’s inclusive fitness is
296 hinted at in Hamilton’s original 1964 papers but not made fully explicit. In his recent work
297 on the ‘formal Darwinism project’, Alan Grafen has attempted to place the idea on a firm
298 footing, by proving formal links between gene-frequency change and an ‘optimization program’
299 (Grafen 2006, 2014). Essentially, Grafen seeks to prove, in a quite general setting, that if all the
300 organisms in a population choose an action (from a fixed set of possible actions) that maximizes
301 their inclusive fitness, then population-genetic equilibrium will obtain; and vice-versa. While

302 (as Grafen admits) this falls short of proving that natural selection will always lead inclusive
303 fitness maximizing behaviour to evolve (e.g. because gene frequencies may cycle indefinitely), it
304 arguably provides some support for that belief. In effect, Grafen’s results (taken at face value)
305 mean that so long as the population does actually evolve towards a stable equilibrium, then we
306 should expect inclusive-fitness maximizing behaviour to evolve.

307 Grafen’s results rest on one key assumption, namely that costs and benefits have additive
308 phenotypic effects on fitness. This means, for example, that the benefit b that an altruistic
309 action has on the recipient is independent of the recipient’s own genotype. In general this is
310 not a realistic assumption, as it rules out any frequency-dependence of fitness, though it may
311 be a good approximation in certain cases. Whether Grafen’s results can be extended to the
312 non-additive case has not yet been settled; see Lehmann and Rousset (2014a) and Gardner,
313 West and Wild (2011) for conflicting opinions on this issue.

314 At this point it is useful to recall the ‘general’ formulation of Hamilton’s rule (HRG), which
315 as we saw defines the r , b and c co-efficients in such a way that the $rb > c$ condition is always
316 correct, irrespective of whether costs and benefits are additive or not. It is tempting to suggest
317 that Grafen’s optimization results could be extended to the non-additive case, and thus made
318 fully general, simply by defining inclusive fitness using the r , b and c terms of HRG. However
319 there is a problem with this suggestion. For recall that an organism’s inclusive fitness is supposed
320 to be fully within its control, i.e. to depend only the social actions that it performs. Since the b
321 and c terms of HRG are functions of population-wide gene frequencies, the amount of inclusive
322 fitness an organism gets from a given action would depend on the state of the population, if
323 inclusive fitness were defined as suggested.

324 This suggests that the generalization of Grafen’s results on inclusive fitness maximization to
325 the non-additive case will be difficult to achieve. Further, it highlights the important difference
326 between Hamilton’s rule itself—the statement of the conditions under which an allele for a social
327 behaviour will be favoured by selection—and the idea that an organism’s evolved behaviour will
328 serve to maximize its inclusive fitness. These two aspects of kin selection theory, though related,
329 should be kept distinct.

330 **Kin selection and multi-level selection**

331 Another dimension of the current controversy concerns the relation between kin and multi-level
332 (or group) selection. Kin and multi-level selection provide seemingly quite different perspec-
333 tives on social evolution. Kin selection, as we have seen, emphasizes the relatedness between
334 social partners as the crucial factor mediating the spread of a pro-social behaviour. Multi-level
335 selection, by contrast, emphasizes the interplay of selection within groups and between groups
336 (Price 1972; Hamilton 1975; Sober and Wilson 1998; Okasha 2006). Within any group, altruists
337 will be at a selective disadvantage vis-à-vis their selfish counterparts; but groups containing
338 a high proportion of altruists may outcompete groups containing a lower proportion. So for
339 an altruistic behaviour to spread, the between-group component of selection must trump the
340 within-group component.

341 The relation between kin and multi-level selection has been a source of controversy ever
342 since it was first broached by Hamilton (1975). In earlier debates biologists tended to regard
343 kin and multi-level selection as rival empirical hypotheses (e.g. Maynard Smith 1964, 1976;
344 Dawkins 1976). But many contemporary biologists regard them as ultimately equivalent, on
345 the grounds that gene frequency change can be correctly computed using either (e.g. Marshall
346 2011; Lehmann et al. 2007; Frank 2013). Although dissenters from this equivalence claim can
347 be found (e.g. Hölldobler and Wilson 2009; van Veelen 2009; Traulsen 2010; Nowak et al. 2010),
348 the majority of social evolutionists appear to endorse it.

