

**‘Stunning breadth of scholarship’**  
Joseph Henrich, Human evolutionary biology,  
Harvard University

**‘Wonderfully refreshing  
and thought-provoking’**  
Peter Frankopan, History, Oxford  
University

**‘Makes sense of our  
historical moment’**  
Joshua Greene, Psychology, Harvard  
University

**‘Hugely enjoyable’**  
Ian Morris, Archaeology, Stanford  
University

**‘Muthukrishna has a heart as  
big as his intellect’**  
Andrew McAfee, MIT Sloan School of  
Management

**‘A fabulous book’** **‘Dense yet  
accessible read’**  
The Economist The Guardian



[muth.io/book](http://muth.io/book)

The Guardian

# A Theory of Everyone

Who we are  
How we got here  
Where we are  
going

Michael  
Muthukrishna

‘Mind expanding – this book will change your  
view of the world forever.’ Matthew Syed

**‘A Theory of Everyone is for  
everyone’**  
Walter Sinnott-Armstrong, Philosophy, Duke  
University

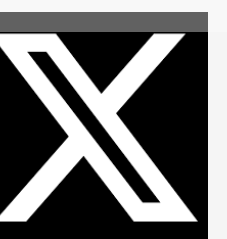
**‘Ambitious and breathtaking sweep’**  
David Halpern, Behavioural Insights Team

**‘Extremely important’**  
Charles Hall, Energy scientist,  
SUNY

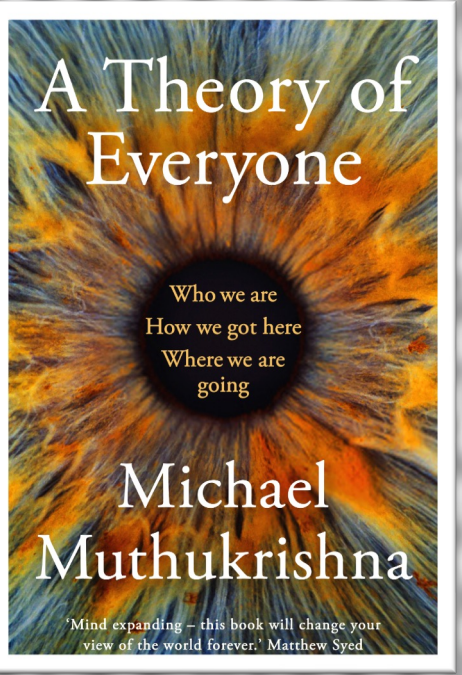
**‘Marvellous, rich and  
entertaining’**  
Kevin Lala, Biology, University of St  
Andrews

**‘Astonishing... will change  
the way you think’**  
Nichola Raihani, Evolution and  
behavior, UCL

**‘The most important book you  
will read this year’**  
Brian Hare, Primatology and psychology,  
Duke University







Michael Muthukrishna

# A THEORY OF EVERYONE

*The New Science of **Who** We Are,  
**How** We Got Here,  
and **Where** We're Going*

"A brilliant tour de force that takes us on an extraordinary journey  
into the fundamental dynamics of what makes us human."

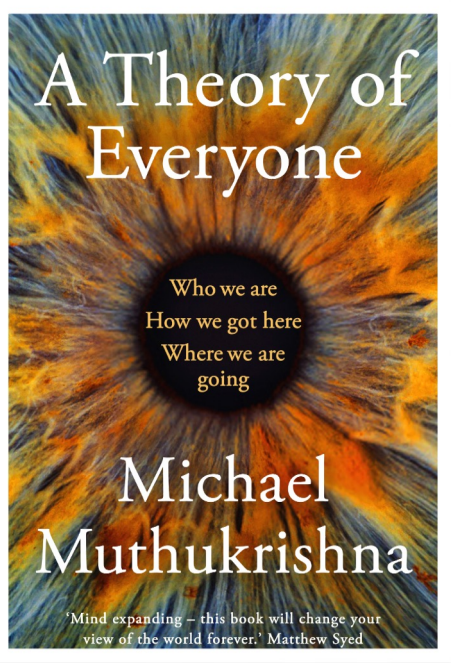
—MICHELE GELFAND



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*And God said*

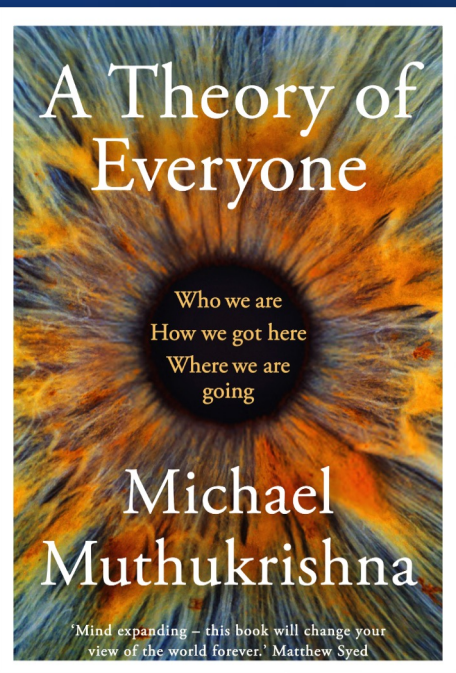
$$\nabla \cdot \vec{E} = \frac{\rho}{\epsilon_0}$$

$$\nabla \cdot \vec{B} = 0$$

$$\nabla \times \vec{E} = -\frac{\partial \vec{B}}{\partial t}$$

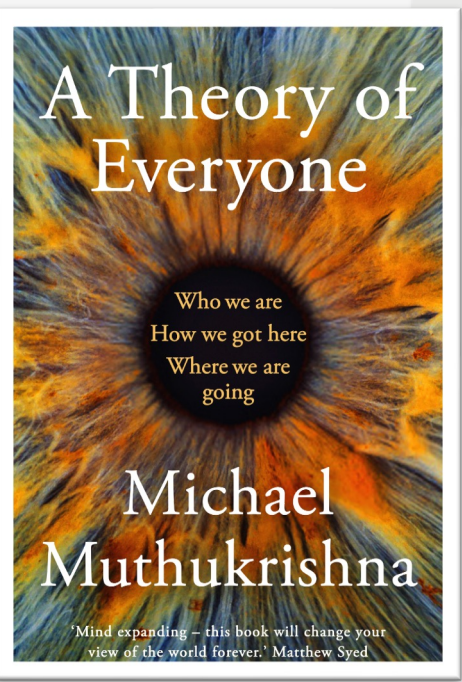
$$\nabla \times \vec{B} = \mu_0 \vec{J} + \frac{1}{c^2} \frac{\partial \vec{E}}{\partial t}$$

*and there was light.*





# A THEORY OF



*And God said*

$$\nabla \cdot \vec{E} = \frac{\rho}{\epsilon_0}$$

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*and there was light.*

*Science of Who We Are,  
How We Got Here,  
and Where We're Going*





# A Theory of Everyone

Who we are  
How we got here  
Where we are going

Michael Muthukrishna

"Mind expanding - this book will change your view of the world forever." Matthew Syed



# The Periodic Table of the Elements

1 1.01 <b>H</b> Hydrogen	2 4.003 <b>He</b> Helium
3 6.94 <b>Li</b> Lithium	4 9.01 <b>Be</b> Beryllium
11 22.99 <b>Na</b> Sodium	12 24.31 <b>Mg</b> Magnesium
19 39.10 <b>K</b> Potassium	20 40.08 <b>Ca</b> Calcium
27 58.93 <b>Co</b> Cobalt	28 58.70 <b>Ni</b> Nickel
35 79.90 <b>Br</b> Bromine	36 83.80 <b>Kr</b> Krypton
43 (98) <b>Tc</b> Technetium	44 101.07 <b>Ru</b> Ruthenium
51 121.75 <b>Sb</b> Antimony	52 127.60 <b>Te</b> Tellurium
59 140.91 <b>Pr</b> Praseodymium	60 144.24 <b>Nd</b> Neodymium
67 164.93 <b>Ho</b> Holmium	68 167.26 <b>Er</b> Erbium
75 186.21 <b>Re</b> Rhenium	76 190.20 <b>Os</b> Osmium
83 208.98 <b>Bi</b> Bismuth	84 (209) <b>Po</b> Polonium
91 231.04 <b>Pa</b> Protactinium	92 238.03 <b>U</b> Uranium
99 (252) <b>Es</b> Einsteinium	100 (257) <b>Fm</b> Fermium
107 (262) <b>Bh</b> Bohrium	108 (265) <b>Hs</b> Hassium
115 (115) <b>Mc</b> Moscovium	116 (289) <b>Lv</b> Livermorium

Atomic Number

Atomic Weight

Symbol

Name

black solid

blue liquid

red gas

white synthetically prepared

most stable isotope

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• Lanthanoids

•• Actinoids

57 138.91 <b>La</b> Lanthanum	58 140.12 <b>Ce</b> Cerium	59 140.91 <b>Pr</b> Praseodymium	60 144.24 <b>Nd</b> Neodymium	61 (145) <b>Pm</b> Promethium	62 150.40 <b>Sm</b> Samarium	63 151.96 <b>Eu</b> Europium	64 157.25 <b>Gd</b> Gadolinium	65 158.90 <b>Tb</b> Terbium	66 162.50 <b>Dy</b> Dysprosium	67 164.93 <b>Ho</b> Holmium	68 167.26 <b>Er</b> Erbium	69 168.93 <b>Tm</b> Thulium	70 173.04 <b>Yb</b> Ytterbium	71 174.97 <b>Lu</b> Lutetium
89 227.03 <b>Ac</b> Actinium	90 232.04 <b>Th</b> Thorium	91 231.04 <b>Pa</b> Protactinium	92 238.03 <b>U</b> Uranium	93 237.05 <b>Np</b> Neptunium	94 (244) <b>Pu</b> Plutonium	95 (243) <b>Am</b> Americium	96 (247) <b>Cm</b> Curium	97 (247) <b>Bk</b> Berkelium	98 (251) <b>Cf</b> Californium	99 (252) <b>Es</b> Einsteinium	100 (257) <b>Fm</b> Fermium	101 (260) <b>Md</b> Mendelevium	102 (259) <b>No</b> Nobelium	103 (262) <b>Lr</b> Lawrencium

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- alkali metals
- alkali earth metals
- transitional metals
- other metals
- semiconductors
- other non-metals
- halogens
- noble gases
- unknown type





# A THEORY OF

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*and there was light.*

## The Periodic Table of the Elements

1 H Hydrogen	2 He Helium																
3 Li Lithium	4 Be Beryllium	5 B Boron	6 C Carbon	7 N Nitrogen	8 O Oxygen	9 F Fluorine	10 Ne Neon										
11 Na Sodium	12 Mg Magnesium	13 Al Aluminium	14 Si Silicon	15 P Phosphorus	16 S Sulfur	17 Cl Chlorine	18 Ar Argon										
19 K Potassium	20 Ca Calcium	21 Sc Scandium	22 Ti Titanium	23 V Vanadium	24 Cr Chromium	25 Mn Manganese	26 Fe Iron	27 Co Cobalt	28 Ni Nickel	29 Cu Copper	30 Zn Zinc	31 Ga Gallium	32 Ge Germanium	33 As Arsenic	34 Se Selenium	35 Br Bromine	36 Kr Krypton
37 Rb Rubidium	38 Sr Strontium	39 Y Yttrium	40 Zr Zirconium	41 Nb Niobium	42 Mo Molybdenum	43 Tc Technetium	44 Ru Ruthenium	45 Rh Rhodium	46 Pd Palladium	47 Ag Silver	48 Cd Cadmium	49 In Indium	50 Sn Tin	51 Sb Antimony	52 Te Tellurium	53 I Iodine	54 Xe Xenon
55 Cs Cesium	56 Ba Barium	•	72 Hf Hafnium	73 Ta Tantalum	74 W Tungsten	75 Re Rhenium	76 Os Osmium	77 Ir Iridium	78 Pt Platinum	79 Au Gold	80 Hg Mercury	81 Tl Thallium	82 Pb Lead	83 Bi Bismuth	84 Po Polonium	85 At Astatine	86 Rn Radon
87 Fr Francium	88 Ra Radium	••	104 Rf Rutherfordium	105 Ha Hahnium	106 Sg Seaborgium	107 Bh Bohrium	108 Hs Hassium	109 Mt Meitnerium	110 Ds Darmstadtium	111 Rg Roentgenium	112 (277)	(113)	(114)	(115)	(116)	(117)	(118)
57 La Lanthanum	58 Ce Cerium	59 Pr Praseodymium	60 Nd Neodymium	61 Pm Promethium	62 Sm Samarium	63 Eu Europium	64 Gd Gadolinium	65 Tb Terbium	66 Dy Dysprosium	67 Ho Holmium	68 Er Erbium	69 Tm Thulium	70 Yb Ytterbium	71 Lu Lutetium			
89 Ac Actinium	90 Th Thorium	91 Pa Protactinium	92 U Uranium	93 Np Neptunium	94 Pu Plutonium	95 Am Americium	96 Cm Curium	97 Bk Berkelium	98 Cf Californium	99 Es Einsteinium	100 Fm Fermium	101 Md Mendelevium	102 No Nobelium	103 Lr Lawrencium			

Atomic Number

Atomic Weight

Symbol

Name

black

blue

red

white

solid

liquid

gas

synthetically prepared

most stable isotope

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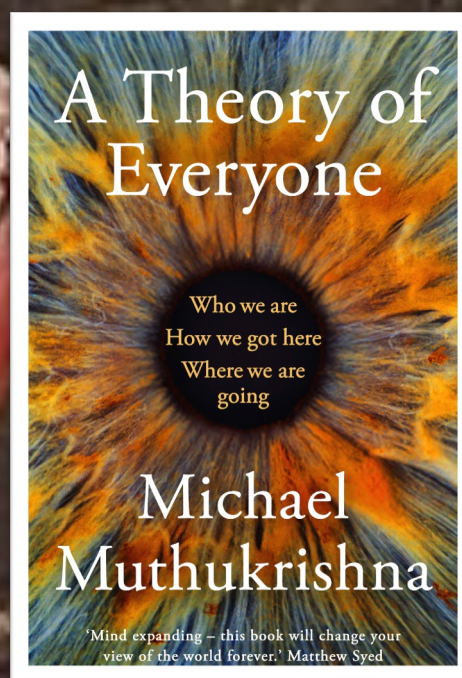
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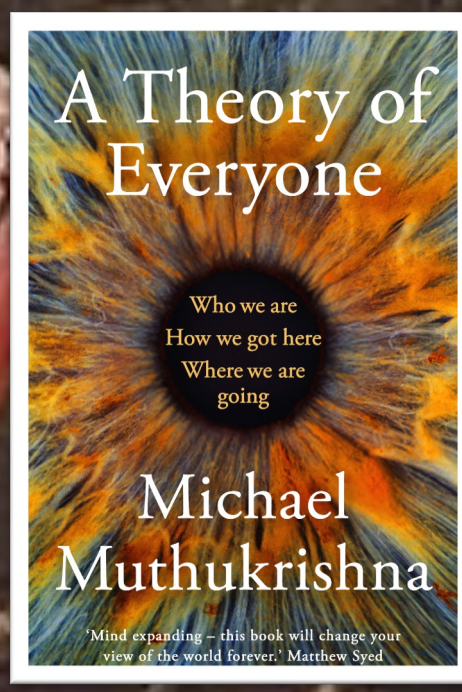
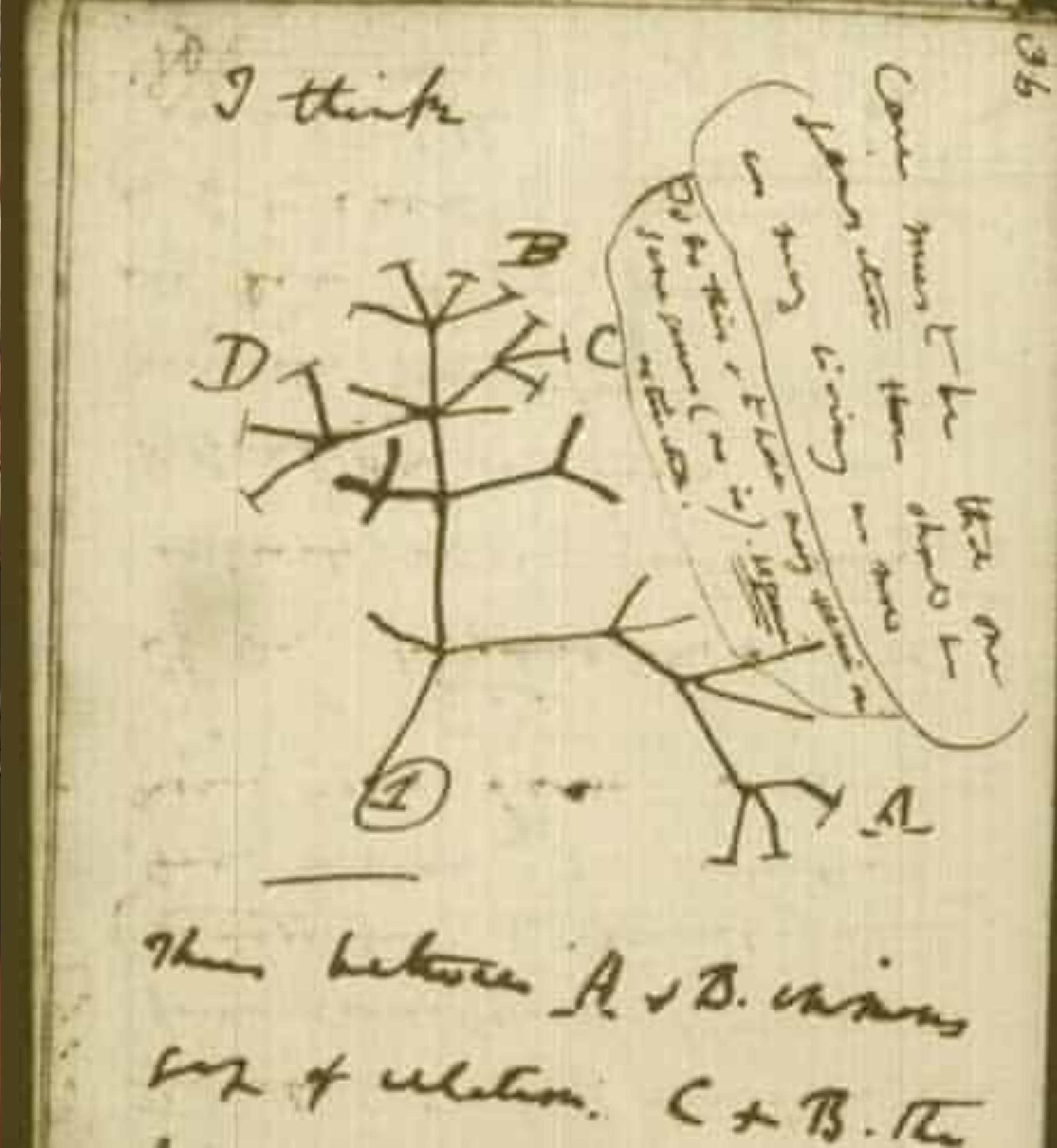
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- alkali metals
- alkali earth metals
- transitional metals
- other metals
- semiconductors
- other non-metals
- halogens
- noble gases
- unknown type

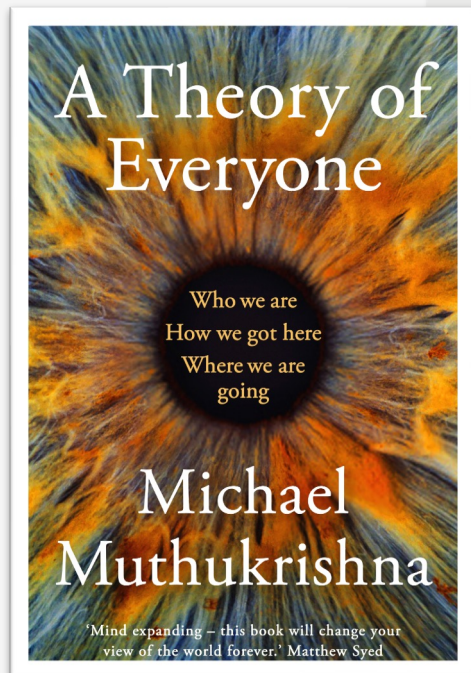












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*and there was light.*

# The Periodic Table of the Elements


**Atomic Number** →

**Atomic Weight** →

**Symbol** →

**Name** ↑

**black** solid  
**blue** liquid  
**red** gas  
**white** synthetically prepared  
most stable isotope



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1 H Hydrogen	2 He Helium
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27 Co Cobalt	28 Ni Nickel
37 Rb Rubidium	38 Sr Strontium
55 Cs Cesium	56 Ba Barium
87 Fr Francium	88 Ra Radium
13 Al Aluminum	14 Si Silicon
21 Sc Scandium	22 Ti Titanium
29 Cu Copper	30 Zn Zinc
37 Rb Rubidium	38 Sr Strontium
55 Cs Cesium	56 Ba Barium
87 Fr Francium	88 Ra Radium
6 C Carbon	7 N Nitrogen
15 P Phosphorus	16 S Sulfur
23 V Vanadium	24 Cr Chromium
31 Ga Gallium	32 Ge Germanium
39 Y Yttrium	40 Z Zirconium
47 Ag Silver	48 Cd Cadmium
59 Pr Praseodymium	60 Nd Neodymium
71 Lu Lutetium	72 Hf Hafnium
81 Tl Thallium	82 Pb Lead
91 Pa Protactinium	92 U Uranium
101 Md Mendelevium	102 No Nobelium
109 Mt Meitnerium	110 Ds Darmstadtium
117 Ts Tennessine	118 Og Oganesson

