

RELIGIOUS CHANGE AND POLITICS: COMPARING CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS IN BRAZIL AND CHILE

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I. INTRODUCTION

The religious fabric of Latin America is experiencing radical change – in fact the Pope has called it an "invasion of sects". Until recently, this region has been noted for its long history of Catholicism imported by Iberian conquerors, buttressed by a hierarchical ecclesiastical structure dominating a semi-literate society, which traditionally played a conservative role as chief collaborator to Latin America's procession of elitist and authoritarian regimes. Furthermore, many social scientists link Catholic norms to cultural variables such as the culture of machismo, patronage, willingness to syncretize pre-Colombian religious symbols, etc. (Stoll 1989; Sherman 1994). However, in the past three decades millions have responded to various evangelical campaigns and sought a different religious experience under evangelical and/or Pentecostal Protestant guise.¹ For example, one study shows that in a Guatemalan region the population is 52 percent Catholic and 48 percent Protestant, but that a generation ago it was 87 percent Catholic and two generations ago 97 percent professing Catholic (Goldin & Metz 1994). On a larger scale, "since 1960, Protestantism...has tripled its numbers in Argentina, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic; quadrupled in Brazil; quintupled in El Salvador, Peru, and Costa Rica, and grown-six-fold in Ecuador and Colombia and seven-fold in Guatemala... Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras are reported to have Protestant populations that exceed one-quarter of their general populations" (Smith 1994:119).

Certainly this is an extraordinary voluntary shift of religious affiliation and culture, and has been recognized as such by many social scientists. However, in eagerness to believe that Protestantism may finally provide the cultural framework necessary for democracy and capitalism to

flourish in Latin America, many writers have leapt to 'how' Protestantism should be changing Latin American politics without providing much actual evidence that Protestantism *is* changing Latin American politics. In this paper, I attempt to respond to two related gaps in the literature on this topic. The first is that many of the studies which present data charting differences in the social beliefs and practices between Catholic and Protestant converts do so in isolated rural communities, whereas the true explosion of Protestant growth is in the cities (Glazier 1980; Cox 1995). Furthermore, studies of remote indigenous villages tell us something about that locale, but cannot bridge the levels of analysis divide to give us an accurate picture at the national or cross-national level. A second missing component in current studies of Protestantism is survey data. Many authors expect Protestantism to develop changes in the sociopolitical attitudes and behavior of adherents, but little large-scale survey data has been collected to measure whether or not this is occurring. Finally, as a political scientist my approach focuses on comparison of behavior and beliefs related to politics and society.

Two instruments that can provide a preliminary reference are the *World Value Survey* and the *Latinobarometer*.² Using results from two South American countries included in the survey, I indeed found the anticipated differences between Catholics and Protestants in religiosity and spiritual beliefs.³ Suprisingly, in contrast to the conventional wisdom that Protestants and Catholics should also differ politically, I found that sociopolitical opinions and political behavior remain extremely similar between the two groups.

II. STUDIES OF RELIGION IN LATIN AMERICA

The historical literature on Latin America records episodes of anti-Protestant rhetoric, when the Catholic Church or the government sought a scapegoat for American and British business interests (Bastian 1987; Baldwin 1990). In fact, this sentiment continues today, as some caution about the links of Latin American Protestants to 'right-wing extremists' in the United States (Diamond 1989; Brewer, Gifford and Rose 1996). However, several contemporary scholars have demonstrated that tales of conspiracy tend to exaggerate both the scale and success of early Protestant missionary efforts as well as their ties to US interests (Wilson 1994; Gill 1999). But the last generation has witnessed a change, and since the 1960s the scale of conversion to evangelical and evangelical Protestantism has accelerated from the historic trickle to a flood. Various attempts at understanding the phenomena and its impact on Latin societies

have been attempted from Marxist, Gramscian and other perspectives (Maduro 1982; Martins 1990; Adriance 1994). In the 1990s, most literature on the topic of contemporary Latin American Protestantism fell into one of two basic camps: Weberian (capitalism) and democratization.

