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1 **Abstract**

2 What changes when an Evolutionary Transition in Individuality takes place? Many different answers
3 have been given, in respect of *different cases* of actual transition, but some have suggested a *general*
4 answer: that a major transition is a change in the extent to which selection acts at one hierarchical
5 level rather than another. This paper evaluates some different ways to develop this general answer
6 as a way to characterise the property 'evolutionary individuality' and offers a justification of the
7 option taken in Clarke 2013 – to define evolutionary individuality in terms of an object's *capacity* to
8 undergo selection at its own level. In addition, I suggest a method by which the property can be
9 measured and argue that a problem which is often considered to be fatal to that method – the
10 problem of 'cross-level by-products' – can be avoided.

11 **A levels-of-selection approach to evolutionary individuality**

12 **1. Introduction**

13 Philosophers have become much interested in the question of what sorts of biological things have
14 the property 'individuality' (Hull 1992; Wilson 1999; De Sousa 2005; Wilson & Barker 2013; Clarke
15 2010; Martens 2010; Bouchard & Huneman 2013; Guay & Pradeu 2016). In addition to the long-
16 standing debate about whether species should be thought of as particulars or as classes (Ghiselin
17 1974; Hull 1978), more recent attention has focused on the individuality of units at a lower
18 compositional level. Bigger than organs, but smaller than populations, 'biological individuals' are in
19 some ways the most obvious of biological particulars. Various biological processes have been
20 suggested as picking out important kinds of biological particulars (for example, immunogenicity
21 (Pradeu 2010) and metabolism (Dupré & O'Malley 2009)). And special attention has been focused on
22 the ontological status of various non-standard candidate individuals, such as fungal hyphae (Booth
23 2014), insect colonies (Haber 2013) and bacterial biofilms (Ereshefsky & Pedroso 2015).

24 One important strand of debate, in both biology and philosophy, aims to say something general
25 about which biological objects are treated as individuals *by the process of natural selection*
26 (Lewontin 1970; Janzen 1977; Santelices 1999; Gould & Lloyd 1999; Queller 2000; Bouchard 2008;
27 Pepper & Herron 2008; Queller & Strassmann 2009; Gardner & Grafen 2009; Godfrey-Smith 2009;
28 Folse & Roughgarden 2010; Clarke 2013). This debate developed out of the controversy about group
29 selection and the Major Transitions in Evolution. In the 1960s the consensus was that natural
30 selection acts on individual organisms rather than at higher, group, levels (Williams 1966). But
31 according to a classical view, the properties necessary for evolution by natural selection can occur at
32 *any* hierarchical level, at least as a matter of logic (Lewontin 1970). The key insight of the Major
33 Transitions literature was that individual organisms, such as humans, are themselves higher-level
34 individuals: *groups* of cells that somehow transitioned to being true individuals in their own right
35 (Margulis 1970; Buss 1987, Maynard Smith & Szathmary 1995, Okasha 2006). Given this, Wilson &
36 Sober argued that it makes no sense to resist the notion of group selection –we know that groups of
37 cells can be selected, in the human case. The remaining question is just what *other* sorts of groups
38 can be selected (Wilson & Sober 1989). Those who try to define the 'evolutionary individual' may be
39 thought of as trying to say just what properties any sort of group needs to have so that it, too, can
40 be selected, in the same way that humans are selected.

41 The quest to define the ‘evolutionary individual’ has some practical consequences for evolutionary
42 theory, because the evolutionary individual is the bearer of fitness: the unit of currency, as it were,
43 in which evolutionary change is routinely calculated. We talk of the relative frequencies of wrinkly
44 versus smooth types of pea, for example, where one type is more frequent if there are a greater
45 number of individuals – plants – that express that type. Or we talk of gene frequencies where, again,
46 we mean that one allele occurs at a greater frequency than another if it is carried by a greater
47 number of individual organisms. The simplest versions of evolutionary theory describe evolutionary
48 individuals even more directly, as the things whose fitness roughly corresponds to their expected
49 number of babies. If we define the evolutionary individual incorrectly – or rather, if we identify a real
50 case as an evolutionary individual incorrectly – then we stand in danger of making false fitness
51 measurements and, ultimately, getting the evolutionary book keeping wrong (Clarke 2012; In
52 review).

53 The aim of this paper is to construct an empirical and quantitative measure of evolutionary
54 individuality by focusing on the way natural selection acts at different hierarchical levels. Section two
55 introduces the idea that Major Transitions can be understood as events during which a crucial
56 underlying variable – the amount of natural selection which acts at one hierarchical level, rather
57 than another – changes. I suggest that we can understand this variable as an empirical correlate of
58 evolutionary individuality, and I present an explicit Pricean measure of the variable as one possible
59 method for measuring evolutionary individuality. In section three I probe what I call ‘levels of
60 selection’ accounts of individuality, to explore some different attitudes which have been adopted in
61 respect of the connection between individuality and levels of selection. I argue that existing
62 approaches can be understood as taking three distinct perspectives, as they focus on either *actual*
63 selection, or on a *history of* selection, or on a *capacity for* selection, at the focal level. In section four
64 I outline Clarke’s definition, which develops the idea that it is the *capacity for* selection which
65 matters (Clarke 2013). I explain how we can understand what I call ‘individuating mechanisms’ as
66 providing evidence of a unit’s capacity for participating in selection. Finally, section five
67 acknowledges and responds to some objections that may be marshalled at the account I propose:
68 the problem of cross-level by-products and the problem of trait-specificity.