- **Lanthanoids**

- ● Actinoids

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 alkali metals

 alkali earth metals

 **transitional metals**

 **other metals**

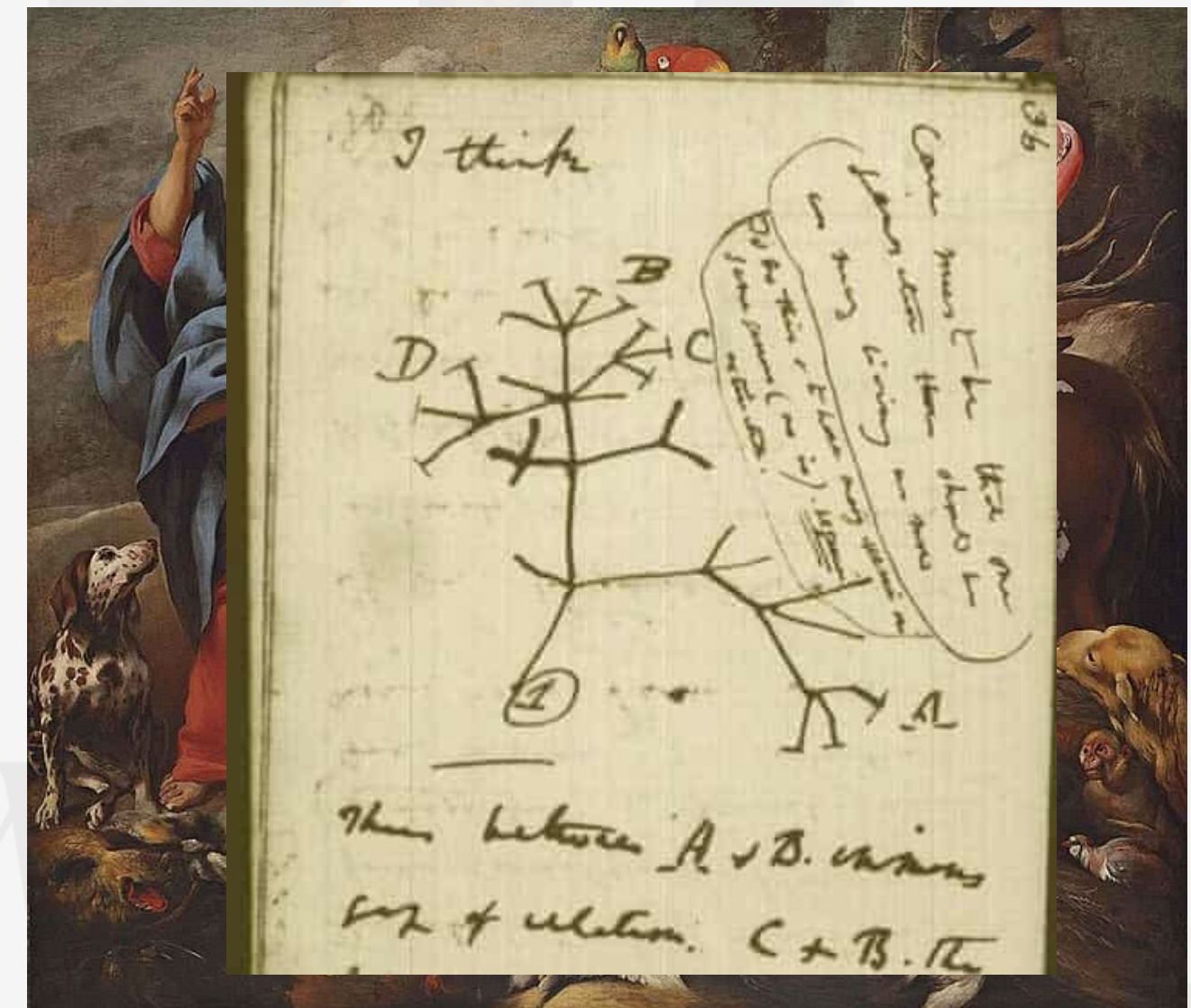
 **semiconductors**

 other non-metal

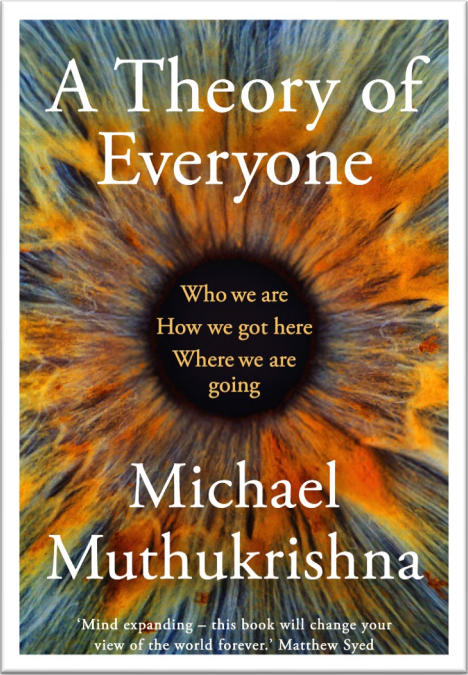
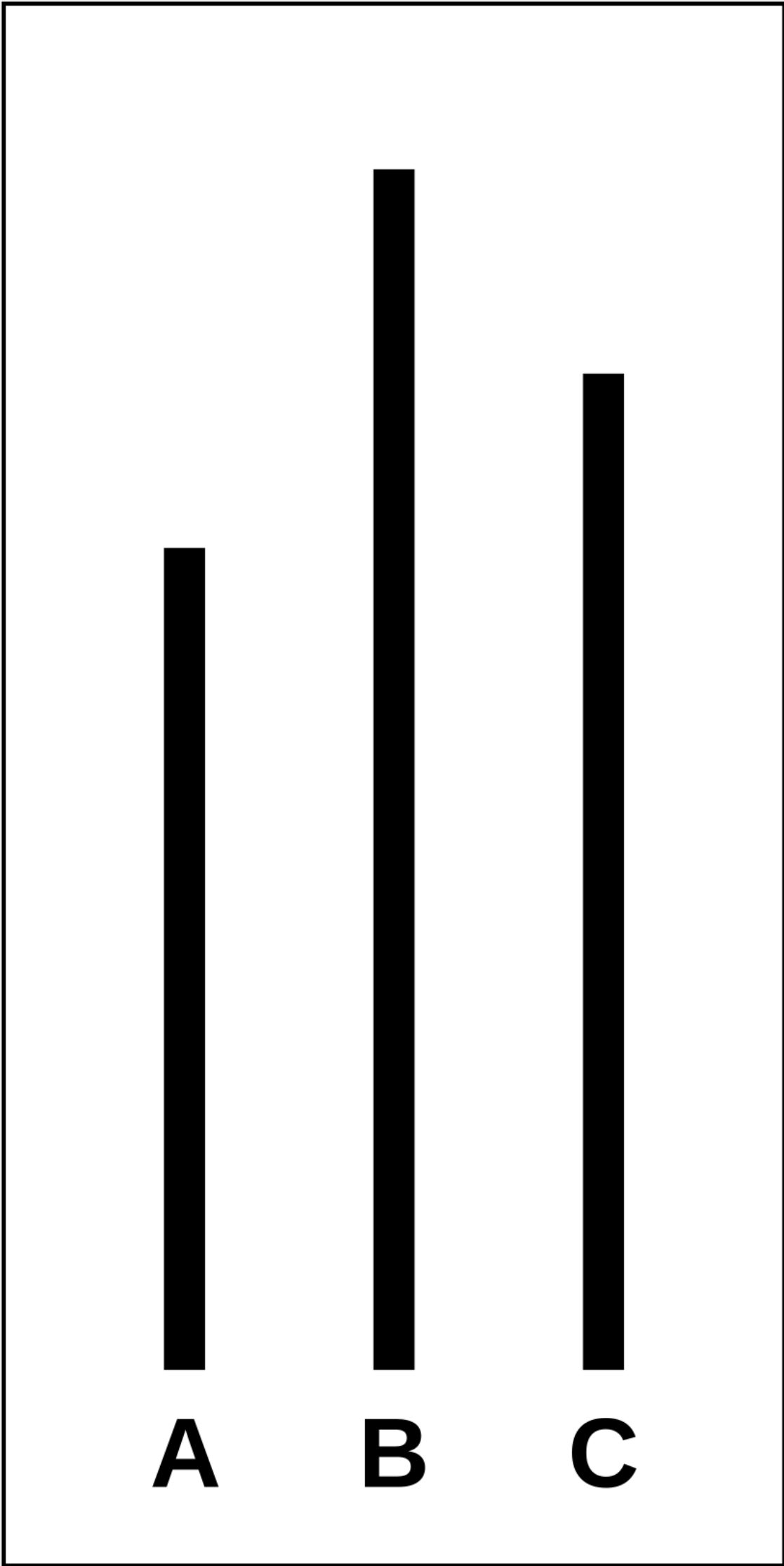
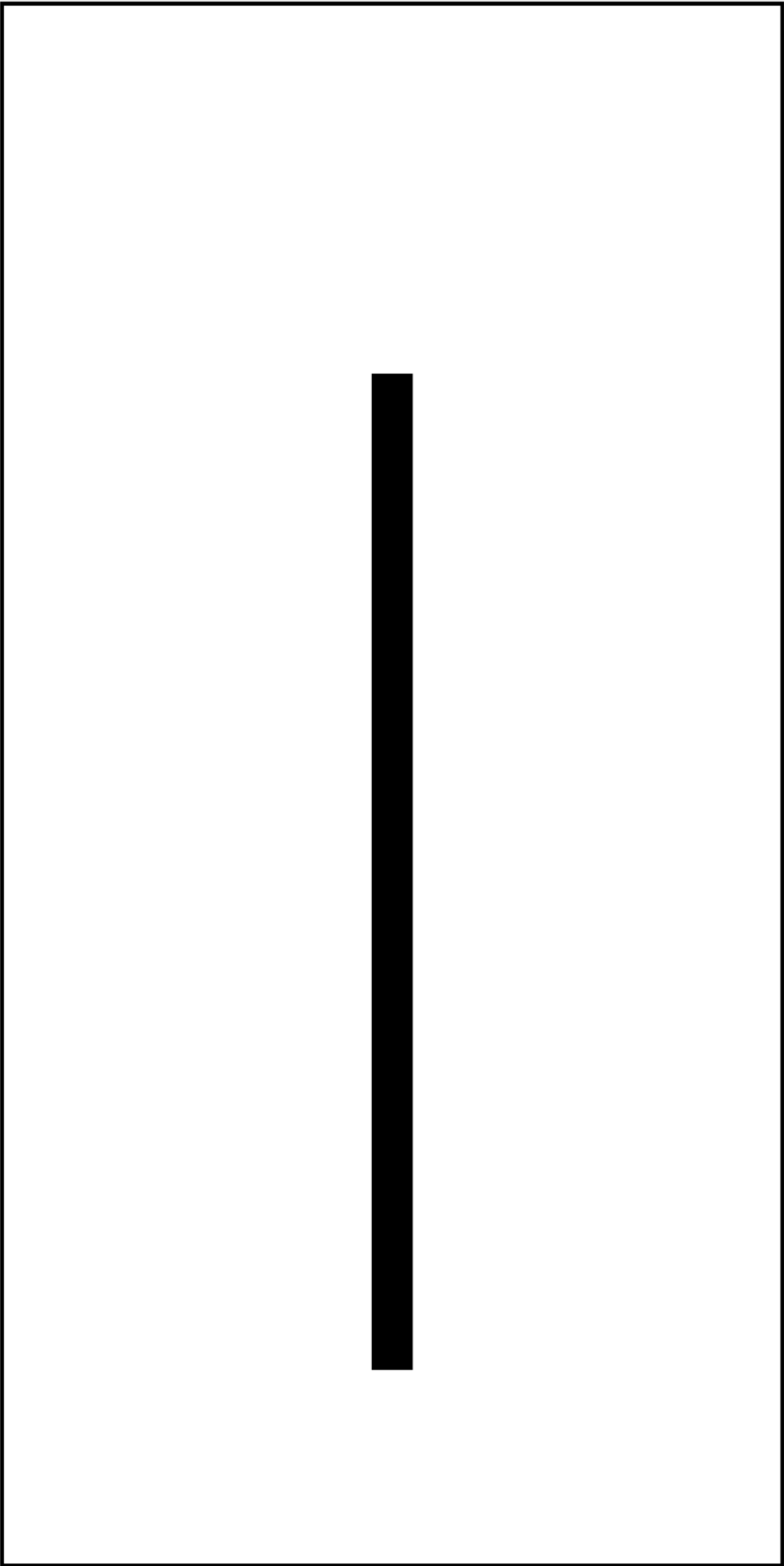
 **halogens**

 noble gases

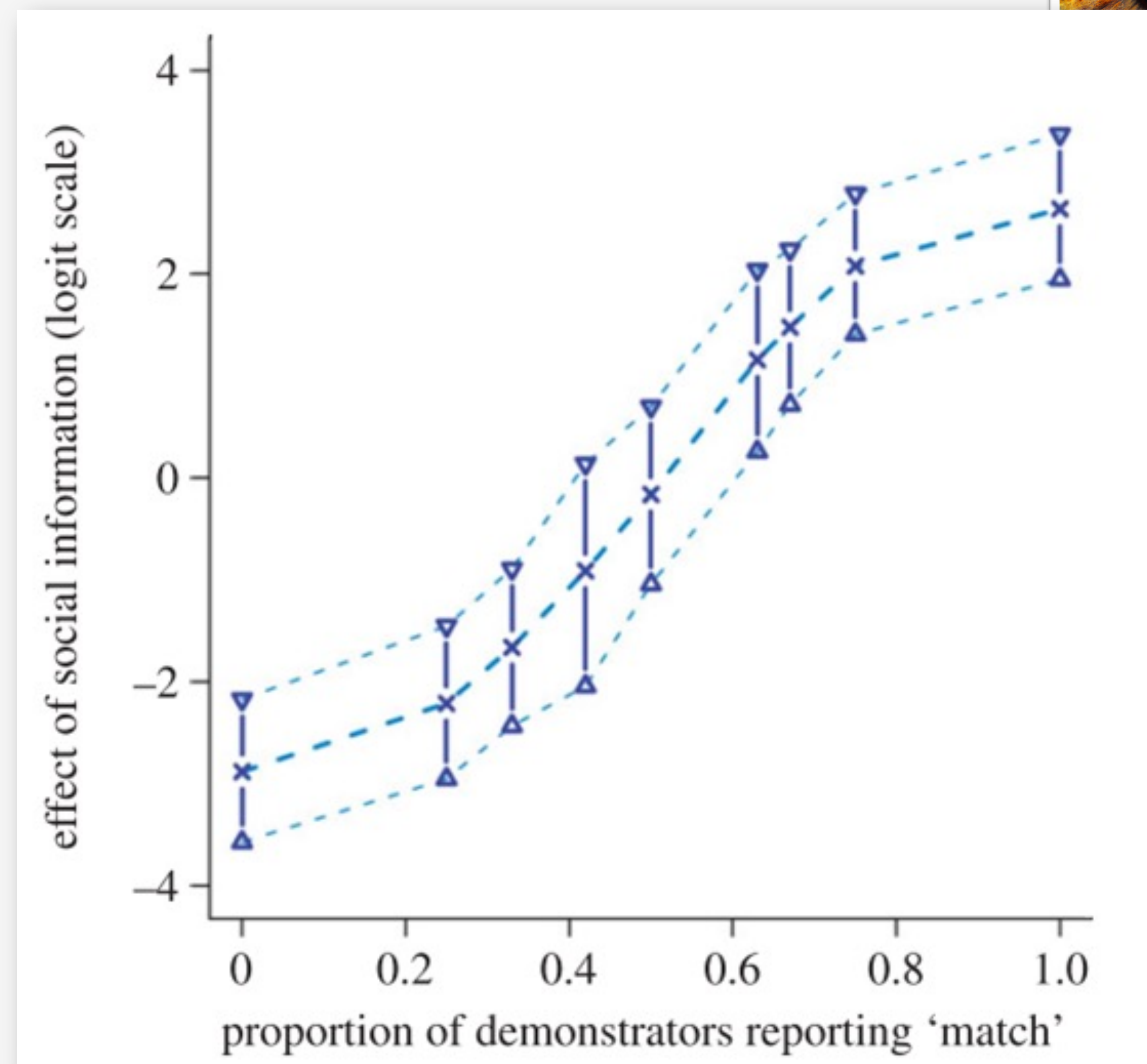
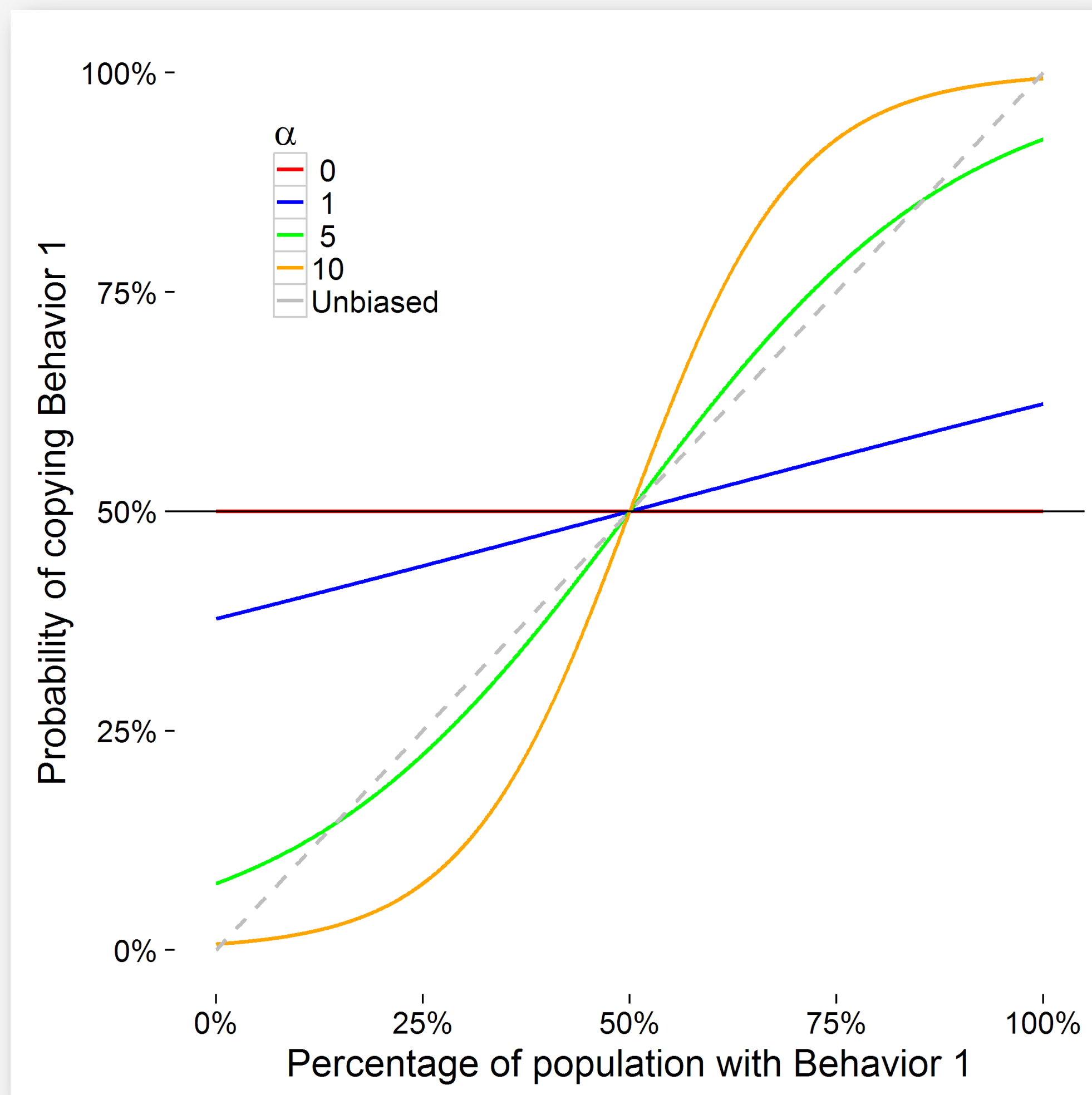
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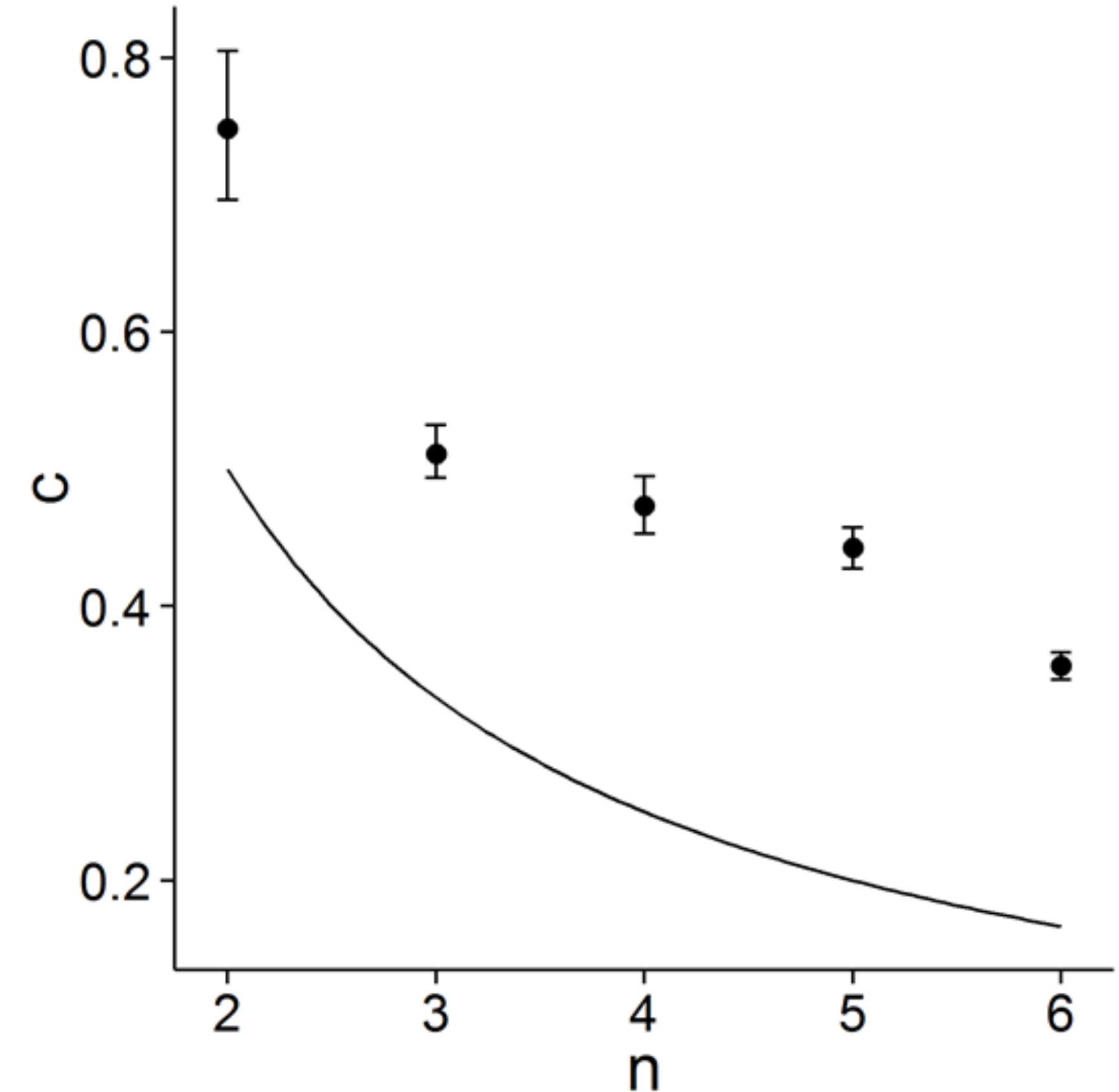
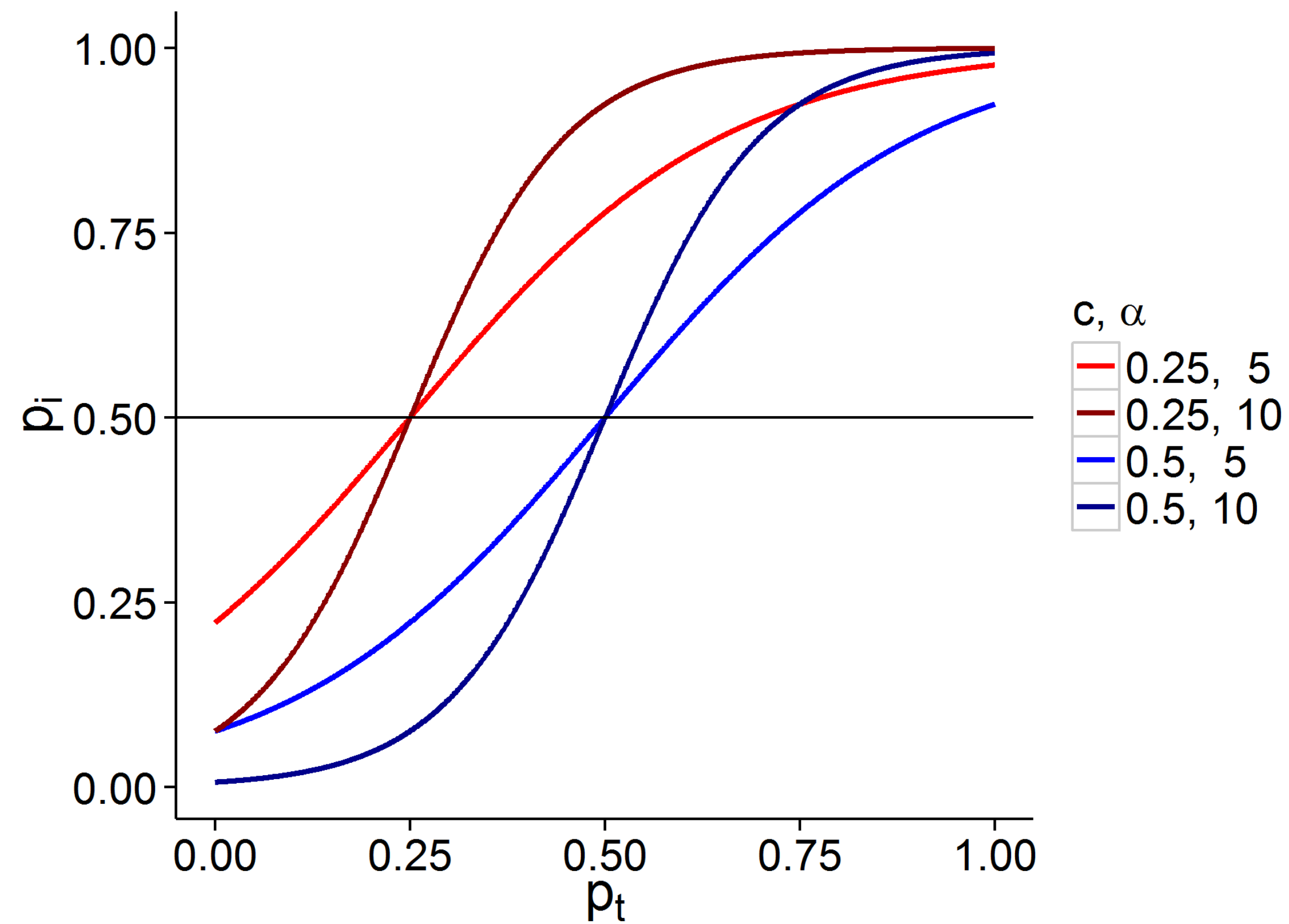




Muthukrishna, M., Morgan, T. J., & Henrich, J. (2016). The when and who of social learning and conformist transmission. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 37(1), 10-20.