The first theory is rooted in Weber's timeless *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Scholars recognize that Weber's thesis had to do primarily with what cultural conditions were best suited for capitalism and how capitalism then developed within, alongside, and was developed by Calvinism. Yet, today, Weber is so regarded that most authors jump from the Protestantism-capitalism connection to rhapsodies about the bright future ahead for capitalist/neoliberal Latin America in the twenty-first century. One well-known explication of this view suggests that conversion to Protestantism can foster earthly success by valuing honesty, dependability and perseverance; while denigrating corruption and lowering sinful expenditures (alcohol, prostitution, tobacco), which in turn provides savings for business and investment (Martin 1990; Harrison 1992). Another view suggests that it is not only the teachings of Protestantism but the charismatic leadership of the movement which compels its followers to change their lifestyles and behavior (Swatos 1994). Moreover, Amy Sherman's (1992) work not only advocates Protestantism as the basis for economic development in Latin America, but explicitly outlines a broad neo-liberal strategy with unabashed Protestantism at its core.

The second main strand of study concerning Latin American Protestantism is founded on democratization theory. The basic theme here is that evangelical and Pentecostal forms of Protestantism are more democratic than Catholicism in a variety of ways. One school of thought follows the resource mobilization theorists of the American Civil Rights⁴ and other movements: Protestant churches provide a learning ground for skills essential to political participation and democracy: "...they acquire the skills of organization, of self-help, of self-expression which make them articulate and self-reliant" (Martin 1990:108). Parishioners also speak in front of the assembly, teach groups of people, learn elements of institutional finance and fundraising, vote for church elders, *etc.* (Cleary & Stewart-Gambino 1997). Resource mobilization is not the only reason many feel that Protestantism can assist democracy. Others assert that it is a change in values which is the most important side benefit of Protestantism, whether the values are embedded in the faith or socialized as the new believer integrates into a local congregation (Sherman 1992; Canto Chac 1995). Many scholars feel that Protestantism bodes well for democracy because it emphasizes values of religious tolerance, literacy, quasi-

democratic structures, and a desire to help others and be active citizens. (Lynch 1998). Others suggest that Protestantism provides a non-traditional "open space" in society wherein new ideas, practices, and values can be experimented with (Smith 1994). Furthermore, some authors argue that Protestantism paves the way for liberal democracy and political competition simply by presenting a viable alternative to once-monolithic Catholicism (Froehle 1994).

In short, in both of the predominant academic perspectives, economic and democratic, the underlying assumption is that Catholics differ from Protestants in behavior and values. Nevertheless, some argue that since the Vatican II and the Western conferences at Medellin and Puebla, the distinction between Catholic and Protestant since the 1960s is problematic or outdated. A secondary literature has developed that echoes the Weberian and democratization themes in an evaluation of ecclesiastical base communities (CEBs) and Liberation Theology (Cavendish 1994; Gill 1994; Smith 1994; Swatos 1992, 1994). However, there are both practical and academic reasons to why this paper does not attempt to distinguish between different types of Catholics. From an academic perspective, the liberation theology in practice is often still hierarchical in that local control is exercised by a priest, often of foreign blood, who in turn is responsible to the Church hierarchy (Smith and Prokopy 1999). Second, the story of liberation theology/CEBs not only is often largely rural and agricultural, but has been diminishing in significance since the late 1980s; whereas the evangelical movement is generally urban and shows no sign of diminishing (Cook 1994; Smith and Prokopy 1999). On a practical note – although most Protestant converts in the past quarter century come from traditional Catholic backgrounds – survey data does not distinguish between traditional, liberationist, charismatic, and other forms of Catholics (Smilde 1999; Miguez 1999) and often those lines are blurred anyway (de Theije 1999).

Consequently, although recognizing that Latin American Catholicism has had its own internal challenge within the last twenty years, I believe that traditional Catholicism is the best point of comparison with modern Protestantism. This study asserts that it is important to assess whether or not there are distinguishable differences in political opinions between Catholics and Protestants, and that the survey should be of mainline Catholics, for not only do they represent the majority of Catholics and are integral to an understanding of Central and South American civilization, but because they are the natural place from which most converts to evangelical Christianity come.

