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Dissertation Proposal

Title: Ha-'adam 'afar min ha-'adamah: Human Religious Systems as Evolutionary Ecological Responses as expressed in Contemporary American Judaism

The evolutionary psychology of religion (EP) posits that religious thoughts, behaviors, and social organizational structures evolved as byproducts and/or adaptive responses to ecologically triggered survival challenges faced by early *Homo sapiens* and so became a probabilistic but not deterministic part of our psychological underpinnings (Buss, 2015; Liddle & Shackelford, 2021; Barkow, Cosmides, & Tooby, 1996; Kirkpatrick, 1999). The cognitive science of religion (CSR) examines these mental predispositions among modern humans, identifying the factors and mechanisms that most influence our automatic assumptions and intuitions about the world and our sensation and perception of our environments that, while natural, lead us to believe in and interact with the supernatural (Boyer, 2001; Barrett, 2004; Pyysiäinen, 2001).

These disciplines converge in their goal of identifying the few irreducible, universal, and systematic features of what we now call religiosity as a human likelihood while still allowing for the flourishing of diversity and specificity among the world's religious cultures based on geographical and socio-historical ecological contingencies (Saler, 1999; Guthrie, 1993; Lawson & McCauley, 1990; Richerson & Boyd, 2005; Norenzayan et al., 2016)— a definition of religion. They also strive to provide a neutral, consilient, and explanatory but not reductive theory into how religion did and does serve more-or-less adaptive functions within varying socio-historical ecological contexts from human prehistory into the present so that it remains a common and powerful human tendency today (Bloom, 2007; Wilson, 1998; Pyysiäinen & Hauser, 2009; Graham & Haidt, 2010)— an explanation of religion. My dissertation project,

which will involve both qualitative and quantitative field research among a contemporary Reform Jewish congregation, Temple Beth El in Madison, Wisconsin, is discursively situated within the fields of EP and CSR as an application, expansion, and re-orientation of some of these fields' foundational theories.

Like many academic approaches to religion, CSR has been influenced by tacit Christian assumptions that belief is the defining feature of religion, despite this definition's insidious Euro-Protestant biases (Masuzawa, 2005; Batnitzky, 2011; Asad, 1993), and so has focused unduly on the credibility of supernatural agents and the credulity of human minds rather than on other religious behaviors and structures. For example, the work of Barrett (2004) and others stems from the discipline of experimental psychology, and is quantitative, lab-based, and disengaged from many of the perennial debates within religious studies about prejudicial European Protestant academic definitions of 'religion' as individual, privatized belief. A variety of cognitive studies that are mostly limited to individual perception and reasoning, not social processes, have been conducted with primarily Western Christian subjects about how beliefs in supernatural deities are formed and reinforced through engagement with such concepts as theory of mind, minimally counterintuitive ontology violations, and the hyperactive agency detection device. These kinds of studies are highly feasible and replicable, but they tend to diminish the internal complexity of religion as a phenomenon (King, 2007; Watts, 2013; Graham & Haidt, 2010; Murray & Schloss, 2009). Alcorta & Sosis (2005) and Atran & Norenzayan (2004) argue that cognitive-only theories cannot account for cultural variation or differentiate the religious from the secular, and that without consideration of ritual, emotional commitment, social aspects, and sensory pageantry for transmission and persistence of religious content, cognitive-only belief-focused views of religion have little to no salience or motivational force.

Evolutionary approaches to religion that counter some of these biases, exemplified by Whitehouse (1995) and Boyer (2001) among others, typically focus on small-scale non-Western societies from anthropological perspectives and produce ethnographies with all the traditional characteristics: singular Euro-American researchers traveling to distant, ‘exotic’ lands to study isolated tribal sub-cultures; dozens of months of participant-observation with the group which produces extensive fieldnotes, mapped territories, traced kinship relations, and linguistic translations; and the subsequent development of cross-cultural theories of religiosity and their relation to materialist historical factors like colonialism and mental cognitive factors like memory encoding or counterintuitiveness. These kinds of studies are invaluable for their originality and ambition, but are impractical to all but the most dedicated (and well-funded) cultural anthropologists. Further, they are also critiqued from psychological perspectives because of their underlying modular models of the brain-mind as domain-specific rather than domain-general or as predictive processing (Watts & Turner, 2014; Van Eyghen, 2020; Theriault, Young, and Feldman Barrett, 2021).