349 **Formal equivalence**

350 To see the grounds for the equivalence claim, consider a simple model. A population of haploid
351 individuals live in groups of the same size, within which social interactions occur (Figure 3).
352 An allele at a particular locus codes for a social behaviour. Define $p_i = 1$ if the i^{th} individual
353 has the allele, and $p_i = 0$ otherwise. The index i ranges over all individuals in the global popu-
354 lation, irrespective of group membership. The population-wide frequency of the allele is \bar{p} . The
355 reproductive output ('fitness') of individual i , defined as the total number of surviving offspring
356 it contributes to the next generation, is denoted w_i . The average fitness in the population is \bar{w} .
357 Mutation is assumed absent.

358

359 **[FIGURE 3 GOES HERE]**

360

361 Under these assumptions, the change in allele frequency over a single generation is given by:

$$\bar{w}\Delta\bar{p} = \text{Cov}(w_i, p_i) \tag{1}$$

362 This is a version of the Price equation (Price 1970); the full version includes an extra term,
363 but we are entitled to drop that term here because our assumptions guarantee the unbiased
364 transmission of alleles. The equation tells us that the allele, and thus the social behaviour that
365 it codes for, will spread so long as $\text{Cov}(w_i, p_i) > 0$, i.e. there is a positive covariance between an
366 individual's fitness and its genetic value. This simply formalizes the core neo-Darwinian idea
367 that genes associated with higher individual fitness will increase in frequency.

368 Equation (1) is always true but not always useful, as the covariance term will often lack a
369 natural biological interpretation (Grafen 2006; Okasha forthcoming). Kin and multi-level selec-
370 tion can be regarded as alternative ways of decomposing the covariance term in (1) into more
371 meaningful components. On the kin selection approach, we use a linear regression model to split
372 the covariance term into components attributable to the direct and indirect fitness effects of
373 the social behaviour under consideration (Queller 1992; Gardner et al. 2011). This allows us to
374 straightforwardly derive HRG, the generalized version of Hamilton's rule discussed above. On
375 the multi-level selection approach, we split the covariance term into components attributable
376 to selection within groups and selection between groups (Price 1972; Okasha 2006). This allows
377 us to derive a principle that closely parallels HRG, according to which a costly social behaviour
378 can spread by natural selection only if the selection for the trait between groups is stronger
379 than the selection against the trait within groups. The details of these derivations are spelled
380 out in Boxes 2 and 3.

381

382 **[BOX 2 GOES HERE]**

383 **[BOX 3 GOES HERE]**

384

385 We can now see why kin and multi-level selection are often regarded as equivalent. In any
386 group-structured population, the total evolutionary change can be decomposed using either the
387 kin selection partition (equation 4) or the multi-level partition (equation 6). Moreover, it is easy
388 to see that the kin selection criterion for spread of a pro-social trait ($rb > c$), will be satisfied

389 if and only if the multi-level criterion (between-group $>$ within-group) is satisfied. Thus the
390 two approaches are *formally* equivalent. Gene frequency change can be computed in two ways:
391 by determining the magnitude of the between and within-group components, or the direct and
392 indirect effects; both methods will always give the same answer. In effect, the two approaches
393 can be seen as alternative ways of capturing the fundamental insight that positive assortment,
394 i.e. altruists interacting preferentially with each other, is what is crucially needed for altruism
395 to evolve.

396 Recently, van Veelen (2009) and van Veelen et al. (2012) have challenged the received wisdom
397 on this issue, arguing that the kin and multi-level selection are *not* formally equivalent, and
398 that the latter is in fact more general than the former; see also Traulsen (2010). The HRS/HRG
399 distinction introduced above again helps us understand what is going on here. What van Veelen
400 et al. have shown, in effect, is that the *special* version of Hamilton’s rule, HRS, is not formally
401 equivalent to the standard multi-level decomposition in Box 3. This is true but should come
402 as no surprise, since HRS applies only under restrictive assumptions. Their argument does not
403 threaten the equivalence results of Marshall (2011) and others, because these results concern the
404 formal equivalence of the multi-level selection approach and the *general* version of Hamilton’s
405 rule. Again, the key is to distinguish between the maximally general formulation of kin selection,
406 i.e. HRG, and more specific formulations.