69 **2. A parameter underlying Evolutionary Transitions in Individuality**

70

71 ‘Evolutionary transitions in individuality’ (ETISs) are evolutionary events during which independently
72 reproducing units come to be mere parts in new higher-level wholes (Michod 1999). There is
73 consensus in the literature that at least five kinds of ETI have taken place: independent genes
74 combined to form chromosomes; independent prokaryotic cells combined to form eukaryotes;
75 independent eukaryotic cells combined to become multicellular organisms; and multicellular
76 organisms combined to form colonial organisms (Okasha 2006; Bourke 2011; West et al 2015). The
77 Transitions literature assumes that individuality emerges, in the sense that some lineage of
78 individuals comes to acquire the property of evolutionary individuality, over evolutionary time
79 scales, at a new hierarchical level. For example, around 800 million years ago all eukaryotes were
80 single celled. Then a lineage of choanoflagellates – unicellular organisms which are morphologically

81 similar to one of the cell types within sponges – began a process of transition¹. Now, at the present
82 time, one of the descendent lineages contains horses – unambiguous multicellular organisms.
83 Choanoflagellates divide by fission, have only simple forms of cellular adhesion and a maximum of
84 five different cell types (Fairclough 2015). Horses, by contrast, have eyes, hearts and other specialist
85 organs, bilaterally symmetrical specialised limbs, a centralised nervous system including a brain, and
86 a sophisticated immune system; they reproduce sexually and host myriad symbiotes.
87 Choanoflagellates are standardly considered unicellular, horses are definitely multicellular, yet they
88 are connected by an unbroken chain of intermediate life forms. Clearly a transition occurred
89 somewhere in that chain². But where? And in virtue of which changes? Which of the many traits
90 that changed along the way are the ones that underwrite a horse’s status as multicellular?

91 Traits that are associated with multicellularity include axial symmetry, a separate germ layer,
92 gastrulation and body plans (Ruiz-Trillo & Nedelcu 2015). However, non-animal multicellulars often
93 fail to share these features. Some biologists have tried to identify lineage-general correlates of
94 multicellularity. Genome expansion was initially touted but failed to find empirical confirmation.
95 Complexity of gene regulatory networks (Szathmary et al 2001) is beset by the problem that strikes
96 all accounts which depend upon complexity – no one can agree on how to measure it (Herron &
97 Nedelcu 2015). Likewise, many authors use the number of cell types, but there is a fatal lack of
98 consensus about what should qualify as a cell type (Lang & Rensing 2015). More ambitious still,
99 some authors seek an account of the variable that is general, not only to different lineages, but to
100 different kinds of transition event. In other words, they aim to identify an underlying variable that is
101 common to the emergence of multicellularity, and to the emergence of coloniality, and to all the
102 other consensus ETIs. This rules out the vast majority of candidate traits. Insect colonies didn’t
103 evolve by intercellular adhesion, for example.

104 The present paper defends a conception of the underlying property in terms of natural selection
105 itself - we say that the new individual appears at a new, higher, level of selection. Before I show
106 how that works, it remains to be asked what value there is in such a general account. What function
107 is served by bundling up the multitude of different correlates into a single general parameter? Why
108 not prefer an account in which all of the correlated details are pulled apart and analysed separately?
109 Surely this will sometimes be the right approach. For example, in respect of the evolution of
110 multicellularity there is value in teasing apart the genetic and phylogenetic stories that explain the
111 independent origins of different mechanisms for gluing cells to one another, and, independently, in
112 disentangling those same stories about the origins of different systems for intercellular
113 communication.

114 However, there are circumstances in which it is helpful to be able to condense all of the independent
115 parameters within a single metric. To compare which system for gluing cells together brought about
116 the biggest gains in multicellularity, for example. To make comparisons of the differential challenges

¹ The phylogeny of multicellularity is very hard to unpick, but a popular theory is that metazoans evolved by heterochrony from an ancestor that was closely related to a sponge, descended from a choanoflagellate, around 780 million years ago (Valentine & Marshall 2015).

² Note that transitions are not inevitable or unidirectional. For example, various fungal lineages are thought to have gained multicellularity and then later transitioned back to unicellularity (Sharpe et al 2015, 9).

117 that had to be overcome in transitioning to multicellularity, on the one hand, and eukaryocity, on
118 the other. Whenever we want to do comparative analyses, we need to be able to step back from the
119 causal-mechanical details about actual mechanisms for transition and about lineage-specific
120 adaptations.

121 Furthermore, a single measure offers to remove some of the ambiguity generated by different
122 authors utilising different parameters and presupposing different thresholds for those parameters.
123 For example, one sometimes has to dig rather hard to discover what parameters underlie
124 statements about which lineages have evolved complex as opposed to simple multicellularity. Some
125 researchers only call a lineage multicellular if it exhibits gene regulatory networks (Valentine &
126 Marshall 2015). Cock and Collén insist that a multicellular individual has to have at least eight
127 different cell types (Cock & Collén 2015). At the other extreme, Solé & Duran-Nebreda accept as
128 multicellular any aggregation that exhibits physical attachment –glues –between cells (Solé & Duran-
129 Nebreda 2015). Not surprisingly, these researchers arrive at very different conclusions about when
130 and how many transitions to multicellularity have taken place – numbers range from 7 to 25
131 separate events (Ruiz-Trillo & Nedelcu 2015). Use of a universal metric would aid communication in
132 such contexts.

133 **Proposal: a quantitative measure of individuality**

134 Multilevel selectionists assume that the total natural selection acting on a system can be
135 decomposed into distinct partitions which each measure the selection acting at different hierarchical
136 levels (Wilson 1975; Damuth & Heisler 1988; Wilson & Sober 1994; Keller 1999; Goodnight et al
137 1992; Okasha 2001; 2006) . Sober and Wilson name the two components ‘within-group selection’
138 (lower-level selection) and between-group selection (higher-level selection) (Sober & Wilson 1998).
139 Put simply, how well some trait does overall is given by the sum of how well it tends to do within
140 groups, *and* how well the groups it is in tend to do. As an ETI proceeds, we expect the within-group
141 component to diminish, and the between-group component to increase, until there is only the
142 between-group, higher-level component left.

