

Evolution of Religion and Morality Project (Wave I)

Free-List Data Set Documentation

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1. Evolution of Religion and Morality Project

This data set consists of ethnographic data we collected and processed under the auspices of the Evolution of Religion and Morality Project. This project sought to examine the relationship between religious beliefs and cooperation and included ethnographic and experimental measures to address these concerns. For convenience, we have cribbed some of the materials contained herein from various sources both published (e.g., [Purzycki et al., 2018](#)) and unpublished supplementary materials.

1.1. Field Sites

We collected data in eight different field sites (Fig. S1) from around the world. Table S1 summarizes some features of these sites, including the deities we selected to ask about.



Figure S1: **Map of eight field sites.** Tanna includes two samples from Coastal and Inland communities.

1.1.1. Coastal and Inland Tanna, Vanuatu

The inhabitants of Tanna Island in Vanuatu are traditionally swidden horticulturalists although a market-based economy plays an increasingly important role on the island ([Atkinson, 2018](#); [Bonnemaïson, 1994](#)). Religious beliefs are a mix of Christianity and the traditional “Kastom” pantheon, as well as millenarian “cargo cults.” The study was conducted at two sites on Tanna: a cluster of three inland, predominantly Kastom hamlets that rely almost exclusively on subsistence farming for food production, and a wealthier coastal, Christian village in which home production accounts for about two thirds of food consumption. For the Inland Tanna site, the “moralistic god” used for the survey questions was the *Kastom* creator god and culture hero, *Kalpapen* while the Coastal site used the Christian god.

1.1.2. Hadza, Tanzania

Living in the savannah woodlands of western Tanzania, the Hadza are a population of hunter-gatherers who largely subsist on wild game, fruits, tubers, and honey ([Apicella, 2018](#); [Marlowe, 2010](#)). While the Hadza have been described as having a minimalist form of religion, this appears to be changing. Hadza camps exhibit fission-fusion organization and camp membership is quite fluid, with individuals moving frequently between camps. Labor is divided between the sexes; men hunt and extract honey while women typically focus on gathering plants.

1.1.3. Lovu, Fiji

On the south Pacific island of Vanua Levu, in main island in the Fijian archipelago, the Indo-Fijians are a diaspora population brought to Fiji from India by the British as indentured workers (Lal, 1992; Willard, 2018). They are primarily wage laborers or sugar cane farmers. The Indo-Fijians are mostly Hindus and Muslims with a minority of Sikhs and Christians. The present sample consisted of Hindu Indo-Fijians from Lovu village on the island of Viti Levu. The participants were all wage laborers or unemployed. Though there are many gods in the Hindu tradition, the participants believed that all gods are aspects of one single God (*Bhagwan*).

Site	Economy	Moralistic deity	Local deity	Language of study
Coastal Tanna	Hort./Hunting	Christian god	<i>Tupunus</i>	Bislama
Hadza	Hunting	<i>Haine</i>	<i>Ishoko</i>	Hadzane/Swahili
Inland Tanna	Hort./hunting	<i>Kalpapen</i>	<i>Tupunus</i>	Navhaal
Lovu, Fiji	Wage labor	Shiva	—	Fiji-Hindi/English
Mauritius	Wage labor	Shiva	spirit (<i>nam</i>)	Mauritian Creole
Marajó, Brazil	Wage labor	Christian god	St. Mary	Portuguese
Tyva Republic	Wage labor/herding	<i>Buddha-Burgan</i>	spirit-masters (<i>cher eezi</i>)	Tyvan
Yasawa, Fiji	Fishing/farming	Christian god	ancestor spirits (<i>kalou-vu</i>)	Bauan Fijian

Table S1: **Deities selected and language used in each field site.** Note that for the Lovu Fiji sample no local gods were identified.

