Ideology, Religion, and the Evolution of Cooperation: Field Experiments on Israeli Kibbutzim

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Abstract
We employ an experimental game to evaluate the relationship between ideological commitment and cooperative behavior among Israeli kibbutz members. We use the cooperative behavior of Israeli city residents as a baseline and show that members of collectivized kibbutzim are more cooperative than city residents, while members of kibbutzim that have abandoned socialist ideology (privatized kibbutzim) are no more cooperative than city residents. Our results further indicate that among collectivized kibbutzim, members of religious kibbutzim are more cooperative than their secular counterparts. Religious males who engage in thrice-daily communal prayer display the highest levels of cooperation of any subpopulation in our sample. We discuss how the performance of sanctified rituals serves to internalize religious ideological commitment, thus enhancing the ability of religious ideology to motivate cooperative behavior.

Key words: cooperation, ideology, kibbutz, religion, ritual
The emergence and stability of cooperation has been a central theoretical problem for those who study human social behavior (Axelrod 1984). In effort to solve the puzzle of human cooperation, evolutionary researchers continue to develop sophisticated models (Gintis et al. 2001; Richerson et al. 2003), conduct experiments (Fehr et al. 2002), and collect field data (Alvard 2001; Hill 2002; Sosis et al. 1998). Here we focus on a determinant of cooperation largely ignored by evolutionary scholars: ideological commitment.1 Despite recent trends highlighting the similarity between human and non-human animal culture (Boesch and Tomasello 1998; de Waal 2001, Wrangham et al. 1994), humans remain the only ideologically motivated species. Our political, religious, economic, and leisure pursuits are often strongly influenced by our ideological beliefs. Ideologies unite unrelated individuals who share a common ideological commitment, often generating extraordinary levels of cooperation (e.g., Wilson 2002).

Anthropologists have long noted that symbols and ethnic markers define group boundaries and delineate with whom cooperation should be directed (Nettle and Dunbar 1997; cf. McElreath et al. 2003). Ideologies are the mental rationalizations behind these cultural forms. The ability of ideologies to support symbolic representations of group identity and foster large-scale cooperation, for better or for worse, is not in question. It is also clear that not all ideologies are equally successful at motivating human collective action. What characteristics make some ideologies more effective at eliciting cooperation than others?

Here we examine the determinants of cooperation in an intentional society, the Israeli kibbutz, and specifically focus on the role of ideological commitment in producing cooperative behavior. Naturally occurring differences in factors likely to impact variation in cooperation across and within kibbutzim, including variation in ideological commitment, make the kibbutz an ideal location to study prosociality. Moreover, as a communal society, kibbutzim regularly face the challenge of promoting and sustaining cooperation among their members. Indeed, successful collective action is essential for the survival of the kibbutz. Unlike most of the traditional populations
studied by behavioral ecologists (Borgerhoff Mulder 1988), kibbutz members are a self-selected
population; they have chosen to live their lives in a communal environment and have ample
opportunity to leave their kibbutz and join the surrounding population with whom they share a
common religion, language, ethnicity, and national identity. Therefore, maintaining cooperation on
the kibbutz is dependent upon the kibbutz’s ability to foster ideological commitment among its
members.

Cooperation refers to the coordinated efforts of individuals that are directed toward a
common goal and entails mutual beneficence among participants (Dugatkin 1997; Rothstein and
Perrioti 1988). Among the various evolutionary approaches to cooperation, behavioral ecologists
have focused on how the determinants of cooperation vary under diverse ecological conditions
(Alvard and Nolin 2002; Sosis 2000a). Behavioral ecologists aim to explain behavioral variation,
which they generally measure through observational techniques such as focal or scan sampling
(Hames 1992). The nature of the kibbutz, however, renders this research strategy difficult to employ.

Work and investment patterns on the kibbutz are regulated to minimize variation in labor effort. In
most kibbutzim, members are expected to work a certain number of hours per week and jobs are
rotated regularly, including managerial positions, to reduce variation in labor contributions. These
institutional arrangements that censor variation in intended cooperative behavior led us to design an
economic experimental game, a recent addition to anthropologists’ methodological tool kit (e.g.,
Henrich et al. 2001), to elicit each kibbutz member’s cooperative behavior toward fellow members.

Our experiments evaluate the importance of ideological commitment and other determinants
for fostering cooperation on Israeli kibbutzim under varying ecological conditions. To address the
influence of ideology on cooperative behavior we establish a baseline level of cooperation observed
among non-kibbutznik Israelis and compare this to the cooperation observed on various kibbutzim.
We then examine privatization as a measure of commitment to traditional kibbutz ideals of
communalism to evaluate how commitment to kibbutz ideology affects cooperative behavior. Lastly,
we compare the relative success of religious and secular ideologies in promoting cooperation. Our results suggest that religious ideologies, especially those supported by communal ritual, are the most successful at fostering intra-group cooperation.

In the next section we describe our study population, the Israeli kibbutz. This is followed by an explanation of our experimental game and data collection procedures. We then present the results from three sets of experiments aimed at understanding how ideological commitments impact cooperation on the Israeli kibbutz. We conclude with a discussion of the features of religious ideology that make it effective at enhancing intra-group cooperation and the relevance of our findings for future work on the evolution of cooperation.

Israeli Kibbutzim

The kibbutz was originally conceived as a small collective farming settlement in which members based their social and cultural lives on the collective ownership of property and wealth. Guided by the dictum “From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs,” kibbutz members received food, shelter, clothing, education, health care, and a small stipend for their work. The first kibbutz, Degania, was established in the Galilee in 1909. Since then, the kibbutz movement has grown to over 270 settlements located in every region in Israel. Kibbutzim range in population size from less than 50 to over 2,000. The approximately 124,000 individuals currently living on kibbutzim comprise around 2% of the Israeli population (Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Israel).

The kibbutz developed out of an egalitarian ideology rooted in Socialist-Zionism as well as the pragmatism of group living during the early colonization of Palestine by Eastern European Jews (see Near 1992). The early kibbutzim were fiercely committed to socialist and secular ideologies. Subsequently, religious Jews dedicated to socialism established their own kibbutzim. The kibbutzim began as agriculturally based cooperatives, however, unable to survive economically by farming
alone, the kibbutzim have diversified their economic activities over the past several decades (Maron 1994). Today enterprises such as tourism, health spas, and factories manufacturing the entire gamut of imaginable products provide the majority of kibbutzim’s income.