Muthukrishna, M., & Henrich, J. (2019). A problem in theory. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 3(3), 221-229.





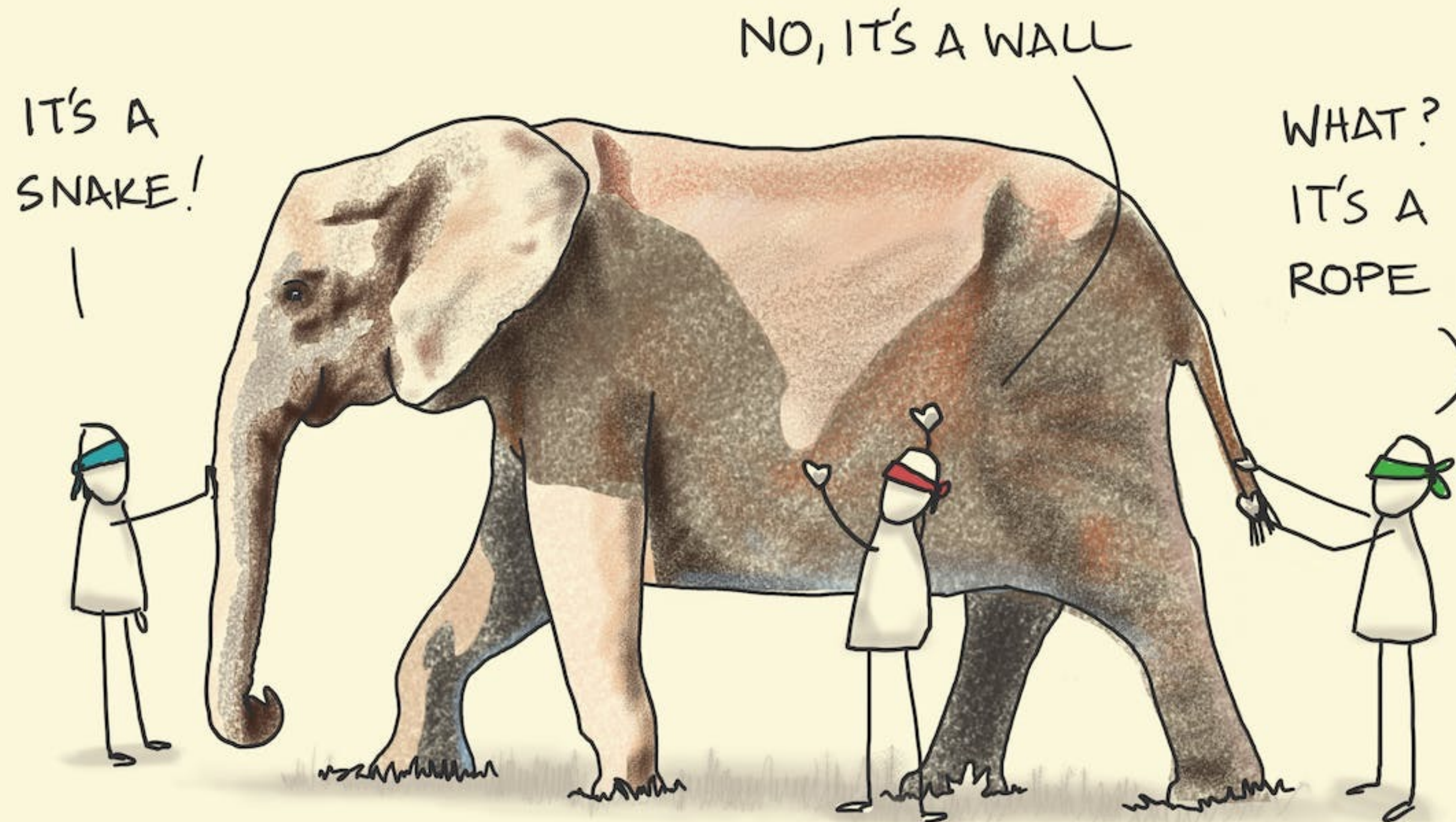
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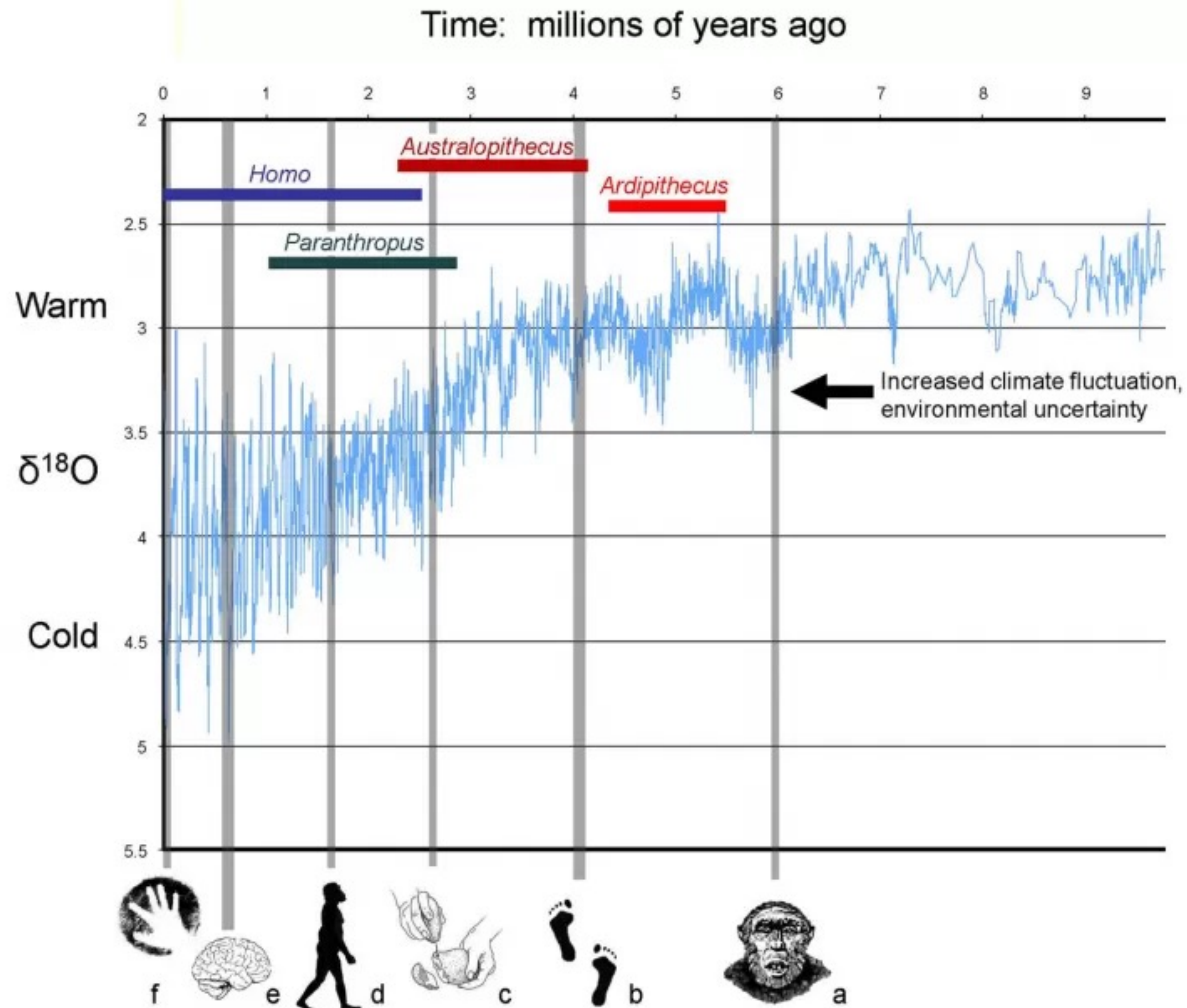
# THE BLIND AND THE ELEPHANT

OUR OWN EXPERIENCE IS RARELY THE WHOLE TRUTH

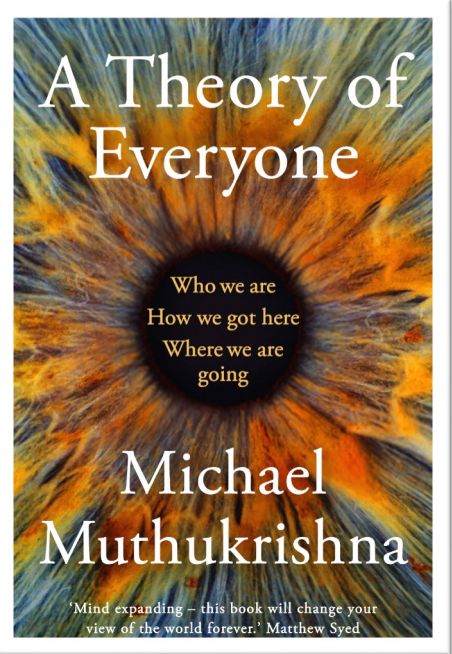


sketchplanations





Oxygen isotope curve ( $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ ) for the past 10 million years (data from Zachos et al., 2001)  
 (© Copyright Smithsonian Institution)

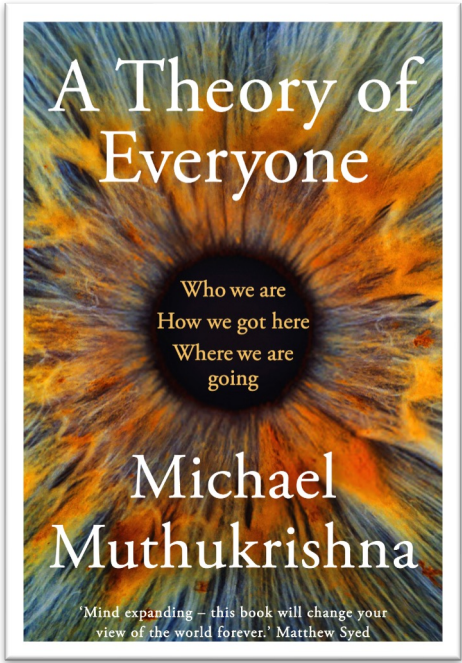
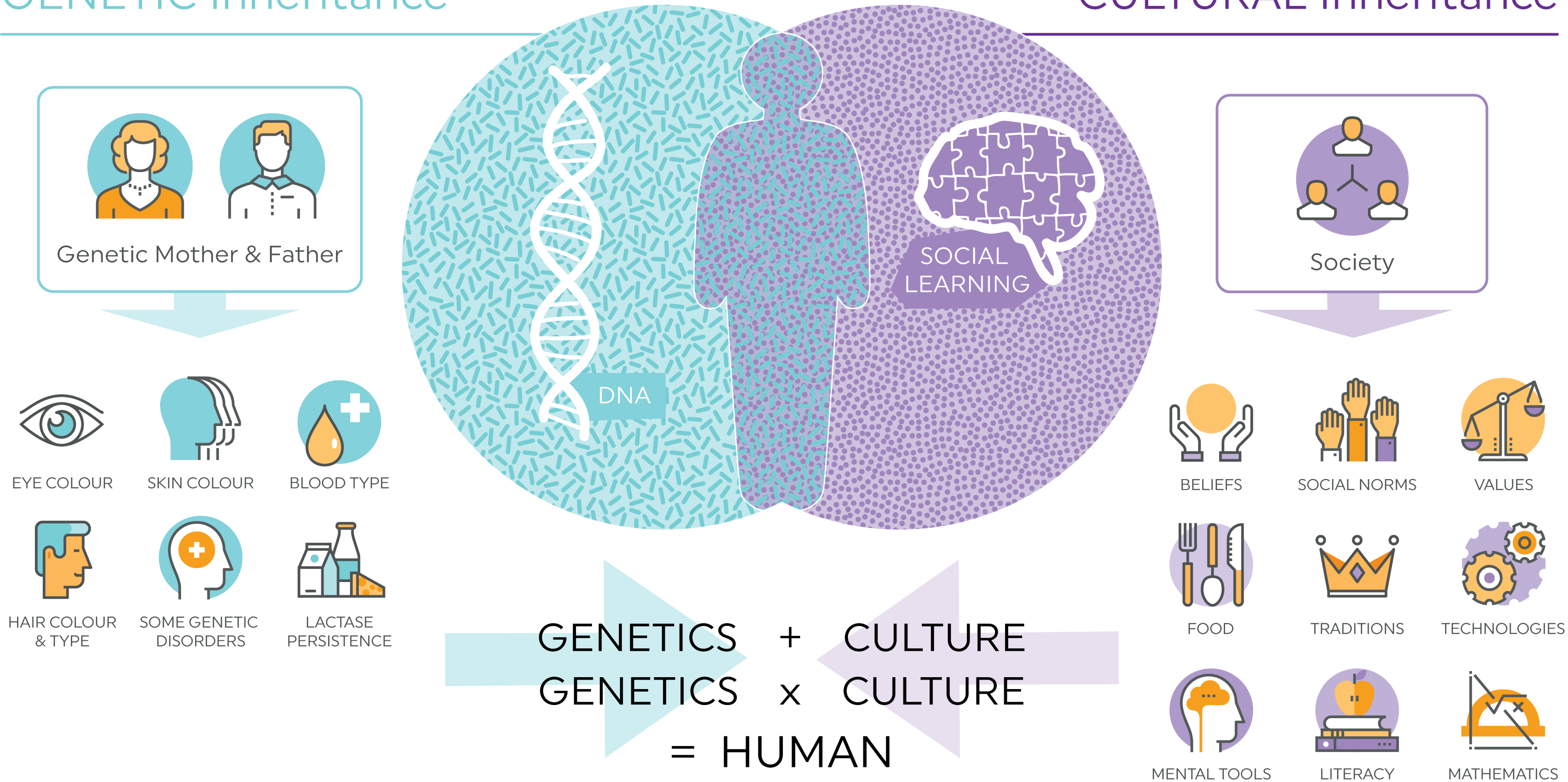




# DUAL INHERITANCE THEORY

## GENETIC Inheritance

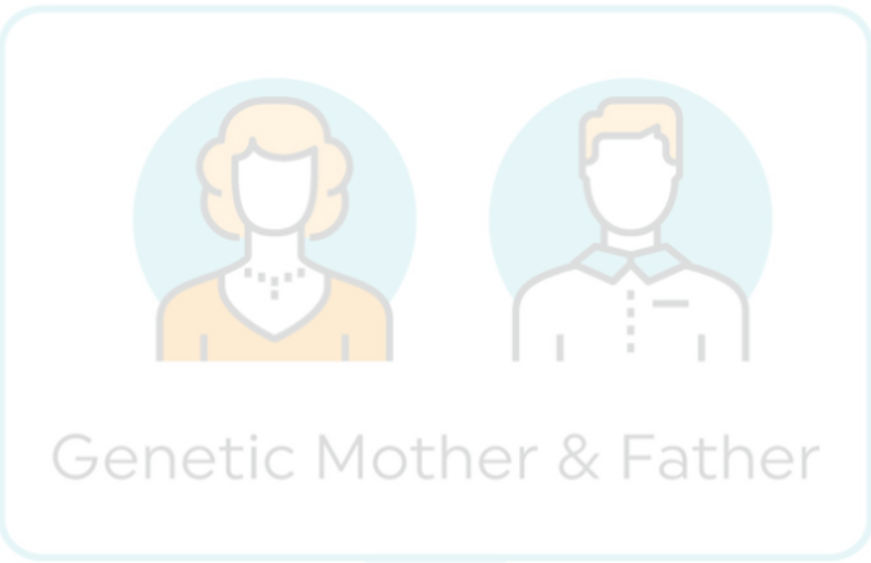
## CULTURAL Inheritance





# DUAL INHERITANCE THEORY

## GENETIC Inheritance



- EYE COLOUR
- SKIN COLOUR
- BLOOD TYPE
- HAIR COLOUR & TYPE
- SOME GENETIC DISORDERS
- LACTASE PERSISTENCE

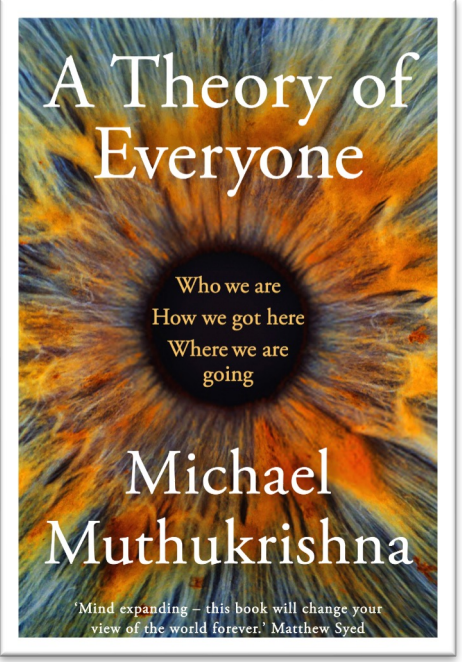


## CULTURAL Inheritance



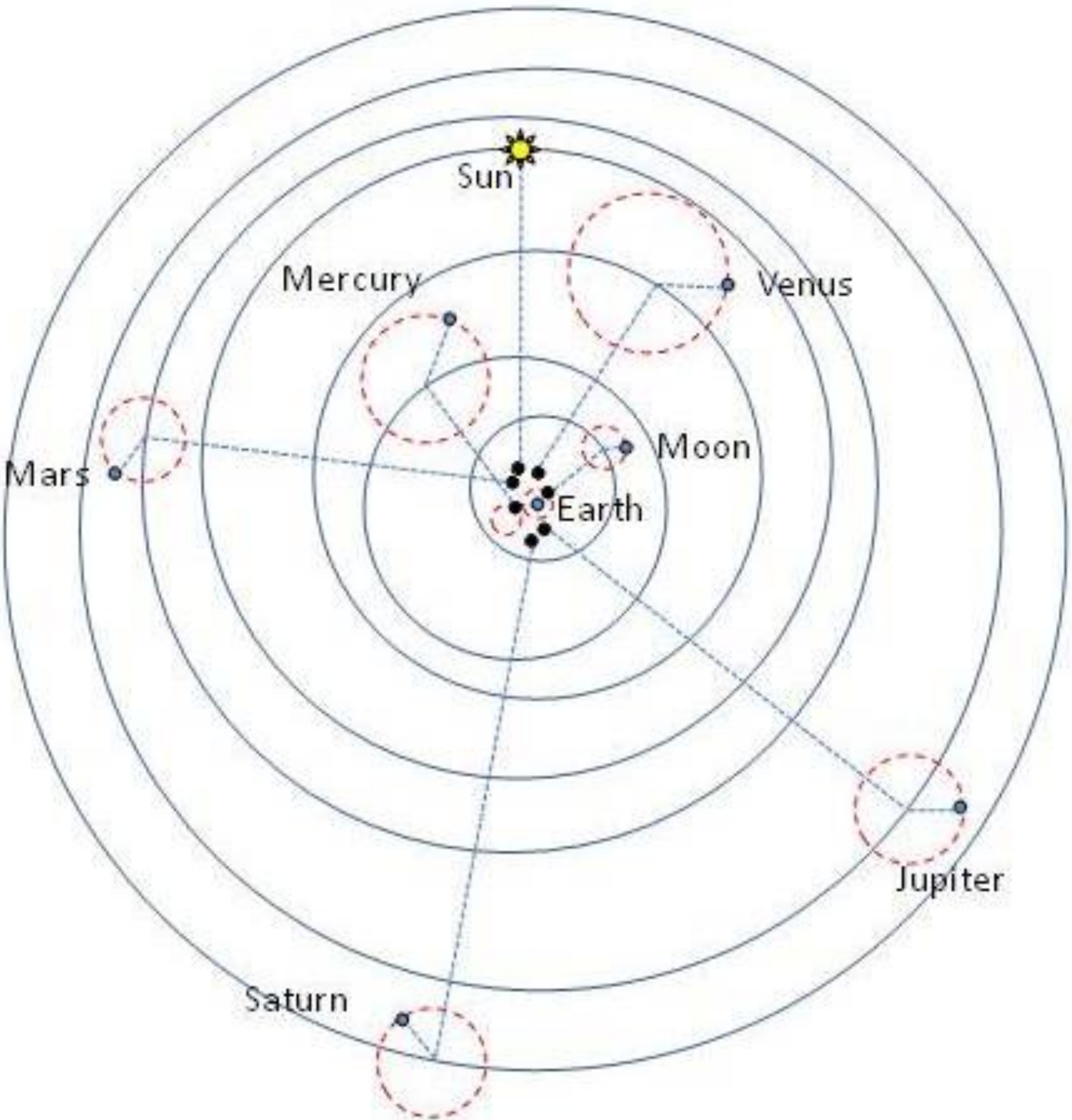
- BELIEFS
- SOCIAL NORMS
- VALUES
- FOOD
- TRADITIONS
- TECHNOLOGIES
- MENTAL TOOLS
- LITERACY
- MATHEMATICS

CREATED BY VERONIKA PLANT (2019)  
in collaboration with MICHAEL MUTHUKRISHNA

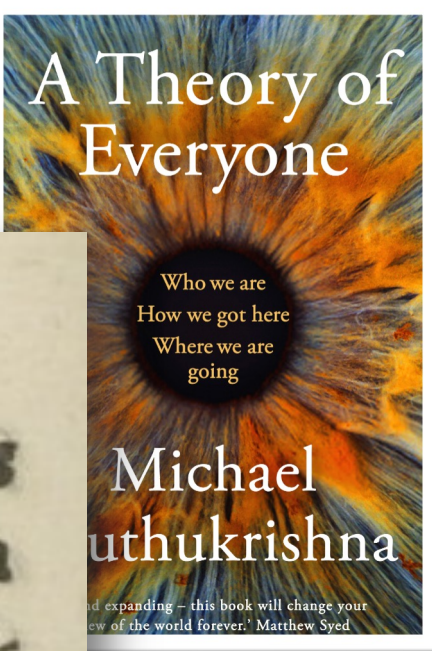
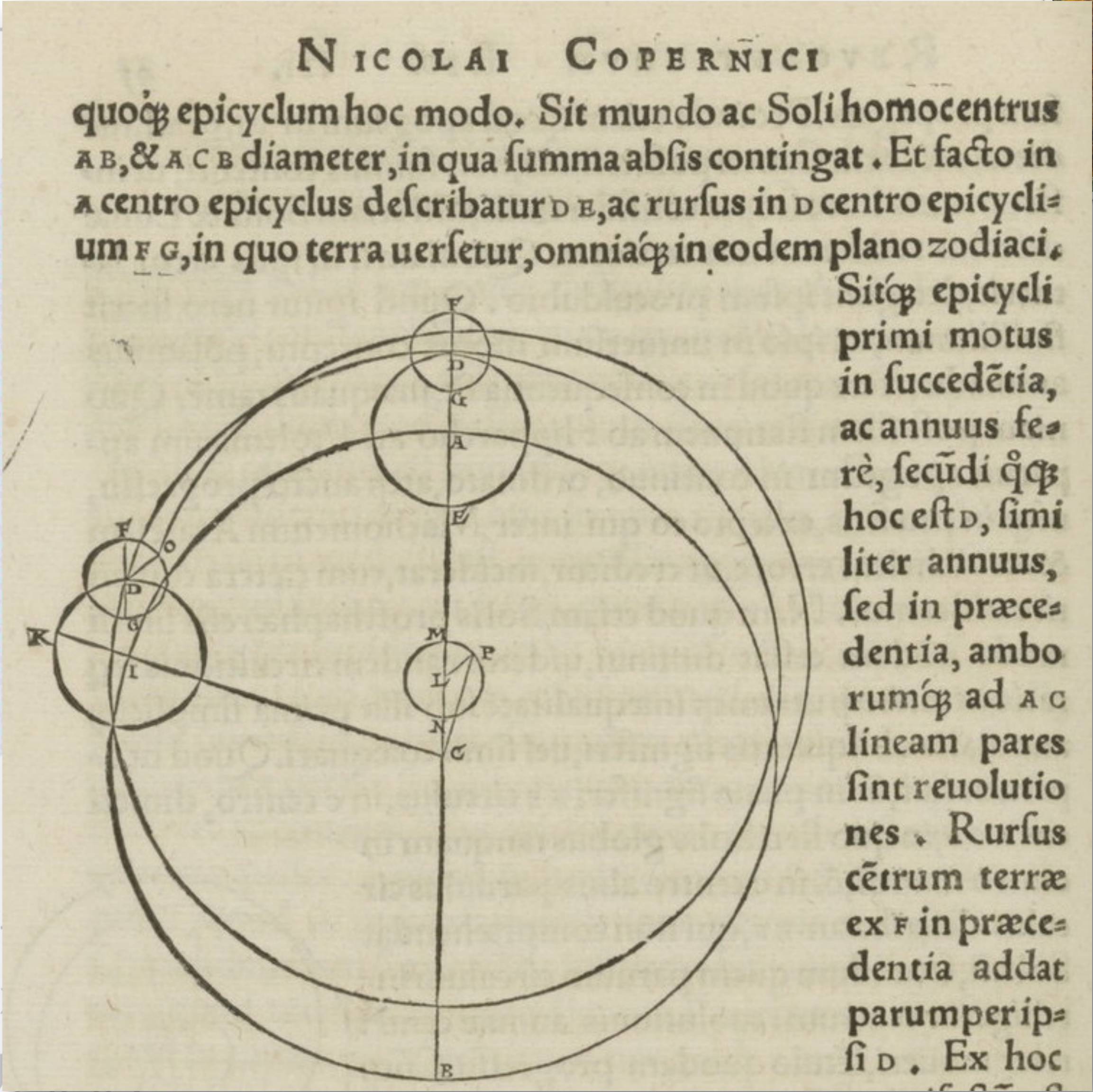