1.1.4. Marajó, Brazil

Pesqueiro is a small fishing village on the east side of Marajó Island at the mouth of the Amazon River (Cohen et al., 2018). Subsistence is primarily market-based, relying on fish sales in the nearby town of Soure and a growing tourism industry. The majority of inhabitants identify as Catholic, though there is a minority of Evangelical Protestants.

1.1.5. Pointe aux Piments, Mauritius

Mauritius is a cluster of islands about 1,200 miles off the coast of southeastern Africa (Carmeli and Eriksen, 1998; Xygalatas et al., 2018). Though historically dependent largely on sugar exports, Mauritius has developed into a diversified, market-based, monetized economy in recent decades. The main employment sectors include manufacturing, tourism, financial services, information technology, fish processing, and construction. Rural areas continue to rely on horticulture and fishing for subsistence. The study was conducted in the coastal rural village of Pointe aux Piments, which lacks industrial development. The majority of the local population is of low or middle income, employed mainly in fishing, agriculture, tourism, and other services. The village has a religiously mixed population, with Christians and Hindus each making up approximately 45% of the total. Our sample for this study consisted of Hindus.

1.1.6. Kyzyl, Tyva Republic (Russia)

Part of the Russian Federation, the Tyva Republic lies in southern Siberia, in the center of Asia (Purzycki and Kulundary, 2018; Vainshtein et al., 1980). Urban Tyvans subsist primarily on a market-based economy while rural Tyvans rely significantly more on produce provided by livestock (sheep, goats, cattle, yaks). The study was conducted in the capital city of Kyzyl primarily among urban Tyvans, though some were farmers. While the majority of Tyvans identifies as Buddhist, traditional religious practices associated with shamanism, animism, and totemism have a strong presence as well.

1.1.7. Yasawa, Fiji

Yasawa Island lies at the northwestern corner of the Fijian archipelago (Gervais, 2013; McNamara et al., 2016). Yasawans subsist primarily as fisher-horticulturalists. The present sample consists mainly of villagers living closest to the only resort on Yasawa Island as of July 2013. As such, this village has had the highest population of residents with the most extensive and frequent interaction with a resort. All Yasawans

identify as Christian, with a majority practicing as Wesleyan Methodists and a large minority practicing as Assemblies of God evangelicals. Additionally, their Christian beliefs and practices coexist alongside beliefs about traditional deified ancestor spirits that can bring illness, misfortune, and death to those who deviate from proper traditional Fijian social norms, often at the behest of sorcerers.

1.2. Methods

1.2.1. Free-List Tasks

Among many other questions and items (see [Purzycki et al., 2016](#))¹, we asked participants to freely list:

1. up to 5 behaviors that make someone a good/virtuous/moral person.
2. up to 5 behaviors that make someone a bad/immoral person.
3. the kinds of things the moralistic deity cares about or like
4. the kinds of things the moralistic deity dislikes.
5. the kinds of things the local deity cares about or likes.
6. the kinds of things the local deity dislikes.
7. up to 5 things that the police like.
8. up to 5 things that the police dislike.

We asked the first two questions during demographic interviews that immediately followed experiments (see [Purzycki et al. 2018](#) for an empirical report on the results of questions 1-2). Subsequently, we asked participants about deities in counterbalanced fashion (items 3-6), followed by questions about the police (items 7-8). We designed these lists to be capped at five items per domain due to time, but some did offer more. In line with the prediction that some features of social life is more likely to be associated with supernatural rather than secular concern, questions about the police were included as a contrast to the two kinds of deities in order to directly compare cognitive and cultural models across secular and supernatural agents.

In order to make our experiments ethnographically relevant, we designed the “Religious Landscape Interview” to get a broad survey of beliefs and practices from our field sites, and make informed and targeted decisions about what to ask. On the basis of these preliminary interviews, we selected the two deities in the present study. One was supposed to be the most morally concerned (i.e., concerned with things like theft, murder, theft, etc.), most punitive, and most knowledgeable in each field site (our so-called “moralistic” deities), and a locally important deity that might not have these qualities as much as the moralistic deities (our so-called “local” deities).