Methodology

Experimental Design. We developed an experimental bargaining game to measure cooperative behavior. The game involves two members from the same kibbutz who remain anonymous to each other during and after the experiment, and who make their decisions in the game independently of each other. Each kibbutz member is told that there are 100 shekels in an envelope to which both members have access. Each participant simultaneously decides how much of the 100 shekels to withdraw from the envelope and keep. If the sum of the requests to keep money exceeds 100 shekels, then both kibbutz members receive no money and the game is over. If the total requests are less than or equal to 100 shekels, then each kibbutz member keeps the amount he or she requested. In addition, the amount that remains in the envelope increases by 50% (i.e., is multiplied by 1.5) and is divided equally between the two participants.

This game belongs to a class of experiments commonly known as common-pool resource dilemmas (Ostrom et al. 1994). Two features characterize common-pool resources: non-excludability and divisibility. Common-pool resources are publicly accessible goods that, once consumed by an individual, are no longer available for consumption. Since common-pool resources are accessible to multiple individuals who can consume the goods to depletion, conserving these resources is problematic unless individuals exhibit self-restraint.

Kibbutz members regularly face common-pool resource problems, such as the consumption of communal food, water, electricity, and the use of communal cars, and thus our experimental design captures the notion of cooperation relevant to the social conditions of the kibbutz. In the experimental game, the amount of money taken out of the envelope provides a measure of a player’s
cooperativeness. If players do not cooperate, their total requests will exceed the amount of money available in the envelope and neither player will receive any payment. The more one is willing to cooperate by exhibiting self-restraint in one’s request, the greater the total resources available to be divided.

*Experimental Procedures.* Having obtained permission to conduct the research from the secretary (head) of each kibbutz in our sample, we sent a letter of introduction describing the nature of the research to every household on the kibbutz a week prior to our visit. The letter informed kibbutz members that we would be calling them a day or two before our visit to invite them to participate in the research. For those who agreed to participate, we arranged a specific time to meet at their home. At each kibbutz visited we conducted experiments with 24-56 members, depending on the size of the kibbutz. All data were collected between February and May 2000.

We conducted experiments and interviews at 28 kibbutzim throughout Israel. Each set of experiments described below utilizes the subset of this database that is relevant for the hypotheses being tested. All of our data collection procedures were refined during extensive pilot studies conducted at Ben-Gurion University and three additional kibbutzim not in any sample. To facilitate data collection and to reduce the chances that participants who completed the experiment could contact others scheduled to participate, 20 Ben-Gurion University graduate and undergraduate students were employed to collect data so that multiple experiments could be conducted simultaneously. Typically, about 12 researchers visited a kibbutz.

Experimenters were paired before their arrival at a kibbutz. Paired experimenters maintained contact with each other via cellular phone throughout the stay on the kibbutz. Upon arrival at the kibbutz, the two experimenters searched for the home of their first participant. Before entering, they spoke with each other by phone to report that they had found the participants’ residences. Then they
entered the houses of their respective participants simultaneously, so that paired kibbutz members began the experiment at the same time.

Upon entering the participant’s home, the experimenter introduced him- or herself and requested a quiet place where they could sit undisturbed for the next 30 minutes. Once seated, the experimenter conveyed some preliminary details concerning the experiment (e.g., the participant’s identity and decisions are to be used for research purposes only and will remain anonymous, etc.). The kibbutz member was then given the instruction sheet and told to take his or her time and read the instructions carefully. Once finished, the experimenter read the instructions aloud. To ensure complete comprehension of the game, two random examples were performed. In each example, a pair of numbers was randomly drawn from a bag containing numerical values between 0 and 100. The numbers were meant to be the amounts chosen by two hypothetical participants in the experimental game. Thus, for instance, if the numbers 10 and 70 were drawn from the bag, the participant was shown that the first player would receive 25 shekels and the second player would receive 85 shekels, since the 20 shekels left over would increase to 30 shekels and be split between them.

After any clarifying questions were answered, a decision was elicited regarding the amount the participant wished to remove from the envelope. The participant was then asked the amount that he or she believed the other participant would claim. The experimenter of the participant who decided first telephoned the other experimenter by cellular phone and informed the other experimenter that a decision had been reached. The experimenter did not convey the amount of the decision in this conversation in order to avoid any reaction or facial expression on the part of the second experimenter, which could influence the second participant’s decision. Further, immediately revealing the participant’s decision might make him or her suspicious that the decision was being conveyed to the other participant who could then use this information to make a decision. After the second participant reached a decision, the experimenters exchanged decisions by cellular phone and
conveyed to their respective participants the other member’s decision, the amount remaining in the envelope, and the amount that he or she would receive after the amount left over in the envelope (if anything) is increased by 50% and divided between both players.

Following the experiment, structured interviews were conducted to collect data on a variety of demographic and behavioral variables. At the conclusion of the interview, participants were paid their earnings from the experiment in cash.

**Samples and Results**

In the analyses described below we examine the relation between cooperative decisions and numerous variables. Table 1 presents summary information for the variables employed in each set of analyses.

*Kibbutz members versus city residents*

Does the kibbutz’s socialistic ideology foster cooperation among its members? To address this question we conducted two treatments of the experimental game described above. In the first treatment, kibbutz members and city residents were paired with one another (kibbutz-city treatment). The kibbutz member and the city resident in the kibbutz-city treatment were given precisely the same information, namely, that the person with whom they were paired was from another place. It was important for us not to specify more precisely the location of the paired partners to avoid response biases resulting from possible stereotypes about kibbutz members or residents of certain cities. Given the demographics of Israel (kibbutz members constitute less than 2% of the population), it is most probable that kibbutz members (correctly) believed they were paired with city residents and that city residents believed they were paired with residents from different cities. The cooperation of the city residents offers a baseline level of cooperation within Israeli society to be compared with that of kibbutz members when paired with outsiders. In addition, we conducted a second treatment in which
members of the same kibbutz were anonymously paired with one another (kibbutz-kibbutz treatment).

