

THE MINDS OF GODS

NEW HORIZONS IN THE NATURALISTIC
STUDY OF RELIGION

EDITED BY
BENJAMIN GRANT PURZYCKI
& THEISS BENDIXEN

SCIENTIFIC STUDIES OF RELIGION
INQUIRY AND EXPLANATION

B L O O M S B U R Y

The Minds of Gods

Scientific Studies of Religion: Inquiry and Explanation

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For Ezra and Edward

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Environmentalism and the Minds of Gods

Adam Baimel

Introduction

Consider the following:

We stand before a harsh justice: biodiversity loss, environmental degradation and climate change are the inevitable consequences of our actions, since we have greedily consumed more of the earth's resources than the planet can endure. The extreme weather and natural disasters of recent months reveal afresh to us with great force and at great human cost that climate change is not only a future challenge, but an immediate and urgent matter of survival. Widespread floods, fires and droughts threaten entire continents. Sea levels rise, forcing whole communities to relocate; cyclones devastate entire regions, ruining lives and livelihoods. Water has become scarce and food supplies insecure, causing conflict and displacement for millions of people. We have already seen this in places where people rely on small scale agricultural holdings. Today we see it in more industrialised countries where even sophisticated infrastructure cannot completely prevent extraordinary destruction. Tomorrow could be worse.

Are you surprised to learn that these are the words of Pope Francis, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, and the Archbishop of Canterbury—the respective spiritual leaders of the Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox Christian, and Anglican churches? In September 2021, the leaders of these three major religious traditions with a collective reach of about 1.5 billion adherents around the world made their *first-ever* joint declaration on the topic of an appeal “for the protection of creation.”¹ The letter is a fascinating read for several reasons. First, the fact that the focus of this *first* joint declaration is the climate crisis and not what might be considered a more typical domain of religious concern is particularly striking. What business do religious leaders have in talking about climate change? Second, the letter clearly indemnifies human action as the cause of the climate crisis. The denial of *anthropogenic* causes of climate change is a premise that some Christian communities over the last few decades have employed to justify their lack of concern (e.g., Barker and Bearce 2013). Might this

letter from the highest of authorities in these respective churches be enough to change their minds? Finally, to address the persistently emerging socioecological challenges of the climate crisis, the letter makes a broad appeal for cooperation on diverse scales from Christian individuals to governments and corporations and how they employ their investment funds. While this is not an explicit holy decree to take to the streets in protest to demand further government support for pro-environmental policy, the letter does communicate—quite clearly—that taking action in the pursuit of “caring for God’s creation is a spiritual commission requiring a response of commitment.” Less clear, however, is exactly what a committed spiritual response might or should look like. That being said, is this letter a signal of a new era in which caring for the environment has entered the religious moral landscape (at least among Christians), and if so, what has caused it? Equally puzzling, will it matter?

Appealing to the world’s diverse religious communities in the fight against climate change makes good sense if at first only because of the sheer number of religiously committed individuals around the world (Pew Research Center 2015b). But in reality, this letter is far from the first moralized appeal to protect the environment from diverse religious authorities (for compendia see, for example, Gottlieb 2006; Palmer and Finaly 2003). Moreover, many contemporary and mostly secular environmentalist groups are built on the shoulders of devout and religiously motivated predecessors (Ellingson 2016; Stoll 2015). But yet, religious communities (or secular ones) the world over have not already solved our problems. This remains true despite the long history of the admirably and increasingly voiced calls to action from some communities, and particularly indigenous communities, the world over. And thus, it becomes an important question to empirically examine the effectiveness of such religiously motivated appeals in galvanizing the cooperation of diverse religious communities in diverse cultural contexts. On this front, the question of whether (and if so in what ways) religious systems are and historically have been implicated in their communities’ natural resource management or their pro-environmental attitudes and behaviors also has an extensive history across the social sciences (for useful introductions to this topic in religious studies/theology, anthropology, conservation sciences, and ecology see, for example, Deane-Drummond 2017; Grim and Tucker 2014; Pungetti, Oviedo, and Hooke 2012; Sponsel 2012).

