

LÉO FITOUCHI

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

2023– Research Fellow, Institute for Advanced Study in Toulouse (IAST)

EDUCATION

- 2023** Ph.D. in Cognitive Science. École Normale Supérieure, Paris
Dissertation: *The cognitive anthropology of moralistic culture.*
- 2019** M.Sc. in Cognitive Science (*Cogmaster*), École Normale Supérieure, Paris
with high honors (ranking: 2nd/49)
- 2017** B.A. in Philosophy: Logic and philosophy of science track, with high honors,
Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne
- 2016** Admitted at École Normale Supérieure (Ulm) through the competitive exam
- 2016–2020** Scholarschip at École Normale Supérieure (Ulm). Major: Cognitive science
- 2013–2016** Intensive preparatory class in social sciences (“Classe préparatoire B/L”)
Lycée du Parc, Lyon

PUBLICATIONS

* denotes corresponding author

† denotes co-first author

JOURNAL ARTICLES

- † 5. **Fitouchi, L.** & Singh, M. (2023). Punitive justice serves to restore reciprocal cooperation in three small-scale societies. *Evolution and Human Behavior*. [Link](#) [PDF](#) [OSF](#)
4. **Fitouchi, L.**, André, J. B., & Baumard, N. (2023). Moral disciplining: The cognitive and evolutionary foundations of puritanical morality. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*. [Link](#) [PDF](#)
[Target Article]
- * 3. **Fitouchi, L.**, André J.-B., Baumard, N. (2023). The puritanical moral contract: Purity, cooperation, and the architecture of the moral mind. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*.
[Link](#) [PDF](#) [Response to commentaries on Fitouchi et al.]
- * 2. **Fitouchi, L.**, & Singh, M. (2022). Supernatural punishment beliefs as cognitively compelling tools of social control. *Current Opinion in Psychology*. [Link](#) [PDF](#)

1. de Courson, B., **Fitouchi, L.**, Bouchaud, J. P., & Benzaquen, M. (2021). Cultural diversity and wisdom of crowds are mutually beneficial and evolutionarily stable. *Scientific Reports*, *11*(1), 1-15. [Link](#) [PDF](#) [GitHub](#)

JOURNAL ARTICLES UNDER REVIEW AND WORKING PAPERS

5. André, J.-B., **Fitouchi, L.**, Debove, S., Baumard, N., An evolutionary contractualist theory of morality (in revision) [PREPRINT](#)
- * 4. **Fitouchi, L.**, Singh, M., André, J.-B., Baumard, N., Prosocial religions as folk-technologies of mutual policing (under review). [PREPRINT](#) [OSF](#)
3. Dubourg, E., Thouzeau, V., Beuchot, T., Bonard, C., Boyer, P., Clasen, M., Mélusine Boon-Falleur, M., Grégory Fiorio, **Fitouchi, L.**, Fisher, M., Grant, A., Hye-Knudsen, M., Katiyar, T., Kjeldgaard-Christiansen, J., Mercier, M., Mercier, H., Morin, O., Salmon, C., Scott-Phillips, T., Scrivner, C., Sijilmassi, A., Singh, M., Smith, M., Sobchuk, O., Stubbersfield, J., Varnum, M., Verpooten, J., Zhong, Y., Baumard, N., The cognitive foundations of fictional stories: An integrative and comprehensive framework. (under review). [preprint available upon request]
- * 3. **Fitouchi L.**, André, J.-B., Baumard, N., Nettle, D., Harmless bodily pleasures are moralized because they are perceived as reducing self-control and cooperativeness. [PREPRINT](#) [OSF](#)
- * 2. Panis-Lie, J., **Fitouchi, L.**, Baumard, N., André, J.-B., A model of endogenous institution formation through limited reputational incentives. [PREPRINT](#)
- * 1. **Fitouchi L.**, Baumard, N., André, J.-B., Just desert: Compensatory computations explain moralistic punishment. [preprint available upon request].