Sample. Our kibbutz sample for these treatments consists of four non-privatized kibbutzim located in central and southern Israel, established between 1943 and 1949 and ranging in membership from 500 to 700 individuals. The kibbutz research institute, Yad Tabenken, constructs a measure of the economic strength for each kibbutz based on the kibbutz’s assets and debt level. Three of our four sample kibbutzim are ranked as “strong”, while the fourth kibbutz is ranked as “fair”. (See Table 1 for further details.) We also selected neighborhoods in seven towns and cities in central and southern Israel (Beer Sheva, Hadera, Maitar, Omer, Or Yehuda, Rehovot, and Rishon Lezion) to match the different standards of living of our four sample kibbutzim.

Sixty-one city residents participated in the kibbutz-city treatment against 61 kibbutz members. An additional 55 pairs (110 kibbutz members) participated in the kibbutz-kibbutz treatment. For each of the four sample kibbutzim, approximately two-thirds of the subjects participated in the kibbutz-kibbutz treatment, and one-third participated in the kibbutz-city treatment. By holding these proportions constant for the four kibbutzim, any possible fixed effects associated with the impact of a particular kibbutz are irrelevant for our hypotheses.

Results. The distributions of the amounts claimed by city residents and the kibbutz members paired with them displayed in Figure 1 suggest that city residents and kibbutz members behaved similarly on average. Indeed, city residents claimed an average of 35.6 shekels (median = 40) and kibbutz members in this treatment claimed an average of 35.2 shekels (median = 40); a t-test confirms that the mean amounts are not significantly different ($t = .160, df = 118, p = .87$, equal variances not assumed here and hereafter). Furthermore, the OLS regression reported in column 1 of Table 2 indicates no difference in the decisions of kibbutz members and city residents: a dummy variable
“kibbutznik”, which equals “1” for kibbutz members and “0” for city residents, is not statistically different from zero.

However, Figure 2 illustrates that kibbutz members behave more cooperatively when paired with other kibbutz members (mean = 29.6, median = 35) than when paired with city residents (mean = 35.2, median = 40; $t = 2.31, df = 147, p = .02$). The OLS regression results presented in column 2 of Table 2 indicate that kibbutz members remove about 4.2 shekels more when paired with city residents than when paired with members of their own kibbutz, controlling for age, educational status, the amount they believe their opponent will claim (“predict”), and the fraction of their lifetime they have lived on the kibbutz.

These results raise the possibility that the collectivized kibbutzim’s socialist ideology is successful at promoting cooperation among kibbutz members, although it clearly does not enhance cooperation with non-kibbutz members. There are alternative explanations for these findings however. Numerous studies in social psychology and sociology have demonstrated the robustness of in-group favoritism and the ease with which group identity may be called upon or created (see Hewstone et al. 2002). Perhaps our findings that kibbutz members are more cooperative when interacting with one another than with city residents, and more cooperative than city residents are toward outsiders, reflects merely an in-group bias. In other words, it is possible that ideology is not needed to create enhanced levels of cooperation within a kibbutz, but can simply be generated by an evolved psychology that favors in-group members (e.g., Richerson and Boyd 2001; Wilson 2002). To evaluate this possibility we compare the levels of cooperation on collectivized and privatized kibbutzim.

**Collectivized versus Privatized Kibbutzim**

In the mid-1980s it was exposed that the kibbutzim were collectively over four billion dollars in debt. This financial crisis accelerated a dramatic ideological and social change already underway
on the kibbutz (Leviatan et al. 1998). The communal nature of the kibbutz was challenged and many kibbutzim abandoned communal ownership of property in favor of privatization (Barkai 1999; Helman 1994). Some kibbutzim required members to pay for their own food and electricity. Others instituted differential pay scales. Differences across kibbutzim in the number of changes they have made toward privatization allow us to evaluate how variation in commitment to traditional kibbutz ideology affects cooperative behavior. As a consequence of their greater commitment to kibbutz socialist ideals, we expect members of collectivized kibbutzim to display higher levels of cooperation than members of privatized kibbutzim.

Sample. To evaluate the relation between privatization and cooperative behavior we constructed samples of traditional collectivized kibbutzim and privatized kibbutzim that are very similar along various dimensions believed to affect cooperation. Seven collectivized kibbutzim were matched with ten privatized kibbutzim according to their population size, year of establishment, and degree of economic success. A kibbutz’s degree of privatization was determined according to the number of privatization changes (out of a total of 21) adopted by the kibbutz. Examples of privatization changes include members (rather than the kibbutz) paying for electricity, vacations abroad, and meals in the communal dining hall, permission for individual members to own private cars, and differential salaries between members. The seven collectivized kibbutzim in our sample have made five or fewer changes toward privatization (mean = 1.90, SD = 1.37), whereas our ten privatized kibbutzim have made ten or more changes (mean = 12.14, SD = 2.48).

Results. The distributions of amounts claimed from the envelope for privatized and non-privatized kibbutzim are shown in Figure 3. Members of non-privatized kibbutzim removed on average 30.9 shekels (median = 35.0, n = 312) compared to 36.0 shekels (median = 40.0, n = 206) for members of
privatized kibbutzim ($t = 3.08$, $df = 420$, $p = .002$). Of the 19 subjects who claimed more than 50 shekels, 13 were from privatized kibbutzim ($z^2 = 6.76$, $df = 1$, $p = .009$).

Table 3 presents the results of regression analyses that assess the relation between privatization and the amount removed from the envelope. Controlling for an array of variables, members of non-privatized kibbutzim remove about five shekels less than their privatized cohorts. The only other significant variables in the model are the amount a player predicts his or her partner will remove from the envelope, which enters the regression nonlinearly as seen by the “predict” and “predict-squared” variables, and whether a participant works on or off the kibbutz. Members who work off the kibbutz remove about four shekels less than members who work on the kibbutz. This finding further highlights the importance of ideology in motivating cooperation. Members who work outside the kibbutz are typically professionals and earn salaries well above the Israeli average; yet as kibbutz members they are required to contribute these high salaries to the kibbutz. Their choice to remain on the kibbutz rather than join mainstream Israeli society reflects their commitment to the kibbutz values of community and cooperation.

The higher levels of cooperation observed on collectivized kibbutzim suggest the importance of ideological commitment for encouraging cooperation. In fact, having strayed from the traditional kibbutz ideology, members of privatized kibbutzim exhibit levels of cooperation no different from those of city residents ($t = 0.14$, $df = 113$, $p = .89$). Not all ideologies, however, are equally successful at promoting cooperation. Rappaport (1999) and Sosis and Bressler (2003) have argued that religious ideologies are particularly effective at enhancing trust, solidarity, and cooperation. We evaluate the efficacy of religious ideology in fostering cooperation by comparing the levels of cooperation on religious and secular kibbutzim.