There is, of course, an immensity of present-day and historical cultural variation in the ways religious systems come to foster and/or inhibit pro-environmental attitudes, commitments, and behaviors. Even within a single religious tradition, different facets may push and pull adherents in different directions (Preston and Baimel 2021). And thus, any question of the role of “religion” (in the broadest sense of the word) in motivating pro-environmental concern has set out to answer an impossible question. In light of all this, this chapter provides a framework for both making sense of past research on this topic, and asking new, more specified, research questions in furthering our understanding of whether, how, when, and with what consequences religious systems and their gods become concerned with how we treat the natural world. Specifically, this chapter discusses the shortfalls of a comparative religions approach. Then, the chapter builds a case that a consideration of cultural context and representational models of the minds of gods are necessary for both making sense

of past research on this topic and asking new, more nuanced, research questions in furthering our understanding of whether, how, when, and with what consequences religious systems have been—and can be—employed in addressing the cooperative threats of the climate crisis.

Asking the Easier Questions

Are religious individuals more or less pro-environmental than nonreligious individuals? Is the strength of one's religious commitments correlated with concern about climate change? Are Buddhists more pro-environmentally inclined than Christians? These are the “easy” research questions that have been the motivation for an extensive and growing empirical literature. While the data gathered to answer these questions have produced interesting and even important results, they are also: (1) underspecified with regard to mechanisms and (2) decontextualized in many ways that they may also be missing the mark on specifying the role (or potential) of “religion” in motivating pro-environmental commitments. The motivation for these sorts of research programs is often directly attributed by the researchers who study them to the controversial claims of historian Lynn White Jr. (1967). White (1967) argued that the anthropocentrism, divinely ordained dominion over the natural world, and faith in continual progress perpetuated by the Christian church and its powerful institutions over the course of its cultural history laid the foundations for our present-day ecological crises. White (1967) argues that in contrast, other religious systems like Buddhism or the animistic traditions of indigenous societies the world over are inherently more pro-environmental given that they fundamentally differ in their approach to situating humanity *alongside* the natural world rather than in a position of God-given power over it. In concluding, White (1967) makes an appeal for a religious solution to this religious problem including a complete overhaul of many foundational Western values historically instituted by the Christian church. Over the last half century, White's (1967) writing has gained over eight thousand citations and has sparked interest in asking the types of questions laid out above. What have the social sciences learned from over half a century of asking such questions?

Some of the earliest empirical tests of White's (1967) thesis do indeed provide evidence that Judeo-Christian dominion beliefs are negatively associated with environmental concern (e.g., Eckberg and Blocker 1989; Hand and Van Liere 1984). However, participants in these studies were sampled from a particularly narrow portion of human cultural variation (residents of Oklahoma and Washington state in the United States). Looking only slightly more broadly in a representative sample of Americans, Arbuckle and Konisky (2015) find only weak and mixed support for White's thesis. Their data provide evidence that while American Christians espouse only slightly less environmental concern on average than nonreligious Americans, this is not the case for American Jews. Given that the source of beliefs about divinely ordained dominion at the crux of White's (1967) thesis is shared between these traditions, this is an important and revealing contrast. Moreover, this work reveals variation even between Christian denominations in their reported environmental concern, with American Evangelicals

being the primary source of the overall negative relationship. This too, however, does not necessarily have much to do with being Evangelical. Indeed, Smith and Veldman (2020) provide evidence that Brazilian Evangelicals—who share doctrines and worship practices with those in the United States—are no less environmentally concerned than others in Brazil. Even among Evangelicals in the United States, the landscape of environmental concern is already shifting with the majority of Millennial Evangelicals being in support of stronger environmental regulations even when accompanied by great economic costs (Pew Research Center 2014). Crucially, Arbuckle and Konisky (2015) also observed that the extent of one's religiosity is a weak (albeit as predicted negative) predictor of environmental concern in their American sample, with political conservatism playing a considerably larger role. While the literature here is sparser, are these results consistent with evidence from more culturally diverse samples? In a sample of Christians, Buddhists, and Muslims across thirty-four nations, Felix et al. (2018) find that, in contrast to studies of Americans, religiosity is *positively* (albeit weakly) associated with environmental concern. Taken all together, where does this leave us with regard to White's (1967) thesis fifty years on?

