
ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Incoming: Marie Curie postdoctoral fellow — MIT & Harvard University
2023–2026 Research Fellow — IAST & Toulouse School of Economics

Visiting positions

July–August 2025 Visiting researcher, Harvard University, Department of Psychology
Visiting researcher, MIT, Department of Brain & Cognitive Sciences

EDUCATION

November 2023 Ph.D. in Cognitive Science — École Normale Supérieure, Paris
2019 M.Sc. in Cognitive Science (*Cogmaster*), with high honors (ranking: 2nd/49). ENS Paris
2017 B.A. in Philosophy, with high honors. Panthéon-Sorbonne University, Paris
2016–2020 Scholarship at École Normale Supérieure, Paris. Major: Cognitive Science.
2016 Admitted to École Normale Supérieure (Ulm), through the competitive exam (B/L)
2013–2016 Intensive preparatory class in social sciences (“Prépa B/L”), Lycée du Parc, Lyon.

GRANTS & FELLOWSHIPS

Marie Skłodowska-Curie Global Postdoctoral Fellowship, 3 years (€413,000)
IAST Multidisciplinary Grant, 2 years (€30,000).
IAST Research Fellowship, 3 years (research budget: €12,000)

JOURNAL ARTICLES (PEER-REVIEWED)

* corresponding author

† co-first author

^ mentored student

10. Dubourg, E., Thouzeau, V., Beuchot, T., Bonard, C., Boyer, P., Clasen, M., Mélusine Boon-Falleur, M., Fiorio, G., [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., Sijlmasi, A., Singh, M., Smith, M., Sobchuk, O., Stubbersfield, J., Varnum, M., Verpooten, J., Zhong, Y. (in press). Carving stories at their natural joints. *Psychological Review*.
9. Lie-Panis, J., [Fitouchi, L.](#), Baumard, N., & André, J.-B. (2026). Why human societies adopt rigid moral rules: the efficiency-robustness trade-off. *PNAS*, 123(28). [Link PDF Model](#)
8. [Fitouchi, L.](#)^{*} & Singh, M.^{†*} (2026). Retributive sentiments track both deterrent and compensatory concerns in a small-scale society and WEIRD sample. *Psychological Science*, 37(6), 392-410. [PREPRINT OSF](#)
7. [Fitouchi, L.](#)^{*} & Nettle, D. (2025). Harmless bodily pleasures are moralized because they are perceived as reducing self-control and cooperativeness. *Cognition*, 262, 106154. [Link PDF OSF](#)
6. [Fitouchi, L.](#)^{*}, Singh, M., André, J.-B., & Baumard, N. (2025). Prosocial religions as folk-technologies of mutual policing. *Psychological Review*, 132(6), 1410-1437. [Link PDF OSF](#)
5. Lie-Panis, J.^{*}, [Fitouchi, L.](#)^{*}, Baumard, N., & André, J.-B. (2024). The social leverage effect: Institutions transform weak reputation effects into strong incentives for cooperation. *PNAS*, 121(51). [Link PDF Model](#)
4. [Fitouchi, L.](#)^{*}, André, J. B., & Baumard, N. (2023). Moral disciplining: The cognitive and evolutionary foundations of puritanical morality [Target article]. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 46, e296. [Link PDF Response to commentaries](#)
3. [Fitouchi, L.](#), & Singh, M.^{*} (2023). Punitive justice serves to restore reciprocal cooperation in three small-scale societies. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 44 (5), 502-514. [Link PDF OSF](#)
2. [Fitouchi, L.](#)^{*}, & Singh, M.^{*} (2022). Supernatural punishment beliefs as cognitively compelling tools of social control. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 252-257. [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), 16566. [Link PDF GitHub](#)

JOURNAL ARTICLES IN REVISION AND PREPRINT

1. André, J.-B., [Fitouchi, L.](#), Debove, S., & Baumard, N. An evolutionary contractualist theory of morality (in revision at *Psychological Review*). [PREPRINT](#)
2. Claessens, S., Bocian, K., Boggio, P., Fiorio, G., [Fitouchi, L.](#), Genç, Z., Hannikainen, I., Kamitz, L., Konur, T., Liu, P., Miazek, K., Sampaio, W., Suarez, J., Veitch, P., Yilmaz, O., Yu, H., & Everett, J.* Trust in artificial moral advisors across cultures. (under review)
3. Darcy, G.^, [Fitouchi, L.](#), Thouzeau, V., André, J.-B., Chevallier, C. Trust miscalibration across cultures and social classes. (under review).