407 In one respect, the kin selection approach is arguably more general than the multi-level
408 approach. For the latter requires that individuals are nested into non-overlapping groups, as in
409 Figure 3 above; this is necessary for the decomposition technique in Box 3 to apply (Hamilton
410 1975; Okasha 2006; Frank 2013). Groups of this sort exist in some taxa, e.g. the colonies of
411 many social insect species. But in other cases, individuals engage in social interactions with
412 their conspecifics but there are no well-defined, discrete groups. The kin selection approach
413 can handle such cases easily; indicative of this is that in deriving equation (4) above (Box 2),
414 we did not make use of the fact that the individuals were nested into non-overlapping groups.
415 Thus the claim that kin and multi-level selection are ‘formally equivalent’ requires at least this
416 qualification.

417 **Choosing between them**

418 On a practical, day-to-day basis, social evolution researchers must decide which approach to
419 use—and the formal equivalence of the two approaches does not imply that there is no principled

420 basis on which to choose between them. West et al. (2008) are emphatic on this point:

421 At one level, kin selection and group selection are just different ways of doing the
422 maths or conceptualizing the evolutionary process. However, from a practical point
423 of view, it could not be clearer that the kin selection approach is the more broadly
424 applicable tool that we can use to understand the natural world. This is because kin
425 selection methodologies are usually easier to use, allow the construction of models
426 that can be better linked to specific biological examples, lend themselves to empirical
427 testing and allow the construction of a general conceptual overview. In addition,
428 the group selection approach is not only less useful, but also appears to frequently
429 have negative consequences by fostering confusion that leads to wasted effort (West
430 et al. 2008, pp. 381-382).

431 Is this a fair assessment? It is true that the kin selection approach (in both its neighbour-
432 modulated and inclusive fitness guises) has received more theoretical attention than the group
433 selection approach, and has been put to work in more empirical applications. For example,
434 kin selection models can straightforwardly take into account class structure, whereby different
435 types of social agent in a population have different reproductive value (Taylor 1990; Frank
436 1998); and they are readily hooked up with the Taylor-Frank method, a powerful technique for
437 the prediction of evolutionarily stable strategies (Taylor and Frank 1996; Frank 1998). However
438 this does not show that the multi-level approach is unworthy of a similar degree of theoretical
439 attention or that it is inherently unsuited to empirical applications. Indeed, given that kin and
440 multi-level selection are formally rather similar—they simply partition up the total evolutionary
441 change in slightly different ways—claims that one approach is inherently superior to the latter,
442 as proponents of each have argued, must be treated with a degree of scepticism.

443 The widespread preference for kin selection may be partly due to multi-level selection's asso-
444 ciation with the flawed 'good of the group' tradition of the 1950s and 1960s, and the associated
445 'superorganism' concept of which many biologists remain suspicious. It is undeniable that the
446 careless appeal to group-level advantage as a way of explaining a trait's evolution led to serious
447 errors in the past; so biologists' wariness of this mode of explanation is understandable. Kin
448 selection is an 'individualistic' methodology that makes no explicit mention of group fitness or
449 group advantage, so has often seemed preferable for that reason (e.g. Dawkins 1976). How-
450 ever, this consideration should not be overplayed. Past errors notwithstanding, multi-level

451 selection has evolved into a respectable theory, and does not necessarily carry a commitment
452 to the superorganism concept (which is, at best, defensible only in special cases such as clonal
453 groups or highly advanced eusocial insect colonies; cf. Gardner and Grafen 2009; Okasha and
454 Paternotte 2012). Moreover, the idea that kin selection is methodologically preferable to multi-
455 level selection seems hard to square with their formal equivalence. Indeed, those who have been
456 favoured kin selection on these grounds have typically not properly appreciated that equivalence
457 (West et al. 2008 is an exception in this respect).

