When socioecological predictors do matter, they seem to matter for types of punishment more than for punishment writ large: technological/social differentiation is the one predictor that cleanly aligns with generalized third-party punishment, while kinship intensity is most plausibly linked to kin-structured third-party enforcement.

Overall, preregistered expectations that "more complex societies punish more" receive limited support in these ethnographic data; instead, the comparative record suggests multiple pathways to norm regulation that do not map neatly onto a single complexity gradient.