COMMENTARIES AND RESPONSES

6. André, J.-B., [Fitouchi, L.](#), Baumard, N. (in press). Moral cognition is contractualist, but does not work by simulating the bargaining process. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*. (Commentary on Levine et al.) [Link](#) [PDF](#)
5. [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*. (*Response to commentaries* on Fitouchi et al. 'Moral disciplining') [Link](#) [PDF](#)
4. André, J.-B.*, [Fitouchi, L.*](#), Baumard, N. (2023). Reciprocal contracts—not competitive acquisition—explain the moral psychology of ownership. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*. (Commentary on Boyer) [Link](#) [PDF](#)
3. Dubourg, E. †*, [Fitouchi, L. †*](#), Baumard, N. (2022). When instrumental inference hides behind seemingly arbitrary conventions. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*. (Commentary on Jiagello, Heyes, & Whitehouse) [Link](#) [PDF](#)
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 & Behavior*. (Commentary on Turchin, Whitehouse, et al.) [Link](#) [PDF](#)
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 & Behavior*. (Commentary on Glucklich) [Link](#) [PDF](#)

BOOK CHAPTERS

2. [Fitouchi L.*](#), André J.-B., Baumard, N. (2024). Are there really so many moral emotions? Carving morality at its functional joints. In *The Oxford Handbook for Evolution and the Emotions*. Oxford University Press. [Link](#) [PDF](#)
1. Baumard, N., André, J.B., Nettle, D., [Fitouchi, L.](#), Scott-Philipps, T. (in press). The gene's eye view of culture. *APA Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology*. American Psychological Association.

INVITED TALKS

10. International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (Leuven, Belgium), *Cultural Evolution from a Historical Perspective* (July 2026). "Cognitive foundations of puritanical morality."
9. Fyssen Foundation, Paris, *Cognitive Science and Anthropological Categories Workshop* (October 2025). "Is morality a cognitive natural kind?"
8. Harvard University, *Social Cognitive Science Lab* (July 2025). "Contractualist computations explain punitive psychology."
7. MIT, *Social & Developmental Cognitive Neuroscience Lab* (July 2025). "Retributive and compensatory justice across human societies."
6. Max Planck Institute for the study of crime, security, and law, *ZiF Center for Interdisciplinary Research* (June 2025). "Explaining intuitive retributivism."
5. MIT, University of Vienna, & Vrije University Amsterdam, *Cooperation Colloquia* (October 2024). "Rethinking the moral psychology of punishment."
4. UBC (University of British Columbia, Vancouver), *Moral Cultures Workshop* (August 2024). "Rethinking the moral psychology of punishment."
3. University of California Davis, *Department of Anthropology* (May 2024), "Punitive justice in small-scale societies."
2. University of California Santa Barbara, *Emotions in History Workshop* (August 2023), "Moral emotions and the historical psychology of puritanism."

1. University of California Santa Barbara, *Center for Evolutionary Psychology* (May 2023), "Cognitive foundations of puritanical religions."

CONFERENCE TALKS

11. Fitouchi, L. (May 2026). "Compensatory justice across small- and large-scale societies." Talk at *Human Behavior and Evolution Society* (HBES). University Mohammed VI Polytechnic, Rabat, Morocco.
10. Fitouchi, L. (May 2024). "Prosocial religions as folk-technologies of mutual policing." Talk at *Human Behavior and Evolution Society* (HBES). Aarhus University, Denmark. **Finalist for New Investigator Award.**
9. Fitouchi, L. (April 2023). "Punitive justice serves to restore reciprocal cooperation in three small-scale societies." Talk at *European Human Behavior and Evolution Association* (EHBEA), University College London.
8. Fitouchi, L. (December 2022). "Moralizing religions as technologies of mutual policing." Talk at *Evolution, Cognition, and Culture* (workshop), Saint-Jacut Abbey.
7. Fitouchi, L. (November 2022). "Punitive justice serves to restore reciprocal cooperation in three small-scale societies." Talk at *French society for the Evolutionary Study of Humans* (FRESH), Institute for Advanced Studies in Toulouse.
6. Fitouchi, L. (June 2022). "Institutionalized punishment serves to restore reciprocal cooperation in three small-scale societies." Talk at *Human Behavior and Evolution Society* (HBES), USA (online)
5. Fitouchi, L. (November 2021). "Moralizing religions as cognitively compelling tools of social control". Short talk at *French society for the Evolutionary Study of Humans* (FRESH), Montpellier.
4. 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
3. Fitouchi, L. (June 2021). "Moral disciplining: the cognitive and evolutionary foundations of puritanical morality." Talk at *Human Behavior and Evolution Society* (HBES). Online (covid)
2. Fitouchi, L. (November 2020). "Cognitive and evolutionary foundations of puritanical morality." Short talk at *FRESH (French Society for Evolutionary Human Sciences)*. Online (covid).
1. 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

2. Fitouchi, L. (April 2022). "Supernatural punishment beliefs as cognitively compelling tools of social control." Poster at *European Human Behavior and Evolution Association* (EHBEA), Max Planck Institute for evolutionary anthropology, Leipzig
1. Fitouchi L. (July 2021). "Reverse-engineering puritanical morality" Poster at *Cognitive Science Society: Engineering and reverse engineering morality*, online.