# DUAL INHERITANCE THEORY



Ptolemaic Model

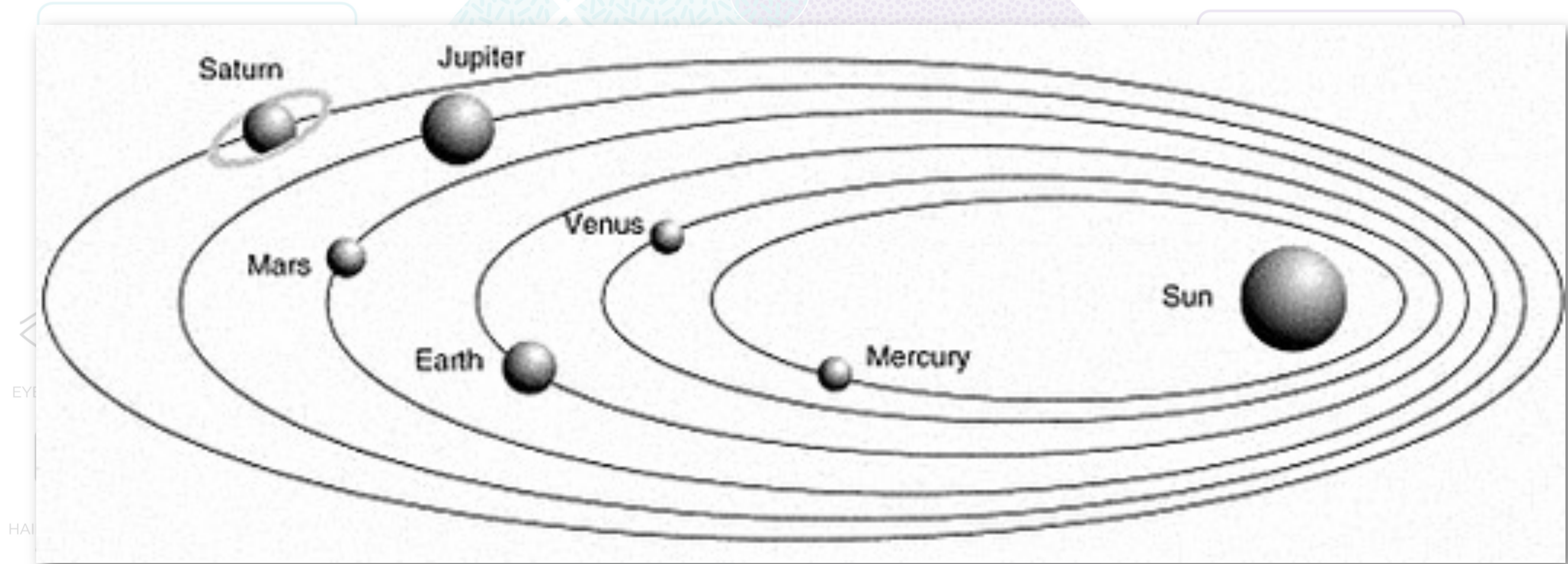
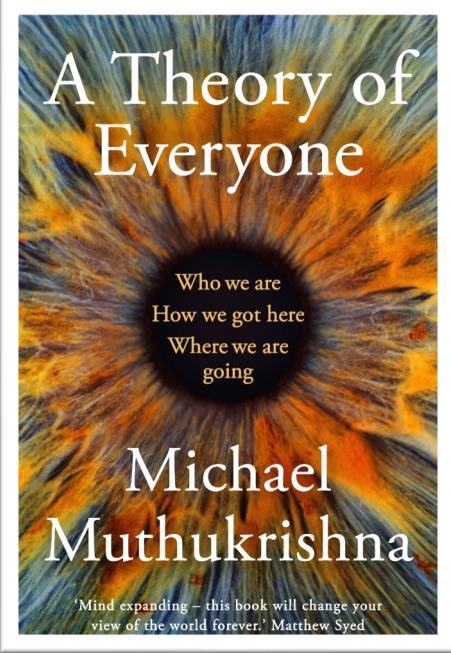




# DUAL INHERITANCE THEORY

GENETIC Inheritance

CULTURAL Inheritance



GENETICS x CULTURE  
= HUMAN



MENTAL TOOLS

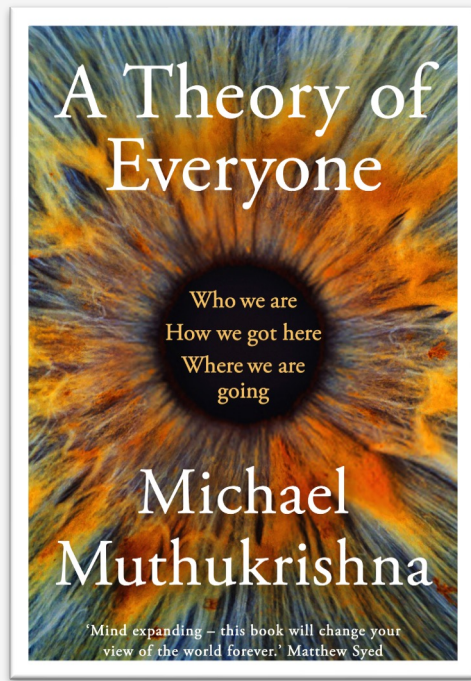


LITERACY



MATHEMATICS





# A cultura é o software de nossas mentes

Uchiyama, R., Spicer, R., & Muthukrishna, M. (2022). Cultural evolution of genetic heritability. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*

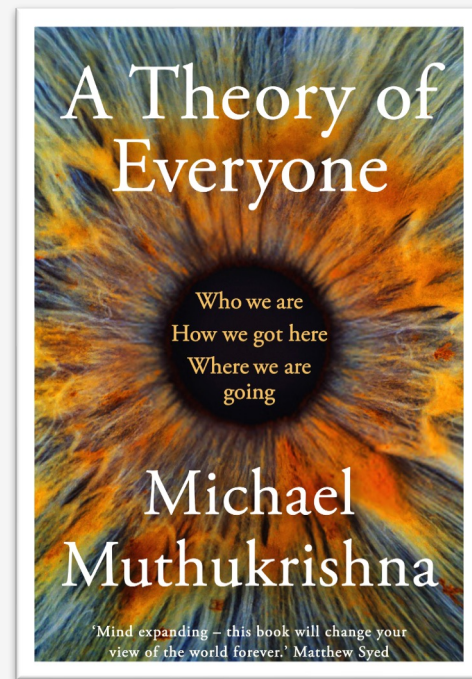
Henrich, J., & Muthukrishna, M. (2023) What makes us smart? *Topics in Cognitive Science*

Davis, H. E., Henrich, J. & Muthukrishna, M. (2023). Formal education increases IQ Test Performance: Causal Evidence from a Natural Experiment in Namibia and Angola. *Working Paper*

Muthukrishna, M. (2023) A Theory of Everyone: The New Science of Who We Are, How We Got Here, and Where We're Going, *MIT Press & Basic Books*

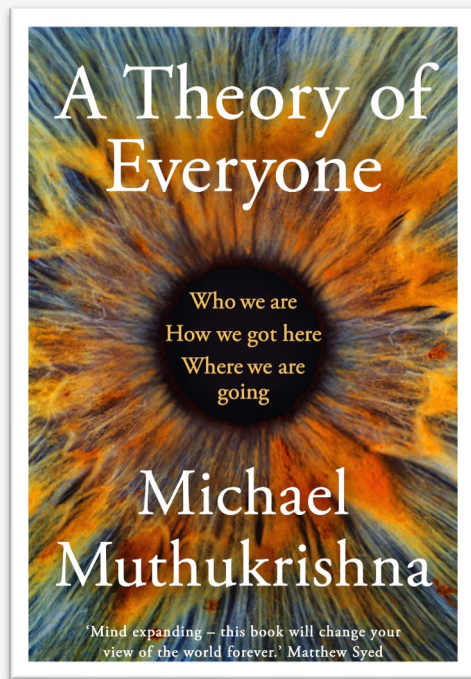


# Software de nossas mentes



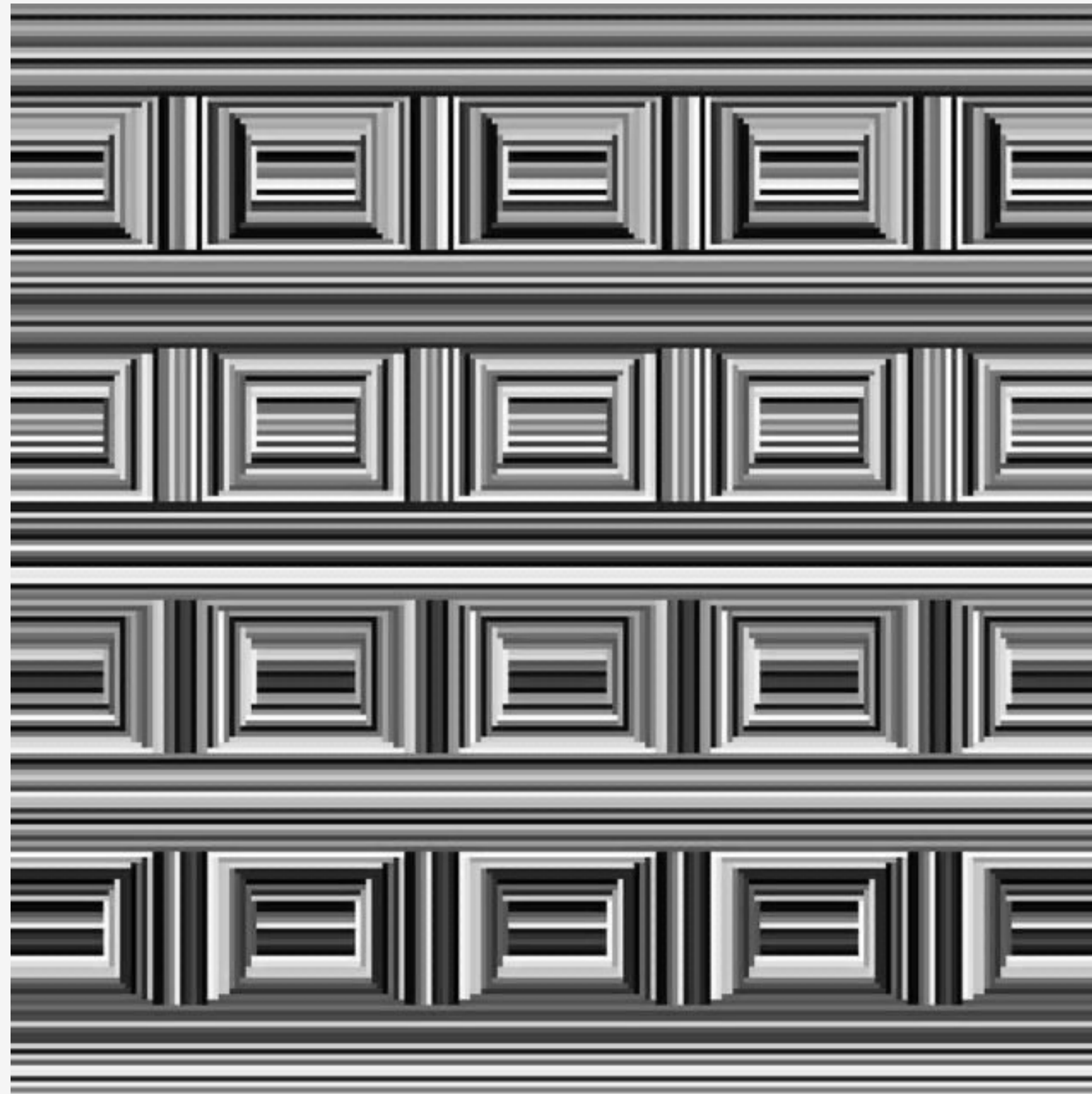
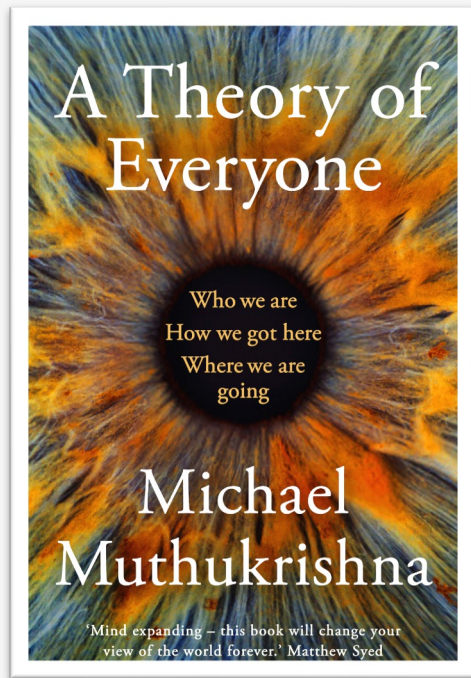


# Software de nossas mentes



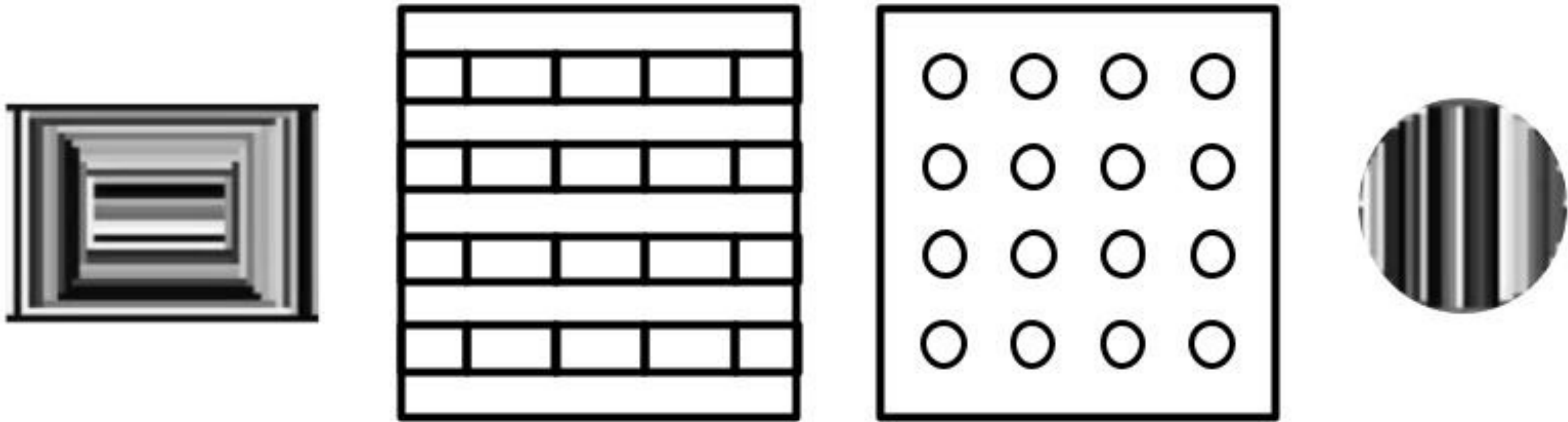
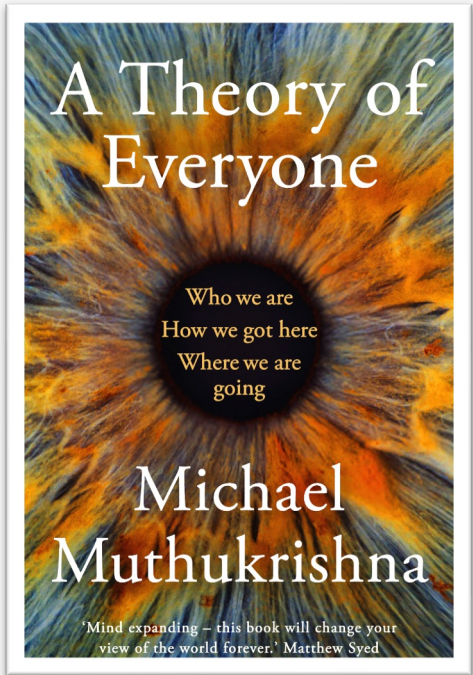