LETTERS AND COMMENTARIES

- * 4. André, J.-B., **Fitouchi, L.**, Baumard, N. (2023). Reciprocal contracts—not competitive acquisition—explain the moral psychology of ownership. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*. [Link](#) [PDF](#) [Commentary on Boyer]
- † 3. Dubourg, E., **Fitouchi, L.**, Baumard, N. (2022). When instrumental inference hides behind seemingly arbitrary conventions. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*. [Link](#) [PDF](#) [Commentary on Jiagello, Heyes, & Whitehouse]
- * 2. **Fitouchi L.**, André J.-B., Baumard, N. (2022). From supernatural punishment to big gods to puritanical religions: clarifying explanatory targets in the rise of moralizing religions. *Religion, Brain and Behavior* [Link](#) [PDF](#) [Commentary on Turchin, Whitehouse, et al.]
- * 1. **Fitouchi L.**, André J.-B., Baumard, N. (2021). The intertwined cultural evolution of ascetic spiritualities and puritanical religions as technologies of self-discipline. *Religion, Brain and Behavior*. [Link](#) [PDF](#) [Commentary on Glucklich]

BOOK CHAPTERS

2. Baumard, N., **Fitouchi, L.**, André, J.B., Nettle, D., Scott-Philipps, T. (forthcoming). The gene's eye view of culture: vehicles, not replicators. In *Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology*. [PREPRINT](#)

- * 1. **Fitouchi L.**, André J.-B., Baumard, N. (forthcoming). Are there really so many moral emotions? Carving morality at its functional joints. In *The Oxford Handbook of Evolution and the Emotions*. Oxford University Press. [PREPRINT](#)

CONFERENCE & WORKSHOP PRESENTATIONS

INVITED TALKS

“Moral emotions and the historical psychology of puritanism.” *Emotions in History: Boundary-crossing adventures*. Workshop at University of California, Santa Barbara
[Invited psychology speakers: Leda Cosmides, Daniel Sznycer, Michael Mutukrishna, Léo Fitouchi]

CONFERENCE TALKS

Fitouchi, L. (April 2023). “Punitive justice serves to restore reciprocal cooperation in three small-scale societies.” **Talk** at *EHBEA (European Human Behavior and Evolution Association)*, University College London (UCL), London

Fitouchi, L. (November 2022). “Punitive justice serves to restore reciprocal cooperation in three small-scale societies.” **Talk** at *FRESH (French Society for Evolutionary Human Sciences)*, Institute for Advanced Studies in Toulouse, Toulouse

Fitouchi, L. (June 2022). “Institutionalized punishment serves to restore reciprocal cooperation in three small-scale societies.” **Talk** at *HBES (Human Behavior & Evolution Society)*, online

Fitouchi, L. (November 2021). “Moralizing religions as cognitively compelling tools of social control”. **Short talk** at *FRESH (French Society for Evolutionary Human Sciences)*, Montpellier.

Fitouchi, L. (September 2021). “The foundations of puritanical morality and moralizing religions.” **Short talk** at *Leda Cosmides and John Tooby: Honoring 40 years of innovation*, Royaumont Abbey, France

Fitouchi, L. (June 2021). “Moral disciplining: the cognitive and evolutionary foundations of puritanical morality.” **Talk** at *HBES (Human Behavior & Evolution Society)*, online

Fitouchi, L. (November 2020). “Cognitive and evolutionary foundations of puritanical morality.” **Short talk** at *FRESH (French Society for Evolutionary Human Sciences)*, online.

Fitouchi L., & Altay, S. (December 2018). “A cognitive and evolutionary look at cultural diffusion” **Talk** at *Comparative mythology, population genetics, linguistic phylogenetics, and cognitive patterns: Studies in the new science of cultural diffusion*, École Normale Supérieure, Paris.

POSTER PRESENTATIONS

Fitouchi, L. (April 2022). “Supernatural punishment beliefs as cognitively compelling tools of social control.” **Poster** at *European Human Behavior and Evolution Association Conference (EHBEA)*, Max Planck Institute for evolutionary anthropology, Leipzig (online).

