

# Rituals or Good Works: Social Signalling in Religious Organizations

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*Abstract:* We develop a model of social signalling of cooperative behaviour in religious organisations. The model embeds a ritual-based religious organization in which signalling arises through the use of costly rituals, and a discipline-based religious organization in which such signalling occurs through the monitoring of past behaviour. We use this framework to contrast -positively and normatively- these two forms of social signalling. We show that ritual-based religions, while using a costly and wasteful signal, also imply a higher level of coordination of behaviour in social interactions and a higher incidence of mutual cooperation. Our welfare analysis suggests that communities are more likely to support a switch to a discipline-based religion if strategic complementarities are high and if there is sufficiently high level of public information about social behaviour. This accords with the success of Calvin's Reformation in Switzerland and France, a process characterized by the reduction of rituals along with the creation of institutions to monitor and publicise individuals' behaviour, such as the Consistory.

# 1 Introduction

Religious beliefs typically place high value on pro-social behaviour through different theological systems.<sup>1</sup> Beliefs in rewards and punishments, whether in this life or the afterlife, are rife in many ancient and modern religions, and create an incentive to properly behave in a social context. Even Calvinistic beliefs which emphasise predestination, as Weber (1904) first recognized, may constitute an incentive for good works; this arises because an individual wishes to glean information about whether she will be salvaged and doing good provides a positive signal about the individual's future.<sup>2</sup>

By enabling good behaviour, religious beliefs and religious organizations may also induce individuals to signal their ethical behaviour to others. Adam Smith observes that religions tend to produce and distribute moral information about their members which allows traders to assess the risk involved in conducting business with them.<sup>3</sup> Weber (1906) writes of the social pressure in American Protestant communities, "*Unqualified integrity, evidenced by, for example, a system of fixed prices in retail trade...appears as the specific, indeed, really the only, form by which one can demonstrate his qualification as a Christian and therewith his moral legitimation for membership in the sect...admittance into the Baptist congregation was primarily of decisive importance...because of the on-going inquiries about moral and business conduct*". In this paper we compare two different mechanisms by which religious organisations may enable social signalling of ethical behaviour.

A recent literature has focused on costly rituals as signals of religious conviction and good behaviour. Religions rituals may perform other roles but the costly and public nature of sacraments renders them suitable for signals of religious conviction. Iannaccone (1992, 1998) and Berman (2000) show how rituals allow religious groups to screen those who are less devout, and Levy and Razin (forthcoming) show how costly and public rituals allow individuals to signal good behaviour in social interactions.<sup>4</sup> While this mechanism befits religions with a strong ritualistic emphasis, the description by Weber (1906) above indicates that other religions may rely on observed behaviour instead. This is explored in Glaeser and Glendon (1998) who show how Protestant beliefs may lead individuals to signal their qualities by taking actions that contribute to the common good and Arrunada (2010) who refers to this as the Protestant "social ethic".

Religions which orchestrate behaviour in the social sphere using these two different signals

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<sup>1</sup>This is the motivation behind several studies investigating the relation between religiosity and economic performance, such as Barro and McCleary (2003), Huber (2004) and Glaeser and Glendon (1998).

<sup>2</sup>On this Weber (1904) writes: "*The question: Am I one of the elect? must sooner or later have arisen for every believer*".

<sup>3</sup>See Anderson (1988).

<sup>4</sup>See also Chwe (2003).

-either ritual participation, or good behaviour and discipline- might induce different distributions of social behaviour and economic outcomes. Signalling by good behaviour may be more beneficial to society compared with a costly or a wasteful ritual. But a costly ritual may do a better job at screening out individuals with the wrong intentions. Our aim in this paper is to compare these two mechanisms by focusing on their behavioural and normative implications.

This comparison is especially pertinent in the context of the Reformation of the Catholic church in the 16th century, and specifically that of Calvin in Geneva. In medieval times, the Catholic church had evolved to have an elaborate system of rent extraction and a heavy load of rituals.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, the reformers significantly reduced the number of rituals or religious sacraments an individual had to attend.<sup>6</sup> In fact, Barro and McCleary (2003) show that to this day Catholics participate in more Church rituals than Protestants.

Moreover, Calvin's Reformation in Geneva has shifted the church's emphasis to discipline. In his second spell in the city, Calvin initiated the institution of the Consistory to monitor, discipline and publicise individuals' behaviour.<sup>7</sup> A great deal of its function was devoted to resolving civil disputes within families, neighbours, and business associates. Deviant behaviour was punished by public scolding, sometimes by Calvin himself. When other communities in Switzerland and France decided to adopt Calvin's religion, he insisted on the formation of local Consistories, which are better suited to monitor behaviour. In fact, Arrunada (2010) shows that to this day, Protestants better monitor each other's conduct compared with Catholics.<sup>8</sup> Calvin's emphasis on discipline -religious and civil alike- is evident in his insistence that discipline is the third mark of a good Church (which was objected by Lutherans) and is certainly a mark of his own reign in Geneva.<sup>9</sup> While fear of punishment itself may trigger discipline and good behaviour, punishments for deviant behaviour were not painful or costly and consisted of either public scolding or of being denied access to communion; the key element of the punishment was therefore its public nature (we provide a more detailed discussion of the Consistory and these issues in Section 5.1).

Finally, our welfare comparison is motivated by the explicit choice faced by city-states in Switzerland between the highly ritualistic Catholic church and Calvin's Reformation. In such city-states, not ruled by a local prince, the choice of which religion to adopt was often resolved by a vote in one (or several) city councils. There are many political and economic factors behind the decision to adopt the Reformation, and our welfare analysis highlights a new dimension

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<sup>5</sup>See Ekelund et al (1996, 2002).

<sup>6</sup>Calvin had rejected the seven sacraments of the Catholic church and accepted only two sacraments as valid (Baptism and the Lord's Supper).

<sup>7</sup>An institution of the same name existed before but dealt mainly with marriage law.

<sup>8</sup>McCleary (2007) also shows that Protestants tend to trust or place obligations on others as they do with family members.

<sup>9</sup>We discuss the differences between Calvin's Reformation and that of Luther in Section 6.2.

along which the two religions may be compared.<sup>10</sup>

We analyse a simple model which allows us to consider both types of social signalling. The model is based on the premise that religions moderate cooperative behaviour and thus possibly induce enhanced material utility, through a spiritual dimension and a signalling method.<sup>11</sup> We assume that a population of individuals is randomly matched into pairs to play a Prisoners' Dilemma (with strategic complementarities).<sup>12</sup> Religious beliefs consist of a perceived spiritual benefit from cooperative behaviour.

In a *ritual-based* religion individuals can participate in costly and public rituals, and can condition their behaviour in the Prisoners' Dilemma game on whether their opponent participates as well. In a *discipline-based* religion individuals play the game for two periods and first period behaviour is publicly observed. Individuals can then condition their behaviour in the second period on whether their opponents have behaved well in the past. The model allows for a *spiritual* as well as a *material* benefit from cooperative behaviour. A spiritual benefit arises in both religions due to religious beliefs. A material benefit arises due to successful social signalling which elicits more cooperation from others.

In the ritual-based religion, the cost of the signal determines the level of participation in rituals. We show that the Pareto dominant level of rituals induces an accurate signal, that is, all those who participate in rituals also cooperate with one another. In the discipline-based religion, the cost of signalling -i.e., the loss from cooperation- is endogenous, and depends on the share of those that cooperate in the first period. We show that this induces a noisy signal in equilibrium, in which a relatively large share of individuals cooperate in the first period. These large initial cooperation levels accord with Weber's (1906) observations of the "probation" period for new members in the North American sects that descended from the Calvinistic theology.<sup>13</sup>

We highlight a trade-off between the accuracy of the signal and its cost. The ritual-based religion allows for a costly but an accurate signal. The discipline-based religion on the other

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<sup>10</sup>Political factors such as the declined influence of the Roman church, or economic factors relating to urbanisation and the abuses of church power, are among the explanations for the Reformation. See Flick (1930).

<sup>11</sup>Wilson (2002) provides examples of the secular utility in the form of social order that religious institutions provide, from early Christianity offering a mini-welfare state in the Roman Empire (see also Stark (1996)), through regulation of rice production in Indonesia, to modern US churches providing a social network to its members.

<sup>12</sup>Numerous papers have analysed social norms when social interaction is modelled by a Prisoner's Dilemma game. Greif (1989) studies how cooperation arises due to repeated interactions. A recent literature has analysed cooperation when players sustain different norms; see for example Dixit (2003), Tabellini (2008), and Andreoni and Samuelson (2006).

<sup>13</sup>Weber (1906) writes: "*And the Canonical limitation of the size of the unity, the congregation, to such dimensions that all members personally know one another and, therefore, can judge and supervise their "probation" reciprocally has always been a fundamental Baptist principle.*"

hand induces excessive signalling, i.e., some agents who initially cooperate, defect later on to take advantage of others. This leads individuals to be more suspicious and less cooperative in the second period. We show that the implication of this is that the ritual-based religion can achieve higher levels of mutual cooperation as well as higher total coordination in behaviour.

We then consider average material welfare and identify two environments in which the above trade-off is resolved in favour of the discipline-based religion. We show that if strategic complementarities are sufficiently large, then both religions induce sufficiently similar and high levels of mutual cooperation, but the ritual-based religion is strictly costly and is thus dominated. The discipline-based religion also dominates if cooperation is more beneficial than coordination (so that even one-sided cooperation yields sufficiently large gains to society compared with mutual defection). In this case the accuracy and informativeness provided by the ritual-based religion is not valued enough, and moreover, the ritual cost must be high as individuals are keen to avoid mutual defection. If on the other hand coordination is sufficiently important, the ritual-based religion can dominate.

When we consider individual preferences, material and spiritual, we show that it is individuals with relatively weak beliefs that support a switch to a discipline-based religion. These are the individuals who enjoy the positive externalities that signalling by behaviour entails. Furthermore, if some individuals prefer to maintain the ritual-based religion, they must include individuals of intermediate beliefs. Such individuals value the accuracy of the signal provided by the ritual-based religion which allows them to change their behaviour in response to others' signalling. We also show that the support for a discipline-based religion increases with the availability of public information. This result is consistent with the experience of Calvin's Reformation in Geneva (see Section 5.1).

Our analysis brings to the fore a way to distinguish religious organizations according to the type of social signalling they allow for. To be sure, both types of signalling mechanisms that we analyse may be used in any religion. Still, we argue that in terms of its focus, the reduction of the number of sacraments by Calvin along with the formation of the Consistory, can be seen as a shift of emphasis from the Catholic ritual-based religion, to a behaviour or discipline-based religion. In this sense our work is in the spirit of Botticini and Eckstein (2005, 2007) who consider the transformation of Judaism from a religion based on sacrifices in the Temple to a religion whose core is the reading of the Torah in synagogues, and Carvalho and Koyama (2011) who consider how religious restrictions change in response to growth. Complementary to our analysis is Glaeser and Glendon (1998) who compare the free will theology to the Weber's (1904) "Protestant work ethic" that induces individuals to focus on entrepreneurial actions that are more visible.<sup>14</sup> In contrast, we let both religions induce the same actions, and

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<sup>14</sup>Kantas and Stefanadix (2010) focus instead on the comparison between pride-based moral code (such as Protestantism) and guilt-based moral code (such as Catholicism) and show that the former leads to a more

concentrate instead on the different social signalling methods and hence in some sense follow Weber (1906).