Religious versus Secular Kibbutzim
Various anthropologists have posited that religion can foster in-group solidarity and cooperation (Durkheim 1995 [1912]; Irons 2001; Rappaport 1999; Sosis 2003). Recent analyses by Sosis (2000b) and Sosis and Bressler (2003) support these claims and show that religious communes are more successful at promoting cooperation among members than their secular counterparts. The kibbutz provides natural conditions to evaluate further the relative abilities of religious and secular ideologies to facilitate cooperation because of the clear distinction between religious and secular kibbutzim. Secular kibbutz members’ lives are not structured by religious ritual but are otherwise very similar to those of religious kibbutzniks.

Irons (2001) proposed that religious ritual evolved as a costly and thus reliable signal of intra-group commitment that serves to increase trust and cooperation among performers. Sosis (2003) has extended these arguments to incorporate the importance of ritual performance in generating and solidifying religious belief. If religious ritual and beliefs impact solidarity and cooperation, then we should expect members of religious kibbutzim to exhibit higher levels of cooperation than members of secular kibbutzim. Costly signaling theory further predicts that for signals to be effective they must be observable by the intended audience (Smith and Bird 2000; Sosis 2000c), which rituals achieve when performed collectively. In addition, rituals performed publicly serve to declare commitments to the community and therefore strengthen convictions in the cosmology embedded in the rituals. We expect the frequency of ritual performance to influence a performer’s commitment to the group and the strength of his or her conviction in the beliefs associated with the ritual performed. Therefore, we predict that religious males will exhibit higher levels of cooperation than religious females because of their greater participation in collective ritual, especially thrice daily prayer, and that those men who participate in communal prayer most frequently will display the highest levels of cooperation.
Sample. The vast majority of kibbutzim are secular, and indeed, generally fiercely anti-religious. The history of the religious kibbutzim begins several decades after the establishment of the original kibbutzim. Religious Jewish pioneers who wanted to live within a kibbutz framework began immigrating to Palestine in the late 1920s. The first religious kibbutz was established by the Rodges Group in 1931 and ultimately named Yavne in 1941. Since then, the Religious Kibbutz Movement (Kibbutz Dati), formally established in 1935, has grown to represent over 8,000 members in 16 kibbutzim. The religious kibbutzim were not anticipated by the formulation of an explicit and detailed ideology (Katz 1995). Religious kibbutzim integrated the secular kibbutz culture grounded in socialist ideology and a religious culture rooted in traditional or halachic Judaism. In contrast to the secular kibbutzim, it was the commitment of the religious kibbutzim to traditional Judaism that fostered their socialist perspective. Despite their religious motivations, they modeled their communal lifestyle and economic structures after the secular kibbutzim that preceded them (Fishman 1983, 1987, 1992).

Religious kibbutz members practice a form of Judaism known as Modern Orthodoxy, which means that they do not shun modernity (e.g., in contrast to the Ultra-Orthodox, they watch TV, read national newspapers, and participate in Israeli society), yet they adhere to halacha, or traditional Jewish law. As Modern Orthodox Jews, ritual plays a central role in how religious kibbutz members organize their lives. Although a variety of requirements are imposed equally on males and females, such as keeping kosher and not working on the Sabbath, Modern Orthodoxy is not sexually egalitarian with respect to all ritual obligations. Male ritual requirements are largely publicly oriented whereas female requirements are generally pursued privately or in the home. Indeed, of the three major requirements imposed exclusively on women (namely, the laws of family purity such as attending a mikveh or ritual bath, separating a portion of dough when baking bread, and lighting Sabbath and holiday candles), none are publicly performed. Males on the other hand regularly engage in a variety of collective rituals, most notably public prayer, which occurs three times daily.
These gender differences in ritual practice will provide an opportunity to compare directly how group and private ritual performance impacts cooperative behavior.

To test the hypotheses presented above, we constructed samples of religious kibbutzim and secular kibbutzim that are very similar along various dimensions believed to affect cooperation. Seven religious kibbutzim\(^9\) were matched with eleven secular kibbutzim according to their population size, year of establishment, degree of economic strength, and degree of privatization. It should be noted that on average religious kibbutzim are economically more successful (Fishman and Goldshmidt 1990) and much less privatized than secular kibbutzim. Thus, our sample of secular kibbutzim is not representative of the secular kibbutz movement, but consists of some of the most successful and least privatized secular kibbutzim in a movement that is otherwise economically struggling and becoming much less communal (Barkai 1999; Helman 1994; Leviatan et al. 1998).

**Results.** On average, religious males removed 29.9 shekels \((n = 108)\) from the envelope, religious females removed 33.7 shekels \((n = 108)\), secular males removed 30.1 shekels \((n = 170)\), and secular females removed 30.5 shekels \((n = 172)\). In order to compare these subpopulations we conducted OLS regression analyses and controlled for a host of variables that we thought might correlate with cooperativeness (see Table 4). The kibbutz-level variables (kibbutz age, membership size, economic strength, and degree of privatization) do not appear in the table; there is too little variance along all kibbutz-level variables in this sample, and therefore none of them are significant (see Sosis and Ruffle 2003).\(^10\)

Table 4 presents the results of separate regressions performed on the religious and secular kibbutz samples, where the amount removed from the envelope is the dependent variable. As hypothesized, within the religious kibbutz sample sex is a significant predictor of the amount claimed. Controlling for a variety of explanatory variables, religious males on average take 4.3 shekels less than females. Secular male and female kibbutz members do not remove significantly
different amounts from the envelope (Table 4, column 4); thus the significant sex difference observed in the religious kibbutzim is unlikely to be a consequence of inherent differences in the way males and females respond in this experimental game.