Other studies have done an excellent job providing insight into smaller units of analysis. Individual studies have looked at identity, indigenous peoples, and Protestantism in Guatemala (Garcia-Ruiz 1988, 1992; Sherman 1998; Goldin & Metz 1991), Mexico (Garma 1983, 1992), Colombia (Gros 1991), Ecuador (Kanagy 1990), and various other Central and South American states. In addition, there are numerous articles and collections of essays that bring together research on a variety of countries under one cover (Glazier 1980; Stoll 1990; Cleary & Stewart-Gambino 1997; Gros 1999; Le Bot 1999). Although the growing numbers of such studies lead one inductively to conclude that something powerful is happening across the region, the evidence is usually localized to small rural groups and not applicable across the hemisphere. Again, there is a need to evaluate the Protestant Ethic – and democratization – theses at the level of larger social units and in an urban context.

Consequently, one is left with two conclusions. First, something of tremendous proportions is occurring in Latin American religion and society and has been since about 1970. The second conclusion is that although authors have hinted, expected, and concluded that evangelicalism will change Latin America and even have written how it will do so, there has been little national or cross-national evidence. As mentioned above, most existing literature based on survey data is limited to studies of autocephalous rural communities. Using survey data from the World Value Survey and the Latinobarometer for two countries, Brazil and Chile, I will see preliminary results that may foreshadow a larger panorama of Latin American society. Our results indicate that although at the turn of the millennium there is a sizeable difference between Catholic and Protestant religiosity and spiritual belief, there is little contrast in sociopolitical attitudes. This suggests that although mass conversion and religious socialization may be a rapid process, the transformation of political ideas through religious conversion is a much slower process, or may not be happening at all.

III. COMPARING CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS: THE RESULTS

Catholics and Protestants differ in religious belief and practice, consequently numerous authors have concluded that they must therefore also differ in their views about politics and society (for evidence, see Appendix 2). Although some scholars argue that Protestants behave ‘apolitically,’ in other words that they shun politics as worldly and carnal (Eckstein 1989), many scholars suggest that the values and activities of

Table 1- Percentage of Brazilians' Political Attitudes

BRAZIL	Catholics 1990	Protestants 1990	Catholics 1995	Protestants 1995
Pride in nationality	89	88	79	83
Interest in Politics	45	52	19	19
Left/Right Scale	23 Left 52 Center 25 Right	21 Left 47 Center 32 Right	13 Left 38 Center 29 Right	16 Left 37 Center 34 Right
Country's Goals 1	31 Order 21 More Say 43 Prices 5 Speech	36 Order 20 More Say 40 Prices 3 Speech	32 Order 22 More Say 35 Prices 7 Speech	33 Order 20 More Say 35 Prices 10 Speech
Country's Goals 2	51 Economy 12 Defense 26 More Say 11 Beauty	50 Economy 12 Defense 22 More Say 16 Beauty	34 Economy 13 Defense 33 More Say 11 Beauty	40 Economy 15 Defense 28 More Say 10 Beauty
Country's Goals 3	29 Economy 26 Humane 12 Ideas 32 Crime	32 Economy 28 Humane 10 Ideas 30 Crime	19 Economy 15 Humane 11 Ideas 51 Crime	23 Economy 19 Humane 9 Ideas 45 Crime
Confidence in Armed Forces	70 Yes 30 No	71 Yes 29 No	61 Yes 35 No	51 Yes 26 No
Confidence in Judicial/Legal System	45 Yes 55 No	50 Yes 50 no	40 Yes 55 No	36 Yes 59 No
Confidence in Public Adm./Civil Service	50 Yes 50 No	53 Yes 47 No	29 Yes 66 No	27 Yes 71 No
Confidence in Police	39 Yes 60 No	44 Yes 56 No	35 Yes 63 No	35 Yes 64 No
Confidence in Legislature	24 Yes 76 No	33 Yes 66 No	27 Yes 68 No	19 Yes 76 No