Our second contribution is to provide a framework for the positive and normative analysis of these two signalling mechanisms. This framework is based on the ritual-based religion we have analysed in Levy and Razin (forthcoming); in that paper we have analysed a more general model of the ritual-based religion, with a greater focus on religious beliefs, including a dynamic version which allows for belief updating. The current paper simplifies that model to embed an alternative signalling method in order to compare between the two. Given our discussion of the Reformation, religious organizations are a natural application to evaluate differences in signalling methods, but our model and results can be interpreted more generally; for example, the literature on signalling wealth or status has also considered different signalling mechanisms, either by conspicuous consumption or by a productive activity such as charity giving.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, our results can shed some light on recent empirical papers that have looked at the economic implications of the Catholic and the Protestant religions. Barro and McCleary (2003) show that economic growth responds positively to the extent of religious beliefs, notably those in hell and heaven, but negatively to church attendance. Our model shows that beliefs are indeed conducive for good economic outcomes and that costly and wasteful rituals are the main determinant behind the sometimes inferiority of the ritual-based religion. Guiso *et al* (2003, 2006) show that religious beliefs are associated with more trust and better economic attitudes and that these effects are larger for Protestants than for Catholics.<sup>16</sup> Becker and Woessmann (2009) suggest that literacy levels can explain the better economic outcomes of Protestant (mainly Lutheran) societies; literacy may be correlated with a higher level of public dissemination of information. Cantoni (2010) however finds that overall, the growth of Lutheran and Catholic cities is roughly the same.

We present the model of the two religions in Section 2. We analyse the equilibria in Section 3. Comparative -positive and normative- analysis is presented in Section 4. In Section 5 we discuss the Consistory in more detail and consider some supply side extensions. We discuss the potential link between theology and institutions and the comparison between Calvin and Luther in Section 6. All proofs are in the appendix.

## 2 Two models of religious organizations

We present a model which embeds two religious organisations. Our aim is to make the two specifications as close as possible to one another so as to focus the comparison on the different favourable attitude toward work.

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<sup>15</sup>For examples see Konrad and Glazer (1996) and Pesendorfer (1995).

<sup>16</sup>La Porta *et al* (1997) show that countries with hierarchical religions perform comparatively worse on a wide range of outcomes, which accord with Putnam (1993) who suggests that such religions deter formation of trust.

signalling structures. We first present their common elements: the economic environment, religious beliefs and pay-offs.

## 2.1 Economic environment and religious beliefs

**The social interaction.** In both models, the individuals are randomly paired to play a social interaction game. Specifically, in each period in which they interact, individuals play a Prisoner’s Dilemma (PD) game:

	C	D
C	$d, d$	$0, b$
D	$b, 0$	$a, a$

where  $a, b$  and  $d$  are bounded parameters, satisfying  $b > d > a > 0$ . We assume strategic complementarities in cooperation, i.e., that  $d - b > -a$ . This assumption is standard in the literature on cooperation and implies that the relative benefit from cooperation is greater when the opponent cooperates. We denote the level of strategic complementarities,  $\frac{a}{b-d}$ , by  $\sigma > 1$ . Note that  $\sigma > 1$  also implies that  $2d > b$ , so that mutual cooperation is the efficient outcome. For our welfare analysis, we distinguish between the case in which  $b > 2a$ , i.e., when one-sided cooperation is more socially efficient than coordination, and the case of  $2a > b$ , in which coordination of actions among agents is more important than cooperation.

Recent empirical evidence shows that religious affiliation affects levels of trust in society which can be captured in the PD environment. The model can easily be extended to other types of public good games in which the interaction is not necessarily pairwise and in which strategic complementarities typically play a role.

**Religious beliefs.** To facilitate our analysis, we focus on the same formalization of belief systems for both models. We assume that in both religions there exist similar beliefs which are conducive for cooperation, which will imply that individuals may want to further signal their beliefs to others. Specifically, we assume that each individual  $i$  has a religious belief that if he cooperates he is rewarded with a positive benefit  $\varepsilon_i > 0$  with probability  $\alpha_i \in [0, 1]$ .<sup>17</sup>

Such beliefs can be interpreted under both the free will and predestination doctrines. By the late Medieval period, the Catholic Church adopted almost in totality the doctrine of free will, according to which good deeds affect salvation. To interpret the model as one of free will, let  $\alpha_i$  corresponds to the net probability that one receives a reward for cooperation. A richer model of Catholic Theology might allow for such rewards to be conditioned not only on good works but also on church obedience and participation in rituals; we discuss this in Section 6.1.

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<sup>17</sup>The heterogeneity of types accords with evolutionary biology theories of the “religious mind”. See Boyer (2002).

In contrast, the theology of predestination implies that salvation is independent of the individual's good works. For Calvin, it is by God's grace that an individual will be salvaged. But as Weber (1904) suggested, good works can become a mean to self signal one's salvation status. To interpret the above beliefs through the lens of the theology of predestination, a more elaborate argument needs to be given. In a companion working paper, Levy and Razin (2011), we derive such a model which provides a self-signalling interpretation for these beliefs.<sup>18</sup> In that model,  $\alpha_i$  is the individual's belief that he belongs to the *elect*, which according to Calvin's theology implies that the believer will behave like Christ, i.e., be cooperative in the social sphere. Given their prior beliefs, individuals can anticipate that when they cooperate they will maintain or increase their beliefs of their chances of salvation whereas if they defect they will learn that they do not belong to the elect and will lose or lower their beliefs.<sup>19</sup>

With these two interpretations in mind, we proceed with the abstract model in which beliefs in both religions imply a spiritual benefit from cooperation. Moreover, as will be clear from the analysis below, what will matter technically is the expected reward from cooperation,  $\gamma_i = \alpha_i \varepsilon_i$ . Agents may then differ either in the probability with which they believe they will be rewarded (captured by  $\alpha_i$ ), or in the utility they receive from salvation (captured by  $\varepsilon_i$ ), or in both, which is then captured by the parameter  $\gamma_i$ .

**Pay-offs and the distribution over types:** In any period of play, the utility of an individual will be the sum of the material and the spiritual utility. For example, in a one-period game, the relative payoff of cooperation vs. defection is  $x + \gamma_i$ , where  $x \in \{d - b, -a\}$  depends on opponents' actions. It would be more interesting to concentrate on the strategic interaction of agents with beliefs  $\gamma_i \leq a$  (as otherwise an agent would have a strictly dominant strategy to cooperate). We then assume that with probability  $1 - \zeta < 1$ , an individual's beliefs is drawn uniformly from  $[0, a]$ . An individual with weak convictions, or "non-believer", would have  $\gamma_i < b - d$  and thus a strictly dominant action to defect (although the possibility of signalling might change his behaviour). An individual with a conviction  $\gamma_i \in [b - d, a]$ , or a "believer", prefers to cooperate if his opponent cooperates for sure. More generally, his best response is to cooperate if the likelihood of facing cooperation is high enough whereas this likelihood decreases with  $\gamma_i$ . With the remaining probability  $\zeta > 0$ , the individual is a behavioural type who always cooperates. Similarly to the reputation literature, we assume that the fraction of behavioural types  $\zeta$  is relatively small compared to the believers so that

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<sup>18</sup>For a discussion of self-signalling see Ainslie (1992). See Bodner and Prelec (2003) and Bénabou and Tirole (2004) for other formal models of self signalling.

<sup>19</sup>A recent literature has other, related, models of religious beliefs. Benabou and Tirole (2006, 2011) assume that agents differ in their beliefs with respect to how much hard work is rewarded, in this or in the afterlife, and actively choose to maintain such beliefs. In Scheve and Stasavage (2006) on the other hand, religious beliefs allow for a psychic benefit in bad times.



$\zeta < \bar{\zeta}$  and  $a > \underline{a}$  for some  $\bar{\zeta}, \underline{a} > 0$ .<sup>20</sup>

We have described the common elements of the two models, the economic environment and the incentives to cooperate. We now describe for each model separately the distinct method of social signalling.

## 2.2 A model of a ritual-based religion

**Social signalling:** In the ritual-based religion (R) individuals are matched once to play the PD, and prior to that, decide whether to participate in costly rituals or not. Participation in rituals is observable prior to playing the PD game. The cost of the rituals is denoted by  $r \geq 0$ . For concreteness we assume that behavioural types who always cooperate also participate in rituals but as their measure is small this assumption is not important.<sup>21</sup>

Clearly the model above identifies a need for social signalling to increase coordination on cooperative outcomes. This is what the Church can supply, by determining the content of rituals and more importantly for our analysis, their intensity. For now we leave  $r$  exogenous and general, as the motivation of the Church is not obvious; it might be able to extract some rent from  $r$  and maximize revenues, it might wish to maximize participation or perhaps it is benevolent. We discuss some supply side considerations later on.

The timing of the game is therefore as follows:

Period 1: Individuals choose whether to pay  $r$ .

Period 2: Individuals are randomly matched with an opponent, observe whether the opponent paid  $r$ , and play the PD game.

The payoff of an individual from the R religion is therefore her payoff from the PD game (material and spiritual), minus the cost of rituals if she chooses to participate.

**Equilibrium definition:** For a given  $r$ , a distribution of strategies in the PD game in the second period and a ritual participation decision in the first period constitutes a Perfect Bayesian equilibrium if given the available information on participation in rituals in Period 1 individuals correctly conjecture how others will behave in Period 2, and given these conjectures and others' behaviour, individuals best respond both in Period 1 and in Period 2.

It is in general true that when endogenous population signalling games are considered, the benefit from signalling is not necessarily monotone in one's type, yielding equilibria with no generally defined characteristics or with perverse forms of signalling. In Levy and Razin (forthcoming) we introduce a "belief activation" assumption which, for any given  $r$ , refines the set of social signalling equilibria to only monotone equilibria with potentially positive benefits from signalling behaviour. Such monotone equilibria imply that an individual who does not signal, i.e., does not participate in rituals, will also defect in the PD game. For the sake of

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<sup>20</sup> $\bar{\zeta}$  is derived from the proofs of Propositions 1 and 2.

<sup>21</sup>This would also be the case if these types were rational.

simplifying the model we will henceforth restrict attention to such monotone equilibria. We provide the details of the refinement in Appendix B.

### 2.3 A model of a discipline-based religion

**Social signalling:** We analyse a two-period repetition of the PD game and assume that behaviour in the first period is observed. Thus, in the discipline-based religion (D), individuals can use observations of their opponents' behaviour in the past to form beliefs about their convictions and therefore, their future behaviour.

Potentially, the level of observability of actions may be related to the investment of the Church in institutions such as the Consistory. Similarly to the decision of religious leaders in the R religion with regard to the level of rituals, religious leaders in the D religion may incur some cost to provide public information. We now analyse the environment in which behaviour is fully observable; In Section 5.1, we analyse an extension of the model in which less information is provided about past behaviour.

The timing of the game is therefore as follows:

Period 1: Individuals are matched to play the PD game.

Period 2: Individuals are newly matched to play the PD game and observe the first-period behaviour of their opponent.

We assume no discounting and hence expected utility across the two periods is simply the sum of the utilities in each period.