As the field of CSR has progressed in its few short decades, approaches have emerged that advocate for neither the narrow, belief-centric orientation of the overly cognitive perspectives on religion, nor the exoticizing anthropology of field researchers who overcorrect those biases. Instead, several theorists have developed the adaptive systems approach (Alcorta & Sosis, 2005; Bulbulia & Sosis, 2011; Atran & Norenzayan, 2004), which is equally applicable both to small-scale, non-Western societies and to modern, Western religion within secularized nations. Here, “religion may best be understood as an adaptive complex of traits incorporating cognitive, neurological, affective, behavioral, and developmental elements... derive[d] from pre-human ritual systems and... selected for in early hominin populations because they...

support[ed] extensive human cooperation and coordination” (Sosis, 2020, 143). Belief mechanisms, in this view, are necessary but not sufficient to adequately explain religion: “It is the emotional significance of the sacred that underlies belief, and it is ritual participation that invests the sacred with emotional meaning” (Sosis, 2020, 149). Thus, instead, multiple interlocking social, emotional, developmental, and behavioral elements are considered in tandem. Overall, the more CSR has moved away from focusing solely on discrete mechanisms like HADD and has embraced collaboration with theories from adjacent disciplines like costly signaling, behavioral ecology, ritual identity fusion, and others, the more holistic and systemic becomes the view of how religion evolved and endures in human populations. To the extent that ‘classic’ CSR approaches are conversational with these others, the less myopic and more convincing their evolutionary theories and explanations will be.

Within this context, I propose to conduct a mixed-method participant-observation study of a local Jewish congregation exploring religiosity as an adaptive system. Focusing in particular on observations and data that lend themselves to components of religion beyond the solely cognitive (i.e. belief in a deity), I aim to situate these findings within existing CSR and EP theories of religion’s functionality while also expanding their application beyond the individual and the psychological. Judaism is an apt choice of tradition for these goals because ‘religion’ (as traditionally defined in Western academia over the past two-three centuries) does not appropriately encompass all the understandings that go into Judaism or Jewishness (e.g. culture, ethnicity, nation, peoplehood, etc.) as well as adds some that might not be there (e.g. as for Jewish atheists) (Levitt, 2020; Batnitzky, 2011), even though in a lived American context, it has been strategically useful for Judaism to be defined religiously (Silverman, 2016; Schultz, 2011; Gross, 2021). Thus, in using a ‘bad fit’ for religion to tease apart the deep evolutionary aspects of

religiosity as an adaptation from those historio-cultural factors with which they have become discursively entangled, this study will be both an application and clarification of theories of religion.

In working with a local Jewish congregation, my intention will not be to explain away modern religiosity in a manner disrespectful to religiously committed and observant congregants, but to understand in a more interdisciplinary, complementary, and consilient way how religion and culture, as some of the most fascinating and intricate aspects of the collective history of human beings as intelligent social animals, can be approached from various social scientific perspectives and marveled at for their humanistic richness. Based on a previous field research project of similar design and aim, conducted as part of my Master's degree work in the winter and spring of 2019 in Nashville, TN among a conservative evangelical Bible study group and church congregation, I have an idea of the time commitment, logistics, ethical considerations, and data collection and interpretation strategies necessary for this kind of research. Some of these ethical issues include the presence of minors and the elderly within many religious community settings (who are identified as vulnerable populations within human subjects research), the general sensitivity of analyzing religious worldviews, convictions, and commitments as a topic, and the fact of working with a Jewish community, in particular, as a religious minority in this country. Rates of antisemitic rhetoric and violence have greatly increased in the United States in recent years (Anti-Defamation League, 2022) and communities are right to exercise caution over who they allow into their worship spaces. As a non-Jew and as a person explicitly positioning myself as an academic researcher, I must respect the implied power differentials and potential suspicion that my interaction with this local Jewish community

entails, and work to minimize any discomfort my presence may present. Full Institutional Review Board approval for all aspects of these procedures is in process.

Because the nature of qualitative research methods is responsive, flexible, and eclectic (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2017), the specifics of my research procedure may change based on the preferences and comfort levels expressed by my field site population and the opportunities available for collaboration, namely the extent of participant-observation data I will collect during weekly religious services and events. However, the general outline is to attend at least some public worship services and/or activities (possibly, e.g., Tanakh study, youth programming, fundraiser events, etc.) at the synagogue, which can be done unobtrusively and naturalistically. Once trust and familiarity have developed between various members of the congregation and myself, I will advertise my recruitment materials in a manner appropriate to the specifics of the field site for conducting additional research measures.