In both the religious and secular kibbutz samples, the amount a participant expects his or her partner to remove from the envelope displays a curvilinear relationship with actual claims from the envelope, as indicated by the significant “predict” and “predict-squared” variables. The other significant variables differ across samples. In the religious kibbutz sample, the fraction of one’s life spent on the kibbutz is a significant predictor of claims. Those who move to a kibbutz are typically motivated by a strong ideological commitment to socialism and communal life. The results suggest that individuals who believe passionately enough in the values associated with communal life to move to a kibbutz initially cooperate more than those who have spent more of their lives on the kibbutz (we discuss this further below). In the secular kibbutz sample, employment location is a strong predictor of cooperative decisions, as was also found in the collectivized-privatized sample (see above). Another predictor in the secular kibbutz sample, albeit marginally significant, is the frequency with which members eat in the communal dining hall, which is negatively correlated with the amount removed from the envelope.

Data on synagogue attendance were collected during the post-experiment interviews. Participants from religious kibbutzim were asked to indicate their synagogue attendance on a six-point scale with the following categories: daily (6), several times per week (5), Sabbath and holidays (4), holidays only (3), seldom (2), and never (1). The average male response was 5.5 and the average female response was 3.7. This difference is highly significant ($t = 16.23; df = 203; p < .0001$). Male synagogue attendance is negatively correlated with the amounts claimed from the envelope (Pearson $r = -.18, n = 102, p = .036$), whereas female synagogue attendance is unrelated to claims (Pearson $r = .05, n = 102, p = .626$). Controlling for variables shown to be significant in the religious sample (Table 4, column 1), the OLS regression in column 2 of Table 4 shows that religious males who
attend synagogue daily remove about 5.8 shekels less from the envelope than religious females, whereas there is no significant difference in the amounts claimed by religious males who do not attend synagogue daily and religious females.

The regression specifications in Table 5, which include all kibbutz members (religious and secular), control for the significant predictors found in the above analyses (Table 4). Column 1 provides a controlled comparison of the cooperative behavior of the four subpopulations. Three of the four subpopulations are represented with dummy variables, with religious males as the base category. The results in column 1 show that, controlling for significant predictors, religious males take out about 4 shekels less than religious females (similar to the results in Table 4), 11 shekels less than secular males, and 8 shekels less than secular females. The results in column 2 indicate that, controlling for significant predictors, religious kibbutzniks on average take out 6.8 shekels less than secular kibbutz members. Column 3 shows that this is largely a result of males who attend synagogue regularly: when male synagogue attendance is included in the regression the religious dummy variable is no longer significant, whereas the male daily synagogue attendance interaction term is highly significant (similar to the regression results on religious kibbutz members only in Table 4, column 2). Column 4 includes dummy variables for secular males and females, while the religious male population is divided between those who attend synagogue daily and those who do not; religious females are the base category. The results indicate that religious females claim 7.5 shekels less than secular males and 5.4 shekels more than males who attend synagogue daily, but they do not claim significantly different amounts from secular females or males who do not attend synagogue daily. Overall, these results provide strong support for the thesis that a costly collective ritual, such as thrice-daily communal prayer, can promote cooperation.

If collective ritual performance positively impacts cooperation, it is curious that in the religious kibbutz sample the longer one spends on the kibbutz the less cooperative one becomes. However, a closer look at the data reveals that males who do not attend synagogue daily and females
are largely responsible for this effect. In the regression shown in column 3 of Table 4 we break down the fraction of one’s life spent on the kibbutz by sex, and synagogue attendance for males. The results indicate that the fraction of one’s life spent on the kibbutz is a significant predictor of the amounts claimed among female religious kibbutz members and males who do not attend synagogue daily, but not among the males who attend synagogue daily. It is understandable that among those who join the kibbutz enthusiasm for cooperation wanes as one’s initial idealism gives way to the actual challenges of living communally; however, collective ritual appears to counteract this effect.

Discussion

Our results show that when city residents and members of collectivized kibbutzim were paired against one another, they display similar levels of cooperation. Moreover, members of privatized kibbutzim were no more cooperative than these groups, even though they were paired with fellow privatized kibbutz members. However, members of collectivized kibbutzim exhibit higher levels of intra-group cooperation than members of privatized kibbutzim, suggesting the importance of ideological commitment in promoting cooperation and making it unlikely that our kibbutz-city results are a consequence of inherent in-group biases. Our results further show that members of collectivized religious kibbutzim, especially males engaged in thrice-daily prayer, exhibit higher levels of cooperation than members of collectivized secular kibbutzim.

One may argue that these differences across populations are due to risk aversion, and not a consequence of some groups of individuals choosing to behave more cooperatively than others. In other words, individuals who claim small amounts do so out of fear that the sum of the requests will exceed 100 shekels; to avoid this possibility they settle for a modest claim. To assess this alternative explanation, we examined the relationship between the amounts claimed and predicted. If risk aversion underlies participants’ choices, then we would expect those who claimed small amounts to predict that their opponents would remove relatively large amounts, and vice versa. However, the
findings that the coefficient on the “predict” variable is positive and highly significant and the “predict-squared” variable is either not significant (Table 4, column 1) or only marginally significant (Table 4, column 2) confirm that religious kibbutz members are motivated by the belief that others will behave cooperatively. In all other samples, the coefficient on “predict-squared” is negative and highly significant, implying an inverted-U relationship between the amounts claimed and predicted. For the secular kibbutz members (Table 4, column 3), for instance, consistent with the cooperation motive, a positive relation between “predict” and the amount claimed holds as long as “predict” is less than 70.7 shekels.\textsuperscript{11} For values of “predict” greater than 70.7, an increase in the amount predicted accompanies a decrease in the amount claimed supporting the risk-aversion hypothesis. In our sample, only 9/342 secular kibbutz members predicted that their opponents would remove more than 70.7 (six other members predicted exactly 70 shekels), indicating that the vast majority of members are not motivated by fear but by their belief that others will behave cooperatively.

Our data are incapable of fully distinguishing the causal relationship between any of our significant variables and cooperative behavior. For example, although we have shown that members of collectivized kibbutzim are more cooperative toward each other than members of privatized kibbutzim, it would be hasty to argue that privatization causes a decrease in cooperation. Although we believe this to be the case, it is also plausible that privatized kibbutzim chose to privatize as a consequence of waning cooperation on these kibbutzim. Likewise, although we propose that collective rituals enhance the social bonds that connect their participants, it is also possible, though we find it unlikely, that those who perceive greater levels of cooperation on the kibbutz are more likely to participate regularly in collective ritual.