143 A simple way to capture the extent to which natural selection has shifted up to the higher level,
144 then, is to calculate the relative strength of selection at the higher level, or the proportion of the
145 total selection which acts between-groups, rather than within them.

146 **Definition 1**

147 Higher-level individuality =

$$148 \text{ Proportion of selection at the higher level} = \frac{\text{Between-group selection}}{\text{Within-group selection} + \text{Between-group selection}}$$

149 We can imagine a continuum of possible states of a population of particles nested within collectives,
150 from one extreme in which selection occurs exclusively at the lower level, to the opposite extreme in
151 which selection occurs exclusively at the higher level. As we move from one extreme to the other,
152 the proportion of the overall selection that acts at the higher level increases from 0 to 1.

153 One complication is that selection is directional, and the distinct levels may be under selection in the
154 same direction as one another, or in opposing directions. To accommodate this, we need to use the

155 absolute values of the between-group and within-group terms. In fact, the two selective levels may
156 perfectly cancel each other out, so that there is no overall change in trait frequencies at all. Using
157 the absolute values allows us to retain the idea, in such cases, that there are two levels of selection
158 at work.

159 So interpreted, we can use this variable to locate living systems on a continuum. We choose a focal
160 unit, and a focal trait, and then peg the units to the left or right according to the proportion of
161 selection at different levels³. Can such a value really be calculated? There is consensus amongst
162 'levels of selection' views that multilevel selection is possible (Damuth & Heisler 1988; Goodnight et
163 al 1992; Reeve & Keller 1997; Sober & Wilson 1998; Michod 1999; Okasha 2006; Gardner & Grafen
164 2009; Sober 2011; Gardner 2015). Consensus ceases in regard to the question of how to quantify
165 the action of selection at different hierarchical levels, although many authors agree that the amount
166 of selection occurring at one level rather than another, can be measured. There is, in other words,
167 an objective numerical amount of selection at each level⁴.

168 One way we might measure this quantity is to replace the terms 'between-group selection' and
169 'within-group selection' with the partitions of the multilevel version of Price's Equation (Price 1972;
170 Okasha 2006; 2015). The numerator of the ratio in definition 1 would measure the covariance
171 between group fitness and the group character value, while the denominator would sum the latter
172 with the average of the within-group covariances between particle fitnesses and particle trait values.
173 We would need, once again, to use the absolute values of these terms. Assuming that reproduction
174 of particles is clonal, generations are non-overlapping and group values are simple averages of the
175 particle values, the two terms in the denominator will sum to give the total expected change by
176 natural selection. The whole ratio will give the proportion of the total change that is driven by
177 selection at the higher level.

178 The multilevel Price equation has been subject to fierce criticism and many people will not accept it
179 as a suitable tool for measuring the amount of selection that occurs at a focal level. Some of these
180 critics will accept an alternative measure and I invite them to substitute such a measure for the Price
181 equation. It will be interesting to investigate what changes such a substitution would precipitate for
182 a levels-of-selection view of evolutionary individuality – whether different verdicts are generated,
183 and so on. Alternatives include a contextualist measure of group versus individual selection (Heisler
184 & Damuth 1987; Goodnight et al 1992; Goodnight 2013); an analysis of fitness variance⁵; or a
185 comparison of genetic variance at the different hierarchical levels⁶. Another alternative would be to
186 use an inclusive fitness framework, and try to quantify the separate direct and indirect components
187 of what Reeve and Keller call 'the absolute inclusive fitness "force"' (Reeve & Keller 1999, 8). What is

³ I will argue in section five that, thanks to the action of individuating mechanisms, much of the time we will get the same result regardless of which trait we choose.

⁴ Even those authors who dissent will concur that there is a fact of the matter about which of two hierarchical levels is dominant, in any case (Sober 2011).

⁵ ANOVA of fitness would fail in respect of cases, such as germ separated cases, in which some parts of the individual exhibit much higher fitness than others.

⁶ Another alternative would be to simply compare the levels of genetic variance at the different hierarchical levels. However, genetic variance is neither necessary nor sufficient for evolution by natural selection. It is not necessary because there can be non-genetic sources of heritable variance in fitness, such as differential vertically transmitted symbionts. It is not sufficient because genetic variants can be prevented from passing their traits onto offspring, as in the case of sterile worker insects.

188 essential is that there is *some* acceptable measure of the extent to which selection acts at one level
189 rather than another – or that decomposes selection into more and less local components, for those
190 who dislike ‘levels’ talk. If there is no such measure then we cannot describe the emergence of
191 evolutionary individuality in terms of an increase in the amount of higher-level selection.

192 Note that one reason why a group selection measure might fail to work is if the context is one in
193 which there is insufficient group structure. For example, the population may consist of individuals
194 who interact socially with their neighbours, who interact socially with *their* neighbours, in such a way
195 that there are no discrete interaction groups. In such cases a multilevel selection framework is
196 inapplicable (Godfrey-Smith 2008). Cases like this are often marshalled as a reason to prefer kin
197 selection approaches to group selection approaches. However, in the context of the problem of
198 evolutionary individuality these cases do not undermine group selection approaches – they are
199 simply cases in which evolutionary individuality does not appear at the level of groups⁷.