**Equilibrium:** A distribution of strategies in the PD game in the two periods constitutes a Perfect Bayesian equilibrium if given the available information on behaviour in Period 1 individuals correctly conjecture how others will behave in Period 2, and given these conjectures, individuals best respond both in Period 1 and in Period 2. Again, we use a “belief activation” refinement to narrow the set of equilibria and to focus on straightforward signalling equilibria. As in the R religion, this will imply monotone equilibria with possibly positive benefit from signalling; in particular in such equilibria all those that do not signal, i.e., defect in the first period, will also defect in the second period (see Appendix B).

**Remark 1:** *The taxonomy of religious organizations.* We have defined above two extreme cases of social signalling: one by ritualistic participation and the other by good behaviour. Obviously this is a simplification as most religions or other social organizations will be somewhere on the scale between these two extremes. In general, there is nothing that prevents religious leaders in a ritual-based religion to also invest in institutions such as the Consistory (and vice versa). In Section 6.1 we discuss some supply side considerations that might induce some religious leaders to choose one signalling institution rather than the other.

### 3 Social signalling in the two religions

We start by describing the general features of equilibria with social signalling in both models. In a monotone equilibrium, every agent who does not signal - i.e., does not pay  $r$  in R, or does not cooperate in the first period in D- indicates a clear intention to defect in the PD game. This leaves us with only two types of equilibria, differing in terms of the intentions to cooperate of those who do signal. In an equilibrium with *accurate signalling*, all agents who signal, also cooperate. That is, in R, all agents who pay  $r$  also cooperate in the PD game, and in D, all those who cooperate in the first period, also cooperate in the second period. This also implies that in these equilibria, only believers engage in signalling.

An equilibrium with *excessive signalling* implies that signalling is noisy, so that some agents who signal actually defect. In this case, non-believers also engage in signalling, in order to take advantage of their good reputation and defect while gaining cooperation from others. This is summarised in the Lemma below:

**Lemma 1:** *In both religions, there are only two types of monotone equilibria: (i) In an equilibrium with accurate signalling, there exists a cutoff  $\gamma^* \in [b - d, a)$ , such that all agents above  $\gamma^*$  and only agents above  $\gamma^*$  signal in the first period. In the second period, all below  $\gamma^*$  defect with all, and all in  $[\gamma^*, a]$  cooperate with those who had signalled and defect against those who had not signalled. (ii) In an equilibrium with excessive signalling, there exists two cutoffs,  $\gamma_1 < b - d$  and  $\gamma_2 \in (b - d, a)$ . All above (below)  $\gamma_1$  signal (do not signal) in the first period. In the second period, all below  $\gamma_2$  defect against all, all those in  $(\gamma_2, a)$  cooperate with those who had signalled and defect against those who did not signal. Given  $\gamma_1, \gamma_2$  is the unique solution to:*

$$\frac{(a - \gamma_2) + a \frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta}}{(a - \gamma_1) + a \frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta}}(d - b) + \frac{(\gamma_2 - \gamma_1)}{(a - \gamma_1) + a \frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta}}(-a) + \gamma_2 = 0. \quad (1)$$

In the equilibria above, a spiritual as well as a material benefit arises for social signalling. A spiritual benefit arises as individuals who signal also tend to cooperate which provides them with a spiritual benefit. A material benefit arises as agents in  $[\gamma^*, a]$  in the accurate signal case, or in  $[\gamma_2, a]$  in the excessive signalling case, change their behaviour favourably in response to an observation of an opponent who had signalled good intentions.

To see how the material benefit is determined in the excessive signalling equilibrium, note that the cutoff type at  $\gamma_2$  is indifferent between cooperating and defecting, and hence is determined according to the fixed point equation (1). In this equation,  $\frac{(a - \gamma_2) + a \frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta}}{(a - \gamma_1) + a \frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta}}$  is the share of those who had signalled and will cooperate against those who had done so as well, and  $\frac{(\gamma_2 - \gamma_1)}{(a - \gamma_1) + a \frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta}}$  is the remaining share of those who had signalled but will defect. A unique solution arises with  $\gamma_2 < a$  so a material benefit exists. Note that  $\gamma_2$  is decreasing in  $\gamma_1$ , i.e., when

signalling becomes more excessive, agents are more suspicious and less willing to cooperate later on. Finally, the cutoffs  $\gamma_1$  and  $\gamma^*$  will be determined according to the specific signalling method, which we analyse next.

### 3.1 Social signalling in the discipline-based religion

The next lemma characterizes the equilibria in the D religion.

**Lemma 2:** *There exists a unique equilibrium, which is characterized by excessive signalling.*

In the D religion the cost of signalling is endogenous and is determined by the measure of agents who cooperate in the first period. This, as we show in the appendix, implies that signalling must be excessive, as all types above  $b - d$  would rather pay the cost of cooperating with types above them given the spiritual benefit they gain from cooperation and future cooperation with these types.

To determine  $\gamma_1$ , the type who is indifferent between cooperating and defecting in the first period, note that the following fixed point equation has to be satisfied:

$$\underbrace{(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(\frac{a - \gamma_1}{a}))(d - b) + (1 - \zeta)\frac{\gamma_1}{a}(-a) + \gamma_1}_{\text{First Period Difference in Expected Payoff}} + \underbrace{(1 - \zeta)(\frac{a - \gamma_2}{a})(b - a)}_{\text{Second Period Difference in Expected Payoff}} = 0$$

The second period difference in expected payoff between cooperating and defecting is composed of the benefit from changing the behaviour of other agents to be cooperative, while planning to defect. The first period difference is the endogenous cost of signalling by cooperation conditional on all above  $\gamma_1$  cooperating. It is easy to show that given (1),  $\gamma_1$  has a unique solution in  $[0, b - d)$ .

Endogenous signalling pins down a unique excessive signalling equilibrium with a first-period discipline effect of good behaviour, which induces even non-believers below  $b - d$  to initially cooperate. But this creates much lower cooperation levels in the second period as believers are aware that some agents will defect and are thus less willing to cooperate themselves. The next example shows that this might imply that the average level of cooperation across the two periods is relatively low. In Proposition 1 below we will generalize this result.

**Example 1:** Assume that the PD pay-offs are given by:

	C	D
C	3, 3	0, 4
D	4, 0	2, 2

In the limit, when  $\zeta \rightarrow 0$ ,  $\gamma_1 \simeq 1$  and  $\gamma_2 \simeq 1.5$ . The distribution over outcomes is reported in the tables below. Note that potentially, all believers, above  $b - d = 1$ , might cooperate (i.e.,

in 25% of the matches). This indeed arises in the first period, but is substantially lowered in the second period:

1st period	C	D	2nd period	C	D	average	C	D
C	25%	25%	C	6%	6%	C	15%	15%
D	25%	25%	D	6%	72%	D	15%	55%

### 3.2 Social signalling in the ritual-based religion

In the ritual-based religion, the cost of signalling is exogenous and is determined by some  $r$ . We can then show:

**Lemma 3:** *For any  $\gamma \in [0, a)$ , there exists a ritual cost  $r$  so that all types above  $\gamma$  will participate in rituals.*

If  $\gamma > b - d$ , the equilibrium will be an accurate one, and otherwise it will be excessive. Consider first the accurate equilibrium, where for any cutoff  $\gamma^* \geq b - d$ , the cost will satisfy:

$$r = \zeta(d - b + \gamma^*) + (1 - \zeta)\left(\frac{a - \gamma^*}{a}\right)(d - a + \gamma^*)$$

The cost makes the cutoff type  $\gamma^*$  indifferent between paying  $r$  or not. Paying  $r$  has two effects. First, he cooperates against all behavioural types instead of defecting, which provides a relative reward of  $d - b + \gamma^*$ . Second, all types in  $[\gamma^*, a]$  become cooperative, and he cooperates with them, which provides a relative reward of  $d - a + \gamma^*$ . Clearly for any cutoff  $\gamma^* \in [b - d, a)$  we can find a cost level  $r$  which will support such an equilibrium.

**Example 1 revisited:** Consider again Example 1 and the accurate equilibrium with the largest participation, i.e., when  $\gamma^* = b - d = 1$ . In the limit, when  $\zeta \rightarrow 0$ ,  $r \simeq 1$ , and the distribution of play is reported below. Note that all the potential for mutual cooperation among the believers is realized:

R	C	D
C	25%	0%
D	0%	75%

For equilibria with excessive signalling, the type at the cutoff  $\gamma_1$  plans to defect against all. Paying  $r$  grants him the additional cooperation of all types in  $[\gamma_2, a]$ :<sup>22</sup>

$$r = (1 - \zeta)\left(\frac{a - \gamma_2}{a}\right)(b - a)$$

<sup>22</sup>Note that the equilibrium is equivalent to an equilibrium in which a share  $\frac{\gamma_2 - \gamma_1}{a}$  of agents below  $\gamma_2$  participate in rituals but defect, as in equilibrium all agents below  $\gamma_2$  are indifferent between paying  $r$  or not. For concreteness we describe this equilibrium as one with a cutoff.

For any  $\gamma_1 \in [0, b - d]$ ,  $\gamma_2$  is as determined in (1), and we can then find  $r$  that will support this equilibrium. Note that higher levels of rituals must give rise to a lower  $\gamma_2$  and as a result a higher  $\gamma_1$ , and thus serve to improve the content or informativeness of the signal.

As the level of  $r$  is exogenous, for all parameters, a continuum of equilibria exist in the ritual-based religion. To facilitate our comparison with the discipline-based religion, we focus on one particular equilibrium, the accurate signalling equilibrium with the largest participation. This equilibrium is in the closure of both the accurate and the excessive signalling sets. We can also show:

**Lemma 4:** *The accurate equilibrium in which  $\gamma^* = b - d$  and  $r^* = (1 - \zeta)\left(\frac{a - (b - d)}{a}\right)(b - a)$  is the unique Pareto dominant equilibrium whenever there exists some strictly positive measure of agents who do not participate in rituals.<sup>23</sup>*

To see why this equilibrium is Pareto dominant, consider for example the set of all excessive signalling equilibria. In these equilibria, the price is determined by the marginal type who is indifferent between paying  $r$  or not conditional on *defecting*, but for those who do participate, the gain from participation in rituals is conditional upon *cooperating*, which by strategic complementarities is higher. It is therefore worthwhile for them to pay a higher price for a less noisy signal and higher cooperation. On the other hand, those who never participate in rituals or never cooperate have the same utility across all equilibria (namely the utility of being identified and gaining cooperation only from behavioural types).

The equilibrium above allows us to identify the trade-off between accuracy and cost; some of our results below extend to all values of  $r$  and the other will be robust to small deviations from  $r^*$ . Moreover, Pareto dominance may imply that religious leaders facing competition might wish to choose this level of rituals, and as we show in Section 5.2, in some environments, this equilibrium also maximises the revenue from the religious organization. We henceforth focus in R on the equilibrium described in Lemma 4.

## 4 Good works or rituals?

The above two models offer two different channels for individuals to publicly signal their religious convictions and their future behaviour. In this section we compare the equilibria of the two models in terms of the different distributions of behaviour they induce, and in terms of their normative implications.