Religious Ideology and Ritual

The most cooperative subpopulation in our entire sample are males who attend synagogue daily. This finding is consistent with analyses demonstrating that 19th century religious communes
that imposed the greatest ritual demands on their members survived the longest, a testament to their ability to sustain long-term cooperation despite the inherent potential for free riding in communal societies (Sosis and Bressler 2003). Moreover, Brumann (2001) has shown that religious communes that maintain dualistic theologies (i.e., they “draw a clear boundary between the sacred and the profane, meaning that they explicitly mark out ritual from everyday activities” (2001:92)), are more successful than those that adhere to theologies that do not distinguish between sacred rituals and mundane activities. Secular ideologies also often support ritual behavior, especially in intentional communities, yet secular worldviews appear to have less of an impact on cooperation than their religious counterparts (Sosis and Bressler 2003). Why might religious theologies complemented by sacred ritual actions be more successful at promoting cooperation than secular ideologies?

In order to address this question we must first understand the role that ritual plays in enhancing and internalizing associated beliefs among performers. Rituals are not empty routines; they are embedded with meaning, symbolism, and moral consequences (Geertz 1973; Leach 1976; Turner 1967). Rituals are always endorsed by cosmological explanations that provide significance, insight, and appreciation for the performers. Cosmology and theology also serve to inextricably bind ritual’s performers to the moral code of the community (Rappaport 1999). As Rappaport (1979; 1999) has pointed out, although ritual behaviors appear to be shrouded in mystery, their message to other adherents is clear: participation in a ritual performance signals acceptance of the moral values encoded in the ritual. For example, during a wedding ceremony the bride and groom send a public signal that they accept the moral values, as defined by the community, incumbent upon the institution of marriage. Since collective ritual performance is unambiguously associated with overt group values, only those who accept ritual’s message will be willing to perform them regularly. Sosis (2003) has argued that self-perception (Bem 1965, 1972) or cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957, 1964) processes will cause those who perform rituals, but do not accept the associated religious dogma, to either modify their beliefs or discontinue the ritual actions. For instance, some cults
as the Unification Church, attract members not by introducing them to the wisdom of their teachings; potential members are simply drawn into the group by participating in activities such as workshops, group singing, sport competitions, and distributing flowers at airports. It is only after several months of such ritualized activity that new members are introduced to the teachings of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon (Galanter 1999; Pesternak 1988). To reconcile the contradiction of their behavior (i.e., investing and participating in group activities) and ignorance of the meaning the group attributes to these activities, teachings that several months earlier would have found unreceptive ears are now willingly accepted.

If ritual serves to strengthen ideological commitment and internalize beliefs (Sosis 2003), why do secular ideologies supported by ritual promote cooperation less successfully than religious ideologies? While secular ideologies and rituals can generate a sense of community and obligation toward group members, the bonds forged through a common secular ideological belief, even when supported by ritual activity, do not appear to create the long-term trust and commitment achieved within religious communities. In explaining the reasons for this difference, Rappaport (1999) has argued that religious creeds are grounded in more stable propositions than secular ideologies. The cores of religious cosmologies are based on what Rappaport refers to as ultimate sacred postulates. Statements such as “Jesus Christ is the son of God” or “There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his prophet” are unfalsifiable, a characteristic that is essential to their sanctity. Indeed, Rappaport defines sacred propositions as statements without any material referents that are held by believers to be unquestionably true. Because these statements lack any material referents, they are unverifiable and beyond evaluation. Rappaport claims that since religious beliefs and behaviors cannot be verified logically, adherents verify them “emotionally” through the “religious experience” (James 1961[1902]; Otto 1959), the truth of which “seems to the communicant to be sufficiently demonstrated by its mere occurrence” (Rappaport 1971:31). This ability of religious ritual to evoke such an experience differentiates it from both animal and secular ritual and lies at the heart of its
efficacy in promoting and maintaining intra-group cooperation and commitment (Sosis and Bressler 2003).

Secular rituals also seem capable of evoking an “emotional experience,” but these sensations appear to be fundamentally different from religious experiences. Secular rituals do not generate a sense of the numinous because their referents are not supernatural or sacred. In other words, secular rituals do not induce supernatural experiences, although they may generate emotional experiences that engender a sense of community among their performers. This unity however is not supported by any unfalsifiable propositions and is consequently ephemeral; the propositions they support, if any at all, can be subjected to critical evaluation. Secular propositions contain material referents and can thus be disproven; by definition secular rituals are not “other worldly.” For example, the Marxist proposition at the core of kibbutz ideology “From each according to his ability, to each according to his need,” is a statement that can be supported by ritual performances, but life under this regime will have genuine consequences for its pursuers. Up until a decade ago many kibbutz members would have considered this statement “sacred,” in other words, beyond question. However, it is not inherently beyond question because the validity of this statement, namely whether this system of resource distribution is successful, can be evaluated by living according to it directives, as kibbutzniks have done. As the economic situation on the kibbutzim has worsened, many kibbutzniks living on privatized kibbutzim have challenged and ultimately rejected this fundamental proposition of kibbutz life (Ben Raphael 1997; Gavron 2000). In short, because secular ideologies are exposed to the vicissitudes of examination, they are less durable than religious ideologies and less successful at promoting long-term commitment and cooperation among its adherents.

Conclusion

Throughout history ideological commitment has served as a powerful catalyst for human behavior. Indeed, modern human history devoid of nationalism, communism, Nazism, feminism,
Buddhism and Christianity, among many others, would be almost unrecognizable. Large-scale cooperation among unrelated individuals, which many consider a hallmark of humanity (Richerson and Boyd 1999), generally follows from ideological motivations. While archaeologists have long examined the role of ideology in the development of complex societies (e.g., DeMarrias et al. 1996; Earle 1991), evolutionary scholars have largely ignored the relationship between ideological commitment and building cooperation. Behavioral ecologists, for example, have primarily focused on material payoffs, such as caloric gains, rather than less tangible determinants of cooperation that affect material gains only indirectly. Perhaps their, as well as other selectionists’, neglect of ideology results from a perception that it is irrelevant in prehistoric contexts, despite its obvious relevance for discerning historical behavioral trends. Yet, the influence of ideology and our willingness to submit to its directives are an integral part of our evolutionary past (Richerson and Boyd 2001). It has been argued that the first ideological commitments were religious in character (Rappaport 1999). As ritual has long served to increase trust and solidarity among humans and other species, especially primates (e.g., Watanabe and Smuts 2001), it should not be surprising that ideologies buttressed by ritual performance provided a foundation for large-scale human cooperation. Indeed, the inherent link between unverifiable beliefs and ritual actions enables religious ideologies to enhance intra-group cooperation and cohesiveness more effectively than their secular counterparts.