# Software de nossas mentes



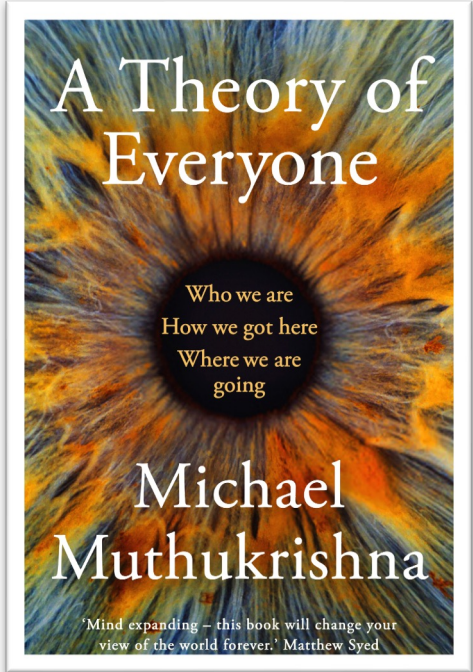


# Software de nossas mentes



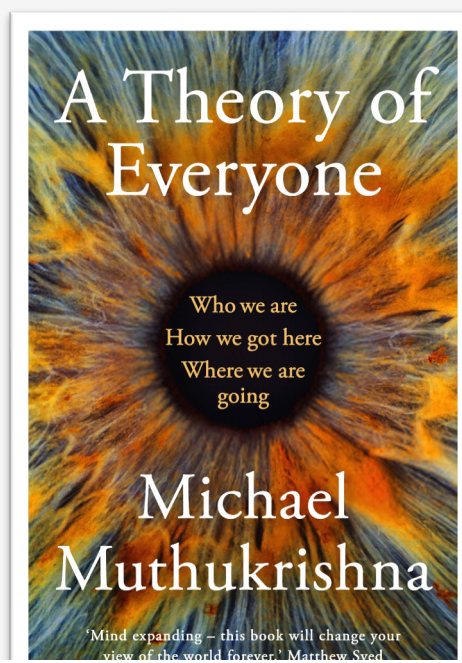


# Software de nossas mentes





# Software de nossas mentes



**A.** **UK/US**  
Many 90° angles



**B.** **Town**  
Limited 90° angles

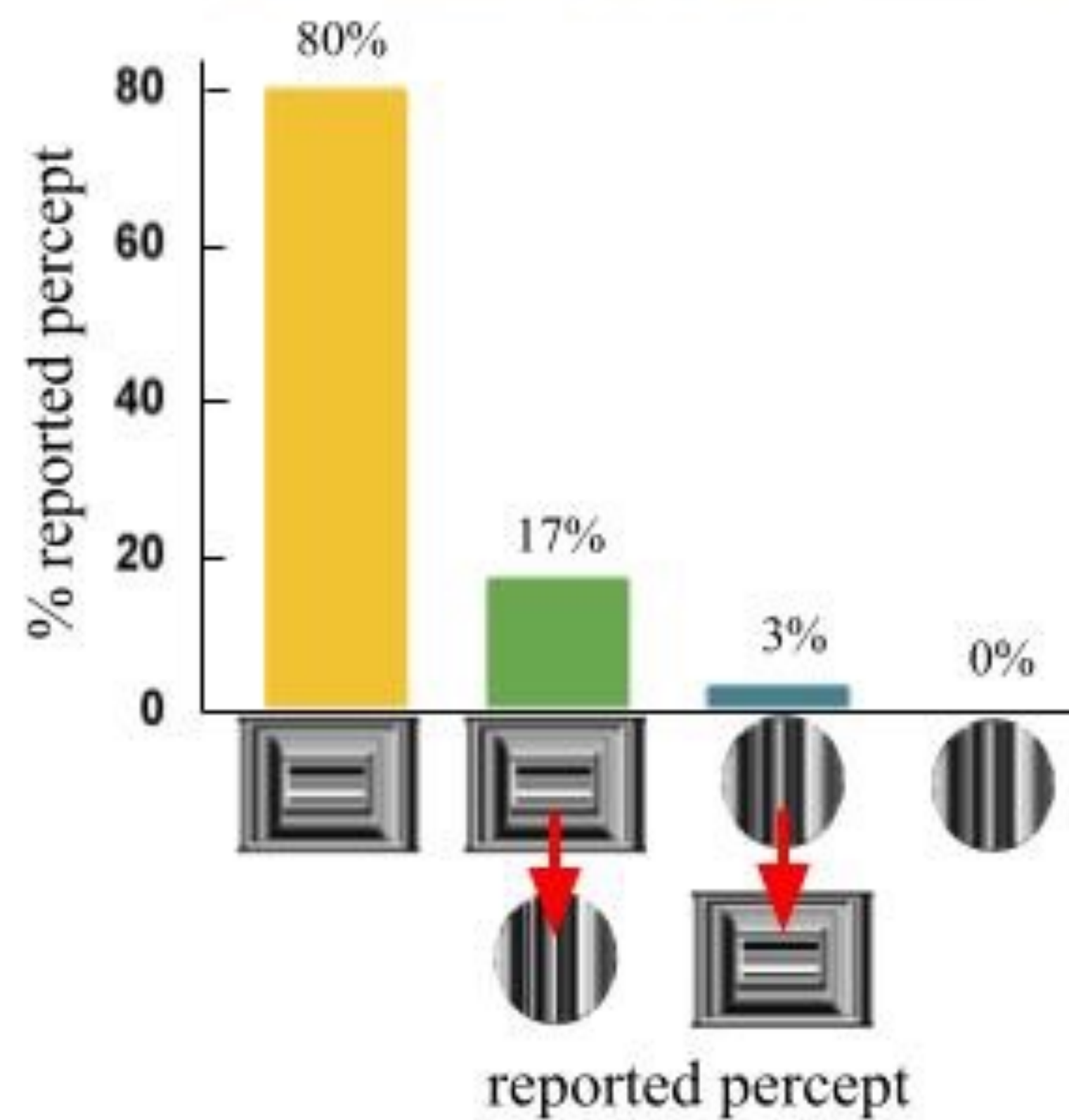


**C.** **Village**  
Minimal 90° angles

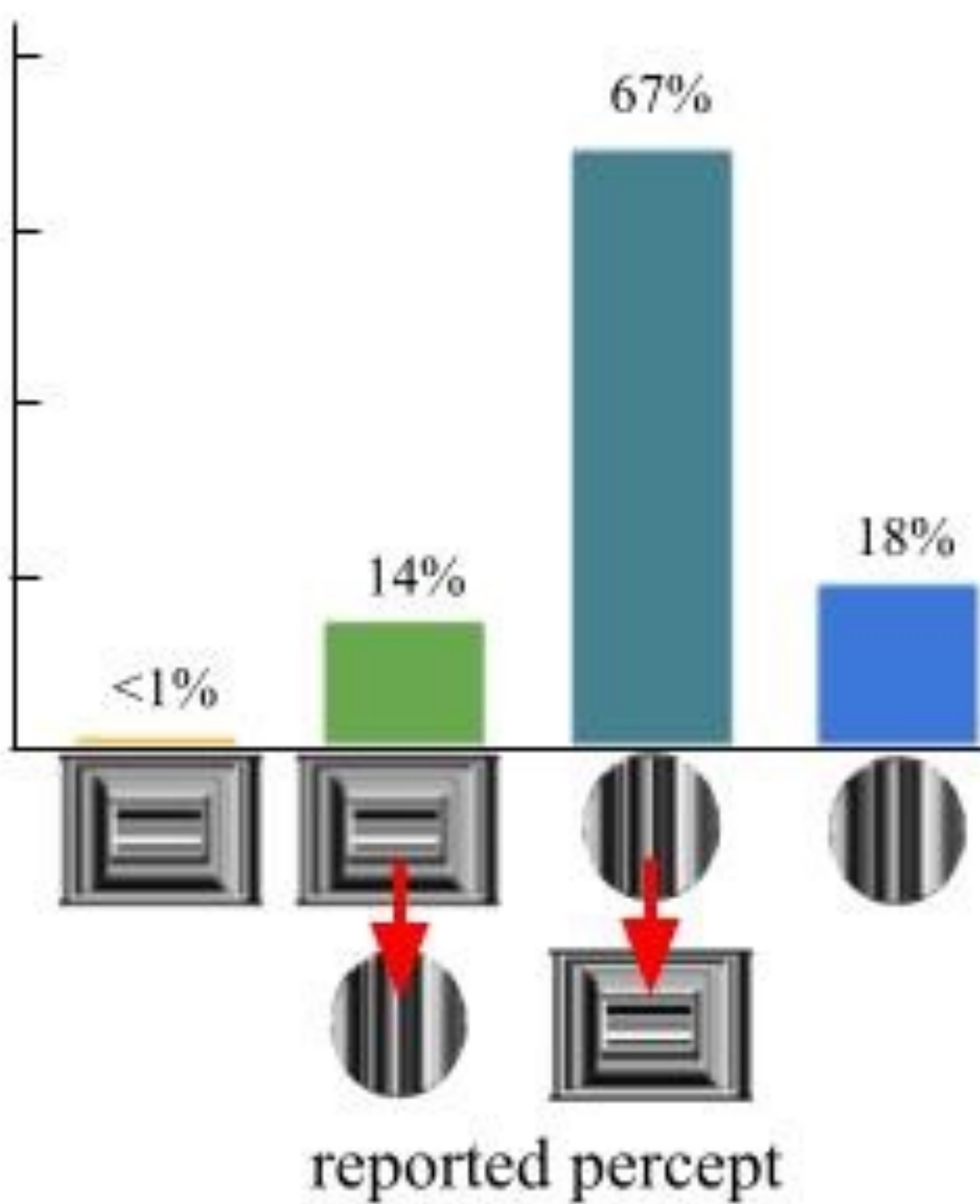




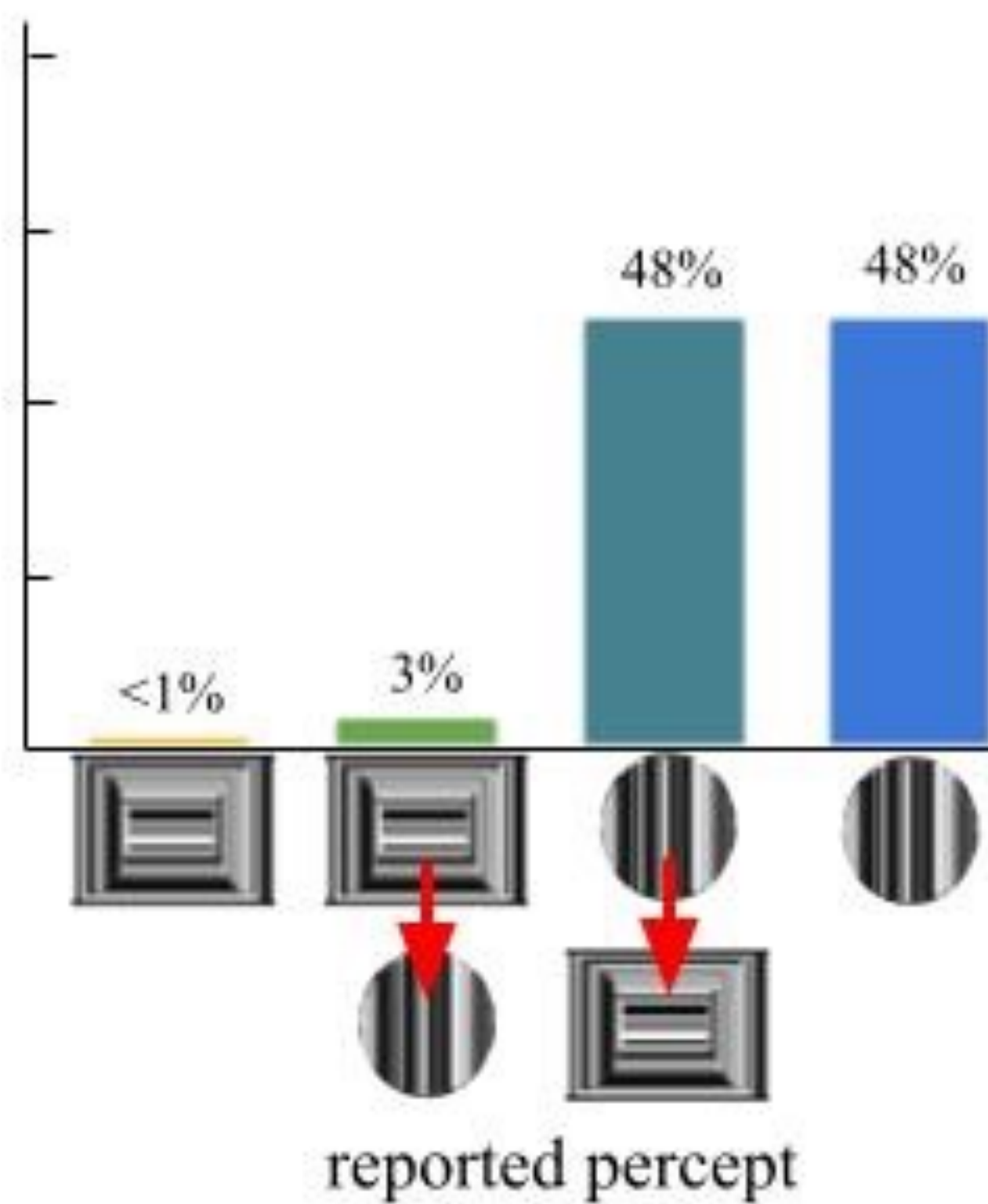
**A.** UK/US  
Many 90° angles



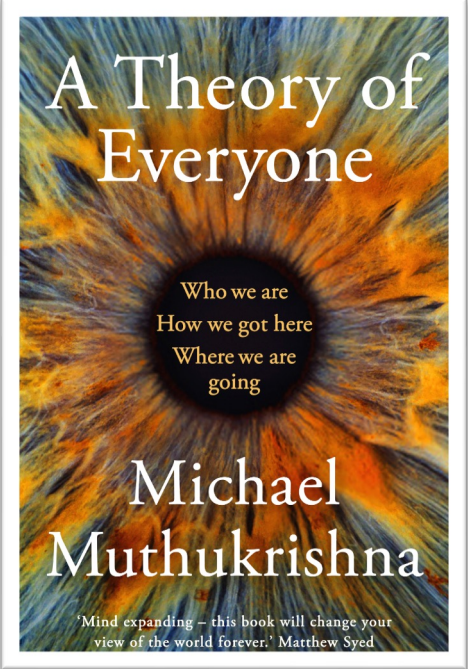
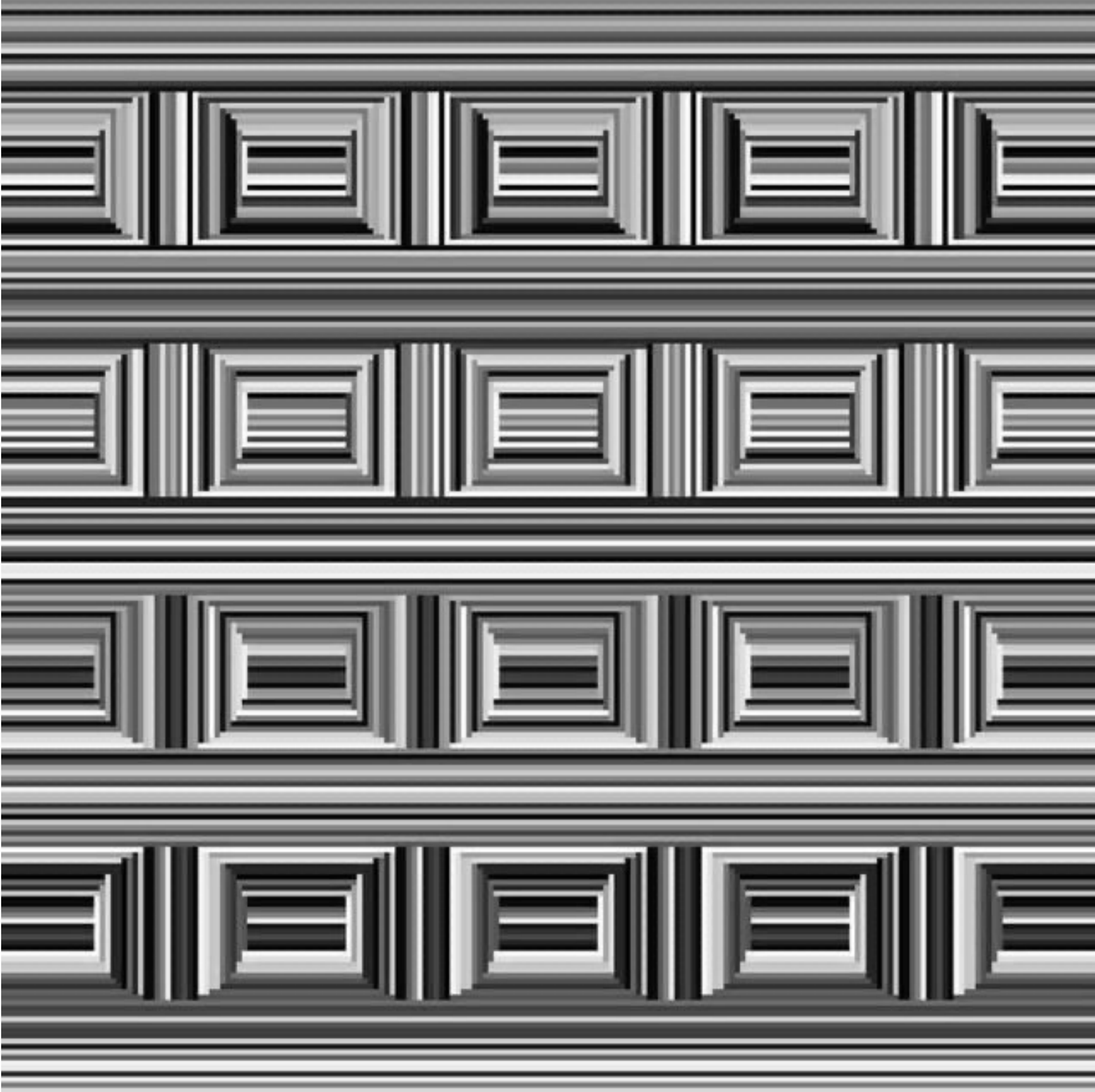
**B.** Town  
Limited 90° angles



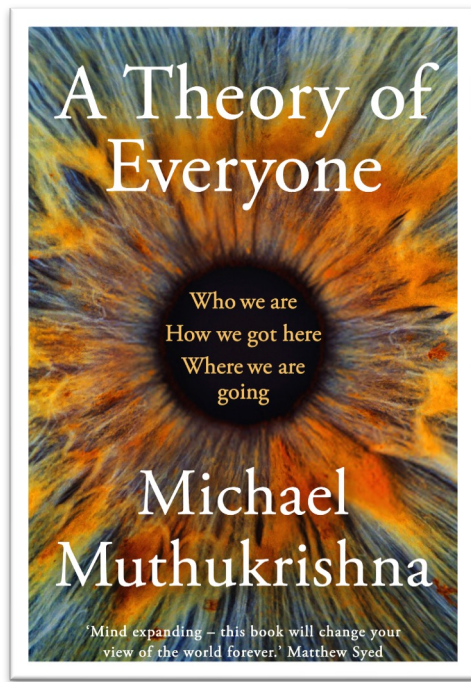
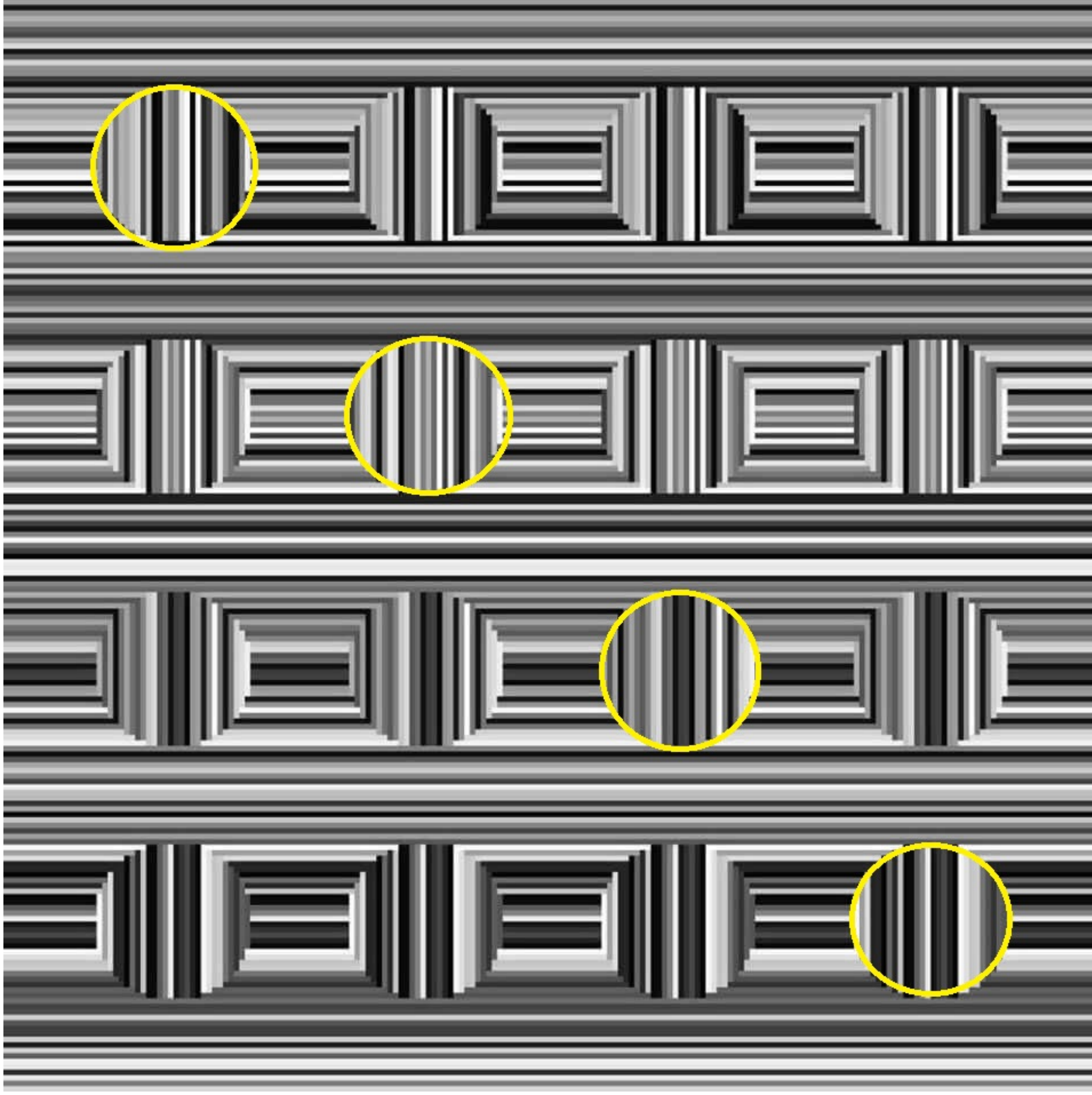
**C.** Village  
Minimal 90° angles



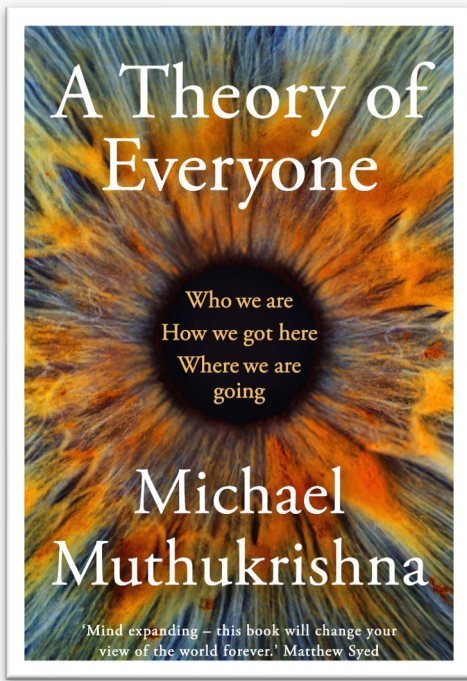












# Nossa Inteligência está em nosso Software

Uchiyama, R., Spicer, R., & Muthukrishna, M. (2022). Cultural evolution of genetic heritability. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*

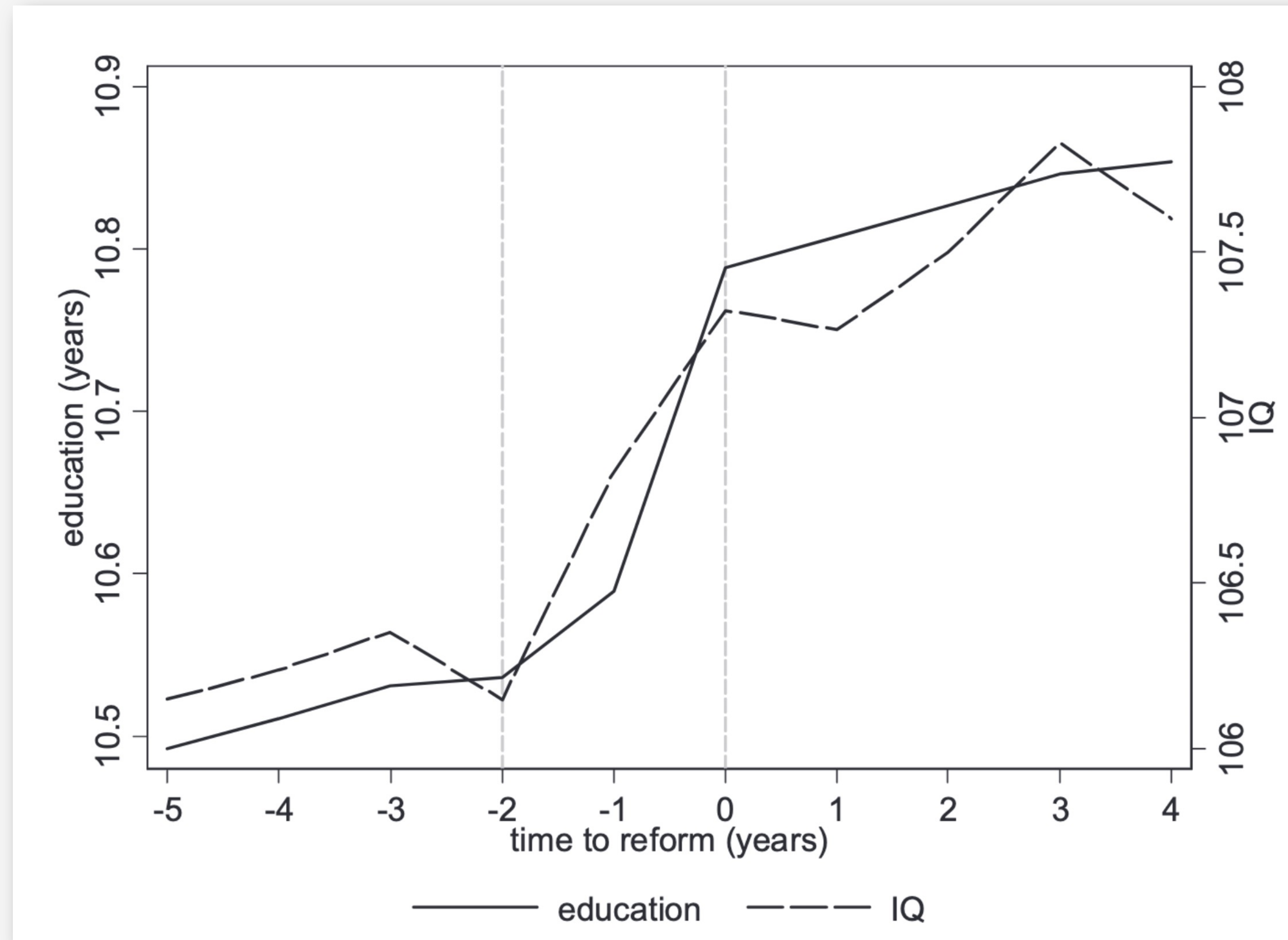
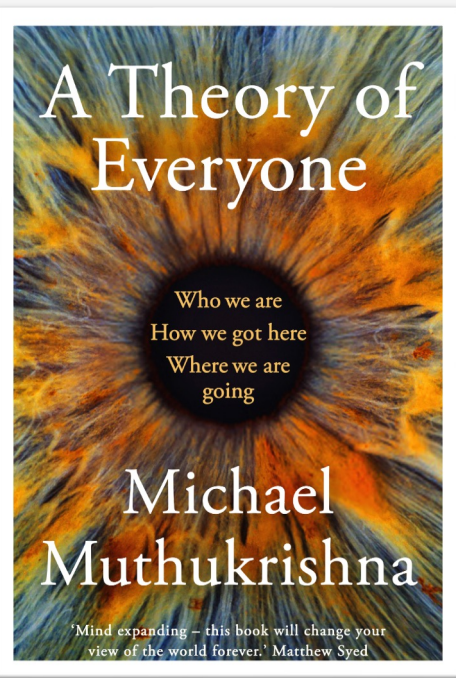
Henrich, J., & Muthukrishna, M. (2023) What makes us smart? *Topics in Cognitive Science*

Davis, H. E., Henrich, J. & Muthukrishna, M. (2023). Formal education increases IQ Test Performance: Causal Evidence from a Natural Experiment in Namibia and Angola. *Working Paper*

Muthukrishna, M. (2023) *A Theory of Everyone: The New Science of Who We Are, How We Got Here, and Where We're Going*, MIT Press & Basic Books



# O que nos torna inteligentes?





# O que nos torna inteligentes?

## How Much Does Education Improve Intelligence? A Meta-Analysis



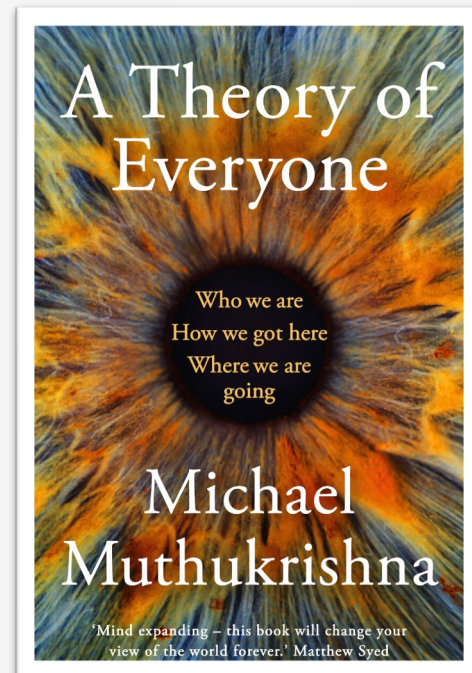
**Stuart J. Ritchie<sup>1,2</sup> and Elliot M. Tucker-Drob<sup>3,4</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Department of Psychology, The University of Edinburgh; <sup>2</sup>Centre for Cognitive Ageing and Cognitive Epidemiology, The University of Edinburgh; <sup>3</sup>Department of Psychology, University of Texas at Austin; and <sup>4</sup>Population Research Center, University of Texas at Austin

### Abstract

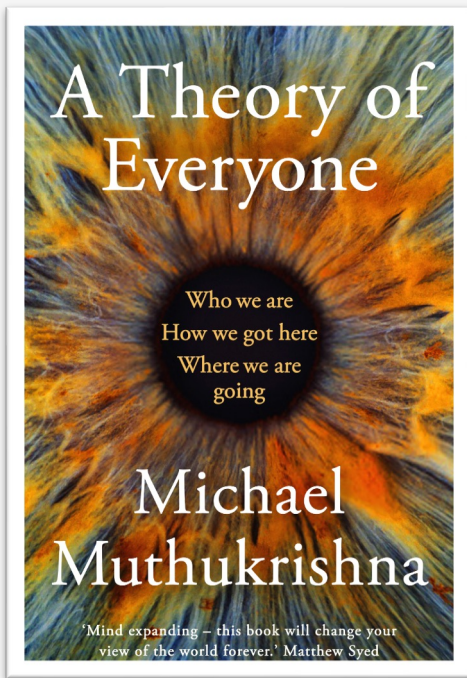
Intelligence test scores and educational duration are positively correlated. This correlation could be interpreted in two ways: Students with greater propensity for intelligence go on to complete more education, or a longer education increases intelligence. We meta-analyzed three categories of quasiexperimental studies of educational effects on intelligence: those estimating education-intelligence associations after controlling for earlier intelligence, those using compulsory schooling policy changes as instrumental variables, and those using regression-discontinuity designs on school-entry age cutoffs. Across 142 effect sizes from 42 data sets involving over 600,000 participants, we found consistent evidence for beneficial effects of education on cognitive abilities of approximately 1 to 5 IQ points for an additional year of education. Moderator analyses indicated that the effects persisted across the life span and were present on all broad categories of cognitive ability studied. Education appears to be the most consistent, robust, and durable method yet to be identified for raising intelligence.