458 It has recently been suggested that kin selection has a unique advantage over multi-level
459 selection in that it comes with an associated ‘optimization principle’ (Gardner and Grafen 2009;
460 Gardner et al. 2011). The suggestion here is that the concept of organisms maximizing their
461 inclusive fitness, which permits social behaviour to be brought within the Darwinian paradigm,
462 is the key insight of kin selection theory, but has no good parallel in multi-level selection theory.
463 The putative parallel would presumably involve groups maximizing their ‘group fitness’, but
464 this notion only makes sense for fully clonal groups, it has been argued (Gardner and Grafen
465 2009, though cf. Okasha and Patternote 2012). This line of argument is interesting but not
466 conclusive, given that the circumstances in which it has been shown that evolution will lead
467 individuals to maximize their inclusive fitness are anyway fairly restricted, as emphasized above.

468 **Causal aptness**

469 Finally, we want to suggest a different sort of consideration that might help biologists choose
470 between the kin and multi-level approaches in a given context. The basic thought is that,
471 although kin and multi-level selection are equivalent as *statistical* decompositions of evolutionary
472 change, there are situations in which one approach provides a more accurate representation
473 of the *causal structure* of social interaction. For evolutionary biology, like other sciences, is
474 interested in constructing causal explanations; ideally we want our descriptions of evolutionary
475 change to capture the causal structure of the underlying selection process, as well as correctly
476 computing allele frequency change. So although kin and multi-level selection may be formally
477 equivalent, it does not follow that they are also equally good as causal representations.

478 For example, suppose we are investigating a segregation distorter allele which also has dele-
479 terious effects on the fitness of its bearer. It is very natural to describe the selection pressures
480 operating on this allele in multi-level terms: at the gene level, there is selection in its favour;
481 but at the organism level, there is selection against it. The formal equivalence of kin and group

482 selection suggests that, if we wanted, we could re-describe the whole situation in terms of the
483 inclusive fitness interests of the allele, but it is not clear what we stand to gain in explanatory
484 terms by doing so. On the contrary, this move would seem unhelpful: it would obscure the true
485 causal structure of the scenario, which clearly involves two distinct levels of selection. When we
486 are looking at selection occurring both between and within organisms, a multi-level description
487 seems clearly more apt, causally speaking.

488 However, there are other cases in which a kin selection description seems more apt from a
489 causal point of view. Consider a Prisoner's Dilemma-style scenario in which organisms interact
490 in pairs and must choose whether to cooperate or defect. Suppose that genetic correlation
491 between social partners leads to the evolution of cooperation. It seems natural to describe this
492 in terms of kin selection: to say, for example, that organisms cooperate because it is in their
493 inclusive fitness interests to do so. As Sober and Wilson (1998) point out, however, any such
494 scenario may be re-described in the language of multi-level selection. For if we regard each
495 interacting pair as a group of size 2, we can say that within each group defectors outperform
496 cooperators, but groups with more cooperators outperform groups with fewer. Yet as in the
497 previous example, it is not clear what we stand to gain from this rather strained description of
498 the process. After all, these 'groups of size 2' may be highly ephemeral, coming into existence
499 when the social interaction begins and vanishing as soon as it is complete. If this is the case,
500 then they are 'groups' in name only, and describing this as a process of multi-level selection
501 seems to sow confusion rather than insight.

502 Plainly, our intuitions about these two examples do not constitute a full-blown theory of
503 causal aptness; they do not provide any general recipe for deciding which description is causally
504 superior in any given case. Nevertheless, they are enough to show that considerations of causal
505 aptness do matter, if we want our theories and models of social evolution to embody causal—
506 as opposed to merely statistical—truths. Developing a more adequate treatment of causal
507 aptness remains an important direction for future work. Okasha (forthcoming) attempts a
508 systematic analysis of the circumstances under which kin and multi-level selection offer better
509 causal representations of social evolution, using tools from the theory of causal modelling (Pearl
510 2009).