We start by considering the positive implications of the two religions, where we compare average behaviour in the two period D model with the behaviour in the second period game

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<sup>23</sup>In the limit when  $\zeta \rightarrow 0$ , indeed in all equilibria there is some strictly positive measure of individuals who do not participate in rituals.

in the R model. Next, we consider average material welfare, which also takes into consideration the cost of rituals. Average material welfare may be a relevant welfare criterion when one considers the long term survival of religious organizations.<sup>24</sup> There is also a substantial empirical literature looking at economic outcomes across countries with different religions and an analysis of average material welfare can possibly shed light on these different outcomes.<sup>25</sup> Finally, we look at individual preferences, which include both material and spiritual pay-offs. This normative analysis is more relevant when considering the political economy of religious reforms in communities. Indeed, the decision to switch alliances and adopt Calvin’s Reformation in city states in Switzerland and communities in France was often taken by a vote in one or more City Councils. Calvin’s eventual success to convince the Genevan council to tie the city to the Reformed Church hinged on the council members’ approval.<sup>26</sup>

#### 4.1 The distribution of behaviour

As the signal in the ritual-based religion is fully accurate, it leads to full coordination among players (abstracting from the behavioural types). When believers meet each other, they have both signalled and will thus cooperate with each other. In all other matches, which involve at least one non-believer who had not signalled, the players will coordinate on mutual defection. In contrast, in the discipline-based religion, signalling is excessive implying that some miscoordination will arise. In the next Proposition we show that the R religion leads to both higher coordination and higher mutual cooperation:

**Proposition 1:** *There is a higher level of mutual cooperation and a higher level of total coordination (mutual cooperation and mutual defection) in the ritual-based religion.*

The proof of Proposition 1 shows that the additional cooperation in the first -discipline-period, is overshadowed by the reduced cooperation in the second period. To see the intuition, consider the case when  $\zeta \rightarrow 0$  which results in  $\gamma_1 \rightarrow b - d$ . In that case, signalling in the first period is relatively accurate so only a few agents below  $b - d$  cooperate. This small share, who plan to defect in the second period, induces those types just above  $b - d$  to defect as well. But once more agents above  $b - d$  are known to defect, others with slightly stronger beliefs will defect as well; this effect snowballs and keeps  $\gamma_2$  bounded away from  $b - d$ , resulting in lower levels of overall mutual cooperation. The proof involves showing that this argument holds uniformly in the PD parameters  $a, b$  and  $d$ .

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<sup>24</sup>Evolutionary game theory literature often considers survival -measured by pure material payoffs- of types who have other preferences. Wilson (2002) advances the ideas of “group fitness” vis a vis individual fitness.

<sup>25</sup>See for example Barro and McCleary (2003) and Guiso et al (2003, 2006).

<sup>26</sup>See Wilson (2002).

We now turn to consider the implications of Proposition 1 for the welfare comparison between the two religions.

## 4.2 Average material welfare

The result above had indicated that the ritual-based religion provides not only accurate signalling, but also more instances of the socially efficient outcome. We now show that this does not necessarily translate into higher social welfare.

In the next Proposition we focus on environments in which the differences in behaviour between the two religions is negligible compared to the cost of rituals in the R religion, which implies that the latter is dominated. Specifically, when  $\sigma$  is large, there are relatively few non-believers compared with the population of believers. Intuitively, this implies that both religions generate mutual cooperation easily and so differences between the two in terms of behaviour will be small. The cost of rituals on the other hand might be substantial. This cost is given by

$$r^* = (1 - \zeta)\left(1 - \frac{1}{\sigma}\right)(b - a)$$

and depends on the share of the believers, which is large for a large  $\sigma$ , and on  $(b - a)$ , which is the value that non-believers place on taking advantage of believers. Thus, when  $\sigma$  is large and  $(b - a)$  not too small, the D religion will dominate. This is formalized in the following Proposition (which can be generalized to other values of  $r$ ).

**Proposition 2:** *For any  $\varepsilon > 0$ , there exists a  $\sigma^\varepsilon > \bar{\sigma}$ , such that for all  $\sigma > \sigma^\varepsilon$ , either (i) the discipline-based religion induces a strictly higher average material welfare compared with the ritual-based religion or (ii) the difference in average welfare between the two religion is smaller than  $\varepsilon$ .*

We now analyse the case in which the difference in behaviour is not marginal, and the trade-off between the religions in terms of accuracy versus cost is more strongly manifested. We show that what matters for the resolution of this trade-off is the importance of coordination vis a vis cooperation. To see this, let us revisit first Example 1.

**Example 1 revisited:** Recall the PD, with  $b = 4$ ,  $d = 3$  and  $a = 2$ . Note that  $2a = b$ . R has more instances of mutual cooperation, so that 10% of the outcomes result in an average payoff of 3 instead of 2, a gain of 1 on 10% of outcomes. On the other hand, all agents above 1-50% of the population- pay a cost of 1. Thus the relative cost of R is larger than its benefit, resulting in this religion being dominated.

When  $2a$  is not sufficiently large compared with  $b$ , as in Example 1, two effects arise. First, coordination -which is what R is good at achieving- is not valued enough compared with



miscoordination (an outcome that the D religion produces with a high probability). Second, the cost of ritual is quite high in equilibrium: As the benefit from mutual defection is too low, believers would agree to pay a high cost in order to change the behaviour of others towards them. Thus, accuracy is not valued enough and the cost is too high, which implies that the trade-off between accuracy and cost is resolved in favour of D. We therefore have:

**Proposition 3:** *If coordination is not sufficiently important compared with cooperation (i.e., if  $2a$  is not sufficiently large compared with  $b$ ) then the discipline-based religion provides higher average material welfare.*

When on the other hand  $a$  is sufficiently high, the ritual-based religion can dominate:

**Example 2:** Consider the following PD game, in which, compared with Example 1, we have increased the value of  $a$  (together with  $d$  which must satisfy  $d > a$ ):

	C	D
C	3.9,3.9	0,4
D	4,0	3.7,3.7

In R, in the limit when  $\zeta \rightarrow 0$ ,  $\gamma^* \simeq 0.1$  and  $r^* \simeq 0.29$ , which is paid by almost the whole population, and the distribution of play is close to:

	C	D
C	94%	0%
D	0%	6%

Average welfare is  $0.94(3.9) + 0.06(3.7) - (0.98)(0.29) = 3.6$ . In D, there is a large degree of first-period cooperation as  $\gamma_1 \simeq 0.1$  but as even the small degree of non-believers defecting snowballs to substantially deter cooperation in the second-period,  $\gamma_2 \simeq 2.5$  so that only 10% of outcomes end in mutual cooperation:

1st period	C	D	2nd period	C	D	average	C	D
C	94%	3%	C	10%	22%	C	52%	12%
D	3%	0%	D	22%	48%	D	12%	24%

Average welfare is  $0.52(3.9) + 0.24(3.7) + 0.24(2) \simeq 3.4$  and thus D is dominated; the cost of R is relatively low and in addition D creates a substantial level of one-sided cooperation which is sufficiently inferior, socially, compared to any other outcome.

### 4.3 Individuals preferences

We now consider individual preferences. We show the following. First, as signalling by good behaviour has positive externalities to the rest of society, this implies that non-believers prefer the discipline-based religion. Second, this analysis takes into account not only material but also spiritual utilities; the latter induce individuals to prefer the religion in which they cooperate more often. This, as long as strategic complementarities are strong enough, will imply that intermediate believers will support the ritual-based religion.

Let  $U_J(\gamma)$  denote the (indirect) utility of an individual  $\gamma$  in the equilibrium in religion  $J \in \{R, D\}$  and let  $\Delta_{RD}(\gamma) = U_R(\gamma) - U_D(\gamma)$  denote the difference in utilities between the ritual-based religion and the discipline-based religion for a type  $\gamma$ .

**Lemma 5:** *There exists  $\sigma'$  such that: (i) If  $\sigma \leq \sigma'$  then  $\Delta_{RD}(\gamma)$  decreases with  $\gamma$ . (ii) If  $\sigma > \sigma'$ ,  $\Delta_{RD}(\gamma)$  increases with  $\gamma$  on  $[b - d, \gamma_2]$  and decreases otherwise.*

Note that  $\Delta_{RD}(\gamma)$  is composed of a material relative benefit and a spiritual relative benefit. The material relative benefit is fixed for all types that behave in the same way and elicit the same behaviour from others. On the other hand, the spiritual relative benefit is the difference in the probabilities with which one cooperates in the two religions, multiplied by the benefit from cooperation,  $\gamma$ . It is therefore positive and increasing in  $\gamma$  over an interval in which agents cooperate more often in R and negative and decreasing in  $\gamma$  otherwise.

When  $\sigma$  is sufficiently large (for example, when  $\zeta \rightarrow 0$ , we need  $\sigma > \sigma' \rightarrow 2$ ) so that the share of believers is large, types in  $[b - d, \gamma_2]$  cooperate on average more often in R; in R they cooperate vis a vis all believers (and thus with a relatively high probability), whereas in D they cooperate with all in the first period but with no one in the second period. Thus, the higher the  $\gamma$  in this region, the higher is the spiritual relative benefit from R. As the material relative benefit is fixed in this interval this implies that  $\Delta_{RD}(\gamma)$  increases.

In all other regions  $\Delta_{RD}(\gamma)$  always decreases with  $\gamma$  as all other types cooperate more often (at least weakly) in D. For example, types in  $[0, b - d]$  never cooperate in R while some of them cooperate in D in the first period due to the discipline effect.<sup>27</sup> Using Lemma 5 we have:

**Proposition 4:** *There exists  $\sigma'$  such that: (i) If  $\sigma \leq \sigma'$ , all individuals prefer the discipline-based religion. (ii) If  $\sigma > \sigma'$ , there exists  $\gamma', \gamma''$  with  $b - d \leq \gamma' \leq \gamma_2 \leq \gamma'' \leq a$ , so that only types in  $[\gamma', \gamma'']$  prefer the ritual-based religion, and there exist parameters for which  $\gamma' < \gamma''$ .*

Consider first the types with weak beliefs, or non believers, who do not signal in any religion. In R all types (besides the behavioural ones) identify them as they do not participate in rituals.

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<sup>27</sup> Similarly, types in  $[\gamma_2, a]$  cooperate more in D: in D they cooperate with all in the first period and with all types above  $\gamma_1 < b - d$  in the second period. In R they cooperate with all above  $b - d$ .

But in D many cooperate with them in the first period due to the discipline effect, which induces them to prefer D. This effect arises as D is based on a signal which provides positive externalities to others (note that this result holds for all  $r$ ).

If  $\sigma$  is too low, then  $\Delta_{RD}(\gamma)$  decreases for all  $\gamma$ , which by the above implies that all individuals support D. This is the case for the parameters of Example 1. When  $\sigma$  is sufficiently large, by Lemma 5, some individuals may prefer R. Moreover, the type at  $\gamma_2$  will be its strongest supporter. As he cooperates more in R, he will have a higher spiritual payoff there. But also his material payoff might be higher, as the accurate signal in R allows him to better protect himself against defectors compared to the signal in D. This is the case for the parameters of Example 2:

**Examples 1 and 2 revisited:** In Example 1,  $\sigma = \lim_{\zeta \rightarrow 0} \sigma' = 2$ , which implies that all individuals prefer D. In Example 2 on the other hand strategic complementarities are very large, with  $\sigma = 37$ . Computing individual utilities, we find that all types above  $\tilde{\gamma} \simeq 0.4 \in [b - d, \gamma_2]$  prefer R, which constitutes 88% of the population.