Table 2 - Percentage of Chileans' Political Attitudes

CHILE	Catholics 1990	Protestants 1990	Catholics 1995	Protestants 1995
Pride in nationality	89	93	86	95
Interest in Politics	36	24	25	17
Left/Right Scale	18 Left 67 Center 14 Right	20 Left 66 Center 14 Right	15 Left 48 Center 13 Right	14 Left 40 Center 11 Right
Country's Goals 1	40 Order 31 More Say 20 Prices 8 Speech	46 Order 27 More Say 21 Prices 7 Speech	21 Order 34 More Say 32 Prices 10 Speech	23 Order 29 More Say 32 Prices 12 Speech
Country's Goals 2	68 Economy 3 Defense 24 More Say 5 Beauty	62 Economy 6 Defense 24 More Say 8 Beauty	48 Economy 8 Defence 36 More Say 5 Beauty	49 Economy 8 Defense 32 More Say 7 Beauty
Country's Goals 3	58 Economy 20 Humane 6 Ideas 16 Crime	40 Economy 21 Humane 7 Ideas 22 Crime	41 Economy 27 Humane 11 Ideas 19 Crime	39 Economy 32 Humane 7 Ideas 21 Crime
Confidence in Armed Forces	37 Yes 57 No	49 Yes 51 No	57 Yes 41 No	46 Yes 39 No
Confidence in Judicial/Legal System	46 Yes 54 No	57 Yes 43 No	42 Yes 56 No	40 Yes 57 No
Confidence in Public Adm./Civil Service	48 Yes 52 No	57 Yes 43 No	42 Yes 53 No	48 Yes 49 No
Confidence in Police	61 Yes 39 No	60 Yes 40 No	56 Yes 33 No	63 Yes 37 No
Confidence in Legislature	64 Yes 36 No	68 Yes 32 No	49 Yes 47 No	47 Yes 49 No

Protestants make them an important catalyst for democracy and/or capitalist reform in Latin America. My findings disagree with the supposition that Brazilian and Chilean Catholics and Protestants think and behave differently with regard to politics. Rather, at the time of these surveys, many respondents held views reasonably similar with their countrymen of the different faith.

The surveys ask a number of questions concerning politics and society, including many that are country specific. Rather than catalogue a long list of questions and answers, I have tried to present an accurate cross-section of responses that are representative of the larger picture. Hence, the questions below deal with issues of national and cross-national significance. In addition, I have tried to provide questions that deal both with the tangible and the intangible acts and beliefs. I believe that the trend of the majority of questions in the survey is that Catholic and Protestant respondents hold far more in common than has been previously thought. Finally, although there is considerable debate in the democratization literature about defining processes in terms of either resource mobilization or political attitudes, it is not the focus of this paper to engage in that controversy. Hence, it is very interesting that both attitudes and behavior are similar between respondents of different faiths.

Socio-Political Attitudes

The attitudes and opinions that citizens hold about their society, government, and political system are important components of political culture. My research indicates that in many areas, Catholics and Protestants hold similar beliefs about society and politics. For example, a simple question asked by the survey is whether or not the respondent is interested in politics. In each of the countries, the responses of members of the two faiths are in similar alignment. When asked about political issues as diverse as Left/Right placement, pride in nationality, and the most important goals for the country, responses maintain an obvious congruence.⁵ In sum, Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate tremendous parallels in the attitudes of Catholics and Protestants.

A second broad area worthy of comparison is behavior that carries sociopolitical ramifications, such as membership in a political party and other forms of participation. Just as in the attitude responses above, in a number of participation areas, I find that Protestants and Catholics are more alike than previously anticipated. For example, in areas of traditional political participation such as party membership, both Catholics and Protestants register similar amounts of involvement (Tables 3 and 4). Furthermore, in arenas of activity that are less conventional both groups

again are similar. The World Value Survey asks many question about involvement in voluntary associations. These are not shown here because the Latinobarometer did not replicate the questions, but it is interesting to note that given a variety of civic groups' focus on women's issues, Third World development, peace movements, etc., less than 2 percent of either Catholics or Protestants indicated involvement.⁶

Table 3 - Percentage of Brazilians' Political Behavior

BRAZIL	Catholics 1990	Protestants 1990	Catholics 1995	Protestants 1995
Join Political Party	3	3	11	15
Demonstration	17	17	27	19
Unlawful Strike/Riot	6	6	1	1
Occupy Building	1	2	2	4

Table 4 - Percentage of Chileans' Political Behavior

CHILE	Catholics 1990	Protestants 1990	Catholics 1995	Protestants 1995
Political Party	4	2	8	3
Demonstrate	29	20	23	21
Unlawful Strike/Riot	7	3	1	1
Occupy Building	4	2	1	2