1.2.2. General Coding

We coded the free-list data in two ways. First, drawing from [Purzycki and McNamara \(2016\)](#), two independent coders coded the data from questions 3-8 with the following twelve-category rubric:

1. **Morality**: generalized behaviors that have a benefit or cost to other people (e.g., hurting, being generous, sharing, etc.)
2. **Virtue**: individual qualities that may or may not have social ramifications (e.g., hard-working, kind, bad conscience, etc.)
3. **People**: in reference to the quality, and/or the state of people (e.g., people, people stay in good health, live beings, happy, etc.)
4. **Etiquette**: conventional social behaviors that have no immediate cost or benefit to others (e.g., shaking hands, wearing the proper clothes, etc.)
5. **Substance Use/Abuse**: Items that involve the use of illicit substances

¹The full protocol is available at:
<https://github.com/bgpurzycki/Evolution-of-Religion-and-Morality>

6. **Religion**: any non-ritual or non-behavioral item concerned with the supernatural (e.g., faith, devotion, loving god, etc.)
7. **Ritual**: any behavior or object used in ritual devoted to the supernatural (e.g., praying, meditation, offerings, sacrifices, not participating in ritual, etc.)
8. **Ecology**: any behavior or object affecting non-human relationships (e.g., pollution, keeping sacred places clean, gardening, etc.)
9. **Food**²: any item composed of food items (e.g. Yam, Milk, etc.)
10. **Miscellaneous**: miscellaneous items, items that cross-cut categories, etc.
11. **D/K**: I don't know, not sure, etc.
12. **Specific**: Items that are specific to a culture (e.g., bel' leaf, *artysh*, etc.)

Second, coders recoded the data according to their own specifications. We encouraged them to be as specific or general as they felt necessary, but that they ensured they were consistent throughout the data set (i.e., both within domains and across sites).

2. Notes on Data Processing

We processed our data according to the steps illustrated in Figure S2. After free-list data were collected, translated and entered into spreadsheets, all data were compiled and checked for general errors by B.G.P.³ After this, two research assistants who were not privy to the theoretical motivations of the greater study or the current data independently coded all of the free-list data according to the general rubric detailed in the main text (Purzycki and McNamara, 2016). As some items were culturally specific (e.g., “Sang Salyr” or “nuhunu”) or ambiguous (e.g., “flowers” or “milk”), we consulted with the relevant field researchers to clarify the context of listed items (e.g., when foodstuffs refer to ritual offerings instead of food taboos).

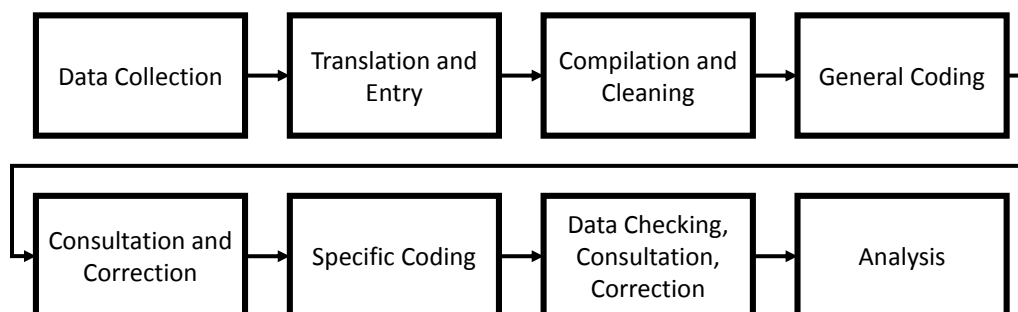


Figure S2: Main steps in free-list data processing.