The first of these is a semi-structured interview (see Appendix A), which would be recorded and transcribed using the cellphone app Otter and then edited so that any identifying information is omitted or diguised. Each one would last about thirty to ninety minutes and would be aimed at eliciting participant descriptions of the relationships among general religiosity, ritual observance, ethical observance, and (lack of) belief through religious life history questions and questions about participants' involvement in organized religion. Because of the time-intensive nature of conducting and transcribing interviews, this part of the procedure would be done with fewer people than others ($N \sim 5-15$). Yet participants in these interviews along with available others would also, with their permission, participate in some quantitative domain analysis measures such as a freeform pile sort and a triad block task (Bernard, 2002) (see Appendix B). These measures are designed to evaluate emic conceptual categories and mental schematic

distinctions that might not be obvious to an outsider. They are targeted to complicate the belief-centric definition of religion and to allow for complex understandings of American Judaism as a religion, culture, ethnicity, nationality, or other category (or all, some, or none of these things, too). Administering and conducting statistical analysis on these measures is less time intensive and so could be done with many more participants (N ~ 10-150).

The final component, dependent on obtaining sufficient (N = 156) participation (Serdar et al., 2021), will be experimental (see Appendix C). Here, a brief story recall task based on a modification of a classic CSR methodology (Barrett, 2019) with supplemental content from an ethnographic study on modern American Jews (Silverman, Johnson, & Cohen, 2016) would be done with or without different kinds of religious priming to evaluate memory insertion errors and what they suggest about the (un-)importance of God-beliefs in overall religious schemas. This process would only take about fifteen minutes, but would have to be more highly controlled in terms of participant recruitment, reduction of internal and external biases, and procedural strictness.

Even though these components of my study are presented here chronologically and separately, in reality, ethnographic research approaches are inherently multi-method, dynamic, interactionary, and simultaneous (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017). Therefore, all components will be conducted as practically as possible along a continuum from the most naturalistic (i.e. participant-observation) to the prompted but unadulterated (i.e. the domain analysis measures) to the most manipulated (i.e. the story recall task). Participant recruitment will follow all ethical guidelines, yet may also be done organically through the relationships formed through participant-observation and therefore the timing and type of tasks completed will be at participants' convenience. The completion of the four elements will be reliant upon securing

enough participation, especially the story recall task with its multiple experimental conditions. If enough participants are recruited, this part of the procedure will occur; if not, it will not.

Within the larger scope of evolutionary approaches to religion, my study makes two unique contributions: one concerning method and the other content. Methodologically, my four-part ethnographic design involving participant-observation, structured interviews, quantitative domain analysis measures, and a cognitive experimental component will counter the historical overemphasis on supernatural belief in CSR and give equal weight to social and behavioral elements of religion as to cognitive ones. It is a move toward a religious systems approach that nonetheless remains feasible for a local dissertation-level study. Content-wise, I will focus for a case study on a ‘major’ Western tradition that is nonetheless a minority (i.e. Judaism) both because it is understudied and because its features encompass much more than confessional belief, if that, in its material and embodied practices (Ochs, 2007, 91), therefore countering the hegemonic Protestant biases that have plagued both religious studies and early CSR scholarship. Judaism, according to Smith (1982), is the perfect balance of the “close, yet distant; similar, yet strange, ‘occidental,’ yet ‘oriental’” in American religious studies (*xii*), and based on the field research of Silverman, Johnson, & Cohen (2016), inherently challenges the Christian definition of religion as faith through its high proportion of atheists or those with alternative God-conceptions among its members. Thus, this choice of subject redirects the social scientific gaze away from the exoticized Other of classical anthropology while also decentering Christianity, and this choice of method counters the over-emphasis on cognitive belief as the most salient feature of religion while also accounting for its integral importance in an overarching religious system.

Together, this combination of content and method, along with my project's grounding in the fields of EP and CSR, serves as a test case of theories of how human religiosity evolved, why it endures, and which ecological and socio-historical factors affect the phylogeny of different religious traditions today. By spending time and gathering observations and data amongst the congregation of Temple Beth El, I will both expand the applicability of classic EP and CSR theories to new traditions and contexts, and amend the belief-centric biases that have influenced the first few decades of CSR scholarship (See Appendix D for a proposed Table of Contents).