511 **Conclusions and open questions**

512 There are many outstanding issues in the foundations of social evolution theory. We feel that
513 progress on these issues is achievable if rival camps of researchers are able to communicate and
514 cooperate, rather than pursuing divergent research programs. In this overview we have tried to
515 take an even-handed approach that identifies what both critics and defenders of kin selection
516 have got right, while highlighting the ways in which theorists have at times talked past one
517 another. We will close by highlighting three questions that we hope future work in this area
518 will address.

519 **Q1: When do the c and b coefficients in HRG admit of a causal interpretation?**

520 In Section 2, we noted that the generalized version of Hamilton’s rule, HRG, defines the c and b
521 coefficients using the statistical concept of regression. In effect, in applying HRG, we are fitting
522 a plane to a three-dimensional cloud of population data describing each organism’s genotype, its
523 social partner’s genotype, and its fitness; c and b are the coefficients which specify that plane.
524 But can HRG tell us anything about the causal processes involved in the evolution of social
525 behaviour, given that it is defined in purely statistical terms? For as Allen et al. (2013) have
526 pointed out, following Spirtes et al. (2000), there are many cases in which regression coefficients
527 should *not* be interpreted causally. The issue lies at the heart of the ongoing debates surrounding
528 Hamilton’s rule, but a systematic treatment is currently lacking.

529 **Q2: How widely applicable is the idea that evolution will lead individuals to ‘try’ 530 to maximize their inclusive fitness?**

531 In Section 3, we noted that inclusive fitness appears to offer an ‘objective’ for social behaviour,
532 as it is a quantity that is within the ‘control’ of the individual actor. However, the most careful
533 attempt to justify the idea that evolution in social contexts will lead individuals to behave as
534 if trying to maximize their inclusive fitness, due to Grafen (2006), rests on assumptions that
535 severely limit its generality. It is currently unclear whether Grafen’s argument, or one like it,
536 can be extended to cover non-additive scenarios and to cover frequency-dependent selection.

537 **Q3: Under what conditions are kin and multi-level selection causally, as opposed**
538 **to formally, equivalent?**

539 In Section 4, we noted that kin and multi-level selection, when formulated in general terms as
540 alternative decompositions of the Price equation, are formally equivalent in that allele frequency
541 change can be correctly computed in both ways. But intuitively, there are cases in which one
542 is more causally apt than the other. However, a general account of causal aptness that goes
543 beyond our intuitions in simple cases has yet to be constructed.

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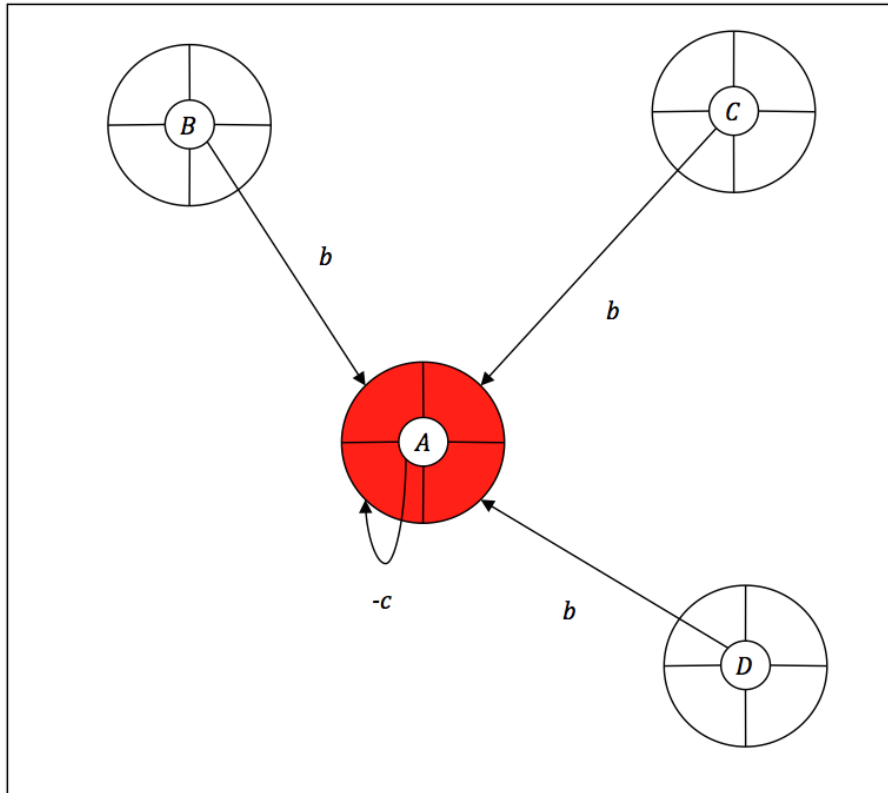