After these consultations, our assistants updated their codes. Upon completion, we compared general codes in order to obtain reliability estimates for the coding scheme. Table S2 details the proportion of agreements across each domain for the general codes; inter-coder reliability across domains was quite high ranging between 69 and 99% agreement between the original two coders. To resolve disagreements, B.G.P. subsequently selected which of the two seemed closer to the coding scheme. In the cases of items coded as Specific, he subsequently recoded them after consulting with field researchers or the ethnographic record, which meant occasionally over-ruling the coders; Table S3 tabulates these instances. At this point, our assistants were familiar enough with the data and software and could then focus their efforts on systematically coding the data according in whichever manner they saw fit. We refer to these as our “specific codes”.

²Some of the items coded as food are used exclusively in ritual performances. These were recoded appropriately after consultation with each field researcher.

³Note that any of the ID numbers in the CERCID column with the “BGP” prefix are individuals who have no corresponding data from the main study.

Field Site	BGL	BGD	LGL	LGD	POL	POD
Coastal Tanna	0.98	0.98	0.96	0.96	0.69	0.89
Hadza	0.98	1.00	1.00	0.99	0.94	0.96
Inland Tanna	0.99	0.95	0.98	0.85	0.93	0.91
Lovu Fiji	0.73	0.65	–	–	0.83	0.78
Marajo	0.93	0.98	0.93	0.93	0.80	0.85
Mauritius	0.93	0.89	0.79	0.89	0.70	0.81
Tyva Republic	0.96	0.99	0.91	0.94	0.78	0.80
Yasawa Fiji	0.96	0.97	0.94	0.96	0.77	0.73

Table S2: **Proportion of agreement between coders.** Note that the Lovu values for BGL and BGD include data from an external third coder. NAs excluded.

Field Site	BGL	BGD	LGL	LGD	POL	POD
Coastal Tanna	0/92	0/128	0/51	0/48	0/105	0/150
Hadza	1/91	0/98	0/63	0/76	0/81	0/89
Inland Tanna	2/119	1/129	0/128	0/98	1/95	0/146
Lovu Fiji	0/219	0/220	–	–	0/243	0/254
Marajo	0/186	0/198	0/105	0/91	0/141	0/155
Mauritius	11/273	0/169	1/123	1/76	0/255	0/286
Tyva Republic	1/190	0/196	19/175	1/162	0/295	0/271
Yasawa Fiji	0/329	0/317	9/231	26/226	0/525	0/520
<i>Total</i>	15/1514	1/1455	29/876	28/777	1/1740	0/1871

Table S3: **Disagreements between BGP and coders.** Counts of disagreements against total number of codes per domain. NAs excluded.

A few years after data underwent this process of cleaning and processing, T.B. and B.G.P. found that some of the BGL and BGD data from Lovu were erroneously pasted from other free-list domains, so that the original assistants coded the same items for different domains (bold in Table S2). B.G.P. tracked down the correct data from the originally submitted data sheets and contacted the original coders in hopes of correction. In the meantime, an external individual coded this missing data (reported in Table S2). Both of the original assistants eventually recoded the data but agreement was notably much lower for these items than the others in the set (BGL: 0.42 and BGD: 0.63). This is likely due to a combination of time and timing. We therefore opted for the data that includes the external coder’s data for Lovu to select where there was higher agreement. In this case, all other coded data is from one original coder, but it has the third coder’s data for BGL and BGD for Lovu⁴.

As specific codes were left up to the individual coders, we report the specific codes from one (NC) who developed the most specific coding scheme. During data preparation and analysis, T.B. and B.G.P. noticed that specific codings were missing for Lovu and parts of the Mauritius sample. T.B. coded these missing data points using the existing code categories of one (NC) of the original coders’ specific codes. These are stored in columns named `[domain]_SPEC_TB`, which are otherwise duplicates of NC’s specific codes. Further, since the specific codes were by definition coder-specific, there were also some intra-coder inconsistencies, such as coding or spelling semantically-similar items differently. T.B. first cleaned (i.e., corrected typos, removed blank spaces, etc.) the specific codings (stored in `[domain]_SPEC_TB_c` columns) and, subsequently, lumped

⁴These data variables are `BGL_AB` and `BGD_AB` in the data set.

semantically-similar items (stored in `[domain]_SPEC_TB_cl` columns), erring on the side of preserving the original codes in borderline cases (e.g., codes for “No stealing” were drawn from variously coded items such as “No stealing – Burglers”, “No stealing – Robbery”, “No Stealing – Thieves”).