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Appendix A: Semi-Structured Interview Schedule

1. What would you like your pseudonym to be for my notes?
 - a. Why did you choose that/what meaning does it have for you?
2. How has your personal religiosity stayed the same or changed throughout your life?
 - a. Did you grow up in a Jewish family that attended weekly services or observed traditions?
 - b. Have there ever been times in your life when you greatly increased or decreased your involvement in Judaism— officially, personally, or communally?
 - c. Have you ever switched synagogues or had to find a new one upon moving, etc.?
3. How do you engage with your religion (attending services, studying Torah and other religious texts, praying, participating in Jewish events, etc.)?
 - a. What are the internal and external factors that make you feel most aware of your religiosity? Least aware?
 - b. Is it more difficult to be religious in certain times, situations, or places than others?
 - c. Do your religious commitments ever come into conflict with other convictions you hold or actions you want to take?
 - d. Is there anything else you do in other parts of your life that provide you with the same benefits that religious engagement does? What are these benefits?
4. What is the importance of the synagogue for you?
 - a. What benefits does it provide?
 - b. What do you wish was different about it, if anything?
5. How important is it for you to believe in God?
 - a. Do you believe in God?
 - b. Has there been a time you did(n't)? Have your beliefs changed?
 - c. What do you think about God?
6. Is there anything else you want to share or discuss?

Appendix B: Domain Analysis Measures

Measure 1: Unrestricted Pile Sort Analysis

Procedure: The participant is given a stack of notecards (shuffled before each iteration of this domain analysis measure) with the terms/phrases on them below. Through the use of ample floor space or a large tabletop surface, the participant is asked to sort the cards into any categories that make sense to them, with the only rule that the number of piles must be > 1 and $<$ the total number (N) of individual cards. That is, all the cards cannot be kept in a single category and all cards cannot become a category of their own. However, it is permitted for some cards to be single stand-alone categories, as long as at least some of the other cards are grouped (e.g. if $N = 10$, it is permissible that Category A has 3 cards, Category B has 4 cards, Category C has 1 card, and Category D has 2 cards). After the participant sorts all the cards, I document the groupings by taking a photograph or recording the terms/phrases. Then, I ask the participant to explain their categories and the reasons cards were placed within them. Analysis of this data can be done by creating a similarity matrix, but with large numbers of terms this can become unwieldy, and so more informal analysis supplemented by participants' explanation will be performed instead.

Terms:

kosher	witness	Jews	Abrahamic	G-d	history	prayer	humor	nationality	ancestor
study	belief	Bible	halakhah	faith	Israel	family	culture	Eretz Yisrael	charity
mitzvot	tradition	ethics	observance	virtue	remnant	minyan	Tanakh	monotheism	Jewish
chosen	Judaism	God	first fruits	love	blessing	cuisine	people	community	sacrifice
honor	heritage	soul	remembrance	holy	ethnicity	politics	religious	good deeds	tzedakah
Torah	Hebrew		civilization		promise			commandment	

Measure 2: Independent Triad Block Test (Balanced Incomplete Block Design)

Procedure: Participants are given a sheet of paper with thirty sets of three terms made from randomly ordered permutations from the list of ten terms below. Because in a full triad block test, the number of triads = $n(n-1)(n-2)/6$ and this can quickly become excessive and redundant, I will modify the test to have a balanced incomplete design ($\lambda = 2$) so that each pair only appears twice. For each of the thirty sets, participants are asked to circle the term that, out of the three, least belongs. At the end, participants are given the opportunity to explain why they chose the terms they did as not belonging within that set. In analysis, I will arrange all ten

terms along two symmetrical axes to create a similarity matrix (with possible scores of 0.0, 0.5, and 1.0 for each cell, with 1.0 meaning the pair was always kept together, 0.0 meaning the pair was never kept together, and 0.5 meaning half/half) for each participant. These can be aggregated across all participants to get an average similarity score for each pair of terms.