Psychological Science  
2018, Vol. 29(8) 1358–1369  
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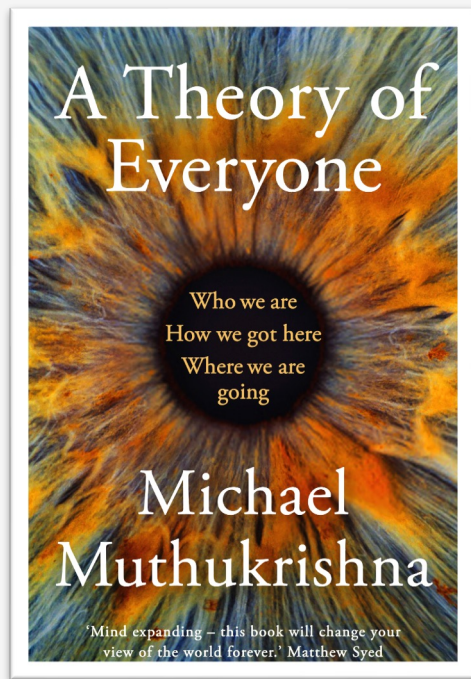
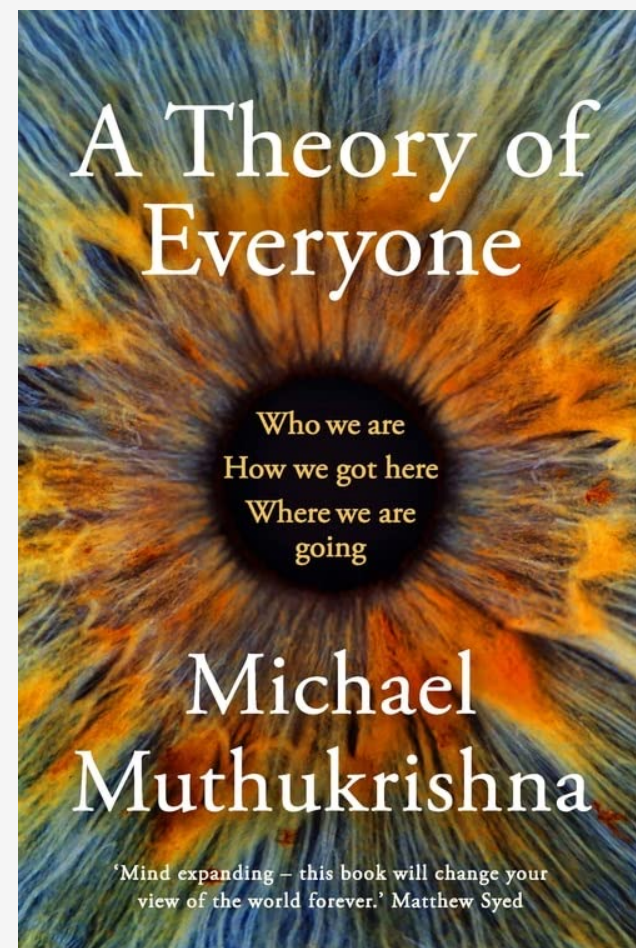
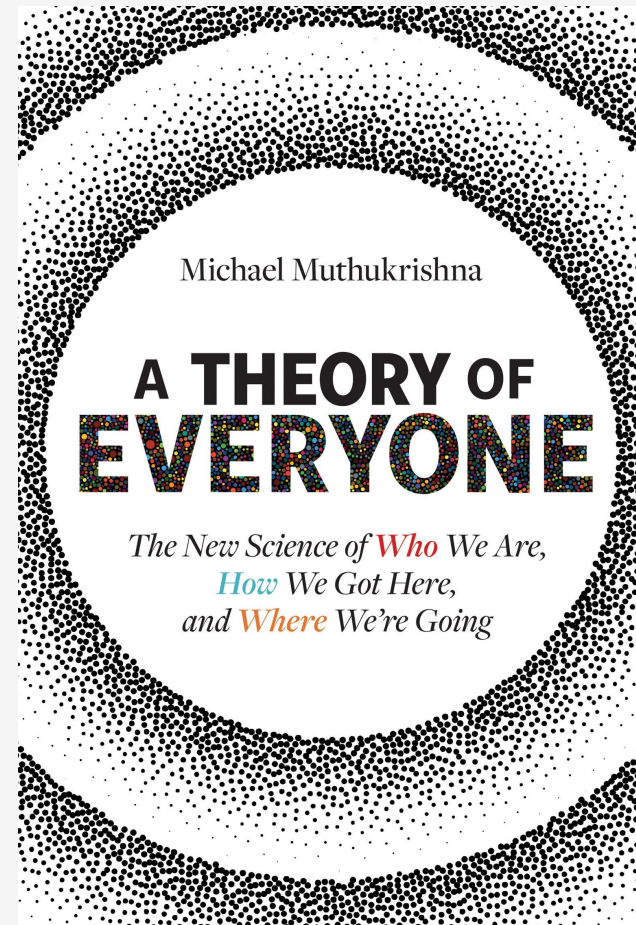
# O que nos torna inteligentes?



present on all broad categories of cognitive ability studied. Education appears to be the most consistent, robust, and durable method yet to be identified for raising intelligence.



# Software de nossas mentes



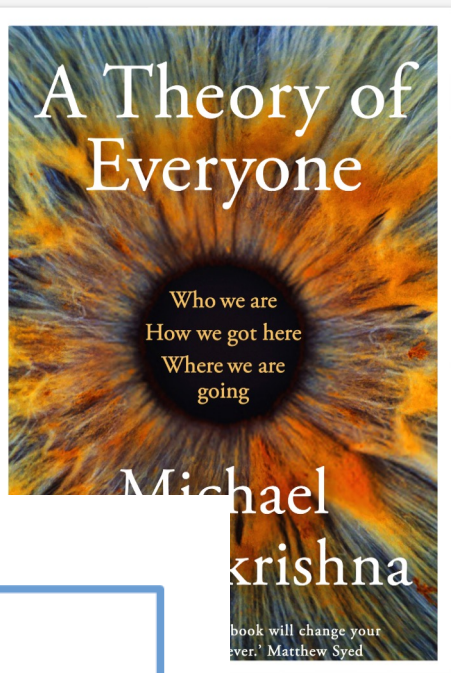
1, 2, 3, many...

I, II, III, IV, V, VI...



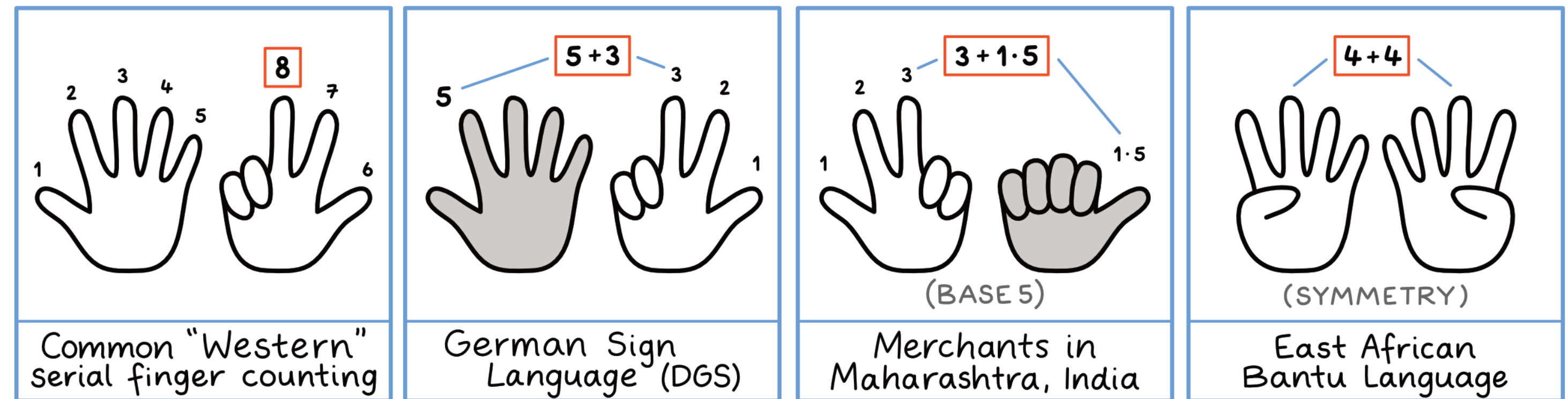


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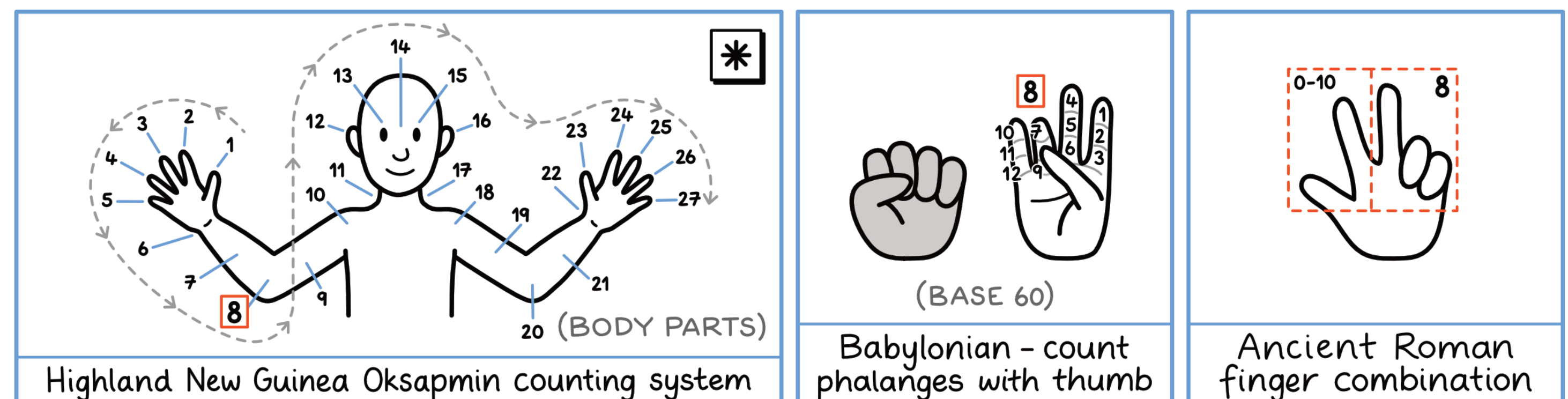


1, 2, 3, many...

