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MAX WEBER AND PENTECOSTALS IN LATIN AMERICA:
THE PROTESTANT ETHIC, SOCIAL CAPITAL AND SPIRITUAL CAPITAL

by

KEITH SMITH

Under the Direction of Ryan Carlin, PhD

ABSTRACT

Many scholars claim that Pentecostalism is the fastest growing religious phenomenon in human history. Using two important essays of Max Weber as a foundation, this thesis examines whether growth of Pentecostalism in Latin America is promoting the Protestant Ethic described by Weber as well as Social Capital and Spiritual Capital. Analyzing data from the World Values Survey, this thesis argues that growth of Pentecostalism in Latin America is not creating a new Protestant Ethic among its followers, nor is Pentecostalism creating any greater Social Capital or Spiritual Capital among its followers when compared to other religious groups in the region. This thesis argues that the strong emotional character of Pentecostalism weighs against the creation of Social Capital and Spiritual Capital and that the tendency of Pentecostals to find assurance of their salvation in emotional experience does not promote the frugality or rationalization of work necessary for the Protestant Ethic.

INDEX WORDS: Pentecostalism, Pentecostals, Latin America, Max Weber, Social capital,

Spiritual capital, Protestant, Protestant ethic, World Values Survey

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by

KEITH SMITH

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family and friends, with thanks for all of their encouragement not only during the writing of this thesis, but also throughout this degree program.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* has been described as "the most discussed piece of writing in the history of social science" and "the book that launched a thousand dissertations" (Berger 2010). It lays out a detailed and scholarly argument for how Protestantism, especially Calvinism, contributed to the development of capitalism in Northern Europe. According to Weber, Calvinism's peculiar emphasis on the doctrine of God's unconditional election of some individuals (but not others) to receive eternal salvation caused Calvinists to search for outward signs in their lives to confirm their election to salvation. Although the logical result of such doctrine should have been a sense of fatalism among its followers, instead Calvinists adopted an ethic described by Weber as "inner worldly asceticism" that caused them to pursue "intense worldly activity" in pursuit of their "calling," which was their secular vocation. The asceticism of the Protestant ethic included (i) a disciplined attitude to work, which Weber described as a "rationalization of work," (ii) an equally disciplined attitude to other spheres of social life and (iii) a deferral of instant consumption resulting in saving money and eventually the accumulation of capital (Berger 2010). Weber believed that this asceticism "must surely have been the most powerful conceivable lever for the expansion of that attitude toward life which we have here called the spirit of capitalism." That spirit, including the compulsion to save money, resulted in the accumulation of wealth necessary for nascent capitalism (Weber 1905, p. 81).

Although less well-known than *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Weber's essay "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism" is an important complement to his more well-known work. In that essay, Weber describes how the membership requirements and procedures of certain religious sects in the United States served as a kind of credential for the sect members, an endorsement of their character and trustworthiness. That credential or endorsement

provided real economic benefits to the people who were approved for membership in the particular sect (Weber 1946, p. 305-307). According to Weber, what was important was not the doctrine of the sect, but rather the particular form of ethical conduct that the sect required of its members. That form of ethical conduct was the same as the conduct that was promoted by the Protestant ethic and which helped to create rational modern capitalism. According to Weber, “both aspects were mutually supplementary and operated in the same direction: they helped to deliver the ‘spirit’ of modern capitalism” (Weber 1946, p. 320-321). Weber’s identification of a credential or endorsement of a religious community that can be transferred to create value in the marketplace is a good example of what later scholars refer to as social capital, and other scholars refer to as spiritual capital. Although Weber’s essay on Protestant sects may not be as well-known as his Protestant ethic thesis, the idea of social capital has become very important in the social sciences, and the idea of spiritual capital is its newest iteration.

The spread of Pentecostal Christianity may be the fastest growing movement in the history of religion (Berger 2009). Pentecostal Christianity has spread to every inhabited continent, especially in the global south,¹ and that growth has renewed scholarly interest in the Protestant ethic and in social and spiritual capital. Specifically, scholars have attempted to test the validity of the Protestant ethic thesis and ideas about social and spiritual capital by applying them to Pentecostal Christians in various places in the world. According to Berger (2009), Pentecostals exemplify the Protestant ethic in their approach to life and are therefore a modern-day corollary to Weber’s Calvinists. And Shah and Shah (2011) claim that the “core spiritual dynamic” of

¹ Estimates of the number of Pentecostals in the world today consistently are in the hundreds of millions, with some estimates as large as five hundred million (Anderson 2010).