The extant evidence implies that enquiring about the relationship between *religiosity* and environmental concern is underspecified in at least two important and related ways: methodologically and contextually. Methodologically, religiosity in these studies is commonly operationalized by some combination of responses to questions such as “how important is religion to you in your life?” or “how often do you attend religious services?” The ways in which these measures can be related to environmental concern, however, is likely conditional on other factors. For example, if a given adherent believes that protecting the environment is a fundamental religious obligation and not doing so may anger their gods, then we might expect the strength of their religious commitments measured broadly with questions like “how important is religion to you in your life” to positively correlate with concern. On the other hand, if someone believes that the climate crisis is a sign of the coming end of days and long-awaited eternal salvation, then the strength of their religiosity is perhaps more likely to be negatively associated with their environmental concern. Context matters. So, to make sense of the apparent cross-cultural variation in the ways religiosity is related to environmental concern we need to pay it the attention it deserves.

Context matters for other reasons too. Variation in the physical environments that many communities find themselves inhabiting will likely give rise to a diversity of socioecological challenges, which in turn will likely require quite different solutions. If religion is in some way going to offer or motivate some of these solutions, then we might expect a fair amount of variability in terms of what those solutions look like. The research reviewed thus far with its focus on pro-environmental *attitudes* rather than *behavioral outcomes* is by design indifferent to this type of variation. Pro-environmental attitudes are perhaps more frequently studied than behavioral outcomes because they are more easily administered in survey research. While it is certainly an achievement for climate scientists and activists alike that the majority of the world espouses concerns about the harms and consequences of climate change (Pew Research Center 2021)—this says nothing about how willing or how likely they are to do anything about it. Unfortunately, recent research highlights that pro-environmental

attitudes are cross-culturally poor predictors of behavioral commitments to protecting the natural world (e.g., support for pro-environmental government policies; Eom et al. 2016; Tam and Chan 2017). Critically, both White's (1967) thesis and the changes our societies must make in response to the socioecological challenges of the climate crisis are fundamentally a question of behavior, not attitudes. With these caveats in mind, we may be much farther from actually having tested the implications of White's (1967) thesis than the literature might make it seem at first glance. On the bright side, however, there is considerable evidence for us to consider that paints a different picture—one that demonstrates how religious systems have historically played at least some part in sustaining practical behavioral solutions to ecological challenges.

Practical Religious Solutions to Ecological Challenges

It is altogether too obvious to say that humans have always been faced with the challenge of living sustainably within the limits of their natural environments (Ellis et al. 2021). In more recent times, environmental degradation caused by the over-extractive workings of the global economies since the Industrial Revolution are in some ways a classic example of what Hardin (1968) called the “tragedy of the commons.” Historically, the “commons” were communal green spaces in Medieval England that were used by locals as grazing lands for their domesticated animals. Without any limiting factors on access or use, each individual herder is, in theory, going to be motivated to get into the commons first, allowing their animals to graze freely to their stomach's content. The combined effects of many self-interested herders, however, would tragically (for the local people and their animals) lead to the degradation of this shared natural resource without the need for any given individual intending for this to be the case. This tale of the tragedy of the commons with its get in first and take all that you need mentality is a commonly expressed metaphor for some of the extractivist behaviors and policies of major modern global corporations and governments. That being said, the idea that human societies have typically allowed free-for-all or unrestrained access to crucial natural resources may itself be more allegory than historical reality. Indeed, Cox (1985) argues that local norms, regulations regarding access and use, and the monitoring/policing thereof were likely quite successful in their time at managing England's commons. More broadly, Ostrom's (1990) now-famous work and ensuing Nobel Prize earning career has detailed how throughout history, diverse sets of cultural institutions have played an integral role in protecting against the tragedy of the commons by sustaining cooperation in the governance of common pool natural resources. Today, creating the cultural institutions to sustain the international cooperation necessary in governing the entire planet (our largest commons) is a primary concern of international policy. But historically and on more local levels, religion has played a functionally similar role.