Consequently, on a variety of questions about society and politics, Catholics and Protestants did not differ greatly in either country. I recognize that each country has a unique history and political situation, but find it interesting that within each country Catholics and Protestants seem to have much more in common when it comes to perspectives on politics and society than was expected. Moreover, I recognize that the respondents do not hold similar views across both countries on every question of the surveys. But I think that it is obvious that in general, in both of these important South American countries, there is far more congruence than disparity concerning views on politics and society.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Optimists about the future of Latin America have pointed to evangelical revival as an important catalyst for democracy and economic modernity. This assurance is founded in two basic presuppositions based on the work of Max Weber and democratization theorists. The first is that Protestantism furthers capitalist development, and by extension democratic

development, by encouraging thrift and responsibility, indirectly promoting capital accumulation, investment, and prosperity by discouraging 'worldly' vices such as alcohol and tobacco. The second presupposition is that evangelicals tend to be more democratic for two reasons. On the one hand Protestant practice develops resources: Protestants utilize a horizontal organizational structure, encourage the use of lay leadership, practice electing deacons and elders, *etc.* The other basis for democracy concerns values. Protestant practice and beliefs encourage Bible reading (literacy), personal efficacy, individuality, and other values consistent with participatory democracy.

These two theories, the democratic and the capitalist, are so intertwined in Western thought as to be almost indistinguishable. For the past decade many scholars have nodded approvingly at Latin American Protestantism, not for its spiritual significance, but because of the expected by-products of Protestantism.

However, this paper has demonstrated that although some religious values have changed with conversion, other political values have not. Interestingly, the survey results indicate that there are significant differences in religiosity and spiritual beliefs between Catholics and Protestants in Chile and Brazil, but that the respondents of both faiths maintain nearly parallel perspectives on many sociopolitical issues.⁷

Is this a crisis for Protestant ethic and democratization scholarship? Not necessarily. True, on the one hand one could surmise that in these two countries religious belief and practice make little difference on political outlook. A related point of view argues that religion is far less important than other considerations when Brazilians and Chileans encounter politics. For example, Miguez (1999) has suggested that conversion to Protestantism is about religious experience, not politics.

On the other hand, shared opinions and actions may not be surprising. For example, perhaps political values and behavior are changing in Latin American societies, but it is the Protestants that are playing catch-up. Or, on a pessimistic note, maybe the bleak economic and social prospects faced by many Latin Americans provide a solidarity of suspicion and disgust of the political by the populace, regardless of denomination.

Finally, we could merely be witnessing a reiteration of the truism "culture changes incrementally". As Christian Smith (1994) has written, the prospects for Protestantism changing political culture in Latin America over the long-term may be good, but there is little short-term evidence of such change. Indeed, the "invasion of sects" is only beginning its second

generation, and therefore may not yet be expressing a mature and comprehensive sociopolitical worldview that is consistent with its faith. In any event, further research is needed on a variety of fronts. Time-series data that are careful to include an adequate sampling of Protestants will be useful for future comparisons, and may provide clues as to whether or not Catholics and Protestants have and/or continue to have similar sociopolitical views in different times and contexts.

In another decade we may see substantial political and electoral cleavages throughout the region based on faith, and there will certainly be more data to work with at that time. Or perhaps Latin America has chosen a different path, one unique to its growing schism in matters of faith, where religious pluralism is not synonymous with sectarian politics.

Appendix 1 - Catholics and Protestants Compared on Religion

As mentioned above, many in the academic community who consider Latin America tend to agree that Catholics and evangelical Protestants must think and act differently. This view is based on an understanding of the distinctive character and contrasting practices of the two faiths. Moreover, scholars say that this difference should bleed into the parishioners' thoughts and actions about society and politics. My research concurs that although Catholics and Protestants stem from similar Christian foundations, they do differ markedly in spiritual beliefs and religious practice. But this data also indicates that at the time of the survey, Catholics and Protestants did not hold significantly different views on politics and society.

All data is from the 1991 *World Value Survey*. Unfortunately, the 1995 *Latinobarometer* did not probe religious attitudes or behavior. The tables below present a comparison of Protestant and Catholic practices and attitudes on a variety of indicators. Results show raw percentages, followed by statistical measures. The first is chi-square, which provides a goodness-of-fit measure. Generally, the higher the value of chi-square, the higher the level of association between the independent (religion) and dependent variables. Gamma scores and their significance are included as well. Gamma is a measure of association from which I can infer the causal effects (coefficients) linking the variables. Overall, I found robust chi-square values and strong gamma scores for the expected differences in religiosity and spiritual belief between Catholics and Protestants, but found little or no difference in sociopolitical attitudes and practices.