I, II, III, IV, V, VI...



~~~~~ CULTURAL & HISTORICAL VARIABILITY  
DIFFERENT WAYS to SHOW the NUMBER [8] ~~~~~ in FINGER COUNTING

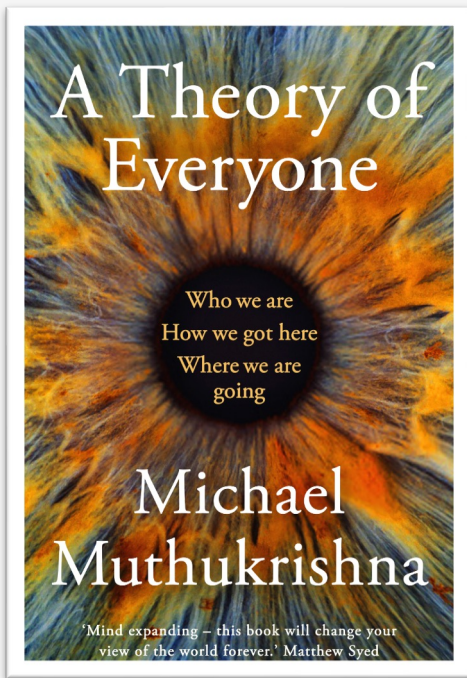


© 2023 VERONIKA PLANT in collaboration with MICHAEL MUTHUKRISHNA

based on BENDER & BELLER (2011) \*based on MARMASSE et al. (2000)



# Software de nossas mentes



1, 2, 3, many...

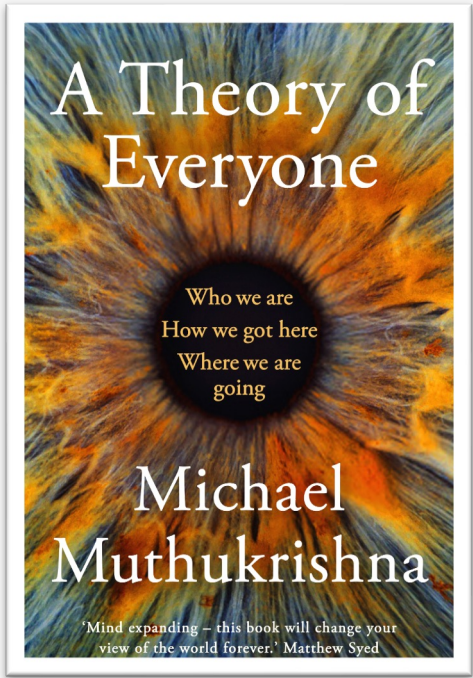
I, II, III, IV, V, VI...

0?





# Software de nossas mentes



1, 2, 3, many...

0?

I, II, III, IV, V, VI...

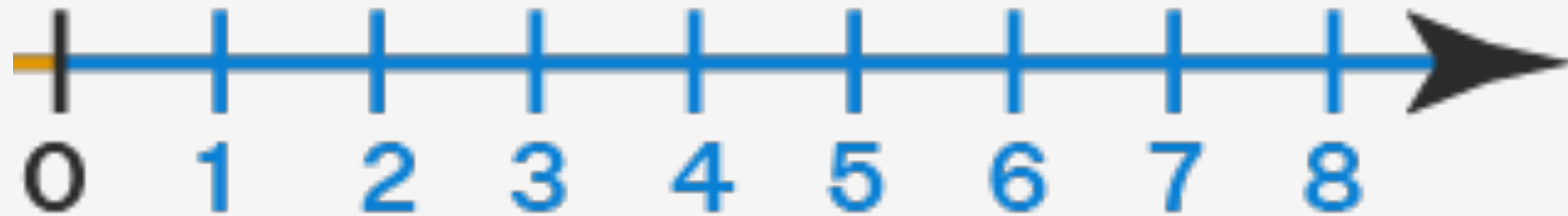
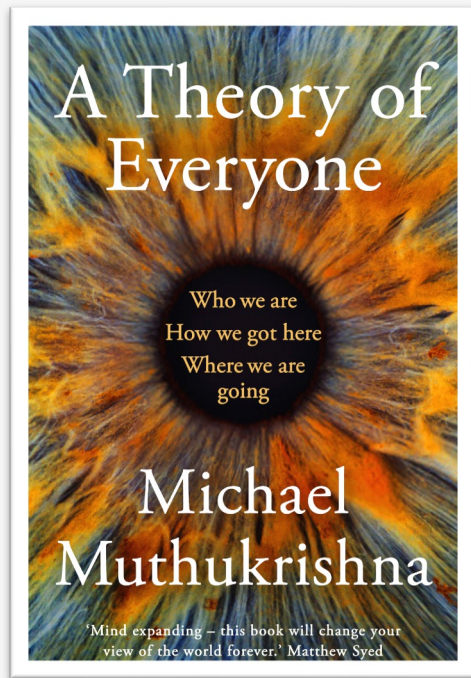


“Negative numbers **darken the very whole doctrines of the equations...**”

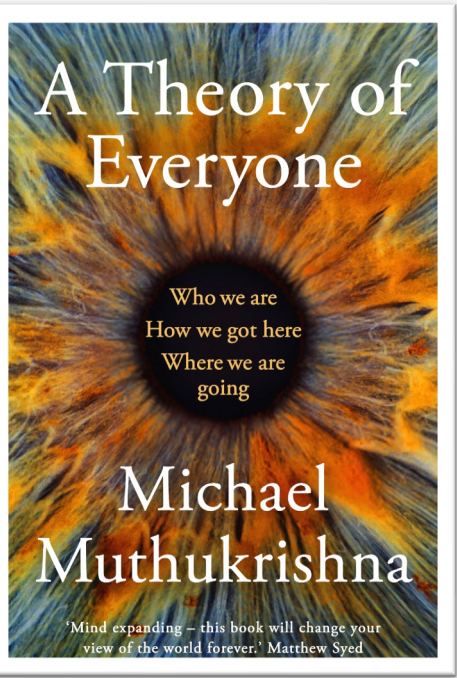
– FRANCIS MASÈRES, 1759



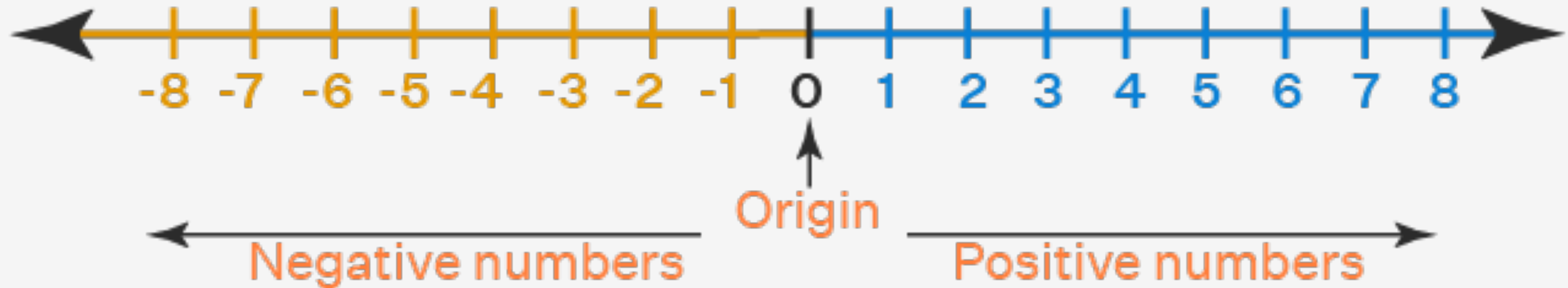
# Software de nossas mentes





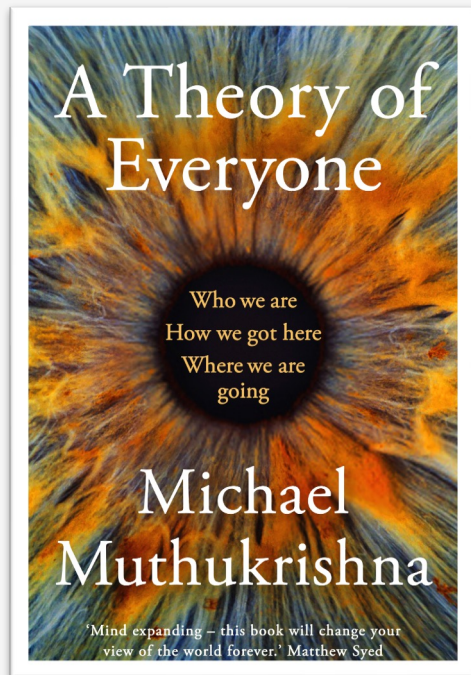


# Software de nossas mentes





# Software de nossas mentes

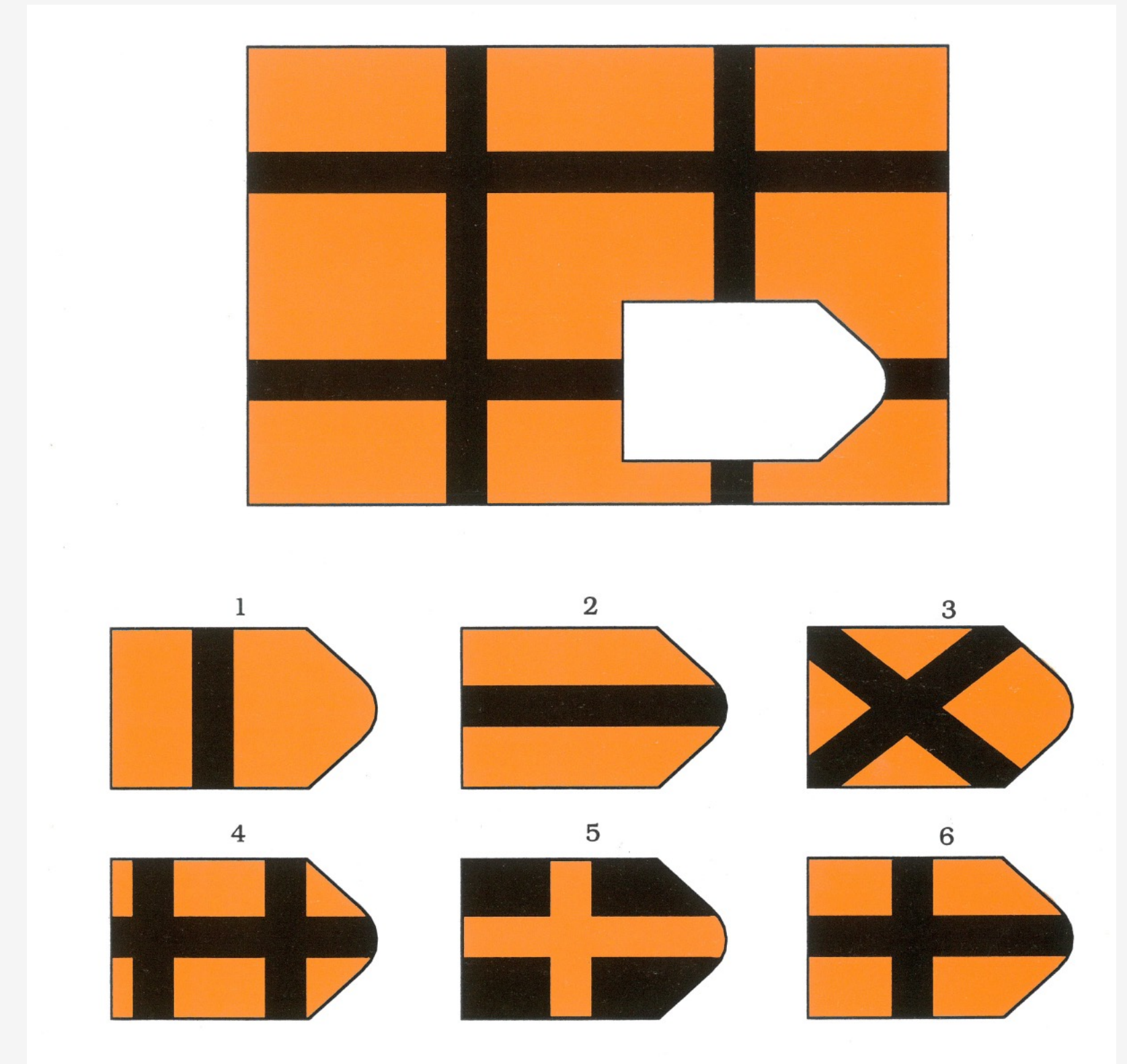


129 participants

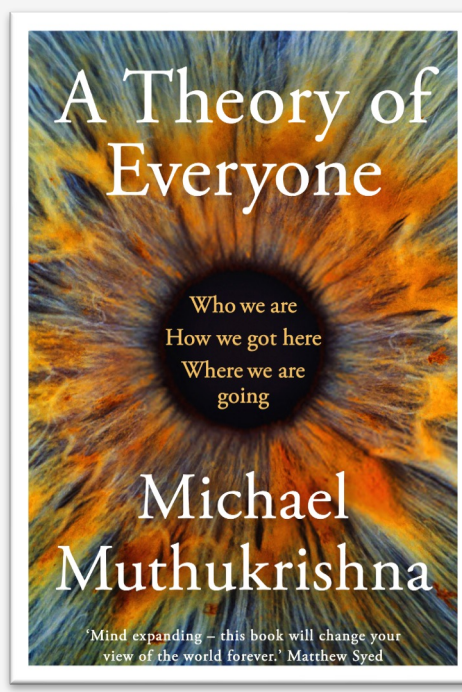
Table 1: Descriptive statistics on key variables

| Variable                    | No school |        |       | School |        |       | Test         |
|-----------------------------|-----------|--------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------------|
|                             | N         | Mean   | SD    | N      | Mean   | SD    |              |
| Age (years)                 | 41        | 12.44  | 3.89  | 88     | 12.24  | 2.78  | F= 0.112     |
| Sex (0 = girls)             | 41        |        |       | 88     |        |       | F= 0.021     |
| Height (cm)                 | 38        | 130.59 | 23.64 | 81     | 136.52 | 16.81 | F= 2.45      |
| Weight (kg)                 | 39        | 40.07  | 32.23 | 81     | 31.93  | 10.65 | F= 4.238**   |
| BMI                         | 38        | 22.50  | 18.37 | 81     | 16.64  | 1.90  | F= 8.144***  |
| Siblings (total)            | 19        | 6.84   | 3.18  | 86     | 6.14   | 2.36  | F= 1.205     |
| School (grade)              | 5         | 1.20   | 2.68  | 23     | 3.74   | 2.26  | F= 4.875**   |
| Reading ability (0-5)       | 40        | 0.19   | 0.70  | 83     | 2.20   | 2.04  | F= 36.77***  |
| Arithmthic (0-3)            | 40        | 0.05   | 0.32  | 83     | 1.14   | 1.07  | F= 39.267*** |
| Reading comprehension (0-4) | 40        | 0.00   | 0.00  | 83     | 0.88   | 1.46  | F= 14.454*** |
| RCPM (z score)              | 40        | 10.88  | 2.95  | 84     | 15.01  | 5.80  | F= 18.067*** |
| QT (z score)                | 26        | 11.35  | 6.53  | 63     | 21.89  | 8.28  | F= 33.478*** |

Statistical significance markers: \*  $p < 0.1$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

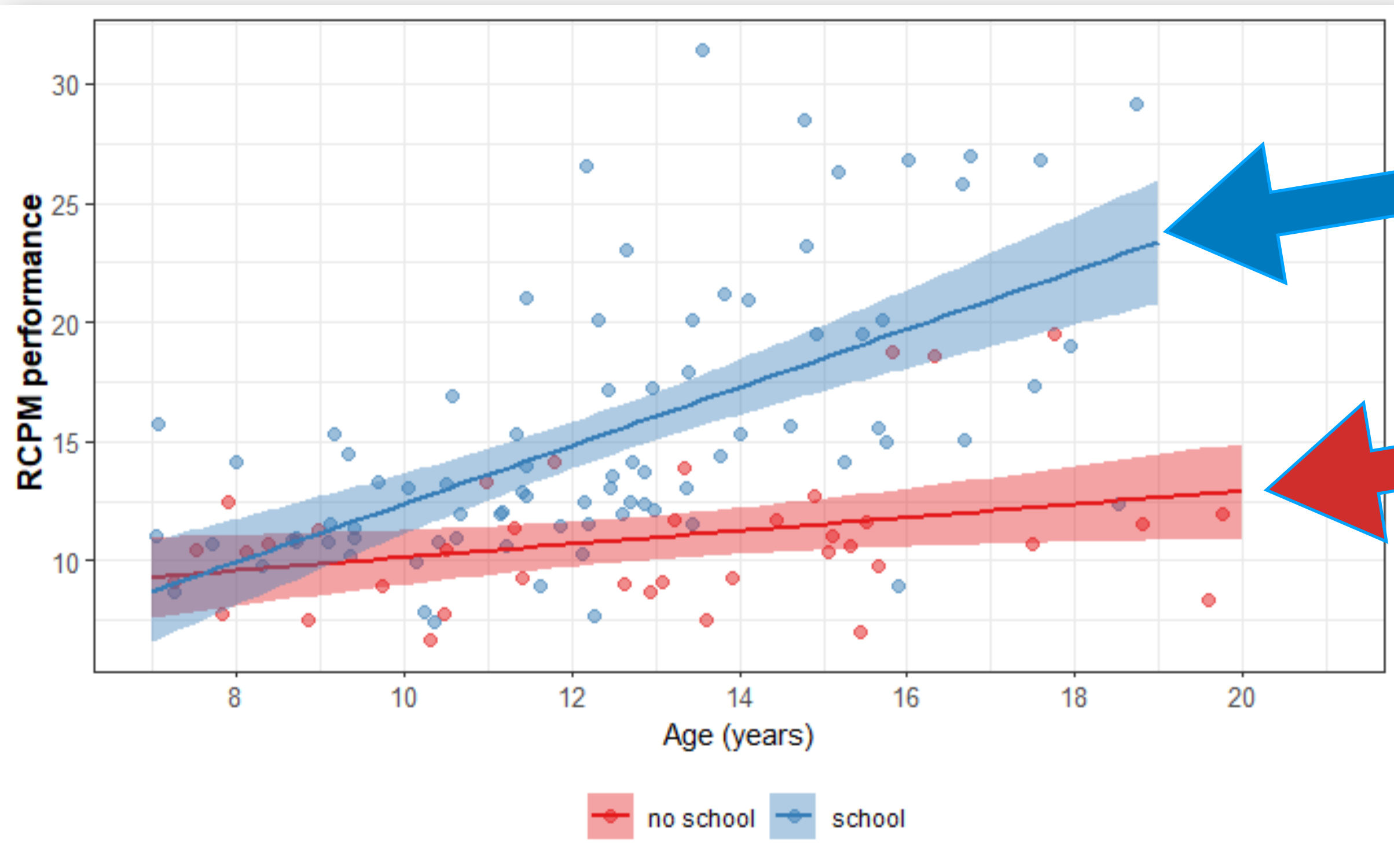






# Software de nossas mentes

129 participants



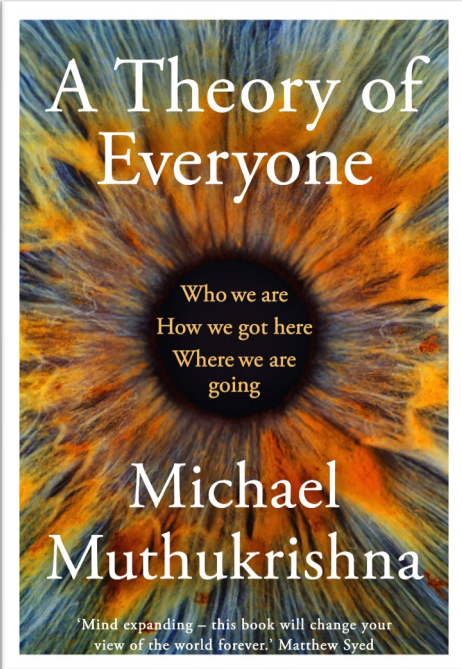
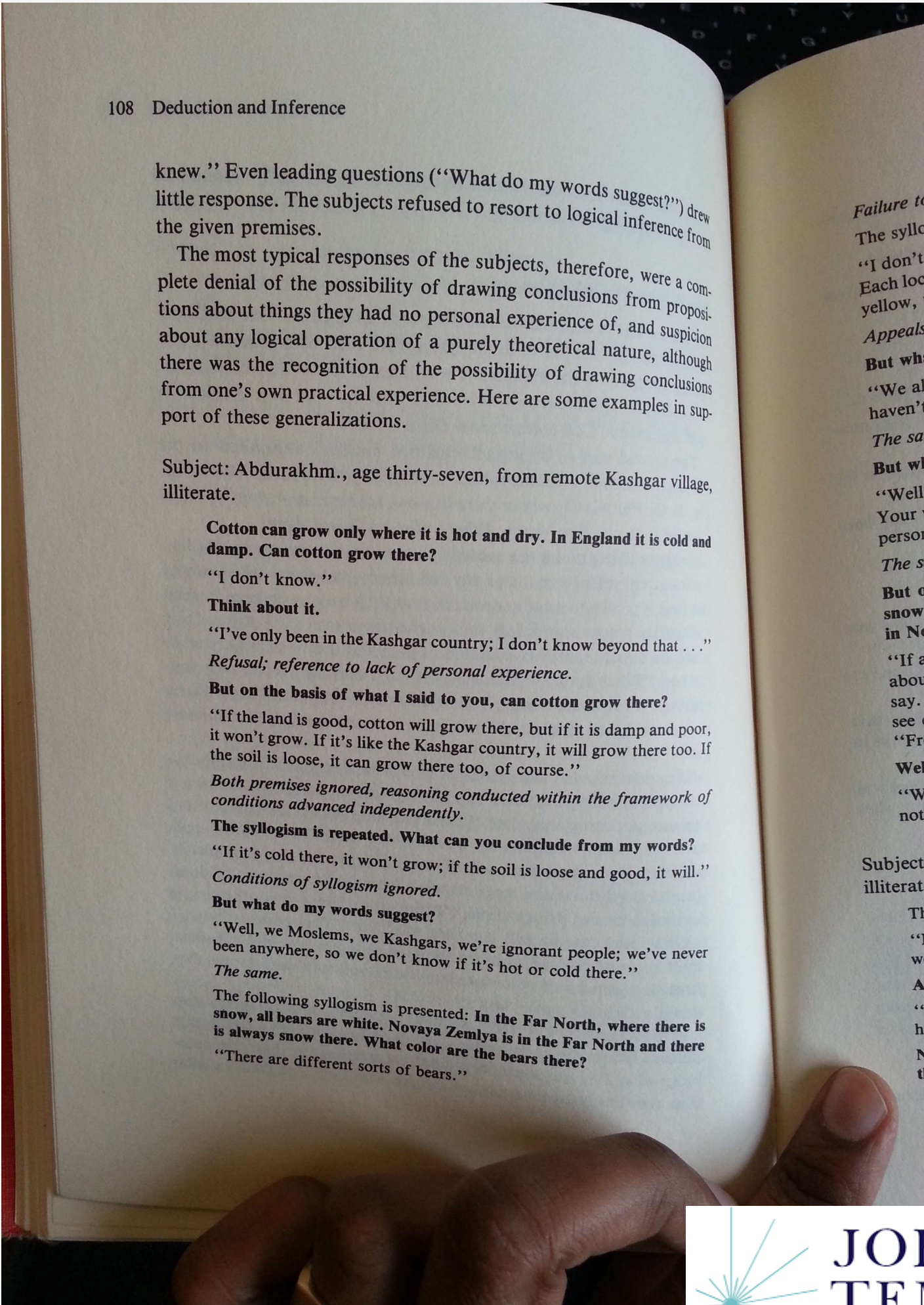