Figure 1: **Neighbour-modulated fitness.** In a neighbour-modulated fitness analysis, we ascribe to A those fitness components that correspond to its personal reproductive success. Some of these components are influenced by the behaviour of B , C and D (as shown by the arrows). A 's total neighbour modulated fitness is a simple sum of these components ($3b$), plus a component corresponding to A 's own influence on its reproductive success ($-c$), plus a baseline component independent of the character of interest.

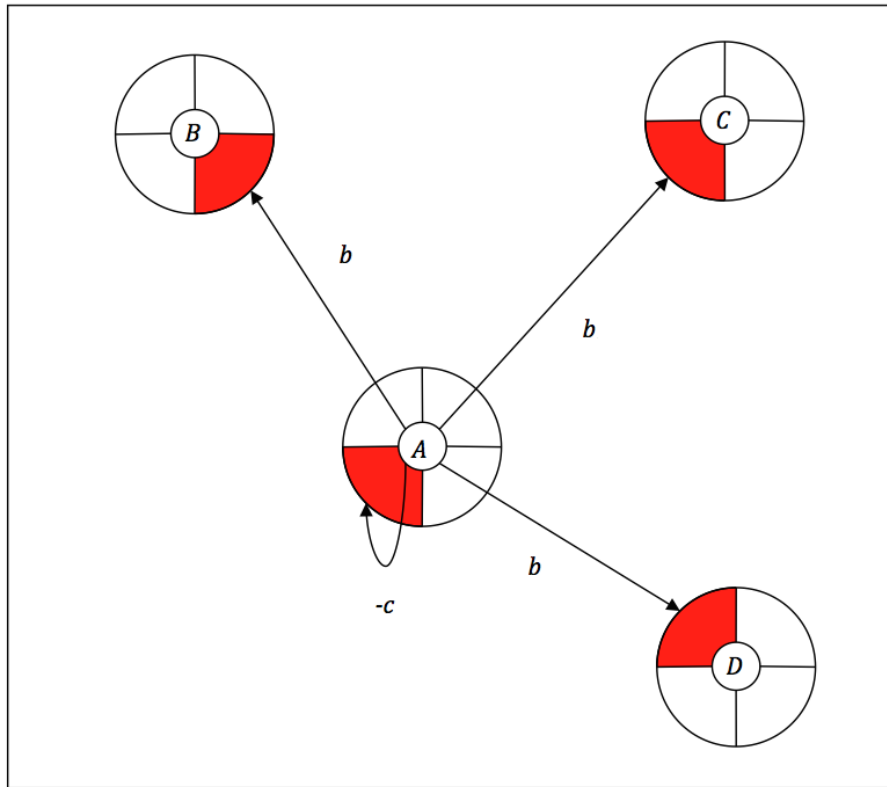


Figure 2: **Inclusive fitness.** In an inclusive fitness analysis, fitness effects are assigned to the actors whose behaviour was causally responsible for them. *A* therefore retains the effect $-c$ for which it is responsible, but loses the $3b$ units of personal fitness it received by virtue of its interactions with *B*, *C*, and *D*. In compensation, it gains $3b$ units taken from the reproductive output of *B*, *C* and *D*. To calculate *A*'s inclusive fitness, these new slices are weighted by the actor's relatedness to the recipient.