200 Another problem with a Pricean measure is that it is usually applied to populations of conspecifics,
201 but the ideal measure will accommodate collectives whose members come from distinct species, as
202 occurs in symbioses. We do not usually consider fitness to be commensurate across diverse species.
203 In these cases we require an alternative measure of the extent to which the members of collectives
204 are competing with one another. One possibility may be to adapt Frank’s measure of ‘codispersal’
205 which measures the extent to which symbiotic partners are in reproductive synchrony (Frank 1997).
206 ‘Fitness alignment’ similarly measures the extent to which the fitnesses of the partners are
207 correlated (Friesen 2012).

208 3. Three alternative levels-of-selection approaches to individuality

209 In this section I distinguish and evaluate three distinct sorts of ‘levels of selection’ account of
210 individuality: approaches which explicate the variable underlying ETIs in terms of the amount of
211 natural selection acting at a focal hierarchical level. Such approaches assume, in other words, that to
212 be an individual, in the evolutionary sense, is to exist at a specific level of a compositional hierarchy
213 – the level at which natural selection acts⁸.

214 Michod’s 1999 account suggests a single parameter underlying a system’s progress through an ETI,
215 in so far as it characterises the parts of a transitioning entity (for example, a volvocine alga’s cells) as
216 experiencing a decline in fitness, so that by the completion of the transition their fitness is zero
217 (Michod 1999; 2006)⁹. Godfrey-Smith uses three dimensions to chart a system’s progress through a
218 process of transition, and explicitly considers this as measuring the system’s degree of evolutionary
219 individuality. He builds upon Lewontin’s definition of a ‘unit of selection’ to locate living systems
220 inside a three-dimensional space, according to their possession of properties that make them more
221 readily evolvable by natural selection. Those with higher values for the properties are deemed to

⁷ Although, as Birch points out, the extent to which a population is group-structured versus network-structured may itself be continuous, so that groups may have an intermediate level of groupishness (Birch Forthcoming).

⁸ This characterisation of evolutionary individuals is far from universal. For example, when Hull discusses the individuality of species he is concerned with their particularity, rather than with whether selection acts at the level of species (Hull 1978).

⁹ It is unlikely, however that this variable can be empirically measured. Shelton & Michod introduce a notion of ‘counterfactual fitness’ in which we try to make informed judgments about how a unit *would* fare if it was removed from its social setting (Shelton & Michod 2014).

222 have *more* individuality, or to be closer to ‘paradigm’ status (Godfrey-Smith 2009). Several authors
223 associate a group’s status as an individual with the amount of within-group conflict (Dawkins 1982;
224 Reeve & Holldobler 2007; Gardner & Grafen 2009). Queller and Strassmann, finally, peg living
225 systems onto a two-dimensional space, in which individuality increases as one variable – cooperation
226 – increases and another – competition – decreases (Queller & Strassmann 2009).

227 I call all these approaches ‘levels of selection approaches’ because they each assume that the
228 variable which changes as an ETI occurs – the property evolutionary individuality – can be spelt out
229 in terms of a change in the strength of natural selection at some compositional level. However, there
230 are subtly different attitudes that can be adopted in respect of the relation between individuality
231 and selection. One possibility is that we take an object’s individuality to be determined by its *actual*
232 participation in selection. In other words, we measure the proportion of selection which occurs at
233 the focal level, as above, and take this value as telling us the actual extent to which the objects at
234 that level are evolutionary individuals. A second possibility is that we treat evolutionary individuality
235 as dependent on a *history* of selection at the focal level. Finally, a third possible approach takes
236 evolutionary individuality as equivalent to a *capacity* for selection at the focal level *in the future*. I
237 evaluate each of these perspectives in turn.

238 **a. Define individuality in terms of *actual* selection at the focal level**
239

240 The first, simplest, possibility is to take a living object’s degree of individuality as measured by the
241 extent to which it experiences actual, current selection. Reeve and Holldobler say that their
242 measurement of intergroup conflict “precisely measures a society’s position along a ‘superorganism
243 continuum’” (Reeve & Holldobler 2007, 9739). We might also understand Lewontin’s position in this
244 way – he argued that an object is a unit of selection if it exhibits heritable variance in fitness
245 (Lewontin 1970). It is implied that if all the individuals in the relevant generation happen, for one
246 reason or another, to have the same number of offspring, then, because there is no selection in that
247 generation, the population contains no units of selection. This is undesirable for two reasons.

248 Firstly, if an object’s degree of evolutionary individuality is simply identical to its measured value for
249 the proportion of selection at its level, then it will be a property which holds only at the temporal
250 scale of one generation. It will neither obtain at an instant, nor will it be likely to remain constant
251 across different generations.

252 Secondly, individuality ought to be intrinsic to the unit in question. A definition of the evolutionary
253 individual in terms of the *actual* proportion of selection at the focal level is weak, because it makes
254 the property hostage to facts which are nothing to do with the unit in question – facts about
255 population size and about the environment, as well as sheer luck.

256 So while we might take the *actual* proportion of selection at the focal level as a valuable empirical
257 correlate of individuality, we had better not say it *constitutes* evolutionary individuality.

258 **b. Define individuality using evidence of a *history* of selection at the focal
259 level**

260 The second possibility is to treat individuality as obtaining only when there is evidence of a *history* of
261 selection at the focal level. Approaches which take this perspective define the evolutionary

262 individual by its possession of features which can be expected only in objects which have historically
263 experienced a particular amount of selection at their level. Many authors focus, for example, on
264 traits that can only be maintained in a system where lower-level conflict is low. Altruistic traits are a
265 prime example because, by definition, they are undermined by lower-level (within-group) selection
266 (Sober & Wilson 1998). If an altruistic trait is present, therefore, it can act as robust evidence that
267 higher-level (between-group) selection has been dominant in the recent history of the system.
268 Likewise, it is often assumed that very complex or delicately integrated traits can only survive if
269 lower-level selection is absent (Williams 1966). Lloyd, for example, argues that genuine individuals
270 can be identified by their possession of adaptations (Lloyd 1995). Adaptations are, by definition,
271 products of selection processes (Sober 1984), so their existence can serve as evidence of a response
272 to a prior selection process. If we can see that an object is adapted, we know that its ancestors have
273 responded to selection.