Pentecostalism creates spiritual capital that translates into “social and economic betterment” (Shah and Shah 2011, p. 62-63). If these claims are true, then Pentecostalism should have observable positive economic consequences among its followers (Berger 2004, 2009, 2010; Martin 1990; Shah and Shah 2011). Indeed, Berger claims that “Pentecostalism exhibits precisely the features of the ‘Protestant ethic’ which are functional for modern economic development” (2009, p. 71) and that Pentecostalism has “an exceptionally high affinity” with modern capitalism (2010, p. 7). And Shah and Shah claim that Pentecostalism’s contributions to spiritual capital “go well beyond Max Weber’s classic linkage between Protestantism and capitalist development” and that they create “a new sense of self” that is conducive to social and economic improvement (Shah and Shah 2011, p. 63). Less sanguine scholars argue that claims about a pervasive Protestant ethic and social capital among Pentecostals have been exaggerated and, therefore, Pentecostalism may have no substantive positive economic impact at all (Freston 2013, Gill 2006, Meyer 2010, Nogueira-Godsey 2012).

Given the importance of Weber’s *Protestant Ethic* thesis and ideas about social and spiritual capital to political and economic theory, and given the potential political and economic impacts of the phenomenal growth of Pentecostal Christianity in the developing world, it is important to understand whether present-day Pentecostals are exemplifying the Protestant ethic and creating social and spiritual capital. If so, then we should expect to see real economic results in the lives of Pentecostals. This thesis seeks to test some observable implications of social and spiritual capital and the Protestant ethic in just such contexts. Let me emphasize that this thesis is not a critical reassessment of Weber’s essays or his ideas about social capital or the Protestant ethic. Rather, this thesis is an examination of whether present-day Pentecostals in Latin America are, or are not, creating social and spiritual capital and exemplifying the Protestant ethic in

empirically discernible ways. Moreover, testing both social capital and the Protestant ethic together is theoretically appropriate. As Kenneth Arrow points out, theories that social capital strengthens political and economic efficiency are structurally similar to Weber's Protestant ethic thesis. "In both cases, there is a transfer of ways of thinking from one realm to another" (Arrow 2000, p. 4).

This thesis will proceed in the following order. First, a literature review will lay the necessary foundation for understanding the Protestant ethic and social and spiritual capital as well as the current debate about whether Pentecostals are creating social and spiritual capital and exemplifying the Protestant ethic. Next, there will be an explanation of the main theoretical argument of this thesis. As a preview, I will argue that because of the characteristics of the religious practices of present-day Pentecostals in Latin America, those Pentecostals should not be any more likely to create social or spiritual capital or exemplify the Protestant ethic than others in the region. The theory section will be followed by a discussion of the research design and the use of the survey data from the World Values Survey. Next, this thesis will describe the results of the data analysis and how those results speak to, and generally conform to, my theoretical expectations. Finally, this thesis will conclude with a summary of the findings and conclusions.

2 THE PROTESTANT ETHIC AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM

Max Weber begins *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* with an empirical observation. According to Weber's opening paragraph, "a glance at the occupational statistics of any country of mixed religious composition" highlights the fact that "business leaders and owners of capital, as well as the higher grades of skilled labour and even more the higher technically and commercially trained personnel of modern enterprises are overwhelmingly Protestant" (Weber 1905, p. 3). He goes on to claim that this was particularly true of Protestantism in the sixteenth

century (Weber 1905, p. 3). For Weber, this pattern gives rise to a historical question. Why were the areas of highest economic development also the places where the Protestant Reformation took hold? For Weber, “the answer is by no means so simple as one might think” (Weber 1905, p. 4).

Weber briefly considers the history of religious minorities at various times and how minorities are driven into economic activity because of their subordinate status. But then he observes that that pattern does not apply, for example, to Catholic minorities in Germany, Holland or England. But Protestants, “both as ruling classes and as ruled, both as majority and as minority,” have shown a tendency to develop economic rationalism. Weber concludes that the principal explanation for the difference in economic performance between Protestants and Catholics “must be sought in the permanent intrinsic character of their religious beliefs,” rather in their external circumstances (Weber 1905, p. 5-6). But, Weber observes, not all Protestant denominations have had an equally strong proclivity for promoting capitalism. He focuses in particular on Calvinism as the theological tradition that promoted the spirit of capitalism more than any others (Weber 1905, p. 8). And having singled out Calvinism in particular, he says that if there is any relationship between “the old Protestant spirit and modern capitalism,” then that relationship is to be found “in its purely religious characteristics” (Weber 1905, p. 8-9).