TEACHING & SUPERVISION (total hours lectured: >150h)

INVITED LECTURER

Summer 2026	The structure and function of moral cognition <i>Toulouse Summer School in Quantitative Social Sciences, IAST-TSE</i>
Summer 2025	Cognitive science of morality and religion , <i>Toulouse Summer School in Quantitative Social Sciences, IAST-TSE</i>
Summer 2024	Cooperation at the micro and macro scales , Central European University, Budapest. <i>Summer School: "The Human mind & the Open Society"</i>
Fall 2021-Spring 2022- Fall 2022-Fall 2023	Human cooperation: Evolution, psychology, institutions , Bachelor program: <i>Sciences for a sustainable world</i> , Paris Sciences & Lettres University (PSL), ~20h per semester (x4)
Spring 2023	Cognitive anthropology , Bachelor program in social sciences, Paris Sciences & Lettres University (PSL) (with Olivier Morin)
Fall 2022	Social cognition , Bachelor program in social sciences, Paris Sciences & Lettres University (PSL)

TEACHING ASSISTANT

Spring 2021-Spring 2022	Cultural Evolution , ENS Paris (Instructor: Olivier Morin) 20 hours per semester (x2)
-------------------------	---

GUEST LECTURES

"Evolution of human behavior" (Spring 2024). Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris
"The evolution of moral cognition" (Spring 2024). Sciences Po, Paris
"Moral psychology" (Spring 2023). ENS Paris
"Evolution and psychology of reputation-management" (Spring 2023). ENS Paris
"The rise of tolerance and the fall of moral policing" (Spring 2022). ENS Paris
"Evolution and psychology of reputation-management" (Spring 2022). ENS Paris
"Moral psychology" (Spring 2022). ENS Paris
"The cultural evolution of norms and institutions" (Spring 2021). ENS Paris
"Cultural evolution: A general introduction" (Spring 2021). ENS Paris
"Evolution and psychology of reputation-management" (Spring 2021). ENS Paris
"Moral psychology" (Spring 2021). ENS Paris

STUDENT SUPERVISION

PhD students:

Gregory Fiorio (2024-2027, **primary supervisor**). *The moral psychology of punishment*.
Grégoire Darcy (2024-2027, secondary supervisor). *Cognitive foundations of social trust and cultural tightness*.

Master students:

Grégory Fiorio (Fall 2023, Spring 2024). *The moral psychology of punishment*.
Grégoire Darcy (Spring 2023, Fall 2023, Spring 2024). *Cognitive foundations of social trust and cultural tightness*
Julie Navelier (Fall 2022, Spring 2023). *The moral psychology of special obligations*.

POPULAR AUDIENCE

"What can't money buy?" (2026). *Crossing Channels* (with Cambridge University & Bennett Institute) – Audio podcast. [Link](#)
"La religion expliquée par l'évolution ?" (2026). *La Tronche en Biais* – Vidéo Podcast. [Link](#)
"Autoritarisme, coopération, évolution et blabla" (2026). *Cog Sci, Phil, & Chill* – Audio podcast [Link](#)
"Moralizing self-control with Léo Fitouchi" (2025). *Evolutionary Psychology: The podcast* – Audio podcast. [Link](#)
"What money can't buy: The moral limits of markets" (2025). *TSE Magazine* – Joint interview with Jean Tirole (Nobel prize laureate in economics) [Link](#) (English version: [Link](#))
"Les institutions : des outils pour résoudre les problèmes de coopération" (2025) (with Lie-Panis, J. & André, J.-B.). *Société Française d'Écologie* – Article [Link](#)
"D'où vient notre sens de la justice ?" (2023). *France Inter* – Audio podcast. [Link](#).
"What's punishment like in small-scale societies?" (2023). *Human Behavior and Evolution Society* – Article.
"Moral emotions, punishment, and puritanical morality" (2023). 2-hours podcast interview at *The Dissenter* (Ricardo Lopez). [Youtube](#) [Spotify](#)
"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* – Joint interview with Manvir Singh. [Link](#)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Book reviewing:

Cambridge University Press (Book: Purzycki, B. 2025. *Morality and the Gods*)

Manuscript reviewing (verified on [Web of Science profile](#)):

PNAS (2); *PNAS Nexus*; *Cognition* (5); *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*; *Perspectives on Psychological Science*; *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B*; *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*; *Psychonomic Bulletin and Review*; *Evolution and Human Behavior* (2); *Review of Philosophy and Psychology*; *Journal of Personality*; *Evolutionary Anthropology*; *Evolutionary Human Sciences*; *Human Nature*; *Journal of the Economic Science Association*; *Applied Economics*

Organized conferences and seminars:

Fall 2025 IAST Pyrenean Interdisciplinary Research Event (PIREN)

Fall 2024 - Spring 2025 IAST General Seminar series, Toulouse, France.

November 2022 *Evolution, cognition, and culture*. Workshop at Saint-Jacut Abbey, France.

Spring 2019

Naturalizing the social sciences? How evolutionary biology and cognitive science are reshaping the study of culture (Student seminar, ENS Paris)

University/departmental service:

2022 Admission interviews for PSL University, B.S: *Sciences for a Sustainable World*

2021–2022 Elected member of the Executive Board of the École Normale Supérieure – PSL.