274 Another account which might be characterised as taking this approach is Queller & Strassmann's,
275 though they don't present it this way. They define evolutionary individuality as obtaining to the
276 extent that an object's parts cooperate with one another, and aren't in conflict (Queller &
277 Strassmann 2009; Strassmann & Queller 2010). But if we seek a definition of cooperation, we see
278 that a cooperative trait is standardly defined as a trait which has evolved because it generated a
279 benefit for some beneficiary (West et al 2007). In other words, two objects are treated as
280 cooperating only if *there has been* a particular selective history between them.

281 A definition according to which a unit qualifies as an evolutionary individual only if it has had the
282 right kind of selective history, rather than in virtue of what it happens to be doing right now, avoids
283 the problem associated with organisms which, for extraneous reasons, are not currently undergoing
284 selection. It also yields a property which applies at all instants of an organism's lifetime. A historical
285 definition, furthermore, is able to accommodate many properties which are popularly associated
286 with organismality – for example, organisational complexity, functional integration, division of
287 labour – in so far as *complex* adaptations are prioritised as evidence for historic higher-level
288 selection.

289 However, while a historical definition of the evolutionary individual will be useful in contexts in
290 which we seek to give an *explanation* of selective dynamics that have already happened, biologists
291 sometimes need a concept which can do more. Evolutionary modellers generally want a concept
292 which can support generalisations and predictions about the *future*. For these purposes a historical,
293 backwards-looking definition is of limited use. Just as a trait's status as an adaptation is separable
294 from its status as *adaptive* (Sober 1984), so a unit may have been selected in the past, without
295 continuing to be selectable in its own right in the future. A backwards-looking definition is
296 descriptive, but not modal – it cannot support counterfactual inferences. Can we find, instead, a
297 forwards-looking definition of an evolutionary individual?

298 **c. Define individuality using evidence of a *capacity for* selection at the focal**
299 **level**

300 A last possibility is to make *future* participation in selection essential to being an evolutionary
301 individual. A forwards-looking definition of the evolutionary individual considers a unit to qualify in

302 virtue of facts about how the unit *will* respond to selection in the future¹⁰. Such a concept can be
303 used by an evolutionary biologist in making predictions about future selective dynamics. But how
304 can we accommodate facts that are essentially inaccessible to empirical reach? How can we
305 arbitrate individuality on the basis of things that might happen: on the future?

306 Gardner and Grafen state that it is not *actual* selection which determines a unit's status as an
307 organism, but *potential* selection. Their concept is thus intended to have modal force. But Gardner
308 and Grafen fall short of securing a forward-looking concept of the organism. They try to secure the
309 impossibility of future selective conflict by making a stipulation about *how much* genetic variance
310 exists at the focal level – they assume that if a group is clonal, then there is no potential for within –
311 group selection (Gardner & Grafen 2009). This is alongside an assumption that the presence of
312 policing mechanisms can suffice to eliminate the possibility of within-group selection, with which I
313 concur. But there are two problems with the assumption about clonality. One is that genes are not
314 the only source of heritable variance in fitness in nature. Epigenetic differences, or possession of
315 different symbionts, can be heritable and can affect fitness, for example. The other is that a unit's
316 status as clonal is a fact about its current, actual state – not about its potential or possible states.
317 And given everything we know about rates of mutation and gene transfer, it is not a state that we
318 can reasonably expect any macroscopic group to remain in for very long. Clonality is a transient and
319 fragile state, not the sort of property which will support inferences about the future.

320 In order to secure a definition of the evolutionary individual that has modal force, we need to make
321 a specification about what is and is not *possible* for evolutionary individuals, and we can do this by
322 referencing mechanisms which rule some possibilities out. Many such mechanisms are identified in
323 the literature on evolutionary individuality. For example, developmental bottlenecks are thought to
324 be important because they reduce the potential for lower-level selection by sieving out genetic
325 variation (Dawkins 1982; Maynard Smith & Szathmary 1995; Godfrey-Smith 2009). Sexual
326 reproduction, on the other hand, makes higher-level selection more powerful, by generating genetic
327 novelties (Janzen 1977; Harper 1977). Egg-eating behaviours in worker social insects mean that even
328 if workers would like to compete against their sister workers by raising offspring of their own, it is
329 not possible (Ratnieks & Visscher 1989).

330 Clarke names as 'Individuating mechanisms'¹¹ any such properties or mechanisms that have the
331 effect of determining a collection of objects' *capacity* to evolve by natural selection (Clarke 2013¹²).
332 Different lineages use different mechanisms, but they all function by influencing the extent to which
333 objects are able to exhibit heritable variance in fitness. Other examples of 'individuating
334 mechanisms' include germ separation, immune regulation and physical boundaries. Individuating
335 mechanisms can achieve their effect by affecting genetic variance, by affecting the extent to which

¹⁰ More precisely, facts about how a *lineage* of the unit in question will respond to selection in the future.

¹¹ Which include but are not limited to 'policing mechanisms' (Reeve & Keller 1997), and 'conflict modifiers' (Michod & Roze 2001). 'Individuating mechanism' forms a broader class, because it includes what I call 'demarcation mechanisms', which enhance focal-level selection, in addition to policing mechanisms, which suppress lower-level selection.