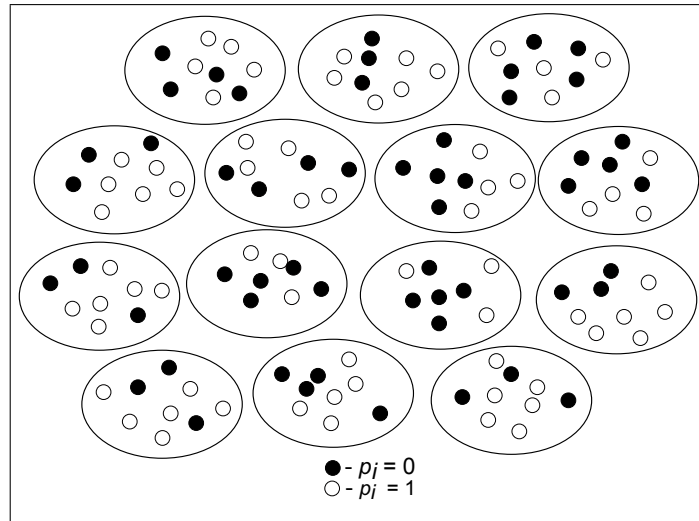
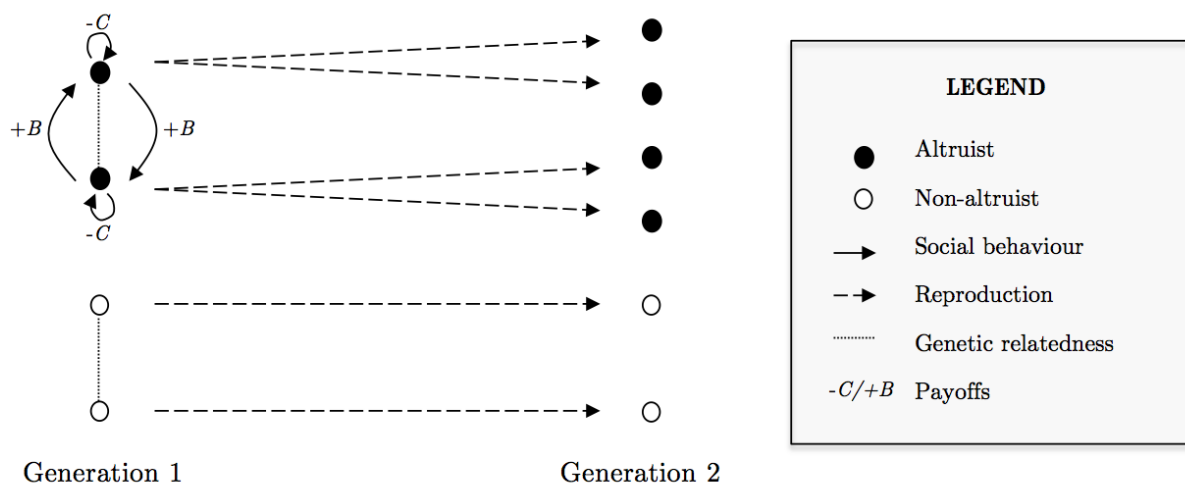


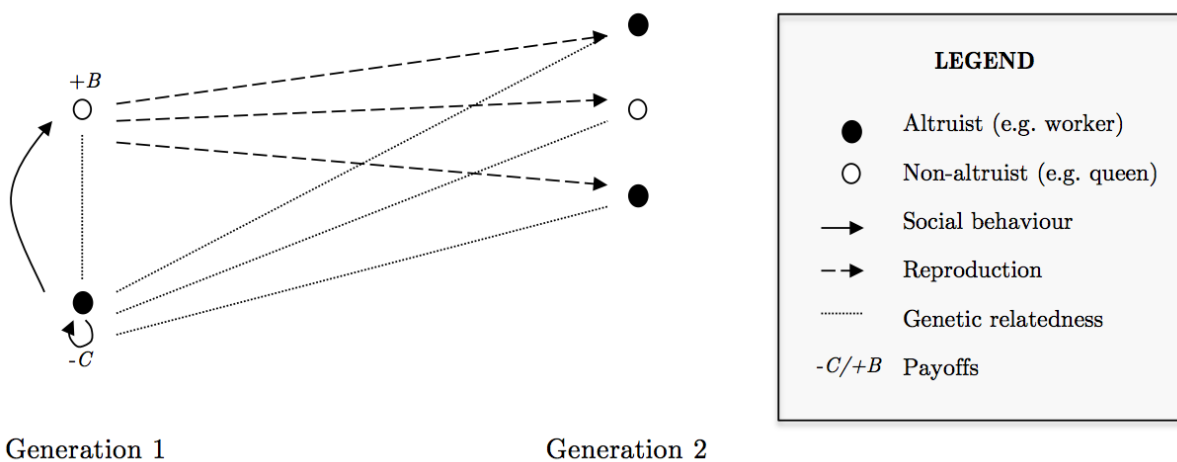
Figure 3: **Individuals in a group-structured population.** Black dots represent individuals with the allele of interest, white dots represent non-bearers, and the larger circles denote social groups.