Evolutionary researchers must begin to consider the role that religious ritual and belief have played in the evolution of human cooperation. Various researchers have posited that religion serves an adaptive function through its ability to promote intra-group cooperation (see Sosis and Alcorta 2004 for review). Recently there have been significant advances in understanding the durability of religious beliefs and their success in lateral as well as cross-generational transmission (Atran 2002; Boyer 2001; Sosis 2003). Several features of religious beliefs, such as their intrinsic connection with rituals performed prior to theological training and their minimally counter-intuitive nature, appear invaluable for successful cultural transmission. There has been less empirical work, however,
devoted to discerning the unique characteristics of religious ideologies that enable them to promote cooperation among adherents. If we ignore the influence of ideological commitments on behavior, we will have little understanding of the proximate motivations behind cooperative behaviors that lead to ultimate material gains, and more importantly, how to create environments in which mutual cooperation can flourish.

1 For a notable exception see Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Salter (1998).

2 1 U.S. dollar equaled approximately 4 shekels at the time these experiments were conducted. Kibbutz members in our sample receive monthly stipends between 600-800 shekels from their respective kibbutzim.

3 During structured interviews, many kibbutz members complained about the over consumption of common-pool resources. Moreover, for those members who wished to see the kibbutz become more privatized, the misuse of common-pool resources was cited as the number one reason.

4 More than 75% of the kibbutz members called agreed to participate in the project and most who chose not to participate did not do so out of a lack of interest, but due to prior commitments during the time of our scheduled visit to their kibbutz.

5 In the original Hebrew, the word yishuv was used, which can be translated as city, town or populated area in Israel.

6 In other papers (Ruffle and Sosis submitted a, b; Sosis and Ruffle 2003) we have reported left- or double-censored Tobit regressions, rather than OLS regressions, to handle the cluster of observations at zero and one hundred (see Sosis and Ruffle 2003 for an explanation). Here we chose to report OLS regression results for the ease with which coefficients can be interpreted. All of our results and qualitative findings are robust to Tobit specifications.

7 These data were obtained from an annual survey on privatization conducted by Shlomo Getz.
8 In contrast, privately performed rituals are not expected to impact intra-group cooperation; rather they appear to be a form of communication with oneself (e.g., Rappaport 1999; Sosis 2003).

9 Because there are only 16 of them, the choice of religious kibbutzim was the limiting factor in determining our sample kibbutzim. Moreover, several religious kibbutzim are located in the West Bank and Gaza. Although these kibbutzim undoubtedly have unique characteristics worth studying, for a variety of reasons, they were eliminated from our sample.

10 We also found no significant effects by experimenter, including whether the experimenter dressed religiously, and no evidence that the numerical examples used during the explanatory phase of the experiment had any impact on participants' decisions.

11 To obtain this, differentiate the estimated regression equation with respect to “predict”, set the derivative equal to zero, and solve for “predict”.

12 Rappaport (1999:119-123) distinguishes between acceptance and belief. He maintains that regardless of whether one believes in the moral values encoded in ritual performance, by participating in a ritual performance an individual signals his or her acceptance of the community’s moral code, and can be held accountable if these rules are compromised.

References Cited


Figure Captions

Figure 1: *Distributions of amounts claimed in kibbutz-city treatment.* Histograms displaying the distributions of the amounts taken from the envelope by kibbutz members when paired against city residents (black; \( n = 61 \)) and by city residents when paired against kibbutz members (white; \( n = 61 \)).

Figure 2: *Distributions of amounts claimed by kibbutz members.* Histograms displaying the distributions of the amounts taken by kibbutz members when they are paired against other kibbutz members (black; \( n = 110 \)) and against city residents (white; \( n = 61 \)).

Figure 3: *Distributions of amounts claimed by privatized and collectivized kibbutz members.* Histograms displaying the distributions of the amounts taken from the envelope (in shekels) by members of privatized (black; \( n = 206 \)) and collectivized (white; \( n = 312 \)) kibbutzim.

![Figure 1](image-url)
Figure 2

The figure illustrates the distribution of amounts claimed (in shekels) for different categories against a Kibbutz and against a city. The y-axis represents the percentage, while the x-axis shows the range of amounts claimed (0-9, 10-19, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-69, 70-79, 80-89, 90-100). The black bars indicate amounts claimed against a Kibbutz, and the white bars indicate amounts claimed against a city.
Table 1: Independent variables used in regression analyses (variables without explicit coding schemes were coded directly as the value of the variable)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>independent variable / coding schema</th>
<th>kibbutz (n = 171)</th>
<th>city residents (n = 61)</th>
<th>collectivized kibbutz (n = 312)</th>
<th>privatized kibbutz (n = 206)</th>
<th>religious kibbutz (n = 216)</th>
<th>secular kibbutz (n = 342)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mean</td>
<td>standard deviation</td>
<td>mean</td>
<td>standard deviation</td>
<td>mean</td>
<td>standard deviation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sex</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 = female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 = male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 age</td>
<td>50.58</td>
<td>17.53</td>
<td>40.72</td>
<td>13.68</td>
<td>48.20</td>
<td>15.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 fraction of life spent on kibbutz</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years of education</td>
<td>13.73</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>13.87</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>14.30</td>
<td>2.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 number of households on kibbutz</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>2.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 number of meals eaten per week in communal hall</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>8.64</td>
<td>5.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 employment location</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>8.64</td>
<td>5.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 employment location</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 kibbutz age (years)</td>
<td>43.00</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>61.60</td>
<td>13.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 population size</td>
<td>605.2</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>590.6</td>
<td>209.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 economic strength</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 = very strong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 = strong</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 = strong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 = fair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 = fair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 = weak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 = weak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 = very weak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 number of privatization changes adopted by kibbutz</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>1.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 synagogue attendance</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 = never</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 = seldom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 = seldom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 = holidays only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 = holidays only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 = Shabbat and holidays</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 = Shabbat and holidays</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 = several times per week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 = several times per week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 = daily</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 amount predicted partner will claim (shekels)</td>
<td>40.71</td>
<td>14.76</td>
<td>43.18</td>
<td>12.58</td>
<td>41.61</td>
<td>17.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 = daily</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 = very weak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: OLS regression models of the amount removed from envelope by kibbutz members and city residents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>independent variable</th>
<th>parameter estimate (standard error)</th>
<th>parameter estimate (standard error)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intercept</td>
<td>7.02 (5.77)</td>
<td>-2.43 (9.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paired with kibbutznik</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-4.23 (2.04)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kibbutznik</td>
<td>1.17 (2.39)</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>predict</td>
<td>1.43 (0.22)**</td>
<td>1.57 (0.19)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>predict-squared</td>
<td>-.012 (.004)**</td>
<td>-0.015 (0.003)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex</td>
<td>-2.87 (2.39)</td>
<td>-2.23 (2.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fraction of life spent on kibbutz</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>5.34 (3.99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>0.17 (0.30)</td>
<td>0.07 (0.35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>-0.14 (0.08)*</td>
<td>-0.04 (0.07)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| n                            | 118                                 | 167                                 |
| adjusted $R^2$               | 0.325                               | 0.357                               |