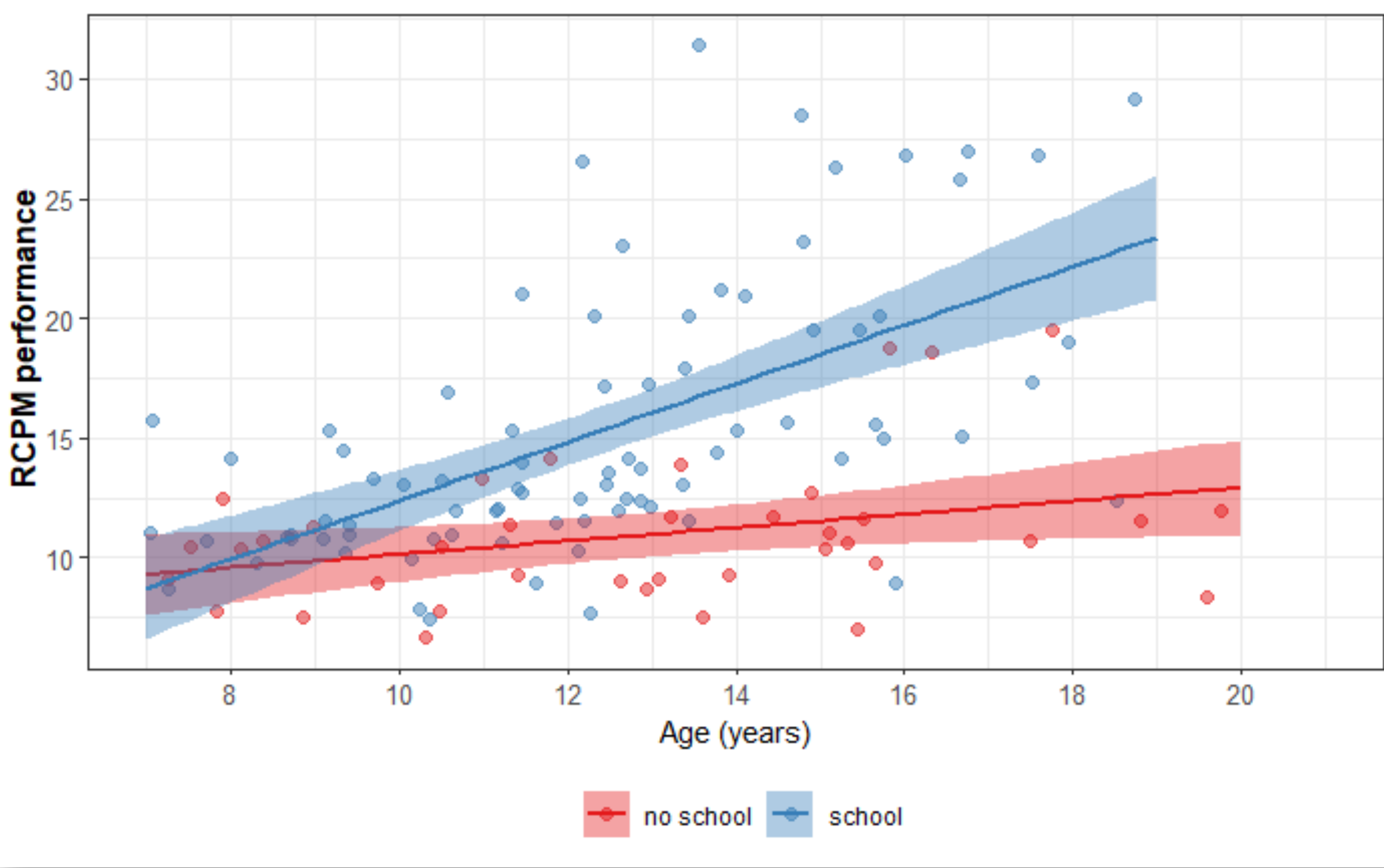
$b = 1.22, p < .001$

$b = 0.27, p = .03$



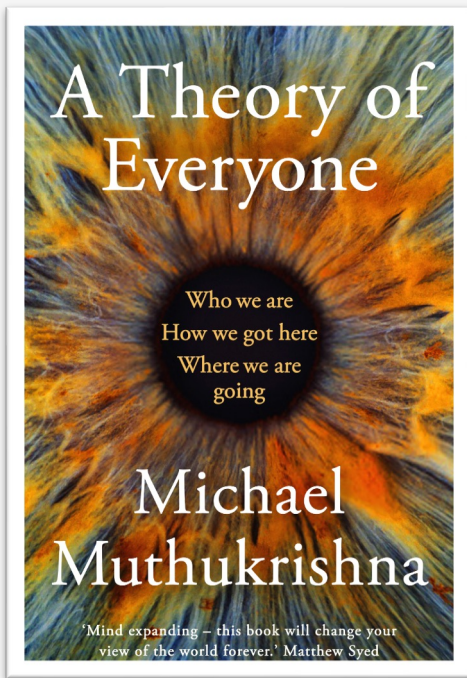
# Software de nossas mentes

129 participants

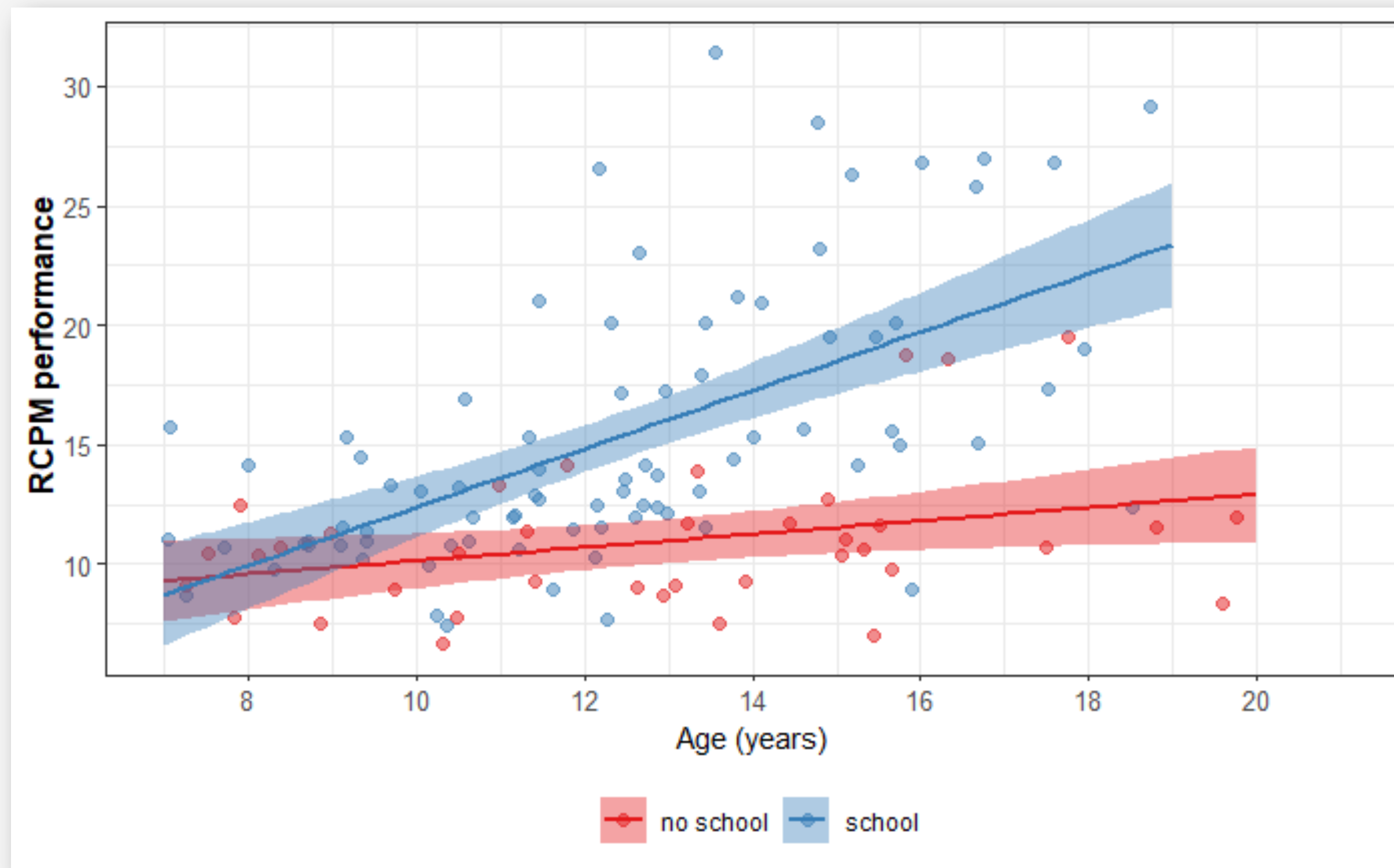




# Software de nossas mentes



129 participants



**Luria:** *“In the North, there is snow, and all bears are white. Novaya Zemlya is in the far North. What color are the bears there?”*

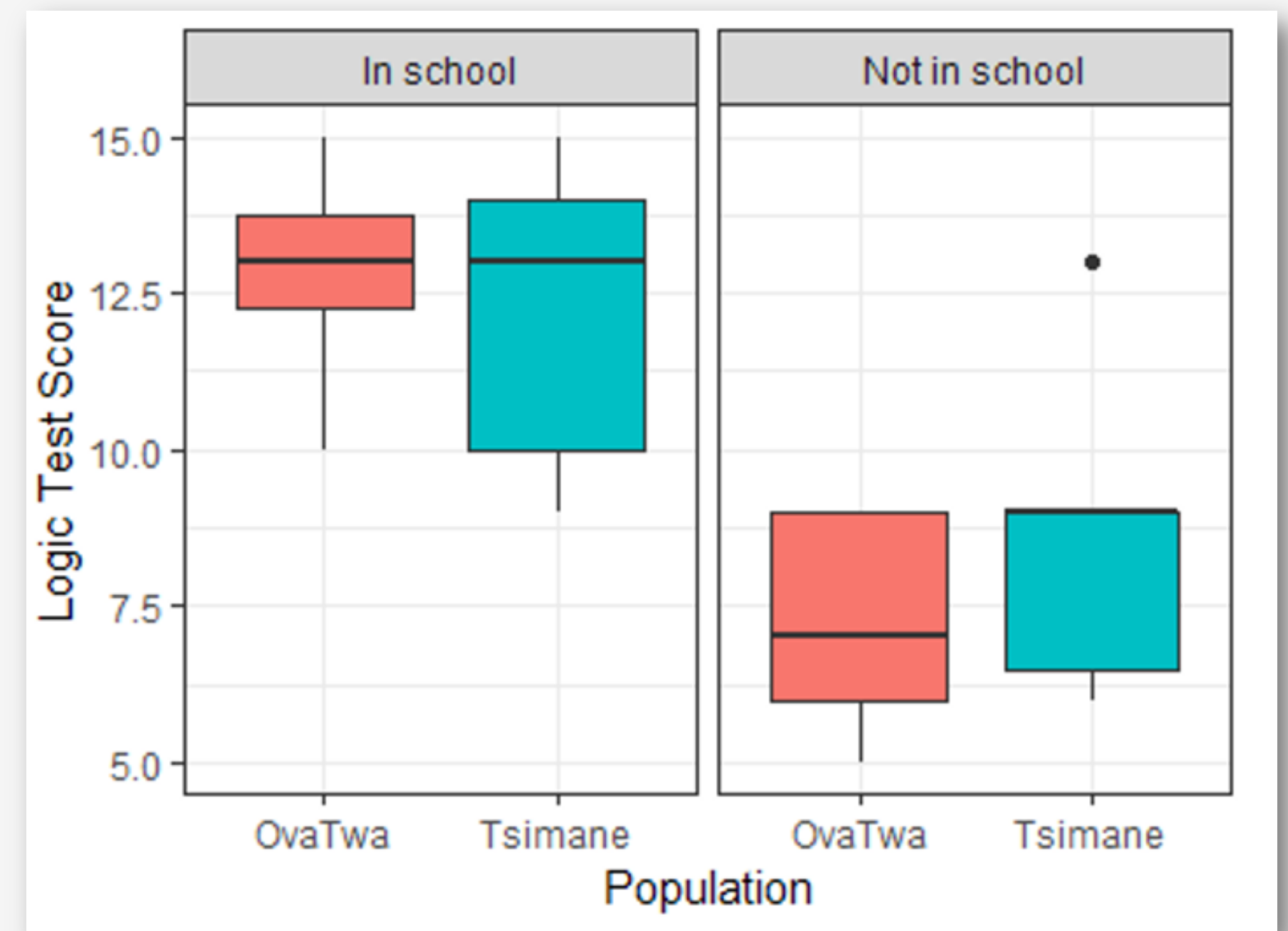
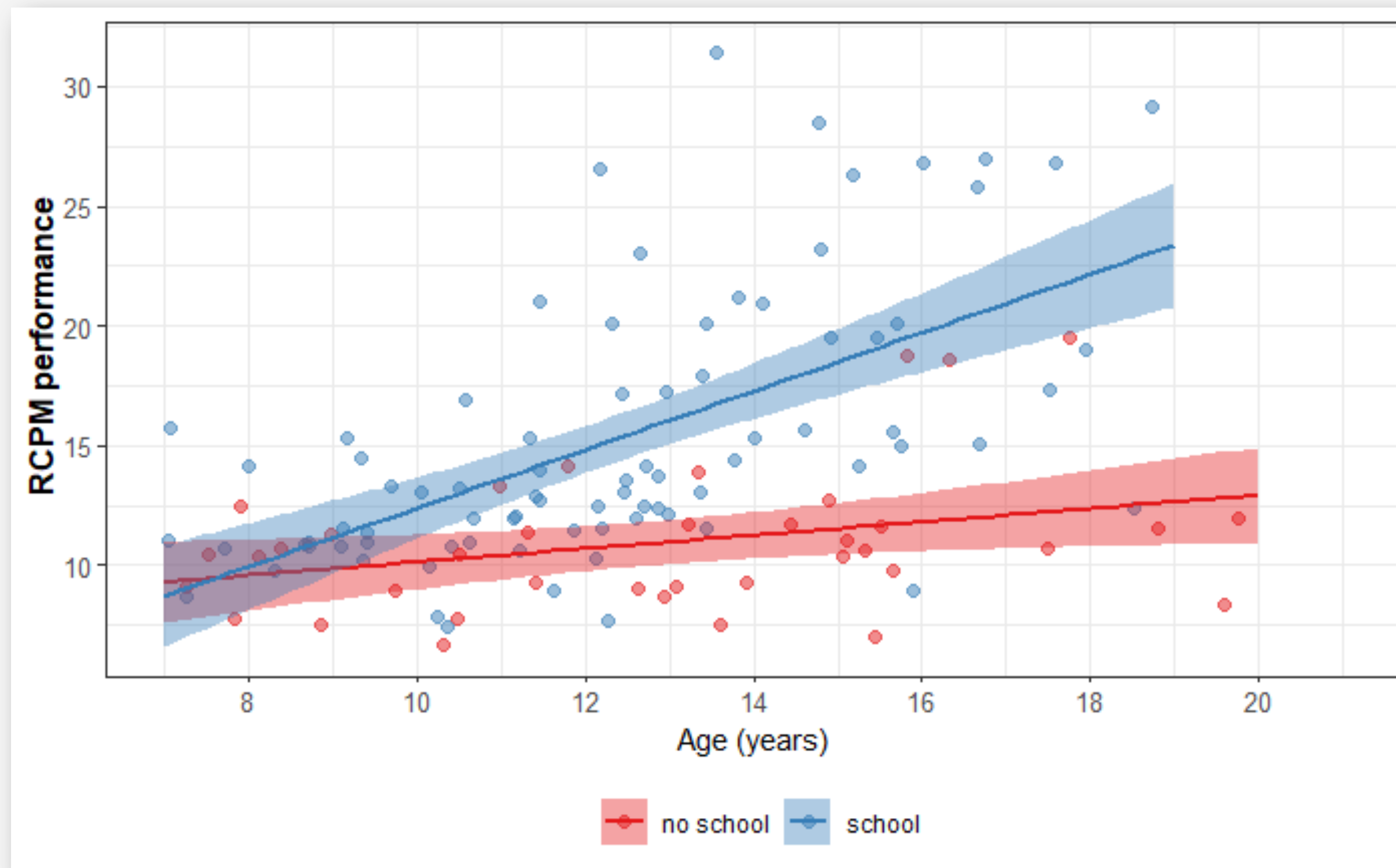
**Peasant:** *“I don’t know. I’ve never been to the far North. I saw a black bear here once.”*





# Software de nossas mentes

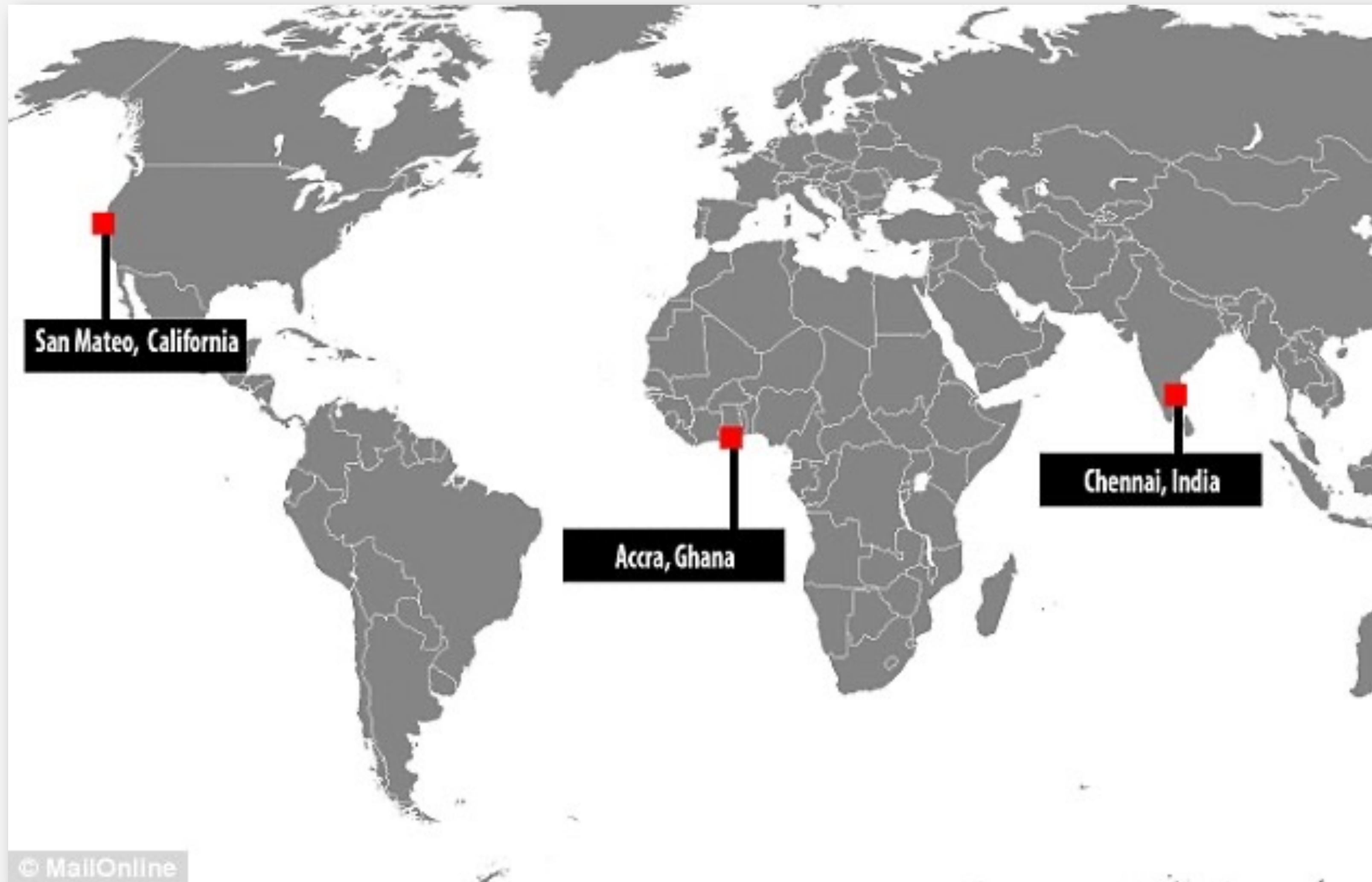
129 participants







# Software de nossas mentes

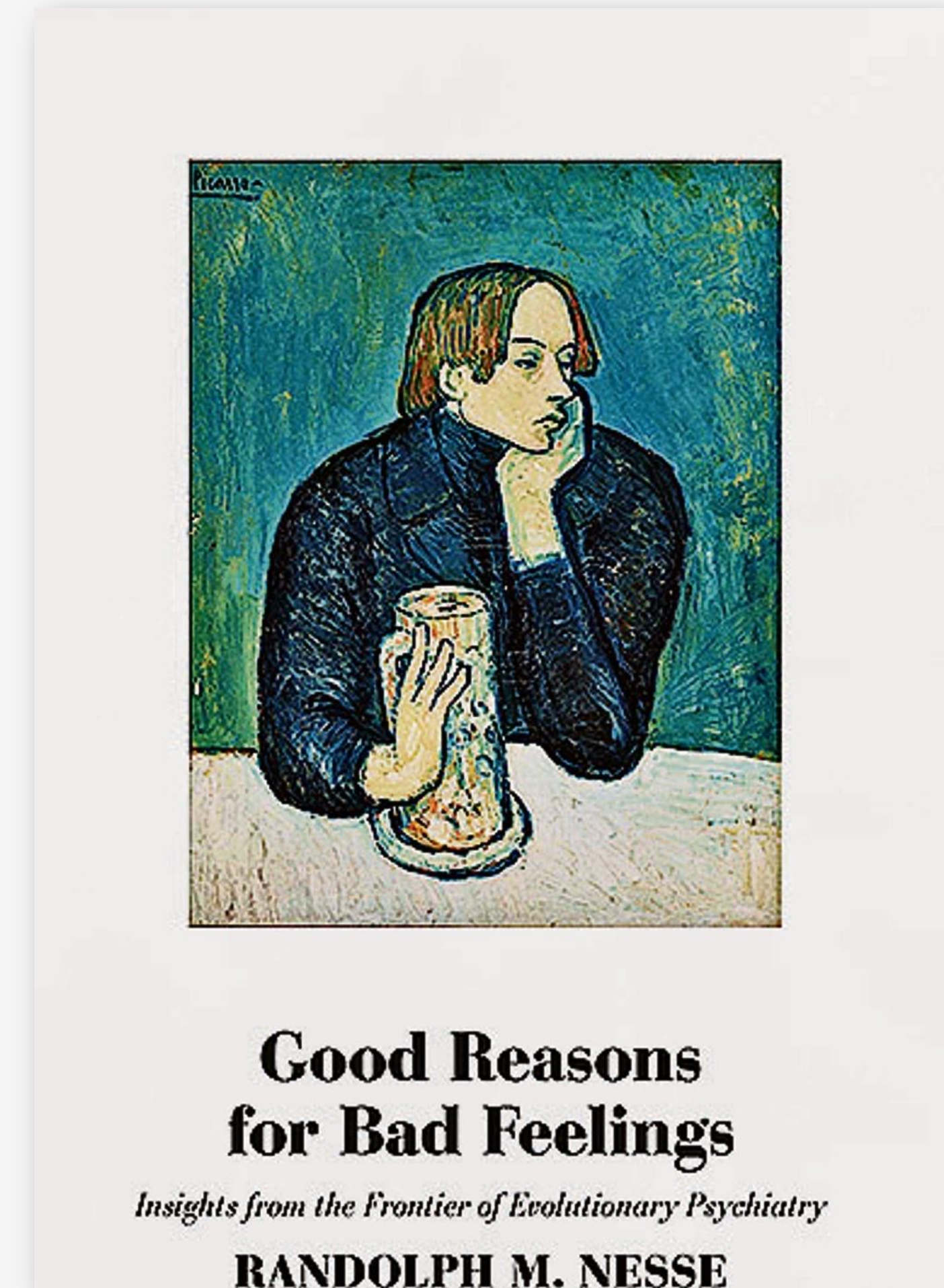
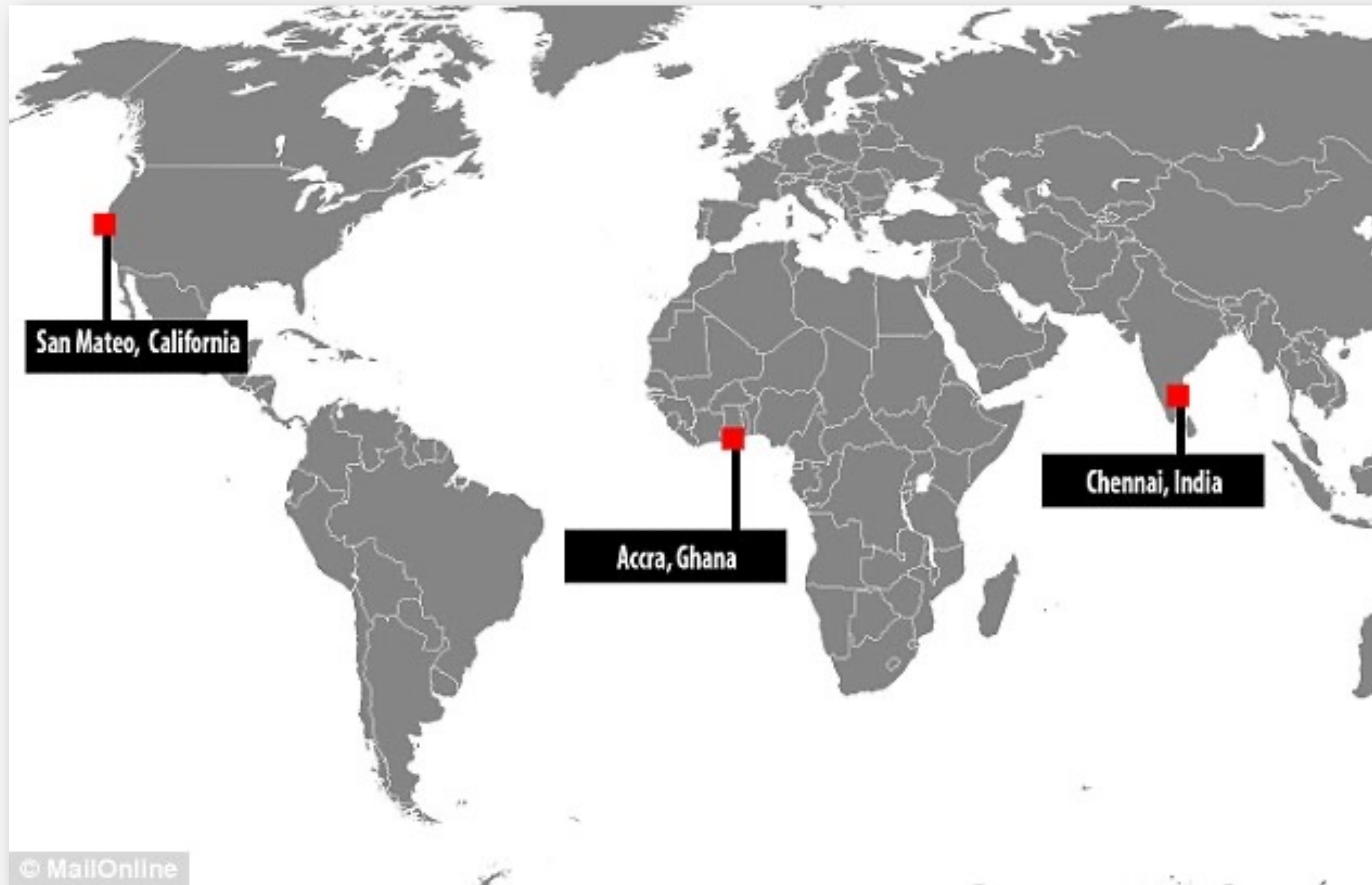


Luhrmann, T. M., Padmavati, R., Tharoor, H., & Osei, A. (2015). Hearing voices in different cultures: A social kindling hypothesis. *Topics in cognitive science*, 7(4), 646-663.





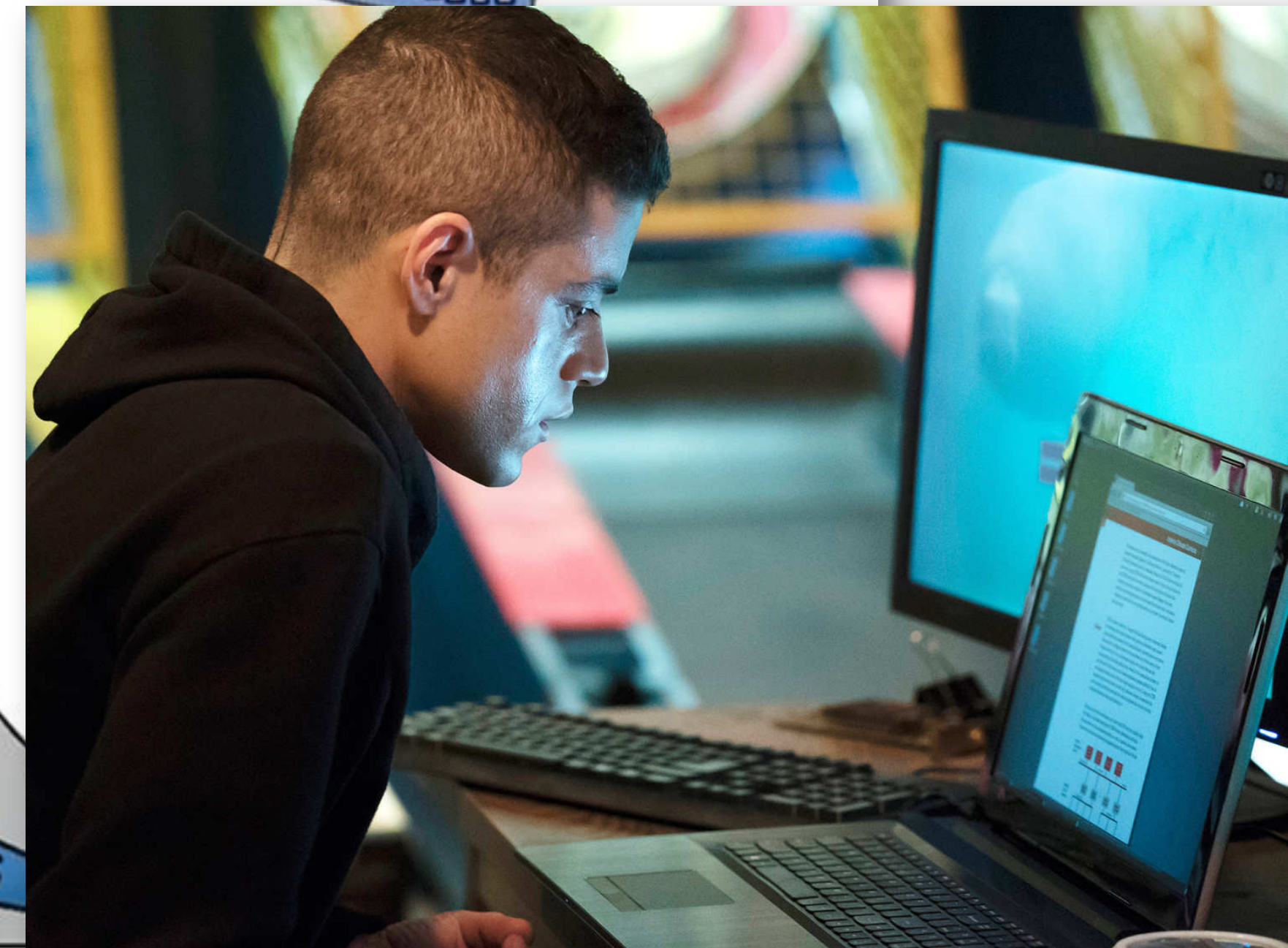
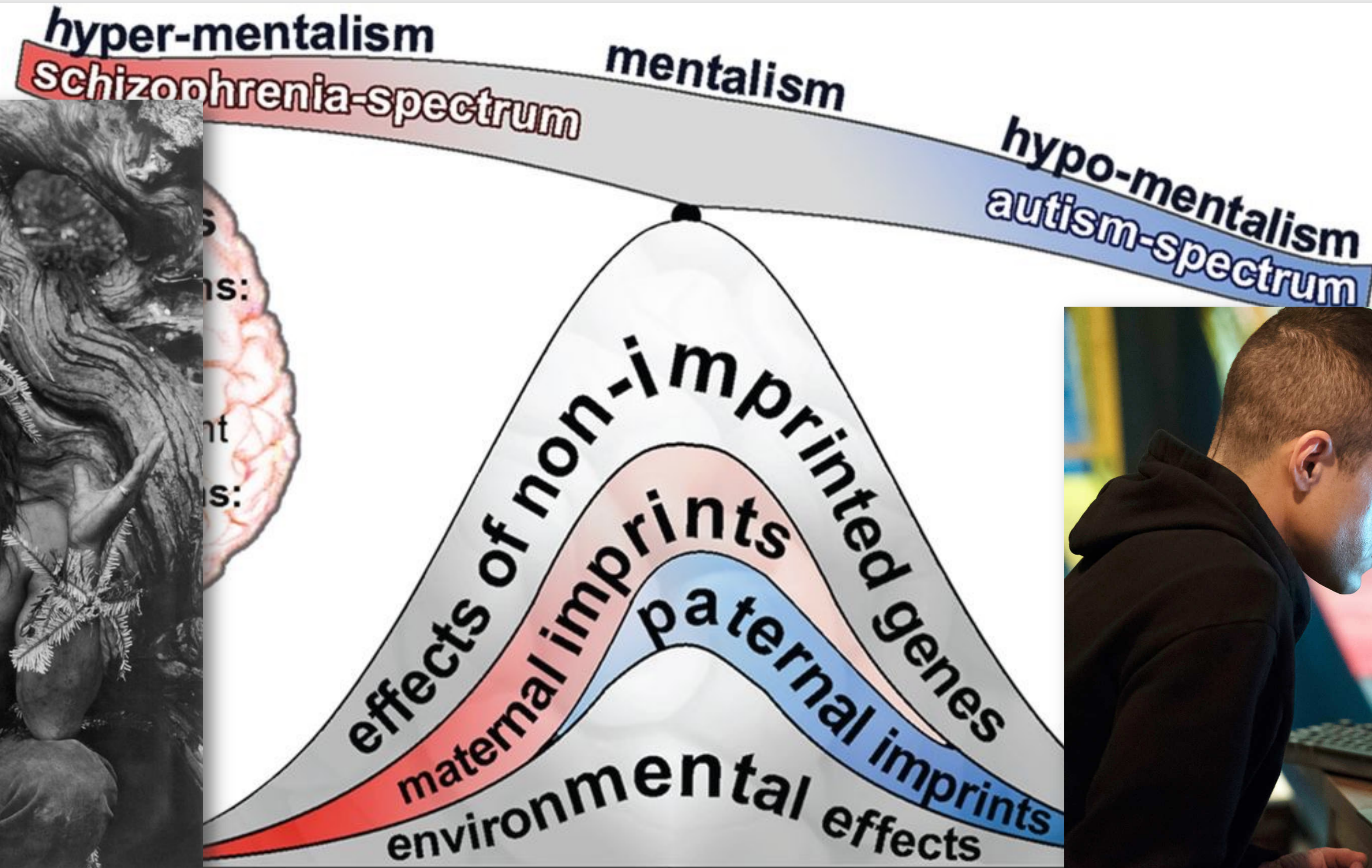
# Software de nossas mentes







# Software de nossas mentes



Byars, S. G., Stearns, S. C., & Boomsma, J. J. (2014). Opposite risk patterns for autism and schizophrenia are associated with normal variation in birth size: phenotypic support for hypothesized diametric gene-dosage effects. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*





# Software de nossas mentes

blue yellow red  
purple black





# Software de nossas mentes

blue yellow red  
purple black





# Software de nossas mentes

blue yellow red

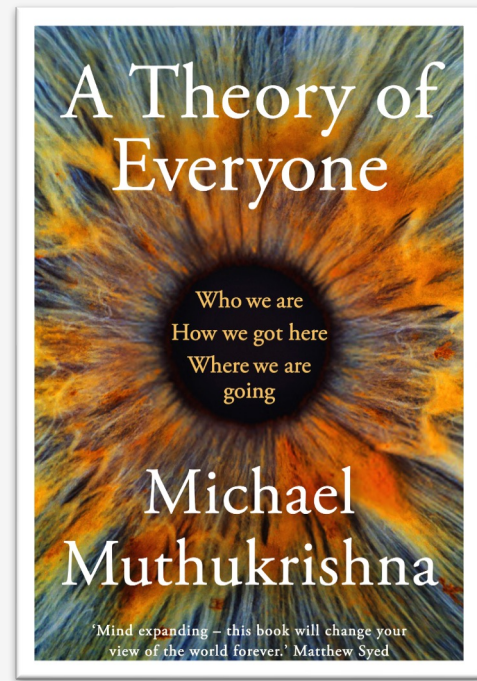
purple black

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blue yellow red

purple black





# O que tudo isso significa na prática?

Uchiyama, R., Spicer, R., & Muthukrishna, M. (2022). Cultural evolution of genetic heritability. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*

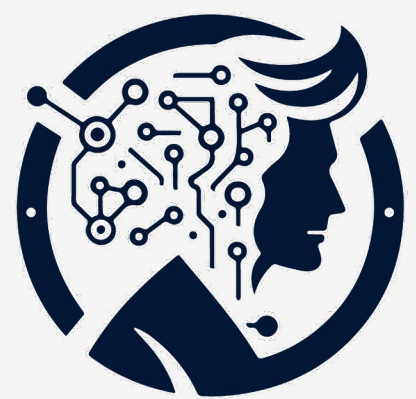
Henrich, J., & Muthukrishna, M. (2023) What makes us smart? *Topics in Cognitive Science*

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Muthukrishna, M. (2023) A Theory of Everyone: The New Science of Who We Are, How We Got Here, and Where We're Going, *MIT Press & Basic Books*



NOSSE SOFTWARE É FLEXÍVEL  
NOSSE SOFTWARE PODE SER REESCRITO  
MODELOS MENTAIS SÃO IMPORTANTES  
A INOVAÇÃO É UM PROCESSO SOCIAL  
A IA PODE ACELERAR A EVOLUÇÃO  
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# A Theory of Everyone

Who we are  
How we got here  
Where we are  
going

Michael  
Muthukrishna

‘Mind expanding – this book will change your  
view of the world forever.’ Matthew Syed

**‘A Theory of Everyone is for  
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David Halpern, Behavioural Insights Team

**‘Extremely important’**  
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