Critically, practical religious solutions to local ecological challenges need not result from conscious pro-environmental motivations. As an example, consider the coordinated field-burning practices of the Australian Aboriginal Martu (Bliege Bird et al. 2013; see also Lightner and Purzycki, present volume):

Much like park rangers' controlled burning, Martu's controlled fires are far less destructive than the brush fires caused by lightning strikes and have the effect of increasing biodiversity. Interestingly, this biodiversity is what local monitor lizards eat, and the Martu eat the monitor lizards. The Martu explain that burning fires in this manner is consistent with the "Dreaming," or sacred law and the will of the ancestor spirits. If the Martu did not appeal to the Dreaming and ancestors, people might not do all of this short-term work for these long-term benefits. (Purzycki and Baimel 2016: 56)

Indeed, if traditional religious systems like those of the Martu have played a role in practical solutions to ecological challenges, we might expect the history of and continued marginalization of indigenous communities and their religious practices to have downstream negative consequences on many different environmental outcomes in diverse contexts. In the Maya Lowlands of Guatemala, for example, demographic changes in communities of Itza Maya have resulted in a loss of traditional worldviews about forest spirits associated with natural resources. In turn, this has been related to the degradation of environmental protection values that once sustained local agroforestry practices (Atran et al. 2002; le Guen et al. 2013).

Other examples of the not necessarily intentional pro-environmental consequences of religious behaviors abound (see also Bendixen and Purzycki, present volume). For example, religious hunting taboos of the Mro in Bangladesh have contributed to preserving local fauna biodiversity. For another, fishery stock in Lake Tanganyika (a biodiversity hotspot in Tanzania) is regulated by the religious ritual practices of local communities (Lowe et al. 2019). Even the preservation of historically older church grounds in Poland has contributed to protecting the biodiversity of several bird species that use church towers as safe nesting grounds (Skórka et al. 2018). Sometimes, however, religiously motivated environmental protection is indeed a little more intentional.

A focal feature of modern-day environmentalism is garnering support for forest conservation and when possible reforestation of tree-felled lands: both of which can have major impacts on our capacities to sequester carbon and preserve biodiversity across the planet (Bastin et al. 2019). In India, *religiously* protected sacred groves have proven *more* effective in maintaining local biodiversity than protected forests governed by secular institutions (Rath, Banerjee, and John 2020). These sacred groves are often believed to be the homes of locally revered supernatural agents, and have likely garnered more devoted community support in protecting them (Bhagwat and Rutte 2006; Kent 2013; Sharma, Rikhari, and Lok 1999). As a result, protected sacred groves continue to provide local communities with sources of food, resources, and shelter. While the number of religiously protected sacred groves has dwindled in India's recent history, their protection features prominently in religiously motivated pro-environmental movements across the country. Importantly, the fight for their protection and evidence of their benefits highlights how bottom-up, community-driven, and *religiously* motivated pro-environmental behaviors can at least sometimes be more effective than top-down regulations from secular institutions.

While these examples are illustrative, an important question remains as to whether there are any consistent patterns of how religion becomes implicated in natural resource

management in diverse contexts. In a meta-analysis of case studies of community-based natural resource management in forty-eight geographically and culturally diverse societies, M. Cox, Villamayor-Tomas, and Hartberg (2014) provide evidence for the diverse ways in which religious systems have provided practical solutions to ecological challenges. For one, religious traditions often protect important natural resources from overuse by virtue of restricting and appropriating access to these resources to certain people at certain times, which are often marked by religious rituals. As an example, with reference to community access to irrigation systems in southwestern Puebla in Mexico, “two irrigation systems are traditionally divided up into wards, each of which is dedicated to a saint whom farmers serve in exchange of their right to use the water” (M. Cox, Villamayor-Tomas, and Hartberg 2014: 51). In this case, locals must pay the costs of religious commitment and ritual participation to access local resources in such a way that has the ecological benefit of spreading demand for water across the wards. On the other side of the planet, Balinese water temples have played a similarly integral and functional role in sequestering and ritualistically redistributing access to water to rice farmers in such a way that contributed to reducing conflicts over access, and with consequences for controlling pest outbreaks (Lansing 1987).

In addition to marking *user* boundaries, religious systems are also often implicated in demarcating the *physical* boundaries of important natural resources. Without clear resource boundaries, governance becomes difficult. Religious markers of resource boundaries in these case studies included “both natural and artificial phenomena including sacred stones, caves, hills, and peaks of mountains, as well as monoliths, burial grounds, shrines, palaces, monasteries, and temples” (M. Cox, Villamayor-Tomas, and Hartberg 2014: 51). In the Tyva Republic (Siberia), ritual cairns distributed along grazing grounds used by local herders demarcate their physical boundaries. In addition, they also likely act as reminders of the spirit masters’ concerns about respecting these boundaries and preserving associated natural resources (Purzycki 2016). As some evidence for how this translates into behaviors that maintain cooperation and adherence to norms that regulate access to these grazing lands (Lightner and Purzycki, present volume), locals are sensitive to social information about whether other herders make ritual offerings at these cairns as a signal of their trustworthiness (Purzycki and Arakchaa 2013). More broadly, religious symbols in these sorts of places may indeed serve as reminders of watchful locally relevant supernatural agents who are believed to be concerned about adherence to norms about how locals should treat the natural resource and capable of sanctioning those who don’t.