Spiritual Beliefs

Both Protestants and Catholics base much of their worldview on the Bible. Consequently, the existence of the supernatural, *i.e.* God, the Devil, Heaven, Hell, etc., is integral to both faiths. However, my research indicates that Protestants are more conservative in their spiritual beliefs than are many Catholics. By conservative I mean that Protestants hold a more literal interpretation of biblical justification for spiritual beliefs, and that their views are more strongly held on average than those of Catholics.

For example, when asked about belief in the Devil, Protestant respondents were far more likely to respond that they did believe than were their Catholic counterparts. Similarly, when respondents were asked if they believed in life after death, Protestants answer affirmatively more often. Tables 1 and 2 below provide answers concerning the spiritual and supernatural, and the conventional wisdom that evangelicals tend to take the spiritual basis of their faith more seriously than Catholics is borne out.

Table 1

BRAZIL	Catholics %	Protestants %	Chi Square	Gamma	Sig.
God Exists? (Yes)	75	89.7	17.9	.47	.000
Believe in Hell (Yes)	36	75	87.1	.62	.000
Believe in Resurrection (Yes)	65.6	88.9	33.9	.62	.000
Believe in Devil (Yes)	39.1	79.4	90.5	.71	.000
Life After Death (Yes)	72.1	80.5	4.9	.23	.016

Table 2

CHILE	Catholics %	Protestants %	Chi Square	Gamma	Sig.
God Exists? (Yes)	61.9	87.4	38.4	.58	.000
Believe in Hell (Yes)	43.3	77.3	60.1	.63	.000
Believe in Resurrection (Yes)	70.0	87.8	20.5	.51	.000
Believe in Devil (Yes)	47.0	77.2	47.0	.58	.000
Life After Death (Yes)	70.5	87.3	18.5	.49	.000

Religiosity

Just as Protestants differ from Catholics in their internalized spiritual beliefs, they also differ from Catholics in religiosity. By religiosity I refer to the practice of religion. Both faiths adjure parishioners to attend service regularly, respect the Sabbath, pray frequently, and become involved in religious organizations, service groups, educational and family programs. It is generally believed that Protestants, particularly evangelicals, perform these religious acts more often and/or with greater intensity than do their Catholic counterparts.

The data in Tables 3 and 4 below support this conclusion. When asked if they belonged to a religious organization, Brazilian and Chilean Protestants were three times as likely to answer affirmatively. Also, Protestants were much more likely to attend services once or more in a week than were Catholics in both countries studied. Both these statistics are important, because they provide evidence that religious meetings are an important part of the Protestant practice; and this supports the notion that such services and events provide not only spiritual instruction, but can be a setting for group cohesion, identity formation, and socialization (Le Bot 1999; Gros 1999).

Attendance at church services and participation in religious groups are both public acts of religiosity, whereas prayer is a personal and private behavior. Prayer is an act that both faiths believe in and encourage, but do not necessarily engage in to the same degree. The survey results show that Protestants are more likely to be habitual in their praying than are Catholics.

Table 3

BRAZIL	Catholics %	Protestants %	Chi Square	Gamma	Sig.
Pray Regularly	68.2	83.3	17.5	.36	.000
Attend Service	33.5	70.5	197.1	.54	.000
Religious Organization	20.0	51.3	75.6	.62	.000

Table 4

CHILE	Catholics %	Protestants %	Chi Square	Gamma	Sig.
Pray Regularly	49.2	63.2	13.4	.26	.000
Attend Service	26.3	61.2	160.1	.50	.000
Religious Organization	14.6	45.4	83.1	.66	.000

In short, once again the mainstream view that evangelicals tend to be more religious than Catholics appears to be true. In some of the key disciplines of the faith: prayer, church attendance, and membership in religious organizations, Protestants are more likely to participate than are Catholics.

Appendix 2

The 1990-1993 *World Value Survey* (WVS) is a well-known survey instrument reflecting beliefs of citizens in forty-five societies. I appreciate the services of the Inter-university Consortium of Political and Social Research (ICPSR) for making this data available. Both random and quota sampling were used, and the sample population was adults over eighteen years of age. Unfortunately, the 1990-1993 WVS measured only three South American countries: Brazil, Chile, and Argentina. Although Argentina had a sample $n=1001$, only 20-30 Protestant responses at best are given for any question. Consequently, I dropped Argentina from this study.