One may wonder how individual preferences interact with average material welfare. For example, based on their material and spiritual welfare and a simple majority rule, would individuals choose environments which also yield higher material welfare for their community? In Examples 1 and 2 this was the case. Example 3 considers parameters (namely  $a$  and  $d$ ) which are between Examples 1 and 2 and shows that this can fail.

**Example 3:** Consider the PD game with  $b = 4$ ,  $d = 3.8$  and  $a = 3.2$ . In this case, when  $\zeta \rightarrow 0$ , we have  $r^* \simeq 0.75$ . The average distribution of play in the two religions is:

Ritual	C	D	Discipline	C	D
C	88%	0%	C	46%	12%
D	0%	12%	D	12%	30%

and we find that average material utility is higher in the D religion. However, in this case,  $\gamma' = 1$  and  $\gamma'' = a$  so that all individuals above  $\gamma = 1$  which represent 66% of the population would prefer R. Any voting rule or political process which will give voice to such a supermajority will create some stickiness towards the less socially efficient ritual-based religion.

**Remark 2:** Our model abstracts away from comparisons related to specific religious beliefs. In a more complicated environment that takes this into account, one consideration when comparing across religions is how individuals forecast changes in their beliefs, if at all. The analysis above is suitable for the case in which individuals believe that the relative strength of their religious beliefs, if society switches between religions, will remain the same. That is, what

is important is that their relative ordering in society remains the same. This accords with the evolutionary biology idea of a “religious mind” or a “religious gene” which is distributed in society and can adapt to different religious systems.<sup>28</sup>

## 5 The supply side of the two religions

In this Section we discuss possible extensions of the model, focusing on the supply side of religious organizations.

### 5.1 The Consistory and the value of information

We now provide more specific details about the Consistory and then extend the model to consider an environment in which no such signalling by discipline can arise. Our description is based on Kingdom (1992), Dommen and Bratt (2007), McGrath (1990), and Wilson (2002).

In 1541, upon his return to Geneva from exile in Strasbourg, Calvin had become convinced of the need for a disciplined and well-ordered church. In his letter to the city Council, Calvin writes: “*If you desire to have me for your pastor correct the disorder of your lives...I cannot possibly live in a place so grossly immoral...of what use is dead faith without good works?? Re-establish there pure discipline*”.<sup>29</sup>

Calvin drew up the structure of his well-ordered church in the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* (1541). The most distinctive and controversial aspect of this organization was the Consistory. It was formed in 1542, “*their office is to have oversight of the life of everyone...there were to be twelve of them, chosen from the members of the three councils, to keep an eye on everybody*”.<sup>30</sup>

The main objection to this body by the city council was because it feared that the line between ecclesiastical and civil matters would be crossed. Indeed, a great deal of its function was devoted to resolving disputes within families, neighbours, and among business associates. Robert Kingdom who analyses the registrars of the Consistory, writes: “*A number of times businessmen were called in and questioned about complicated deals involving loans of money..and those found guilty of usury were subject to harsh penalties in an effort to form ethical business practice...At the end the consistory was extremely successful in achieving discipline*”. The Consistory’s normal cases ended with either an admonition or a remonstrance, a kind of public scolding delivered by one of the ministers, usually Calvin himself. Some of the cases ended with excommunication, which denied access to one of the four annual communion services in Geneva.

In Calvin’s attempt to spread his influence into France, he supplied pastors that were trained

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<sup>28</sup>See Boyer (2002).

<sup>29</sup>Cited in Beza (1996, rep.)

<sup>30</sup>*Ecclesiastical Ordinances* (1541), in Gilbert (1998).

in Geneva, but insisted that local churches elect local Consistories. The consistorial structure was made obligatory by the Venerable Company of Pastors in 1557; In 1562, the number of local consistories in France had risen to 1785. The fact that elders and deacons were to be provided locally indicates that the consistory had an important role in monitoring, gathering and disseminating information, an activity best done by locals. Thus, although Calvin was striving for strong control of the church over individuals' and pastors' daily life, his most important institution was a local, decentralized, one.

The discussion above illustrates that the decision to invest in a Consistory, or to create a culture of monitoring, may be a concrete choice by religious leaders. To be sure, such an investment may be costly, and the effectiveness of the Consistory may also depend on other exogenous conditions such as urbanization or literacy levels. To look at the effect of public information let the parameter  $\pi \in \{0, 1\}$  measure the probability that first period information is observed. We now compare between the two extreme environments, a D religion with  $\pi = 1$ , as in our main model, and a D religion with  $\pi = 0$ . The result below implies that the Reformation is more likely to take place when information about others' behaviour is available:

**Proposition 5:** *(i) All individuals prefer the D religion with  $\pi = 1$  to a D religion with  $\pi = 0$ ; (ii) There always exist some individuals who prefer the D religion with  $\pi = 0$  to R (those with weak beliefs) and individuals who strictly prefer R to the D religion  $\pi = 0$  (those with relatively strong beliefs). (iii) The set of agents who prefer D to R is strictly higher when  $\pi = 1$  compared with  $\pi = 0$ .*

Note that a D religion with  $\pi = 0$  induces very little cooperation as signalling does not arise (this is also true for positive but small values of  $\pi$ ). The behavioural types cooperate, which induces some other strong believers to cooperate as well; but as there is no future effect for their actions and as the share of the behavioural types is small, overall cooperation is limited. This induces strong believers who care about mutual cooperation to prefer R, but to switch their support to D once information is provided and signalling and hence cooperation arises. On the other hand, non-believers do not benefit at all from signalling in R and therefore prefer the D religion even with  $\pi = 0$  where they are faced with some cooperation from believers.

The Proposition indicates that religious beliefs alone may not be sufficient to convince individuals to adopt the Calvinistic religion. Note that Calvin was successful in Geneva only in his second spell in the city, when he initiated the Consistory, which supports the above result. It is also interesting to note that in Strasbourg, Zurich and Basel the government would not give the church the power over excommunication and no Consistory was created despite attempts of Reformers such as Martin Bucer; the result above may also shed light on why these other attempts of the Reformation which had similar theological systems, reduced the role of rituals, but created no consistories, had initially failed.

## 5.2 The choice of rituals

We have looked above at the possibility of religious leaders designing the mechanism of monitoring behaviour; Naturally, how one models the cost of such an institution will affect the choice of these leaders, while the benefits, at least at the time of the Reformation, could be captured by the degree of participation or the success of shifting a society from a ritual-based to a discipline-based organization.

The choice of religious leaders in the ritual-based religion may be more straightforward. Such leaders need to determine the level of rituals. They may maximize participation, or revenues from the religion, if some of the cost of rituals can be extracted as actual rent. We now show that in some environments, the equilibrium with accurate signalling and largest participation will also be chosen by a religious leader who maximises  $r(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma(r)}{a}))$ , where  $\gamma(r)$  is either  $\gamma^*$  in an accurate signalling equilibrium or  $\gamma_1$  in an excessive signalling equilibrium:

**Proposition 6:** *(i) In the set of excessive equilibria, the higher is  $\gamma_1$  the higher are the revenues from the ritual-based religion; (ii) In the set of accurate equilibria, when  $\sigma$  is low enough, the lower is  $\gamma^*$  the higher are the revenues from the ritual-based religion.*

Together, (i) and (ii) imply that the cost of rituals characterized in Lemma 4 may be chosen by religious leaders who maximize revenues. To see the intuition, consider first the set of accurate equilibria. When  $\sigma$  is low enough, then when  $r$  increases, it is also the case that  $\gamma^*$  decreases; a higher fee implies then that more types need to change their behaviour. Thus decreasing  $\gamma^*$  increases both the demand for rituals and its price, which implies that the religious leader will choose the lowest possible  $\gamma^*$ , i.e.,  $\gamma^* = b - d$ . In the set of excessive signalling, even though whenever  $r$  increases the demand for rituals also decreases, it is also the case that  $r$  has to be substantially lower to attract the non-believers, and such elasticity implies that revenues are maximized when  $r$  is highest in this set.

## 6 Discussion and conclusion

We conclude by discussing the possible role of Theology in our model, as well as its link to the social signalling mechanism. In addition, as a way of motivating our focus on the Calvinistic Reformation, we discuss its differences compared with Luther's Reformation.

### 6.1 Theologies and institutions

To facilitate our analysis we have abstracted from differences in theologies and assumed that both religions motivate good works in the same way. On the one hand it might seem that the self-signalling approach advocated by Weber (1904) to interpret Calvinistic beliefs will

induce weaker incentives for good works, as such a mechanism is rather indirect. Also, Luther and Calvin encouraged their supporters to go back to the scriptures and to read the Bible by themselves (enabled by the advent of printing and higher levels of literacy), and one may conjecture that this may lead to weaker beliefs than when one participates in rituals conducted by priests. On the other hand, mechanisms such as forgiveness and indulgences (the system of exchange between money and redemption) that have evolved in the Catholic religion also reduce the incentive to behave well. It would be interesting to analyse these more nuanced systems of beliefs.

We note though that the differences between these two theologies might be consistent with the differences in the institutional structure (although the causality between institutions and theology is not obvious). Specifically, in the Catholic church, good works alone do not suffice; according to Thomas Aquinas, three are required for salvation: direct reliance on the church and its sacraments, the free turning of the will to God and away from sin, and the remission of the guilt incurred by sin by priestly absolution.<sup>31</sup> In medieval times, this had evolved into a heavy load of public rituals and an impressive system of rent extraction. More generally, this theology easily lands itself to a hierarchical structure in which priests have to certify which actions provide rewards and can possibly deliver forgiveness. In the absence of free will, such role of the Church's hierarchy, which is reinforced by rituals, is reduced.

Finally, note that even if a link between the theology and the signalling institution is not clear cut, the choice of the signalling mechanism might be related to the evolution of the religious market. In a ritual-based religion, religious leaders may be able to extract some rent or appropriate some portion of the cost of rituals. When they have monopoly power, they might prefer to stick to social coordination via rituals. For exactly these reasons the Reformers might have advocated the reduction of rituals and thus were in need of finding another mechanism for coordinating social behaviour.

## 6.2 Calvin vs. Luther

We have focused on Calvin's Reformation and not on Martin Luther's. Luther differs from Calvin both in terms of his theology and in terms of his general attitude towards the relation between Church and morality.

In terms of theology, while Calvin advocates justification by the grace of God, Luther focuses on justification by faith: *"It is faith in Christ which makes him live in me and move in me and act in me...faith receives Christ's good works; love performs good works for the neighbours"* (cited in Green 1964). Luther offered individuals personal certitude of salvation already in this life, provided only that they have faith. These beliefs reduce the anxiety about salvation and

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<sup>31</sup>Thomas Aquinas, *summa theologia*. p.39.

as a result, good works become less important (McGrath 1990).

More generally, Luther permitted religion to be identified with neither ethics nor social justice as religion transcended both. An interesting illustration of this is Luther's response to the Peasants' Revolt in 1525: Luther firmly resisted the slightest diminution of religion and criticized the peasants' characterization of their demands for social justice as being Christian demands (Ozment 1980).