Terms:

1. Community
2. Ritual
3. Religion
4. Belief
5. Jewish
6. Culture
7. Morality
8. Tradition
9. Observance
10. Judaism

Lamda 2 Design

1, 2, 3	2, 5, 8	3, 7, 4	4, 1, 6	5, 8, 7	6, 4, 9	7, 9, 1	8, 10, 2	9, 3, 10	10, 6, 5	1, 2, 4	2, 3, 6	2, 4, 8	4, 9, 5	5, 7, 1
6, 8, 9	7, 10, 3	8, 1, 10	9, 5, 2	10, 6, 7	1, 3, 5	2, 7, 6	3, 8, 9	4, 2, 10	5, 6, 3	6, 1, 8	7, 9, 2	8, 4, 7	9, 10, 1	10, 5, 4

The order of the triads will be randomized for each participant using a random number generator.

Appendix C: Story Recall Task

Hypothesis (H_1): Participants who are not primed with God-belief content (control condition) or who are primed with systems theory content (independent variable 1) prior to the story recall task will display fewer theocentric memory insertion errors than those who were primed with God-belief/theocentric content (independent variable 2). Participants who are primed with the systems theory content (independent variable 1) will make the one possible parochial altruism memory insertion error at a rate more frequent than those in the control or theocentric conditions.

H_0 : There will be no significant difference between conditions.

Analysis: A one-way ANOVA test will be run to determine the differences between conditions. For the dependent variable, the key questions are numbers 3, 7, and 11, all of which are false and which represent a theocentric memory error. That is, God is never mentioned in the story at all but participants may misremember God or the suggestion of God. The data will be analyzed for a

significant difference in the number of these errors (0-3) for each of the three conditions, with those in the theocentric condition expected to produce the highest number of errors. Analysis for systems theory priming on question number 4 may also be conducted, as the insertion of 'Jewish patients' when it is actually 'all patients' may be representative of parochial altruism theory, which makes up a part of religious systems theory.

Sample Size: 156 participants (52/group)

Procedure:

1. Participants are randomly assigned via random number generator or rolling dice into one of three conditions: control, theocentric priming, or systems theory priming. The random assignment method will be adjusted with each participant so approximately equal numbers are achieved for each condition.
2. If assigned the control condition, participants skip to step 3. Otherwise, participants are given a printed page with the religious priming content that coordinates with their assigned condition, both of which is 1-2 paragraphs from various classic halakhic or aggadic midrashim taken in English translation from Sefaria.org. The participant is asked to read this priming content. Once finished, I collect the printed page.
3. The participant is presented with a printed page on which is written a short, fictional religious story. The participant is asked to read the story once.
4. Next, the participant completes a neutral buffer task for 5 minutes (a coloring sheet and crayons/colored pencils). This is to allow time for memory errors to formulate.
5. Finally, the participant is presented with a 12-question true/false quiz and pen. The participant has a total of 2 minutes to complete the quiz, after which I collect their answers and analyze the results for insertion errors.

Story: A woman named Muriel had been a nominal member of her local synagogue for most of her adult life, but since her children had grown up and moved away and because her husband, Ed, had never really found much value going anyway, she had attended less and less until eventually she hardly went to services or events at all. Until a few weeks ago, that was. Last month Muriel received a disturbing medical diagnosis that made her reevaluate some of her life choices and soon she was not only attending Shabbat services but had joined a women's support group that met to talk and recite prayers together. One of her favorites to recite and sometimes sing was the healing prayer, Mi Sheberach. When singing it with the small group, its melody brought her such a sense of reassurance and peace, and praying it with the congregation on Friday nights made her feel so connected to all her group members whose names were frequently listed along with it. The women's group did community work too. They hosted bake sales, collection drives, and advocacy workshops for various charities, but primarily for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. A few times a month, the group also went to the local hospital to visit all the seriously ill patients there. Despite her own diagnosis, things could always be worse, Muriel thought. Overall, it had been a tumultuous summer, but autumn was approaching and she was looking forward to observing the High Holy Days, especially Yom Kippur. Even though she did wish her husband would celebrate with her, she would not force him if he didn't want to. As for herself, she had not fasted or reflected on her shortcomings for many years and was eager to demonstrate her renewed commitment to Judaism in this way. Yes,

things could always be worse, and even if Muriel's diagnosis meant the beginning of the end, at least she had found renewed comfort, community, and purpose among her peers now.