In situations where social (i.e., human) monitoring is difficult and norm violations are meaningful threats to community survival, beliefs about supernatural monitoring and punishment may prove particularly useful in demotivating antisocial behavior (e.g., Purzycki and McNamara 2016; Bendixen and Purzycki, present volume). In support of this view, in a follow-up study of M. Cox, Villamayor-Tomas, and Hartberg (2014), Hartberg et al. (2014) provide evidence that beliefs in these same forty-eight societies about how local supernatural agents both monitor adherence to rules and dole out punishment for transgressions are present in nearly every case in which religion was implicated in local natural resource governance. As a signal of the importance of norm adherence with regard to the treatment of these natural resources, the most common

forms of reported supernatural consequences for transgressing local rules were quite severe (e.g., death, disease, and misfortune).

Taken together, the data from these case studies provide some indication that (1) religion has played an active *practical* role in the management of diverse types of natural resources in geographically and culturally distant societies, (2) these practical religious solutions to ecological challenges are typically local (i.e., geographically or contextually constrained), and that (3) appeals to the concerns of supernatural monitors/punishers may be a particularly potent solution to sustaining norm adherence with regard to how communities treat the natural world. Of course, none of this evidence should be taken as indication that any community (religious or not, historical or modern) are or were perfect stewards of their environments (Alvard 1994; Dove 2006; Raymond 2007; Smith and Wishnie 2000). The reviewed evidence, however, can help identify some of the key challenges facing any modern attempt by religious leaders to mobilize large numbers of individuals in their religious communities to protect the environment. First, official statements by religious leaders around the world have typically made *ideological* appeals, with far too little emphasis on practical solutions.² Second, any practical solutions that are offered tend to be decontextualized with reference to *global* concerns. And third, even if these appeals do make some reference to the concerns of relevant supernatural agents (e.g., “Islam teaches that we will one day be judged by Allah for how we have discharged our responsibilities following the guidance of Islam. Have we been good trustees, and have we kept nature in harmony?”³), their disconnection from locally specific practical solutions may render these appeals rather impotent. These, however, are tractable problems and there is good reason to suspect that in response to the increasing socioecological pressures and cooperative threats associated with the climate crisis, religion may still prove an essential motivator of pro-environmental collective action.

Religious System Adaptation to the Cooperative Threats of the Climate Crisis

Gone are the days in which climate change was “merely” an issue of melting polar ice caps, endangered polar bears, and dying coral reefs. The media, global leaders, climate scientists, environmental activists, and even religious leaders are actively and increasingly communicating to those that will listen that the climate *crisis* is a fundamental threat to all aspects of each and every human community around the world (e.g., Francis 2015; Hayhoe 2021; Klein 2014). And in this respect, it should come as no surprise that religious leaders are (and will surely continue to become) increasingly vocal about the threats of the climate crisis. If the emerging theoretical synthesis in the behavioral ecology of religion is right that, as dynamic and complex adaptive systems, religions predictably adapt alongside changing ecological conditions in ways that sustain cooperation in order to contribute to the minimization of emerging challenges (e.g., Purzycki and McNamara 2016; Sosis 2019)—then we should expect the immense socioecological pressures of the climate crisis to be a fundamental cause of imminent changes in the concerns of religious systems the

world over. Specifically, this view holds that the representational content of the minds of gods (i.e., what individuals think gods care about) and appeals to the minds of gods can quickly adapt to changing socioecological conditions. As succinctly stated by Purzycki and McNamara (2016: 144), “the collective action and coordination required to manage these [changing] conditions requires communication. The content of that communication must motivate others to collaborate; and appeals to gods are excellent candidates for motivating others.” And thus, extant research into whether a so-called greening of religions has already occurred that finds the evidence with regard to modern world religions to be lacking may very well be bit too premature (e.g., see Taylor 2016 and Taylor, Van Wieren, and Zaleha 2016 for very comprehensive reviews). Moreover, the extant literature may be missing an important piece of the puzzle by not specifically considering the role of changes in the content of concerns attributed to the minds of gods.