¹² The full definition which is defended in Clarke 2013 says that an individuating mechanism is a mechanism that *either* limits an object's capacity to undergo within-object selection, by decreasing the availability of within-object heritable variance in fitness (Policing kind), *or* increases its capacity to participate in a between-object selection process, by increasing the availability of object-level heritable variance in fitness (Demarcation kind).

336 genetic variation is heritable, by affecting the extent to which genetic variation has fitness effects, or
337 by affecting other, non-genetic, sources of heritable variance in fitness. For example, transposon
338 silencing mechanisms (siRNAs) prevent conflict by eliminating the fitness effects of genetic variants,
339 and so achieve a suppression of the evolutionary individuality of the transposons (Agren 2014).

340 Individuating mechanisms act together to determine the potential of any object to participate in
341 evolution by natural selection. They fix the extent to which any lineage may act as a unit of selection
342 – not just now, but in the immediate future. Those accounts of evolutionary individuality which
343 make the possession of individuating mechanisms essential therefore achieve a definition with
344 modal force.

345 Godfrey-Smith offers a definition which enjoys modal force – he says a population contains
346 evolutionary individuals in so far as it has the capacity to evolve by natural selection. He develops
347 Lewontin’s conditions to describe what fixes the relevant capacity. In the context of ‘collective’
348 individuals, Godfrey-Smith makes the possession of particular properties necessary – two policing
349 mechanisms plus a third criterion ‘integration’. Clarke 2013 expands the list of sufficient
350 individuating mechanisms by defining them functionally, so that the possible realisers of the
351 individuating role are unlimited.

352 Clarke’s definition of the evolutionary individual achieves its forwards-looking, modal, status by
353 making the possession of individuating mechanisms essential to being an evolutionary individual.

354 **Definition 2**

355 An evolutionary individual = a collection of living parts which has some *capacity* for responding to
356 selection at the between-collection level, *because of* the action of individuating mechanisms.

357 Reference to individuating mechanisms makes the definition more empirically applicable than it
358 would be if it was given purely in terms of a capacity for evolution by natural selection. A capacity is
359 not the sort of property that can be readily identified or measured, unless it is currently realised. But
360 we can use the presence of individuating mechanisms to infer whether or not the objects at a
361 hierarchical level have the capacity, even if the capacity is not currently being realised¹³. For
362 example, if germ separation is present we can infer that the cells of a system lack heritable variance
363 in fitness – lineages of such cells are not able to evolve independently of the other cells in the
364 system. Individuating mechanisms determine the possibility of a response to selection, regardless of
365 whether any selection is actually occurring.

366 In section five I describe another advantage of incorporating individuating mechanisms into the
367 definition of the evolutionary individual: it allows us to avoid the so-called ‘problem of cross-level
368 by-products’ (Okasha 2006, 99).

369 Note that Clarke’s concept is not categorical – different objects will exhibit different degrees of
370 evolutionary individuality, because they will have a greater or lesser capacity. If and when the
371 capacity for natural selection is realised, the proportion of selection at the focal level will be non-

¹³ To avoid circularity, we will need to appeal to cases in which there is *actual* selection at the focal level to justify consideration of a particular mechanism *as* an individuating mechanisms – as grounding the capacity, in other words.

372 zero. Most levels-of-selection theorists have defended one view or another about exactly *how much*
373 selection ought to act at the focal level before the objects at that level are considered evolutionary
374 individuals. For some the halfway point on the continuum is significant, because only when higher-
375 level selection is dominant over lower-level selection are altruistic traits robust against decay
376 (Dawkins 1982; Sober & Wilson 1998; Bowles et al 2003; Frank 2012). Others will only consider a
377 unit an evolutionary individual if all or nearly all of the total selection occurs at the focal level
378 (Wilson & Sober 1989; Queller 2000; Holldobler & Wilson 2009; Gardner & Grafen 2009). This view
379 rules out the possibility of finding systems at intermediate positions on an individuality continuum –
380 *only* paradigm individuals exist. I side with those authors who prefer a strictly continuous view
381 (Reeve & Holldobler 2007; Godfrey-Smith 2009; Queller & Strassmann 2009; Clarke 2013) although I
382 can see the value of drawing attention to both the halfway and the maximal threshold in particular
383 contexts.

384 An important question is how definitions one and two above relate to one another. Definition two
385 tells us if an object is an evolutionary individual – *to some degree or other*. It doesn't tell us how far
386 along a transition continuum the object is. We know that it has some capacity to undergo natural
387 selection, but we need to know *how big* a proportion of the total selective force the object can
388 experience. Measuring the actual selection experienced won't tell us this – for all the reasons
389 mentioned above. There can be extraneous factors leading the actual amount of selection to differ
390 from what would be expected according to the object's intrinsic capacity for participation in
391 selection. Nonetheless, the actual proportion of selection acting at a level will often be a useful
392 *proxy* for an object's degree of evolutionary individuality, in exactly the same way as actual
393 reproductive output is a useful proxy for fitness. It is far from perfect, because all sorts of real world
394 phenomena can cause an organism to be lucky or unlucky and fail to have the number of offspring
395 we would predict, given its intrinsic properties. But it is the best we've got because capacities just
396 aren't directly measurable. We can strengthen the reliability of the cue by performing multiple
397 measures of the proxy, in different organisms of a type, to converge on a number that gives the
398 degree of individuality that is typical for that type. In the end, it is definition two that has priority.
399 Empirical measures of a correlation between a trait and fitness should only be taken as revealing of
400 an intrinsic capacity for selection – of evolutionary individuality - if there are individuating
401 mechanisms in place. Without this proviso, the measure in definition 1 is liable to incorrectly classify
402 flukes and statistical artefacts as higher-level selection, as I'll argue in section four.