As an example of someone who exemplifies the spirit of capitalism, Weber points to Benjamin Franklin. Franklin exemplified the ideal of an honest man of good credit. But most of all, and most important to Weber’s theory, Franklin demonstrated “the idea of a duty of the individual toward the increase of his capital, which is assumed as an end in itself” (Weber 1905, p. 11-12). For Weber, that quality was not merely business astuteness. Instead it was “an ethos. *This is* the quality which interests us” (Weber 1905, p. 12, emphasis in original). And this ethos and quality of earning money is “the result and the expression of virtue and proficiency in a

calling” (Weber 1905, p. 14). According to Weber, it is this “conception of labour as an end in itself, as a calling, which is necessary to capitalism” (Weber 1905, p. 19). This attitude toward work was not universally accepted in all places and at all times. Ironically, in Florence of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, what Weber describes as “the most highly capitalistic center of that time,” the attitude of work as an end in itself “was considered ethically unjustifiable, or at best to be tolerated.” But in the backwoods of Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century, “the same thing was considered the essence of moral conduct, even commanded in the name of duty” (Weber 1905, p. 25). It is the origins of this conception of a calling that most interests Weber and is the subject of the remainder of his essay (Weber 1905, p. 27).

According to Weber, both the idea of a “calling” and the meaning of the word are a product of the Reformation. Neither predominantly Catholic societies nor societies of classical antiquity have any words of similar connotation, in the sense of “a life-task” and a “definite field in which to work.” But words denoting this kind of calling have existed for all Protestant peoples (Weber 1905, p. 28). Weber claims that according to all Protestant theology, the only way of living a life that is acceptable to God is not to live a monastic life, but rather to fulfill the obligations of your calling. Moreover, every legitimate calling is of equal value in God’s sight. Weber says that “this moral justification of worldly activity was one of the most important results of the Reformation” (Weber 1905, p. 29).

But although the Reformation would not have occurred without Luther, Weber credits Calvin in particular for bringing about “a new relationship between the religious life and earthly activity” (Weber 1905, p. 33). According to Weber, “Calvinism was the faith over which the great political and cultural struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were fought” in the most developed countries of northern Europe, and “predestination was considered its most

characteristic doctrine” (Weber 1905, p. 38). According to Calvinist doctrine, God decrees that some people are predestined to eternal salvation, while others are predestined to everlasting death. This predestination is according to the secret counsel and will of God and is not dependent on any foresight of faith or good works among those whom God predestines (Weber 1905, p. 39). Moreover, for Calvin, the significance of this doctrine of predestination only increased in his theological writings and reflections over time (Weber 1905, p. 40). For the followers of Calvinism, this doctrine of predestination created “a feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness,” because each person was forced to meet a destiny that was decreed for him or her from eternity. No one and nothing could help, neither priests, nor the sacraments, nor the church, nor even Christ, because according to Calvin, Christ died only for the elect (Weber 1905, p. 41). Calvinism eliminated all magical elements from Christianity. More importantly, private confession was also eliminated. Confession had been the means for a periodic release from “the emotional sense of sin,” and the elimination of that emotional release was for Calvinists “a psychological motivation to the development of their ethical attitude” (Weber 1905, p. 42-43). Thus, for a Calvinist, the question of whether he or she is one of the elect eventually forces all other things into the background, and the Calvinist becomes concerned above all about his or her own personal salvation (Weber 1905, p. 44).

In response to this concern, two types of pastoral advice are given. First, it is the believer’s duty to consider oneself chosen, and lack of self-confidence is a sign of insufficient faith. Second, in order to attain that self-confidence, “intense worldly activity” is recommended for the believer. “It and it alone disperses religious doubts and gives the certainty of grace” (Weber 1905, p. 45-46). Thus, the Calvinist “creates his own salvation,” or at least the certainty of it (Weber 1905, p. 47). Consequently, Calvinism “substituted for the spiritual aristocracy of monks

outside of and above the world the spiritual aristocracy of the predestined saints of God within the world” (Weber 1905, p. 51). And the idea of a calling for every believer resulted in a “rationalization of conduct within this world, but for the sake of the world beyond” (Weber 1905, p. 70).