In terms of the institutional structure of the Church, Luther has created no institutions, let alone the Consistory, and discipline was not considered an issue for the Church. In 1530, in the Confession of Augsburg, Lutherans insisted that there are only two marks of a true church: the church is the assembly of saints in which the gospel is taught purely and the sacraments are administered rightly. In particular, there is no requirement of good behaviour, which Calvinists considered as the third mark of a good Church.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>It is also worth mentioning that similar arguments formed the debate in England between Calvinist Puritans and Erastian Anglicans and that the debate on this goes on even today. In the formula adopted by the churches of the Reformation in US in 1997 it was decided that there should be no mention of the mark of discipline.



## 7 Appendix

### 7.1 Appendix A: Proofs

**Proof of Lemma 1:** By monotonicity of beliefs, if a cutoff type signals at  $\gamma$ , all above with  $\gamma' > \gamma$  will wish to signal as well, at least weakly. This implies that the only monotone equilibria are as described in the Lemma. To see that (1) has a unique solution, note that it implies,

$$\gamma_2 = a \frac{(b-d-\gamma_1) + a \frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta} \frac{(b-d)}{a}}{(b-d-\gamma_1) + a \frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta}}.$$

As  $\frac{\partial(\gamma_2)}{\partial\zeta} < 0$ , then  $\lim_{\zeta \rightarrow 1} \gamma_2 = b-d < \gamma_2 < a = \lim_{\zeta \rightarrow 0} \gamma_2$ . ■

**Proof of Lemma 2:** We will now consider existence and uniqueness for the excessive signalling equilibrium in D. The fixed point equation for  $\gamma_1$  is:

$$(*) \left( (1-\zeta) \frac{(a-\gamma_1)}{a} + \zeta \right) (d-b) + (1-\zeta) \frac{\gamma_1}{a} (-a) + \gamma_1 + \left( (1-\zeta) \frac{(a-\gamma_2)}{a} + \zeta \right) (b-a) = 0$$

where  $\gamma_2$  is given by

$$(**) \gamma_2 = a \frac{(b-d-\gamma_1) + a \frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta} \frac{(b-d)}{a}}{(b-d-\gamma_1) + a \frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta}}$$

Note that from the above  $\gamma_2$  is monotonically decreasing in  $\gamma_1$ .

Suppose that  $\gamma_1 = 0$ . Then

$$\gamma_{2|\gamma_1=0} = a \frac{(b-d) + a \frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta} \frac{(b-d)}{a}}{(b-d) + a \frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta}}$$

If  $((1-\zeta)a + \zeta)(d-b) + ((1-\zeta)(a-\gamma_2(0)) + \zeta)(b-a) \geq 0$  then there exists an equilibrium with  $\gamma_1 = 0$ . If  $((1-\zeta)a + \zeta)(d-b) + ((1-\zeta)(a-\gamma_2(0)) + \zeta)(b-a) < 0$  then there exists an equilibrium with  $0 < \gamma_1 \leq b-d$ . To see this, note that at  $\gamma_1 = 0$ , the LHS of (\*) is negative. On the other hand at  $\gamma_1 = b-d$  from (\*) and (\*\*) we have

$$\gamma_{2|\gamma_1=b-d} = b-d$$

and the LHS of (\*) becomes,

$$\begin{aligned} & \left( (1-\zeta) \frac{(a-\gamma_1)}{a} + \zeta \right) (d-b) + (1-\zeta) \frac{\gamma_1}{a} (-a) + \gamma_1 + \left( (1-\zeta) \frac{(a-\gamma_2)}{a} + \zeta \right) (b-a) \\ = & \left( (1-\zeta) \frac{(a-b+d)}{a} + \zeta \right) (d-b) - (1-\zeta)(b-d) + (b-d) + \left( (1-\zeta) \frac{(a-b+d)}{a} + \zeta \right) (b-a) \\ = & \frac{1}{a} (1-\zeta) ((a-b+d)(d-a) + \zeta(b-a)) > 0 \end{aligned}$$

So a value of  $\gamma_1$  satisfying (\*) exists and is the solution to the two equations. To see the uniqueness of a solution note that using (\*) and (\*\*) we get,

$$\left( (1-\zeta) \frac{(a-\gamma_1)}{a} + \zeta \right) (d-b) + (1-\zeta) \frac{\gamma_1}{a} (-a) + \gamma_1 + \left( (1-\zeta) \frac{(a-\gamma_2(\gamma_1))}{a} + \zeta \right) (b-a) = 0$$

Note that this expression is monotone in  $\gamma_1$ ,

$$\begin{aligned} \frac{\partial LHS}{\partial \gamma_1} &= \\ (1 - \zeta)(b - d) + \zeta - (1 - \zeta)(b - a) \frac{\partial \gamma_2(\gamma_1)}{\partial \gamma_1} &> 0, \end{aligned}$$

which insures uniqueness. We now show that there is no accurate equilibrium. The fixed point equation for  $\gamma^*$  is:

$$\begin{aligned} (***) & \left( (1 - \zeta) \frac{(a - \gamma^*)}{a} + \zeta \right) (d - b) + (1 - \zeta) \frac{\gamma^*}{a} (-a) + \gamma^* + \left( (1 - \zeta) \frac{(a - \gamma^*)}{a} + \zeta \right) d \\ & + (1 - \zeta) \frac{\gamma^*}{a} a + \left( (1 - \zeta) \frac{(a - \gamma^*)}{a} + \zeta \right) \gamma^* - (\zeta b + (1 - \zeta) a) \\ & = 0 \end{aligned}$$

At  $\gamma^* = b - d$  the LHS becomes,

$$(1 - \zeta)(a - b + d) \left( \frac{d}{a} - 1 \right) > 0$$

At  $\gamma^* = a$  the LHS becomes,

$$2\zeta(d - b + a) > 0$$

Therefore if the derivative with respect to  $\gamma^*$  is monotone we will not have such an equilibrium; the derivative of the *lhs* of (\*\*\*) after some manipulation is

$$-(1 - \zeta) \left( \frac{2d - b + 2\gamma^* - a}{a} \right) + 1 + \zeta$$

Note that this expression is decreasing in  $\gamma^*$ . Therefore it is either first positive and then negative or always negative. In either case an equilibrium does not exist. ■

**Proof of Lemma 3:** The equations for the equilibrium cost of rituals are provided in the text from which it is clear to see that for any  $\gamma$ , a ritual cost can support this  $\gamma$  as a signalling cutoff in the first period.<sup>33</sup> ■

**Proof of Lemma 4:** Consider an equilibrium with excessive signalling which is characterized by,

$$r = (1 - \zeta) \left( \frac{a - \gamma_2}{a} \right) (b - a)$$

Note that higher levels of rituals must give rise to a lower  $\gamma_2$  and as a result a higher  $\gamma_1$ , and thus serve to improve the content of the signal.

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<sup>33</sup>Note that when  $r$  is small enough, it is possible to support an equilibria in which all participate in rituals (i.e.,  $\gamma_1 = 0$ ). This equilibrium relies on out of equilibrium beliefs that all in  $(\gamma_2, a)$  will defect against the one who does not participate in rituals.

Let us compare this equilibrium to one in which  $r^* = (1 - \zeta)\left(\frac{a-b+d}{a}\right)(b-a)$ , i.e., an accurate equilibrium with  $\gamma^* = b - d$ . Remember that  $r^* > r$ . Note that all those that did not pay  $r$ , or that defect (are below  $\gamma_2$ ), are indifferent among these  $r$ 's as their net utility when they either pay or not pay for rituals is  $\zeta b + (1 - \zeta)a$ . On the other hand, all agents above  $\gamma_2$ , have a higher utility when  $r$  increases to  $r^*$ . To see why, note that  $\gamma_2$  decreases to  $\gamma^*$ , and thus they receive, for the interval of change  $[\gamma^*, \gamma_2]$ , a relative benefit of  $(1 - \zeta)\frac{d - (\gamma_2 - (b-d))}{a} > 0$  in the equilibrium with  $r^*$ , where  $(1 - \zeta)\frac{d-0}{a}$  represent the difference in material pay-off from the game whereas  $(1 - \zeta)\frac{(\gamma_2 - (b-d))}{a}$  represents the increase in the payment from  $r$  to  $r^*$ . Finally, these types have another increase in their utility as when  $\gamma_1$  increases, they defect against more agents who defect against them which provides them a higher utility according to their beliefs. Therefore, all excessive signalling equilibria are Pareto dominated by the equilibrium with  $r^*$ .

Now let us now look at  $r$  which sustains accurate signalling, i.e.,  $\gamma' \in (b - d, a)$ . Those who do not pay  $r$  gain the same utility  $\zeta b + (1 - \zeta)a$  whereas types  $\gamma > \gamma_1$  who pay  $r$ , get  $\zeta d + (1 - \zeta)\frac{a - \gamma'}{a}d + (1 - \zeta)\frac{\gamma'}{a}a + (\zeta + (1 - \zeta)\frac{a - \gamma'}{a})\gamma - r$ , for

$$r = \zeta(d - b + \gamma') + (1 - \zeta)\left(\frac{a - \gamma'}{a}\right)(d - a + \gamma')$$

The utility of agents above  $\gamma'$  as a function of  $\gamma$  is

$$\zeta d + (1 - \zeta)\frac{a - \gamma'}{a}d + (1 - \zeta)\frac{\gamma'}{a}a + (\zeta + (1 - \zeta)\frac{a - \gamma'}{a})\gamma - \zeta(d - b + \gamma') - (1 - \zeta)\left(\frac{a - \gamma'}{a}\right)(d - a + \gamma')$$

The derivative w.r.t  $\gamma'$  for some type  $\gamma$  is

$$\begin{aligned} (1 - \zeta)\left(1 - \frac{d + \gamma'}{a}\right) - \zeta + (1 - \zeta)\left(\frac{d - a + \gamma'}{a}\right) - (1 - \zeta)\left(\frac{a - \gamma'}{a}\right) &< 0 \Leftrightarrow \\ (1 - \zeta)\left(\frac{2\gamma' - \gamma}{a}\right) - 1 &< 0 \end{aligned}$$

which is satisfied as  $\gamma' < \gamma < a$ . Therefore, all these types prefer a religion with a lower cutoff and again any such equilibrium will be Pareto dominated by the equilibrium with  $r^*$ . ■

**Proof of Proposition 1:** We start with the following helpful Lemma.

**Lemma A1** (i) *There is more mutual cooperation in  $R$  iff*

$$\frac{\left(\frac{\gamma_2}{a} - \frac{1}{\sigma}\right)\left(2 - \frac{\gamma_2}{a} - \frac{1}{\sigma}\right)}{\left(\frac{1}{\sigma} - \frac{\gamma_1}{a}\right)\left(2 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a} - \frac{1}{\sigma}\right)} > 1$$

(ii) If

$$\frac{\gamma_1 + \gamma_2}{2a} > \frac{1}{\sigma}$$

then there is more total coordination in the  $R$  religion.

Proof of Lemma A1:

(i) Mutual cooperation in the  $R$  religion is  $(1 - \frac{1}{\sigma})^2$  where it is  $\frac{(1 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a})^2 + (1 - \frac{\gamma_2}{a})^2}{2}$  in the  $D$  religion.