403 Unfortunately, we can be led astray if we rely on identifying familiar individuating mechanisms too.
404 A mule is a case of a living object which possesses all of the paradigmatic mechanisms which
405 function to individuate other vertebrates – a developmental bottleneck, germ soma separation, a
406 complex immune system. Mules also seek out and are capable of having sex. But they almost never
407 sire offspring¹⁴. Mule individuating mechanisms simply aren't succeeding to ground a capacity for
408 participation in evolution by natural selection. The *capacity* itself is necessary to being an individual,
409 and only when *grounded in individuating mechanisms* is it sufficient.

410 **4. Two objections**

411 **a. The problem of cross-level by-products**

412

¹⁴ Rare exceptions have been known (Rong et al 1988).

413 What is the difference between a fleet herd of deer and a herd of fleet deer? It sounds like the
414 opening of a joke, but was intended to motivate a distinction between a group whose members are
415 individually selected, and a target of genuine group selection (Williams 1966). The problem can be
416 seen clearly in a model in which we impose groups by definition.

417 Assume there is a population of giraffes which exhibit one of two phenotypes: tall or short. Tall
418 giraffes always have a higher fitness than short ones, just because they are able to reach and eat a
419 greater number of acacia leaves. Let us suppose that the giraffes are well mixed; nonetheless we
420 may define two different groups. Group one is composed of all the tall giraffes, while group two is
421 composed of all the short giraffes. Now we can apply the multilevel Price equation to the population
422 of giraffes to find out what degree of individuality is possessed by the giraffes themselves, on the
423 one hand, and the made-up groups, on the other. Disaster strikes: the multilevel covariance analysis
424 yields the answer that the groups exhibit the highest degree of individuality, while the giraffes are
425 mere parts. The reason is that because we arranged the giraffes into groups by height, each group
426 contains zero character variance, so there is no selection within groups. All the variance is *between*
427 groups – so all the selection is identified as taking place at the level of the groups. According to the
428 Price analysis the giraffe groups are exclusive units of selection: paradigm evolutionary individuals.

429
430 But this is highly counterintuitive. Intuitively there is no group selection - the giraffe groups are not
431 individuals. We made them up after all. There are no emergent group properties – group fitness and
432 group phenotype are artificial constructs, just the averages of the giraffe’s fitnesses and phenotypes.
433 The moral of the story is that higher-level covariance does not always indicate higher-level selection:
434 it could be a mere statistical artefact of lower-level selection (Okasha 2006). In fact, higher-level
435 covariance can be generated whenever there is lower-level covariance, by appropriate construction
436 of higher-level groups. All that is required is to guarantee some assortment of types into the higher-
437 level groups (Fletcher & Doebeli 2009).

438 There is nothing in the Price analysis itself that offers any guidance here (Okasha 2006, 97). Many
439 people have pointed out that the Price approach is only applicable when groups are biologically real,
440 so it is necessary to supplement the equations with some criteria restricting what qualifies as a
441 group¹⁵. Sober and Wilson argue that only collections whose members engage in fitness-affecting
442 interactions with one another may be considered suitable targets for Price’s analysis (Wilson 1975;
443 Wilson & Sober 1989; Sober & Wilson 1998; Sober 2011). Giraffes would form a group with respect
444 to height just in case short giraffes have their fitness raised by being in a group with lots of tall
445 giraffes. This could be the case if for example, predators tended to pick groups to attack on the basis
446 of their average height. Then it seems plausible that height really is selected (partly) at the group
447 level. If, on the other hand, short giraffes in tall groups are just as likely to be preyed upon as those
448 in short groups, then the interactionist definition says there are no trait groups with respect to
449 height, and selection acts only on giraffes .

450 Sober and Wilson’s definition means that groups are trait-specific – a group is the set of particles
451 that interact *with respect to a particular trait*. For example, to understand selection for altruistic

¹⁵ Another is to abandon the Price analysis in favour of the contextual approach. This technique of regression analysis avoids the problem of cross level by products, but it has problems of its own. In particular, it yields the counterintuitive result that group selection can occur even in the absence of variation between groups (Okasha 2006).

452 predator warning calls the trait group will be defined by who is within ear shot, but for resource use
453 it depends instead on who competes for resources. Some people have found the trait-specificity of
454 the groups defined in this way odd, because groups defined for different traits need not coincide
455 with one another. Another worry is that there is a sort of Sorites problem. Interaction is a
456 continuous term, but how much is necessary? Doesn't everything in the universe interact with
457 everything else, in some sense?

458 Finally, and perhaps most seriously, the trait-group definition makes some inappropriate inclusions,
459 because it doesn't specify that fitness-affecting interactions must be group-structured. Suppose that
460 short giraffes are less likely to be attacked by a predator while they are standing close to a tall
461 giraffe. Then there is a fitness-effect for height. But giraffes wander about in such a fashion that tall
462 B stands next to short C one day, while the next day C stands close to tall D while B huddles close to
463 short A. Their interactions are neighbour-structured, but not group-structured, because the
464 interaction is not transitive (Godfrey-Smith 2008; Birch forthcoming). Sober and Wilson's definition
465 would imply that a distinct group exists for every single giraffe plus its own interaction partners, but
466 while such groups overlap, they fail to coincide. A group may therefore meet Sober and Wilson's
467 criteria for group-hood, even though a multilevel selection analysis is inappropriate, and a kin
468 selection analysis would better capture the dynamics of the relevant social interaction. The trait-
469 group definition therefore fails to identify 'biologically real' groups in this case, and still leads to a
470 situation where Price's analysis will generate the intuitively wrong answer about whether or not
471 group selection is at work. Restricting the application of Price's analysis to cases where the relevant
472 trait is 'social' meets the same problem (Okasha 2016).