Questions:

1. The synagogue support group is a women's only group (*True, control*)
2. The woman's name is Miriam and her husband's name is Ed (*False, control*)
3. She has faith that God will heal her illness (*False, theocentric*)
4. The support group goes to the local hospital to visit the Jewish patients there (*False, systems theory*)
5. Her husband does not attend these events with her (*True, control*)
6. Hearing all her fellow group members' names read from the Mi Sheberach list provides her with a sense of connection and solidarity (*True, systems theory*)
7. By fasting for Yom Kippur, the woman is seeking atonement from God for her misdeeds over the past year (*False, theocentric*)
8. Because of her illness, the woman has reconnected with synagogue life (*True, systems theory*)
9. The woman is looking forward to observing the High Holy Days, especially Rosh Hashanah (*False, systems theory*)
10. The support group raises money for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (*True, systems theory*)
11. If it had not been for this diagnosis, the woman would have remained estranged from God (*False, theocentric*)
12. She is assured that even if this illness is ultimately terminal, at least she found comfort, community, and purpose with her peers toward the end of her life (*True, systems theory*)

Priming Material (Midrashim):

Theocentric condition: "When Abraham first was bidden to leave his home, he was not told to what land he was to journey--all the greater would be his reward for executing the command of God. And Abraham showed his trust in God, for he said, "I am ready to go whithersoever Thou sendest me." The Lord then bade him go to a land wherein He would reveal Himself, and when he went to Canaan later, God appeared to him, and he knew that it was the promised land. On entering Canaan, Abraham did not yet know that it was the land appointed as his inheritance. Nevertheless he rejoiced when he reached it. In Mesopotamia and in Aramnaharaim, the inhabitants of which he had seen eating, drinking, and acting wantonly, he had always wished, "O that my portion may not be in this land," but when he came to Canaan, he observed that the people devoted themselves industriously to the cultivation of the land, and he said, "O that my portion may be in this land!" God then spoke to him, and said, "Unto thy seed will I give this land." Happy in these joyous tidings, Abraham erected an altar to the Lord to give thanks unto Him for the promise, and then he journeyed on, southward, in the direction of the spot whereon the Temple was once to stand. In Hebron he again erected an altar, thus taking possession of the land in a measure. And likewise he raised an altar in Ai, because he foresaw that a misfortune would befall his offspring there, at the conquest of the land under Joshua. The altar, he hoped, would obviate the evil results that might follow. Each altar raised by him

was a centre for his activities as a missionary. As soon as he came to a place in which he desired to sojourn, he would stretch a tent first for Sarah, and next for himself, and then he would proceed at once to make proselytes and bring them under the wings of the Shekinah. Thus he accomplished his purpose of inducing all men to proclaim the Name of God.” (Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 1909, 1:5, 88-90, https://www.sefaria.org/Legends_of_the_Jews)

Social cohesion condition: “If Elijah was not able to lighten the poverty of the pious, he at least sought to inspire them with hope and confidence. Rabbi Akiba, the great scholar, lived in dire poverty before he became the famous Rabbi. His rich father-in-law would have nothing to do with him or his wife, because the daughter had married Akiba against her father's will. On a bitter cold winter night, Akiba could offer his wife, who had been accustomed to the luxuries wealth can buy, nothing but straw as a bed to sleep upon, and he tried to comfort her with assurances of his love for the privations she was suffering. At that moment Elijah appeared before their hut, and cried out in supplicating tones: "O good people, give me, I pray you, a little bundle of straw. My wife has been delivered of a child, and I am so poor I haven't even enough straw to make a bed for her." Now Akiba could console his wife with the fact that their own misery was not so great as it might have been, and thus Elijah had attained his end, to sustain the courage of the pious.” (Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 1909, 4:7, 31, https://www.sefaria.org/Legends_of_the_Jews)

Appendix D: Proposed Table of Contents

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 - 1. Potential religiosity in other hominins, other animals
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 - a. Different kinds of atheism and how they differ from secularization and each other (Norenzayan)
 - iii. Defense against critiques of EP & CSR
 - 1. Why some reduction is necessary for consilience, but that does not make evolutionary perspectives reductive (Wilson)
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 - i. Historical critical religious studies perspective
 - 1. Masuzawa, Batnitzky, Asad, (Taussig?)
 - ii. Supplements of behavioral ecology, costly signaling systems, parochial altruism, group selection in EP
- Suitability of American Judaism as a case study

- i. Salience of Jewish Atheism
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