Fitouchi L. (July 2021). “Reverse-engineering puritanical morality” **Poster** at *Engineering and reverse engineering morality*, workshop at Cognitive Science Society, online.

TEACHING & MENTORSHIP

LECTURER

Fall 2021, Spring 2022,
Fall 2022, Fall 2023

Human cooperation: evolution, psychology, institutions
PSL University

Undergraduate program *Sciences for a sustainable world*
30 hours per semester (with Sijilmassi, A.)

Spring 2023

Cognitive anthropology
PSL University
4 hours module (with Olivier Morin)

Fall 2022

Social cognition
PSL University
Undergrad program *Cycle pluridisciplinaire d'études supérieures*
6 hours module (with Dubourg, E., & Sijilmassi, A.)

TEACHING ASSISTANT

Spring 2021, Spring 2022

Cultural Evolution
Master in Cognitive Science, ENS Paris
18 hours per semester (*Instructor*: Olivier Morin)

GUEST LECTURES

Spring 2021, Spring 2022,
Spring 2023

“Moral psychology”
in *Social cognition* course, Master in Cognitive science, ENS Paris

Spring 2021, Spring 2022,
Spring 2023

“Evolution & psychology of reputation-management”
in *Social cognition* course, Master in Cognitive science, ENS Paris

Spring 2021

“The cultural evolution of norms & institutions”
in *Cultural evolution* course, Master in Cognitive science, ENS

Spring 2021

“Cultural evolution: A general introduction”
in *Cultural evolution* course, Master in Cognitive science, ENS

Spring 2022

“Explaining the rise of tolerance and the fall of moral policing”
in *Adaptive plasticity and societal changes in the 21st century* Master in
Cognitive Science, ENS Paris

STUDENT SUPERVISION

Grégory Fiorio, M2 in cognitive science. Internship topic: The moral regulation of revenge in the lab and the wild (Fall 2023, Spring 2024).

Grégoire Darcy, M1 and M2 in cognitive science. Internship topic: Evolved cognition and the origins of law (Spring 2023, Fall 2023, Spring 2024).

Julie Navelier, M1 in cognitive psychology. Internship topic: Experimental project on kinship obligations as reciprocal moral contracts (Fall 2022, Spring 2023)

OTHER

The dynamics of capitalism (Course in economic and social history for high-school students, Spring 2017, Fall 2018), TalENS program, ENS Paris

POPULAR AUDIENCE

“D’où vient notre sens de la justice ?” (2023). *France Inter* (Radio France). [Link](#)

“Moral emotions, punishment, and puritanical morality” (2023). *The Dissenter* (Ricardo Lopez), podcast. [Youtube](#) [Spotify](#)

“What’s punishment like in small-scale societies?” (2023). *Human Behavior and Evolution Society*. [Link](#)

“La morale puritaine : pourquoi condamner des plaisirs apparemment inoffensifs ?” (2022). *DEC Actualités*. [Link](#) (English version: [Link](#))

“Psychological consequences of believing in heaven and hell” (2022). *Psychology today*. [Link](#)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

AD HOC MANUSCRIPT REVIEWING (verified on [Web of Science profile](#))

Applied Economics

Cognition

Journal of Personality

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology

Journal of the Economic Science Association

Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences

Review of Philosophy and Psychology

ORGANIZED CONFERENCES & SEMINARS

Nov 2022 *Evolution, cognition, and culture*. Workshop, Saint-Jacut Abbey.
Scientific committee: Dan Sperber, Coralie Chevallier, Nicolas Baumard.

Spring 2019 *Naturalizing the social sciences: How evolutionary biology and cognitive science
are reshaping the study of culture*.
Student seminar, ENS Paris, Léo Fitouchi & Benoît de Courson

UNIVERSITY/DEPARTMENTAL SERVICE

2022 Admission interviews for the *Sciences for a Sustainable World* degree, PSL University,
Paris

2021–2022 Elected member of the Executive Board of the École Normale Supérieure, Paris