473 I propose a modification of Sober and Wilson's definition that avoids these problems. We simply
474 define groups by their possession of individuating mechanisms. A policing mechanism, by definition,
475 inhibits the expression of heritable variance in fitness amongst the members of a collection. So
476 fitness-affecting interactions may qualify as policing mechanisms, in so far as they tie the fitnesses of
477 members of a group together. However, while fitness-affecting interaction achieves this affect by
478 direct causation – one member causally affects the fitness of the other member – a policing
479 mechanism can achieve the same effect without any direct causation between the two. A policing
480 mechanism can act as a common cause on the fitness of both members. And in the end, it doesn't
481 matter, as far as future selective dynamics are concerned, *why* the fitness of two units is correlated,
482 only that the correlation is not a temporary fluke.

483 Furthermore, policing mechanisms can be defined as tying the fitnesses of *all* of the members of a
484 group, so that piecemeal, neighbour-structured interactions do not qualify. Germ soma separation,
485 for example, is a policing mechanism whose action ranges over all the germ and soma cells in an
486 organism, regardless of the extent to which cells engage in direct interactions with one another.
487 Similarly, a worker bee doesn't need to actually eat the eggs of a fellow in order to constitute a part
488 in a higher-level individual along with it. It is enough that egg-eating takes place, so that if any
489 worker in the colony lays an egg then *it will be eaten*, by someone.

490 The giraffe herds qualify as individuals, on this view, only if there are mechanisms enforcing the
491 between-group variance and the within-group homogeneity for height. What sort of mechanism
492 would fit the bill here? There would need to be something which forced the tall giraffes of a group to
493 remain in sufficient proximity to the short members that the fitness of *all* the giraffes is affected by

494 the group's average height. Some mechanism of adhesion would do the job, perhaps a hormonal
495 driver of behaviour. The adhesion mechanism would thereby force the members of a giraffe group
496 to interact with one another, in respect of the predator-mediated fitness-effect of height. The group
497 would be delimited by the hormones. Tall giraffes wouldn't be able to escape the fitness-drag of
498 being stuck with short group-mates. Under such conditions, I see no objection to interpreting the
499 group-level covariance between height and fitness as higher-level selection – in viewing the giraffes,
500 in other words, as subject to group selection.

501 We escape the problem of cross-level by-products, in Price's analysis, by dictating that group-level
502 covariance between traits and fitness can only be interpreted as higher-level selection when that
503 covariance is maintained by individuating mechanisms. We still keep the advantage that "the groups
504 are decided by the biology of the organism, not the whim of the biologist." (Wilson 2010, 16) (17)

505 **b. Is individuality trait-specific?**

506 One problem we cannot completely escape is the implied trait-specificity of evolutionary
507 individuality. Price analysis picks out levels of selection with respect to specific phenotypic traits,
508 but there is something odd about a trait-relative concept of the individual. As Wilson puts it, "the
509 concept conflicts with the image of an organism as a unit that is adaptive with respect to many
510 traits. After all, an individual organism like a bird eats as a unit, flies as a unit, fights as a unit, and so
511 on." However, another reason to make individuating mechanisms essential to individuality is that
512 they go some way to ameliorating this problem. A mechanism which prevents fitness differences
513 between the parts of an object in respect of one trait will often prevent differences in respect of
514 other traits at the same time. Giraffes that huddle together will affect each other in many ways that
515 aren't to do with height. Germ separation inhibits *all* fitness differences between cells, without
516 differentiating separate causes.

517 However, the group delimited by one individuating mechanism may not coincide with the group
518 delimited by a different individuating mechanism. For example, the vertebrate immune system may
519 facilitate group-structured cooperative interactions between humans and their gut bacteria. If those
520 bacteria are passed horizontally from a parent, then the human+bacteria unit may act as an
521 evolutionary individual, in respect of certain traits. For example, there is some evidence that
522 bacteria acquired from the mother during birth are not only accepted by the immune system, but
523 are important for the immune system's optimal development (Macpherson & Harris 2004). The
524 mechanism of the developmental bottleneck excludes those same bacteria, however, because they
525 didn't develop from the germ cell. I would favour a permissive view here, so that any object
526 qualifies as a part of an evolutionary individual if at least one mechanism is successful in ensuring
527 that the part has some capacity to be selected along with the rest.

528 **Conclusions**

529 This paper develops the idea that we can understand the parameter underlying evolutionary
530 transitions in individuality in terms of natural selection. I propose that we treat the ratio of between-
531 group selection to the sum of between-group selection and within-group selection as a measurable
532 empirical correlate of the degree of evolutionary individuality possessed by groups.

533 I explained why we shouldn't consider the ratio as defining a collective's degree of individuality more
534 directly, and why, furthermore, we should incorporate the possession of 'Individuating mechanisms'
535 into the definition in order to achieve a concept of the evolutionary individuality which supports
536 predictions and other modal inferences about evolutionary dynamics.

537 The resulting levels-of-selection account defines a living object's degree of evolutionary individuality
538 (the property that moves to a higher-level as an ETI proceeds) in terms of the capacity/potential of
539 the compositional units at the different hierarchical levels to undergo evolution by natural selection.

540 The account provides a species-neutral, transition-neutral, quantitative measure of evolutionary
541 individuality which can be used in making comparisons across species and across levels. Unlike other
542 levels-of-selection accounts it secures a forwards-looking, modal concept, but without sacrificing
543 generality. By referencing individuating mechanisms the definition also avoids problems of trait-
544 specificity and of cross-level by-products.

545

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549

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