Box 1: Two ways to conceptualize the role of relatedness



Picture 1: Relatedness leads to correlated interaction. Two altruists (black) confer a fitness benefit (B) on each other at a cost (C) to themselves. As a result, they are fitter overall than two nearby non-altruists (white). Genetic relatedness can give rise to such patterns of correlated interaction in a population, making altruists fitter (on average) than non-altruists.

650



Picture 2: Relatedness leads to indirect reproduction. An altruist (black) confers a fitness benefit (B) on a related recipient (white) at a cost (C) to itself. The recipient does not express the altruistic phenotype. However, it possesses conditionally expressed genes for altruism, which it transmits to some of its offspring (as indicated by the dotted lines, which show the genetic similarity between the actor and the recipient's offspring). The recipient thereby provides the actor with a means of 'indirect reproduction'—that is, an indirect route to genetic representation in the next generation.

Box 2: Kin selection approach

w_i = fitness of individual i

p_i = genetic value of individual i

p'_i = average genetic value of individual i 's social partners

Write w_i as a multiple regression on p_i and p'_i :

$$w_i = \alpha + \beta_{wp.p'}p_i + \beta_{wp'.p}p'_i + e_i \quad (2)$$

Substitute equation (2) into (1) to yield:

$$\bar{w}\Delta\bar{p} = (\beta_{wp.p'} + \beta_{wp'.p}\beta_{p'p})\text{Var}(p) \quad (3)$$

where $\beta_{p'p}$ is the linear regression of p' on p .

Re-label $\beta_{wp.p'}$ and $\beta_{wp'.p}$ as $'-c'$ and $'b'$ respectively, and $\beta_{p'p}$ as $'r'$, to give:

$$\bar{w}\Delta\bar{p} = \overbrace{(-c)\text{Var}(p)}^{\text{direct effect}} + \overbrace{rb\text{Var}(p)}^{\text{indirect effect}} \quad (4)$$

Equation (4) yields the generalized Hamilton's rule (HRG):

$$\Delta\bar{p} > 0 \text{ if and only if } rb > c \text{ (provided } \text{Var}(p) \neq 0)$$

Box 3: Multi-level selection approach

p_{jk} = genetic value of j^{th} individual in k^{th} group

w_{jk} = fitness of j^{th} individual in k^{th} group

P_k = average genetic value of k^{th} group

W_k = average fitness of k^{th} group

The overall covariance between w and p , in the global population, can be written:

$$\text{Cov}(w_i, p_i) = \overbrace{\text{Cov}(W_k, P_k)}^{\text{between-group}} + \overbrace{E_k[\text{Cov}(w_{jk}, p_{jk})]}^{\text{within-group}} \quad (5)$$

652

where $\text{Cov}(W_k, P_k)$ is the covariance between the group means and

$E_k[\text{Cov}(w_{jk}, p_{jk})]$ is the average of the within-group covariances between w and p .

Substituting equation (5) into equation (1) yields:

$$\bar{w}\Delta\bar{p} = \overbrace{\text{Cov}(W_k, P_k)}^{\text{between-group}} + \overbrace{E_k[\text{Cov}(w_{jk}, p_{jk})]}^{\text{within-group}} \quad (6)$$

Equation (6) tells us that

$$\Delta\bar{p} > 0 \text{ if and only if } \text{Cov}(W_k, P_k) > -E_k[\text{Cov}(w_{jk}, p_{jk})]$$