For each country, the numbers of Protestants and Catholics are:

Brazil: Catholics (1234) Protestants (155)

Chile: Catholics (1016) Protestants (152)

In both countries, Protestant respondents were further divided into "Protestants" and "nonconformists." Because either term can mean "Protestant," "evangelical," "pentecostal," or "fundamentalist" and because distinctions are very blurred between groups, I collapsed these two categories into one labeled Protestant. Throughout this paper I use the term "Protestant" to refer to these groups. As noted above, many estimate that up to 75% of contemporary Latin American Protestants would consider themselves "Pentecostal" and/or "evangelical."

Socioeconomic status, age, gender, and education were all taken into account and compared alongside religious preference by question. For most variables little difference was found between Catholic and Protestant respondents, except that in general there were slightly more Protestants who considered themselves "skilled" and "working" class whereas there were slightly more middle and upper class Catholics represented.

Nevertheless, two points are worth noting. First, there is a modest trend among the participatory variables that the younger a person is the more likely they are to participate. This comes as no surprise to many observers of Latin American politics, because today's 18-25 year olds have spent much of their life under governments where voting and other forms of participation were more available. Second, women tend to be more religious than men.

Regarding the *Latinobarometer*, the essential information is extremely similar. The Latinobarometer is a powerful tool in that it provides survey research for nearly every country in Latin America. A strength and significant difference between the surveys is that the Latinobarometer did distinguish between various types of Protestant groups: evangelical without-specifying, evangelical-Baptist, evangelical-Methodist, evangelical-Pentecostal, and Protestant. For the purposes of this research, these respondents have been collapsed into "Protestant."

The number of Catholic and Protestant respondents by country are:

Brazil: Catholics (940) Protestants (103)

Chile: Catholics (914) Protestants (117)

Finally, listed below are the text of participation and opinion questions used in this paper and their World Values Survey variable numbers. All percentages are for "have done" responses.

(23) Do you belong to a political party or group?

(241) How interested would you say you are in politics?

(242-246) Tell me for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never, under any circumstances, do it. [joining boycotts, attending lawful demonstrations, occupying buildings or factories]

(248) In political matters, people talk of “the left” and “the right.” How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking?

(257, 259, 261) If you had to choose, which one of the things on this card would you say is most important?

(273, 275, 278, 279, 280) Please look at this card and tell me, for each item listed, how much confidence you have in them.

(322) How proud are you to be Brazilian (Chilean)?

Notes

- 1 Throughout the paper I use the terms “evangelical” and “Protestant” interchangeably. The term “evangelical” does not carry the political and sectarian connotations in Latin America as it does in the United States. Interestingly, 75% of the evangelicals would also consider themselves “Pentecostal” (Schultze 2000; Wilson 2000).
- 2 See Appendix 2 for details on the 1991 *World Value Survey* and 1995 *Latinobarometer* and their use in this study. I chose to use the 1995 iteration of the Latinobarometer because a) it surveyed many more Latin American countries and therefore may be useful for future research and b) the Latinobarometer distinguishes various types of Protestants whereas the 1995-1997 World Values Survey does not. Because some of the same scholars worked on both instruments, many of the variables are the same. Unfortunately, although the results for Argentine Protestants appear to follow suit with the other two countries in the 1991 World Values Survey, the number of respondents was simply too low to include Argentina in this study. Perhaps future iterations of the survey will include an appropriate proportion of Argentine Protestants. According to Daniel Miguez (1999), Argentina’s population is 10% Evangelical.
- 3 Statistics of differences in spiritual belief and religiosity from the 1991 World Values Survey can be found in Appendix 1. Unfortunately, the 1995 Latinobarometer had few religious variables.
- 4 There is a body of literature on the African-American Protestant church, and the Civil Rights movement. For a brief overview see McAdam *et.al* (1997); or Chong (1991); McAdam (1982).
- 5 For a list of questions, see Appendix 2. All percentages have been checked for significance using chi square. I found that any minor differences between religious groups are not significant. Nor is it correlated to religion. For more on methodology see Appendix 2.
- 6 Unfortunately the Survey did not ask about the most obvious measure of participation: respondents’ voting history.
- 7 This fact holds true when we held for various racial, social, and ethnic variables. There was little variance in the results between Catholics and Protestants regardless of age, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or gender.

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