3. Notes on Hadza Data

We have added three variables specific to the Hadza data. **A** asks whether or not individuals believed in Haine, **B** asks whether or not individuals believe in Ishoko, and **C** asks whether or not individuals thought of these as the same god or as two distinct gods.

4. Data Codebook

Table S4 details the variables in the data set, their definitions, and the kind of data they are. BG refers to “moralistic gods”, LG refers to “local gods”, and PO refers to police. L or D added to these acronyms refer to “likes” and “dislikes” respectively. NC and TL refer to original coders, AB refers to third external coder of the Lovu BGL and BGD data.

Table S4: **Codebook for Free-List data.**

Variable	Definition	Data
Culture	Name of population	factor
CERCID	ID # linked to other CERC data	factor
FLID	ID # specifically for FL data	factor
POSTRA	Data added/processed after primary RA work?	1 = yes
Order	order in which items were listed	numeric
CULTURE_NC	Name of population (NC data)	factor
CULTURE_TL	Name of population (TL data)	factor
ID_NC	ID (NC data)	factor
ID_TL	ID (TL data)	factor
ORDER_NC	order in which items were listed (NC)	numeric
ORDER_TL	order in which items were listed (TL)	numeric
BGL_ORIG_NC	original moralistic gods’ likes data (NC)	factor
BGL_ORIG_TL	original moralistic gods’ likes data (TL)	factor
BGL_GEN_NC	NC’s general codes (BGL)	factor
BGL_GEN_TL	TL’s general codes (BGL)	factor
DIS_BGL_TL	disagreement between NC and TL (BGL)	1 = yes
DIS_BGL_AB	disagreement between NC and AB (BGL)	1 = yes
BGL	final codes for BGL	factor
DIS_BGL_BGP	BGP disagrees with NC and TL (BGL)	1 = yes
BGL_AB	TL’s general codes with AB’s for Lovu (BGL)	factor
BGL_SPEC_NC	NC’s specific codes (BGL)	factor
BGL_SPEC_TL	TL’s specific codes (BGL)	factor
BGL_SPEC_TB	TB’s updates to NC	factor
BGL_SPEC_TB_c	TB’s cleaned data	factor
BGL_SPEC_TB_cl	TB’s lumped	factor
BGD_ORIG_NC	original moralistic gods’ dislikes data (NC)	factor
BGD_ORIG_TL	original moralistic gods’ dislikes data (TL)	factor
BGD_GEN_NC	NC’s general codes (BGD)	factor
BGD_GEN_TL	TL’s general codes (BGD)	factor
DIS_BGD_TL	disagreement between NC and TL (BGD)	1 = yes

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Table S4 – *Continued from previous page*