+ standard errors are corrected for heteroskedasticity
* p < .10
** p < .05
*** p < .01
Table 3: OLS regression model of the amount removed from envelope by members of privatized and non-privatized kibbutzim*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>independent variable</th>
<th>parameter estimate (standard error)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intercept</td>
<td>10.65 (7.87)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privatized</td>
<td>5.19 (1.70)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>predict</td>
<td>0.85 (0.14)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>predict-squared</td>
<td>-0.005 (0.002)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employment location</td>
<td>-3.99 (1.83)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>0.70 (1.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>0.05 (0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>0.18 (0.26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of kin households</td>
<td>0.44 (0.34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fraction of life on kibbutz</td>
<td>1.53 (2.74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kibbutz economic strength</td>
<td>-1.75 (1.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kibbutz age</td>
<td>-0.04 (0.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kibbutz population size</td>
<td>-0.009 (0.006)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| n                                     | 502                                 |
| adjusted $R^2$                         | 0.255                               |

* standard errors are corrected for heteroskedasticity

** p < .05

*** p < .001
Table 4: OLS regression model of the amount removed from envelope by members of religious and secular kibbutzim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>independent variable</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parameter estimate</td>
<td>(standard error)</td>
<td>(standard error)</td>
<td>(standard error)</td>
<td>(standard error)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intercept</td>
<td>11.75 (8.97)</td>
<td>4.91 (4.97)</td>
<td>3.04 (6.71)</td>
<td>-1.09 (6.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex</td>
<td>-4.26 (2.34)**</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>2.99 (1.86)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>predict</td>
<td>0.922 (0.29)***</td>
<td>0.87 (0.25)***</td>
<td>0.87 (0.41)**</td>
<td>0.99 (0.11)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>predict-squared</td>
<td>-0.007 (0.004)***</td>
<td>-0.01 (0.004)*</td>
<td>-0.006 (0.006)</td>
<td>-0.007 (0.002)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>-0.09 (0.07)</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>0.09 (0.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employment location</td>
<td>-0.50 (3.06)</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-6.25 (2.40)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>-0.23 (0.38)</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>0.22 (0.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of kin households</td>
<td>0.04 (0.38)</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>0.37 (0.39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of meals</td>
<td>-0.09 (0.21)</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-0.31 (0.18)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religious<em>male</em>synagogue daily</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-5.76 (2.35)**</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religious<em>male</em>synagogue not daily</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-2.20 (3.08)</td>
<td>11.37 (5.40)**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fraction on kibbutz*female</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>11.37 (5.40)**</td>
<td>3.81 (4.66)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fraction on kibbutz<em>male</em>synagogue daily</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>3.81 (4.66)</td>
<td>8.78 (5.28)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fraction on kibbutz*synagogue not daily</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>8.78 (5.28)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n 186 198 198 290
adjusted $R^2$ 0.202 0.225 0.222 0.286

+ standard errors are corrected for heteroskedasticity
* $p < .10$
** $p < .05$
*** $p < .01$
Table 5: OLS regression models of the amount removed from envelope by members of religious and secular kibbutzim*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>independent variable</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parameter estimate</td>
<td>parameter estimate</td>
<td>parameter estimate</td>
<td>parameter estimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(standard error)</td>
<td>(standard error)</td>
<td>(standard error)</td>
<td>(standard error)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intercept</td>
<td>-0.86 (3.74)</td>
<td>8.34 (2.84)</td>
<td>8.72 (3.43)</td>
<td>2.69 (3.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>predict</td>
<td>0.93 (0.11)***</td>
<td>0.93 (0.11)***</td>
<td>0.92 (0.14)***</td>
<td>0.92 (0.14)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>predict-squared</td>
<td>-0.006 (0.001)***</td>
<td>-0.006 (0.001)***</td>
<td>-0.006 (0.001)***</td>
<td>-0.006 (0.002)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religious</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-6.79 (3.38)**</td>
<td>-5.79 (3.44)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fraction of life spent on kibbutz*religious</td>
<td>8.04 (4.09)**</td>
<td>7.31 (4.09)*</td>
<td>8.77 (4.54)**</td>
<td>8.74 (4.55)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employment location*secular</td>
<td>-5.88 (1.97)***</td>
<td>-5.82 (1.98)***</td>
<td>-5.82 (2.11)***</td>
<td>-5.88 (2.15)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of meals*secular</td>
<td>-0.28 (0.16)*</td>
<td>-0.24 (0.16)</td>
<td>-0.25 (0.16)</td>
<td>-0.28 (0.17)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religious*female</td>
<td>3.87 (2.09)*</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secular*male</td>
<td>10.89 (3.78)***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7.46 (3.67)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secular*female</td>
<td>8.15 (3.69)**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.72 (3.47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religious<em>male</em>synagogue daily</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-5.47 (2.45)**</td>
<td>-5.43 (2.45)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religious<em>male</em>synagogue not daily</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.35 (2.87)</td>
<td>-2.37 (2.88)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n</th>
<th>497</th>
<th>497</th>
<th>491</th>
<th>491</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adjusted $R^2$</td>
<td>0.264</td>
<td>0.258</td>
<td>0.266</td>
<td>0.268</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ standard errors are corrected for heteroskedasticity
* p < .10
** p < .05
*** p < .01