$(1 - \frac{1}{\sigma})^2 > \frac{(1 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a})^2 + (1 - \frac{\gamma_2}{a})^2}{2} \Leftrightarrow (\frac{1}{\sigma} - \frac{\gamma_1}{a})(\frac{\gamma_1}{a} + \frac{1}{\sigma} - 2) > (\frac{\gamma_2}{a} - \frac{1}{\sigma})(\frac{\gamma_2}{a} + \frac{1}{\sigma} - 2) \Leftrightarrow \frac{(\frac{\gamma_2}{a} - \frac{1}{\sigma})(2 - \frac{\gamma_2}{a} - \frac{1}{\sigma})}{(\frac{1}{\sigma} - \frac{\gamma_1}{a})(2 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a} - \frac{1}{\sigma})} > 1$ .

(ii) Total miscoordination in the  $R$  religion is given by  $\zeta \frac{1}{\sigma}$ . In the  $D$  religion miscoordination is larger than  $\zeta(\frac{\gamma_1 + \gamma_2}{2a})$ .  $\square$

We now prove the Proposition. In particular we prove that the statement is true when  $\zeta$  is small enough, uniformly for the parameters of the model. We therefore consider a convergent sequence of parameters  $\{a_n, b_n, d_n\}_{n=1}^{\infty}$  and a sequence  $\{\zeta_m\}_{m=1}^{\infty}$  such that  $\lim_{m \rightarrow \infty} \zeta_m = 0$ . Let  $\sigma_n = \frac{a_n}{b_n - d_n}$ . By Lemma 2, for any  $m$  and  $n$ , there is a unique equilibrium,  $(\gamma_1^{n,m}, \gamma_2^{n,m})$ . Equilibrium equations are,

$$\begin{aligned} ((1 - \zeta_m)(1 - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{a_n}) + \zeta_m)(d_n - b_n) + \zeta_m \gamma_1^{n,m} + ((1 - \zeta_m)(1 - \frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n})(b_n - a_n) &= 0 \\ \frac{(1 - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{(b_n - d_n)}) + \frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m}}{(1 - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{(b_n - d_n)}) + \sigma_n \frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m}} &= \frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} \end{aligned}$$

There are two cases to consider.

**Case 1:** Suppose that  $\sigma_n \rightarrow_{n \rightarrow \infty} \infty$ . The second equilibrium equation can be written as,

$$\frac{(\frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} - \frac{1}{\sigma_n})}{(\frac{1}{\sigma_n} - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{a_n})} = \frac{(\sigma_n - 1)}{(1 - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{(b_n - d_n)}) + \sigma_n \frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m}}$$

Taking the double limit, first with respect to  $n$  and then with respect to  $m$ , we get,

$$\lim_{m \rightarrow \infty} \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{(\frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} - \frac{1}{\sigma_n})}{(\frac{1}{\sigma_n} - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{a_n})} = \lim_{m \rightarrow \infty} \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{(\sigma_n - 1)}{(1 - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{(b_n - d_n)}) + \sigma_n \frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m}} = \lim_{m \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1 - \zeta_m}{\zeta_m} = \infty$$

This implies that  $\frac{\gamma_2^{n,m} + \gamma_1^{n,m}}{2a_n} > \frac{1}{\sigma_n}$  for a low enough  $\zeta$ .

Note also that,

$$\frac{(2 - \frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} - \frac{1}{\sigma_n})}{(2 - \frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} - \frac{1}{\sigma_n})} > \frac{1 - \frac{1}{\sigma}}{2} > 0.$$

This implies that for any  $\sigma^* > 1$  there exists a  $\zeta^* > 0$  such that for any  $\sigma > \sigma^*$  and  $\zeta < \zeta^*$ ,

$$\frac{(\frac{\gamma_2}{a} - \frac{1}{\sigma})(2 - \frac{\gamma_2}{a} - \frac{1}{\sigma})}{(\frac{1}{\sigma} - \frac{\gamma_1}{a})(2 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a} - \frac{1}{\sigma})} > 1$$

and so there is more mutual cooperation in the R religion.

**Case 2:** Suppose that  $\sigma_n \rightarrow_{n \rightarrow \infty} \sigma \leq \sigma^*$ . First note that as  $a, b$  and  $d$  are bounded and as  $a > \underline{a}$  there exists a  $\mu > 0$  such that  $\frac{b_n - a_n}{b_n - d_n} < \mu$ .

Case 2(i): Suppose that,  $(1 - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{b_n - d_n}) \rightarrow_{n \rightarrow \infty} 0$ . In this case we get,

$$\frac{(\frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} - \frac{1}{\sigma_n})}{(\frac{1}{\sigma_n} - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{a_n})} \rightarrow_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{(\sigma_n - 1)}{\sigma_n \frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m}}$$

But this means that

$$\lim_{m \rightarrow \infty} \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{(\frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} - \frac{1}{\sigma_n})}{(\frac{1}{\sigma_n} - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{a_n})} = \infty$$

and as before  $\frac{\gamma_2^{n,m} + \gamma_1^{n,m}}{2a_n} > \frac{1}{\sigma_n}$  for a low enough  $\zeta$  as well as

$$\frac{(2 - \frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} - \frac{1}{\sigma_n})}{(2 - \frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} - \frac{1}{\sigma_n})} > \frac{1 - \frac{1}{\sigma}}{2} > 0$$

so that we have that

$$\lim_{m \rightarrow \infty} \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{(\frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} - \frac{1}{\sigma_n}) (2 - \frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} - \frac{1}{\sigma_n})}{(\frac{1}{\sigma_n} - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{a_n}) (2 - \frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} - \frac{1}{\sigma_n})} = \infty$$

This implies that for any  $\sigma < \sigma^*$  there exists a  $\zeta' > 0$  such that for any  $\zeta < \zeta'$ ,

$$\frac{(\frac{\gamma_2}{a} - \frac{1}{\sigma})(2 - \frac{\gamma_2}{a} - \frac{1}{\sigma})}{(\frac{1}{\sigma} - \frac{\gamma_1}{a})(2 - \frac{\gamma_2}{a} - \frac{1}{\sigma})} > 1$$

and so there is more mutual cooperation in the R religion.

Case 2(ii): Suppose that  $(1 - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{b_n - d_n}) \rightarrow_{n \rightarrow \infty} \eta > 0$ . Using the second equation we get,

$$\frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} = \frac{(1 - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{b_n - d_n}) + \frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m}}{(1 - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{b_n - d_n}) + \sigma_n \frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m}} \rightarrow_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{\eta + \frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m}}{\eta + \sigma \frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m}}$$

But looking at the first equation as  $n \rightarrow \infty$ :

$$-((1 - \zeta_m)(\frac{\sigma + \eta - 1}{\sigma}) + \zeta_m) + \zeta_m(1 - \eta) + \zeta_m(\frac{\sigma - 1}{\eta + \sigma \frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m}})(\frac{b_n - a_n}{b_n - d_n}) = 0 \quad (2)$$

Where we have substituted the following equations,

$$\begin{aligned} \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} (1 - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{a_n}) &= \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} (1 - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{(b_n - d_n)\sigma_n}) = (\frac{\sigma + \eta - 1}{\sigma}) \\ \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} (\frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{b_n - d_n}) &= 1 - \eta \\ \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} (1 - \frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n}) &= (\frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m})(\frac{\sigma - 1}{\eta + \sigma \frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m}}) \end{aligned}$$

But note that in (2) for high enough  $m$  this equation cannot hold as it is negative. Therefore this case cannot arise for large enough  $m$ .

To conclude the proof of this part we choose  $\bar{\zeta} < \min\{\zeta', \zeta^*\}$ . ■

**Proof of Proposition 2:** Suppose that  $\sigma_n \rightarrow_{n \rightarrow \infty} \infty$ . By the second equilibrium equation, we have that

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{\gamma_2^{n,m}}{a_n} = \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{(1 - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{(b_n - d_n)}) + \frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m}}{(1 - \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{(b_n - d_n)}) + \sigma_n \frac{\zeta_m}{1 - \zeta_m}} = 0.$$

As  $\sigma_n \rightarrow_{n \rightarrow \infty} \infty$  and  $\gamma_1^{n,m} < (b_n - d_n)$  (by Lemma 1) we have that

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{\gamma_1^{n,m}}{a_n} = 0$$

Thus, in both religions, for high enough  $n$ , cooperation is almost full. However,  $r_{n,m} = (1 - \zeta_m)(1 - \frac{b_n - d_n}{a_n})(b_n - a_n) > 0$  when  $\frac{b-d}{a} \rightarrow 1$ . Therefore, either the D religion is strictly preferred, for high enough  $n$ , or they converge to yield the same average welfare. ■

**Proof of Proposition 3:** In R, material welfare of all types below  $b - d$  is  $\zeta b + (1 - \zeta)a$ , whereas the material welfare of all types above  $b - d$  is  $\zeta d + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{b-d}{a})(d - b + a) + (1 - \zeta)\frac{b-d}{a}a \lesssim a$  by strategic complementarities, for a small enough  $\zeta$ . On the other hand, in D, social welfare for all is some combination of  $a$ ,  $b/2$  and  $d$ . Thus if  $a$  is not sufficiently larger than  $b/2$ , D dominates. ■

**Proofs of Lemma 5 and Proposition 4:** Let  $\Delta_{RD}^{[\gamma_i, \gamma_j]}$  denote the difference in expected utility of types in the interval  $[\gamma_i, \gamma_j]$  from R vs. D. Consider first all types in  $[\gamma_2, a]$ .

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta_{RD}^{[\gamma_2, a]} &= \zeta(d + \gamma) + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{b-d}{a})(d - b + a + \gamma) + (1 - \zeta)(\frac{b-d}{a})a \\ &\quad - \frac{1}{2}[(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a}))d + \gamma + (\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma_2}{a}))d + (\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a}))\gamma + 2(1 - \zeta)\frac{\gamma_1}{a}a] = \\ &= (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{b-d}{a})(d - b + a) + (1 - \zeta)(\frac{b-d - \gamma_1}{a})a - [(1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma_1 + \gamma_2}{a})d] + \gamma[(1 - \zeta)(\frac{\gamma_1}{2a} - \frac{b-d}{a})] \end{aligned}$$

Hence  $\Delta_{RD}^{[\gamma_2, a]}$  is decreasing in  $\gamma$  in this region. This is true as  $\gamma_1 < b - d$ .

Consider now types in  $(0, \gamma_1)$ .

$$\Delta_{RD}^{(0, \gamma_1)} = \zeta b + (1 - \zeta)a - \frac{1}{2}[(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a}))b + (1 - \zeta)(\frac{\gamma_1}{a})a + \zeta b + (1 - \zeta)a] < 0 \text{ for all } \zeta.$$

Consider types in  $(\gamma_1, b - d)$ : they have the same utility in R as the types below but a higher utility in D from their own point of view. Hence  $\Delta_{RD}^{[\gamma_1, b-d]}$  must be lower and decreasing.

Specifically:

$$\Delta_{RD}^{[\gamma_1, b-d]} = \zeta b + (1 - \zeta)a -$$

$$\frac{1}{2}[(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a}))d + \gamma + (\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma_2}{a}))b + (1 - \zeta)(\frac{\gamma_2}{a})a] < 0 \text{ for all } \zeta.$$

Consider now types in  $(b - d, \gamma_2)$ .