Beliefs about the contents of the minds of gods are flexible and evidence is emerging that the concerns individuals attribute to their gods can adapt *very* quickly to novel and/or newly salient cooperative threats. In the context of an experimental study, Purzycki, Stagnaro, and Sasaki (2020) subjected half of their participants to a rigged economic game in which the participants were led to feel cheated by their partner before free-listing up to ten responses to the question “What do you think displeases God?” Compared to the other half of the sample that had not first played the rigged economic game, those that had felt cheated were more likely to report that God was concerned with greed. As another pressing example, Doney and Baimel (n.d.) questioned whether the threat of the Covid-19 pandemic had exerted any effect on the representational models of the mind of God in a sample of Christians in the UK. The study’s results indicated that Christians in the UK believed that God was actively concerned about whether others were, for example, wearing protective face masks when in public spaces or avoiding contact with vulnerable others. As some evidence for the consequences of these quick to emerge beliefs, the salience of pandemic-related concerns in participant’s free-list responses was positively correlated with self-reported adherence to the UK’s rules and regulations during the 2020 lockdowns and harsher judgment of those who did not (findings that are consistent with some variants of the “projection” hypothesis, see Jackson and Gray, present volume). The question of whether, if so in what ways, and with what consequences the representational models of the concerns of deities around the world are changing in response to increasing threats of the climate crisis remains, however, open for future research.

Purzycki, Stagnaro, and Sasaki (2020) note that while only 5 percent of their sample across their two conditions listed “environmental destruction” as something that displeases God, the issue was relatively salient (i.e., appeared earlier in the participant’s free-lists) for those that did. One way forward for research in this area would be to assess the frequency and salience of environmental concerns attributed to the minds of gods in diverse cultural contexts. With a better sense of the extant variation, researchers would be better able to try accounting for it. In following with the rationale presented throughout this chapter, if religious systems are adapting (or have adapted) to the socioecological threats of the climate crisis, we might expect the attributions of environmental concern to the minds of gods within and between communities to

covary with the experiences of climate crisis-related threats. Moreover, it is in these communities, perhaps, that religious appeals for environmental protection might be particularly potent motivators of adherents' behavioral commitments (i.e., because they could be aligned with the community's broader religious frameworks).

Empirical tests of the effectiveness of diverse types of religious appeals for environmental collective action in different cultural contexts are only very recently emerging. Shin and Preston (2019), for example, in a sample of Americans provide some evidence that appeals based on biblical stewardship led participants to consider environmental protection as more of a moral issue and increase their self-reported pro-environmental behavioral intentions. Of course, there is no expectation that appeals to stewardship in this way should similarly promote environmental outcomes in all religious communities. While many major religious traditions espouse some form of environmental stewardship, more research is needed to identify what types of appeals might be best suited for increasing and/or sustaining pro-environmental commitments in different cultural contexts. On this front, any attempts at making religious appeals for environmental protection or empirical tests thereof are going to benefit a great deal from a clearer understanding of what adherents believe their gods want.

Conclusion

The emerging and intensifying consequences of the climate crisis are a very real threat to all aspects of human life. The cooperative challenges of the climate crisis therefore offer a unique and pressing opportunity to put some of the long-standing theories about religion, the minds of gods, and cooperation to the test. Are religious systems adjusting their focus in response to the emerging socioecological pressures of the climate crisis? If so, in what ways, and perhaps more importantly, with what consequences? To meaningfully answer these types of questions, research in this area must move beyond decontextualized assessment of attitudinal concerns. One small step (that will require lot of work) toward a more synthetic science of the role of religion in promoting or limiting pro-environmental commitments would be to continue mapping the representational models of the minds of gods in diverse cultural contexts (e.g., (Bendixen, Apicella et al. forthcoming; Purzycki, Willard, et al. 2022)). Gaining insight into whether, how, and with what consequences the world's religious systems are adapting their concerns to the socioecological pressures of the climate crisis stands to generate the necessary empirical capital for future research on how to develop novel and (ideally) more effective calls for action in mobilizing the world's religious communities on behalf of protecting our environment.

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