Variable	Definition	Data Type
DIS_BGD_AB	disagreement between NC and AB (BGD)	1 = yes
BGD	final codes for BGD	factor
DIS_BGD_BGP	BGP disagrees with NC and TL (BGD)	1 = yes
BGD_AB	TL's general codes with AB's for Lovu (BGD)	factor
BGD_SPEC_NC	NC's specific codes (BGD)	factor
BGD_SPEC_TL	TL's specific codes (BGD)	factor
BGD_SPEC_TB	TB's updates to NC	factor
BGD_SPEC_TB_c	TB's cleaned data	factor
BGD_SPEC_TB_cl	TB's lumped	factor
LGL_ORIG_NC	original local gods' likes data (NC)	factor
LGL_ORIG_TL	original local gods' likes data (TL)	factor
LGL_GEN_NC	NC's general codes (LGL)	factor
LGL_GEN_TL	TL's general codes (LGL)	factor
DIS_LGL	disagreement between NC and TL (LGL)	1 = yes
LGL	final codes for LGL	factor
LGL2	final codes for LGL with don't knows -> NA	factor
DIS_LGL_BGP	BGP disagrees with NC and TL (LGL)	1 = yes
LGL_SPEC_NC	NC's specific codes (LGL)	factor
LGL_SPEC_TL	TL's specific codes (LGL)	factor
LGL_SPEC_TB	TB's updates to NC	factor
LGL_SPEC_TB_c	TB's cleaned data	factor
LGL_SPEC_TB_cl	TB's lumped	factor
LGD_ORIG_NC	original local gods' dislikes data (NC)	factor
LGD_ORIG_TL	original local gods' dislikes data (TL)	factor
LGD_GEN_NC	NC's general codes (LGD)	factor
LGD_GEN_TL	TL's general codes (LGD)	factor
DIS_LGD	disagreement between NC and TL (BGD)	1 = yes
LGD	final codes for LGD	factor
LGD2	final codes for LGD with don't knows -> NA	factor
DIS_LGD_BGP	BGP disagrees with NC and TL (LGD)	1 = yes
LGD_SPEC_NC	NC's specific codes (LGD)	factor
LGD_SPEC_TL	TL's specific codes (LGD)	factor
POL_ORIG_NC	original police likes data (NC)	factor
POL_ORIG_TL	original police likes data (TL)	factor
POL_GEN_NC	NC's general codes (POL)	factor
POL_GEN_TL	TL's general codes (POL)	factor
DIS_POL	disagreement between NC and TL (POL)	1 = yes
POL	final codes for POL	factor
DIS_POL_BGP	BGP disagrees with NC and TL (POL)	1 = yes
POL_SPEC_NC	NC's specific codes (POL)	factor
POL_SPEC_TL	TL's specific codes (POL)	factor
POL_SPEC_TB	TB's updates to NC	factor
POL_SPEC_TB_c	TB's cleaned data	factor
POL_SPEC_TB_cl	TB's lumped	factor
POD_ORIG_NC	original police dislikes data (NC)	factor
POD_ORIG_TL	original police dislikes data (TL)	factor
POD_GEN_NC	NC's general codes (POD)	factor
POD_GEN_TL	TL's general codes (POD)	factor
DIS_POD	disagreement between NC and TL (POD)	1 = yes

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Table S4 – *Continued from previous page*

Variable	Definition	Data Type
POD	final codes for POD	factor
DIS_POD_BGP	BGP disagrees with NC and TL (POD)	1 = yes
POD_SPEC_NC	NC's specific codes (POD)	factor
POD_SPEC_TL	TL's specific codes (POD)	factor
POD_SPEC_TB	TB's updates to NC	factor
POD_SPEC_TB_c	TB's cleaned data	factor
POD_SPEC_TB_cl	TB's lumped	factor
GOOD_ORIG_NC	original good data (NC)	factor
GOOD_ORIG_TL	original good data (TL)	factor
MATCH_GOOD	quality check (GOOD)	corrected = corrected
GOOD_SPEC_NC	NC's specific codes (GOOD)	factor
GOOD_SPEC_TL	TL's specific codes (GOOD)	factor
GOOD_SPEC_BP	BP's specific codes (GOOD)	factor
BAD_ORIG_NC	original bad data (NC)	factor
BAD_ORIG_TL	original bad data (TL)	factor
MATCH_BAD	quality check (BAD)	corrected = corrected
BAD_SPEC_NC	NC's specific codes (BAD)	factor
BAD_SPEC_TL	TL's specific codes (BAD)	factor
BAD_SPEC_BP	BP's specific codes (BAD)	factor
HAINE	Believe in Haine? (Hadza only)	Yes/No/Don't know/NA
ISHOKO	Believe in Ishoko? (Hadza only)	Yes/No/Don't know/NA
GDSMDIFF	Haine/Ishoko the same god? (Hadza only)	Different/Same/Don't Know/NA

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