Note that type  $b - d$  is indifferent between paying for the ritual or not and hence its utility from R is  $\zeta b + (1 - \zeta)a$ . For all types above  $b - d$ , the utility from R will be  $\zeta b + (1 - \zeta)a +$

$(\gamma - (b - d))(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{b-d}{a}))$ , as their type affects their spiritual utility in the order of the probability by which they are cooperating. Their utility from D differs only in the spiritual payoff that accrue in the first period with probability one. Thus we have,

$$\Delta_{RD}^{[b-d, \gamma_2]} = \Delta_{RD}^{[b-d, \gamma_2]}|_{\gamma=b-d} + (\gamma - (b - d))(\frac{1}{2}\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(\frac{a-2(b-d)}{2a})).$$

This may be increasing or decreasing, depending on the sign of  $\frac{1}{2}\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(\frac{a-2(b-d)}{2a})$ . If it is decreasing, then the highest  $\Delta_{RD}$  is for the type at 0 and it is negative. So, if  $\sigma < \sigma'(\zeta) \rightarrow_{\zeta \rightarrow 0} 2$ , then all prefer R, which proves (i). If it is increasing, so  $\sigma > \sigma'(\zeta)$ , then the highest  $\Delta_{RD}$ , if positive, is for the type at  $\gamma_2$ . Thus two cutoffs  $\gamma' > b - d$  and  $\gamma'' \in [\gamma', a]$  arise so that all supporters of R are in  $[\gamma', \gamma'']$ , with  $\gamma_2 \in [\gamma', \gamma'']$ . ■

**Proposition 5:** Note first that in  $\pi = 0$ , the unique equilibrium has all types above (below)  $\hat{\gamma}$  cooperating (defecting) against all. The cutoff solves:

$$(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\hat{\gamma}}{a}))(d - b) + (1 - \zeta)\frac{\hat{\gamma}}{a}(-a) + \hat{\gamma} = 0$$

Note that  $\gamma_2 \leq \hat{\gamma}$ .

(i) Consider types in  $[0, \gamma_1]$  who defect against all in both cases. They get full cooperation in  $\pi = 1$  from types in  $[\gamma_1, 1]$  in the first period and only from behavioural types in the second period. When  $\zeta$  is small enough though, we have that  $\hat{\gamma} \rightarrow a$  and hence they prefer  $\pi = 1$ .

Consider now individuals in  $[\gamma_1, \gamma_2]$ . In  $\pi = 0$  their utility is  $(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\hat{\gamma}}{a}))b + (1 - \zeta)\frac{\hat{\gamma}}{a}a = (\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\hat{\gamma}}{a}))d + \hat{\gamma}$  which converges to  $a$ , whereas in  $\pi = 1$ , their utility is  $(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a}))d + \gamma$  in the first period and , and  $(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma_2}{a}))b + (1 - \zeta)(\frac{\gamma_2}{a})a$  in the second period which is higher than in  $\pi = 0$ . In the  $\pi = 0$  case utility converges with  $\zeta$  to  $a$ , whereas in the first period at  $\pi = 1$ ,  $\min_{\gamma}(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a}))d + \gamma = (\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a}))d + \gamma_1$  which converges with  $\zeta$  to  $(1 - \frac{b-d}{a})d + b - d > a \Leftrightarrow (d - a)(d + a - b) > 0$  which holds.

Consider now individuals in  $[\gamma_2, \hat{\gamma}]$ . In  $\pi = 0$  and in the first period of  $\pi = 1$  their utility is as above so the analysis above follows. In the second period in  $\pi = 1$ , their utility is higher (from their point of view) than the utility of the types below  $\gamma_2$  and is therefore also higher than their utility under  $\pi = 0$ .

Finally consider types in  $[\hat{\gamma}, a]$ . In  $\pi = 1$  they have a higher cooperation level from society in each period whereas in the second period they also defend themselves against some agents who defect against them which is better according to their beliefs. They therefore have a higher utility under  $\pi = 1$  than under  $\pi = 0$ .

(ii) As the utility under  $\pi = 0$  for individuals below  $b - d$  is  $(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\hat{\gamma}}{a}))b + (1 - \zeta)\frac{\hat{\gamma}}{a}a$  whereas in R their utility is  $\zeta b + (1 - \zeta)a$ , they prefer D for all  $\zeta$ . On the other hand, for a small enough  $\zeta$ , individuals above  $b - d$ , have a utility which converges to  $a$  under  $\pi = 0$  and a utility which is strictly higher than  $a$  in R (they can always guarantee  $a$  if they defect and thus in any equilibrium their material and spiritual utility must be greater than  $a$ ). More specifically,

consider individuals in  $\gamma \in [b - d, \hat{\gamma}]$ . Their utility difference between rituals and  $\pi = 0$  is increasing in  $\gamma$  and is the lowest for the type at  $b - d$  (as he is gaining the least from spiritual payoff) for which it is  $(\frac{\hat{\gamma}-a}{a})(b-a) < 0$ . Thus, there must be a cutoff in  $[b - d, \hat{\gamma}]$ , above which, for small  $\zeta$  (as then  $\hat{\gamma} \rightarrow a$ ), all types prefer R and below which they prefer  $\pi = 0$ . For all  $\zeta$  though, this cutoff is strictly above  $b - d$ .

(iii) Note that by (i), all types prefer  $\pi = 1$  to  $\pi = 0$ . Thus, weakly, the set of supporters must increase. We now show that indeed there are types that switch their preferences. Consider the type at  $b - d$  and his difference in utility between R and  $\pi = 1$ . From the proof of Proposition 4 we know that this type strictly prefers  $\pi = 1$  for all  $\zeta$ . On the other hand, when  $\zeta$  is small enough, the utility of this type from  $\pi = 0$  approaches his utility from R. By continuity, there exist a type  $\gamma > b - d$  but close enough that switches to prefer D when  $\pi$  increases. ■

**Proposition 6:** (i) For all equilibria with excessive signalling,

$$r = (1 - \frac{\gamma_2}{a})(1 - \zeta)(b - a)$$

Note that  $dr = -d\gamma_2 \frac{(b-a)(1-\zeta)}{a}$ . To maximize  $r(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a}))$ , the foc is  $dr(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(1 - \frac{\gamma_1}{a})) - d\gamma_1 r \frac{(1-\zeta)}{a} = -d\gamma_2 \frac{(b-a)(1-\zeta)}{a} - d\gamma_1 r \frac{(1-\zeta)}{a}$ . We therefore care about the sign of  $-d\gamma_2(b - a) - d\gamma_1 r$ .

But according to (1),  $\gamma_2 = \frac{a(b-d-\gamma_1)+a\frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta}(b-d)}{b-d-\gamma_1+a\frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta}}$ , and then we have  $d\gamma_2 = d\gamma_1 a \frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta} \frac{b-d-a}{((b-d-\gamma_1)+a\frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta})^2}$ .

Thus we need to check the sign of  $\frac{a}{b-d-\gamma_1+a\frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta}} - (1 - \zeta)$  but  $\frac{a-(1-\zeta)(b-d-\gamma_1)-a\zeta}{b-d-\gamma_1+a\frac{\zeta}{1-\zeta}} > 0$  iff  $b - d - \gamma_1 > 0$  which is indeed the case and hence this expression is positive. We therefore have revenues increasing in  $\gamma_1$ .

(ii) Now consider accurate equilibria, where the expression for the ritual cost is  $r = \zeta(d - b + \gamma^*) + (1 - \zeta)(\frac{a-\gamma^*}{a})(d - a + \gamma^*)$ . The revenues again are  $r(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)\frac{a-\gamma^*}{a})$  and the foc is  $dr(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)\frac{a-\gamma^*}{a}) - d\gamma^* r \frac{(1-\zeta)}{a}$ . We then have  $dr = d\gamma^*(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(\frac{-d+2a-2\gamma^*}{a}))$  so we need to check the sign of  $(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)(\frac{-d+2a-2\gamma^*}{a}))(\zeta + (1 - \zeta)\frac{a-\gamma^*}{a}) - (\zeta(d - b + \gamma^*) + (1 - \zeta)(\frac{a-\gamma^*}{a})(d - a + \gamma^*))\frac{(1-\zeta)}{a}$ , which for a small  $\zeta$  is  $(\frac{-d+2a-2\gamma^*}{a})\frac{a-\gamma^*}{a} - (\frac{a-\gamma^*}{a})(d - a + \gamma^*)\frac{1}{a}$ . We then need to check the sign of  $-d + 2a - 2\gamma^* - d + a - \gamma^* = 3a - 2d - 3\gamma^*$ . Note that for this to be negative for all  $\gamma^*$  we need to check at  $\gamma^* = b - d$ . We then have  $3a - 2d - 3b + 3d = 3a + d - 3b$  which is negative when  $\sigma$  is not too large. ■

## 7.2 Appendix B: “Belief Activation” refinement

**Ritual-based religion:** Suppose that individuals are not endowed with religious beliefs, but that they gain such beliefs only if they participate in rituals, i.e., pay the cost  $r$ . More specifically, individuals have “latent” types in  $[0, a]$  and this type will be activated when they pay  $r$  but not activated otherwise. Many religious organizations play an active role in shaping



beliefs and invest time and effort in advocating certain kinds of messages while censoring others. This assumption is therefore reasonable when considering religious organizations and it specifically fits the Catholic religion where the rewards from good works were also conditioned on participation in rituals. The role of rituals in such an alternative model is therefore two-fold: to endow individuals with beliefs favouring cooperation and to serve as a public signal.

Since this model involves a choice of beliefs, we need to add to the equilibrium concept a stability condition. Namely, an individual of type  $\gamma$  who in equilibrium had paid  $r$  and has activated her beliefs, will, given her current beliefs  $\gamma$  and other equilibrium behaviour, prefer to do so than not pay  $r$  and defect against all. Similarly an individual who had not paid  $r$  and had not activated her beliefs, prefers to do so than to acquire beliefs and sometimes cooperate, given her current beliefs (e.g.,  $\gamma = 0$ ) and equilibrium behaviour of others. For more on this stability notion and the robustness of the results to other stability notions, see Levy and Razin (forthcoming).

The assumption on belief activation implies that whoever does not participate in rituals, has no beliefs in favour of cooperation, and will therefore defect. Together with the stability notion above, it implies that as in our model, equilibria can only be as described in Lemma 1 with exactly the same equilibrium conditions specified in the text, and that such equilibria indeed exist.

**Discipline-based religion:** as above, suppose that individuals have “latent” types in  $[0, a]$  and that they have to choose to activate these beliefs prior to the two period PD game. As both Calvin and Luther called for believers to return back to the scriptures and read the bible themselves, suppose that it is costless and private to activate beliefs, and as a tie-breaking rule, that if individuals forecast that their utility from activating beliefs and not activating beliefs is the same, then they do not activate their beliefs. Again, the equilibrium will demand that individuals who did not activate their beliefs, given all other equilibrium behaviour, will be happy with this decision and vice versa.

With this assumption one can show that there will be no individual who defects in the first period and cooperates later on. Thus only monotone equilibria can arise as described in Lemma 1. Moreover, these equilibria indeed exist in this alternative model as it is optimal for all those who defect not to acquire beliefs (and hence defect from that point onwards).

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