In addition to the idea of the calling, Calvinism demanded an ascetic lifestyle from its followers. It was morally objectionable for a believer to relax idly in the enjoyment of possessions. Rest for the saints occurs only in the next world. In this world, “man must, to be certain of his state of grace, do the works of him who sent him, as long as it is yet day.” Work became an end in itself, the purpose of life ordained by God, and laziness was symptomatic of lack of saving grace (Weber 1905, p. 72-73). Moreover, a faithful Christian must take advantage of every opportunity to earn a profit, because it was God’s hand that provided that opportunity for profit (Weber 1905, p. 75). This ascetic ethic led to a rationalization and systemization of all aspects of life, especially work and the pursuit of profits (Weber 1905, p. 20-21, 62, 64, 70, 75, 82). Regarding possessions, people are merely trustees of the goods that God provides to them. They must give an account to God for how they use their possessions, and it is hazardous to use possessions in any way that does not “serve the glory of God but only one’s own enjoyment” (Weber 1905, p. 80). This asceticism acted against the accumulation and enjoyment of possessions, especially luxuries (Weber 1905, p. 80).

For Weber, the economic consequences of this Protestant ethic were clear:

The religious valuation of restless, continuous, systematic work in a worldly calling, as the highest means to asceticism, and at the same time the surest and most evident proof of rebirth and genuine faith, must have been the most powerful conceivable lever for the expansion of that attitude toward life which we have here called the spirit of capitalism. When the limitation of consumption is combined with this release of acquisitive activity, the inevitable practical result is obvious: accumulation of capital through ascetic compulsion to save (Weber 1905, p. 81).

Weber is very clear in his essay that this theological impetus for the expansion of capitalism was short-lived, and it was eventually replaced by more utilitarian motivations. The principle “to make the most of both worlds” eventually became dominant, and the “great religious epoch of the seventeenth century” led the way to a good conscience in the acquisition of money, so long as it was done legally (Weber 1905, p. 84). By the time of Benjamin Franklin, whom Weber holds up as the exemplar of the spirit of capitalism, the religious basis of that spirit had died away (Weber 1905, p. 11-12, 86). Moreover, capitalism no longer even needs the support of any religious basis, and the pursuit of wealth has become associated with mundane passions, giving it the character of a sport (Weber 1905, p. 87).

3 THE PROTESTANT SECTS AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM

At roughly the same time that Weber was completing and publishing *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, he traveled around the United States. In his travels, he observed how Americans at that time were highly observant in their religion, as compared to most Europeans. And the Americans’ high level of religious observance had consequences and ramifications in the business world. Based on his observations during his travels in America, Weber wrote the essay “The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism” (Weber 1946, p. 302-303). During his travels,

Weber attended a baptism ceremony of a Baptist congregation in a rural county seat in North Carolina. After a young man was baptized in the river, an onlooker remarked that the young man was being baptized because he wanted to open a bank in the city. The onlooker said that now that the man was baptized, “he will get the patronage of the whole region and he will outcompete everybody” (Weber 1946, p. 304-305). Weber elaborated that admission to the local Baptist congregation followed only after inquiries into the young man’s background and character and after a probationary period with the church. Following that background and probationary process, admission into the congregation was recognized by the community as “an absolute guarantee of the moral qualities of a gentleman, especially of those qualities required in business matters” (Weber 1946, p. 305).

Weber continues his essay by making a distinction between a church, into which a person is born and in which membership is somewhat obligatory, and a sect, which is a voluntary association of only those people who are religiously and morally qualified. The young man being baptized and joining the Baptist church was an example of someone joining a sect, rather than joining a church. Membership in a sect became a kind of credential for its members. When a sect member moved to a different place, he carried that credential with him, along with its resulting economic benefits (Weber 1946, p. 305-306). On the other hand, expulsion from the sect for moral offenses “meant, economically, loss of credit and, socially, being declassed” (Weber 1946, p. 306). Expulsion often resulted in denial of all contact with members of the sect, including an absolute boycott in business matters (Weber 1946, p. 317).

Weber stressed that the kind of denomination to which a person belonged was basically irrelevant. What was critical was the examination and probation process for membership that insured the person exemplified the virtues of inner-worldly asceticism that were the hallmark

of the Puritan tradition (Weber 1946, p. 307). According to the Weber, this was the same asceticism that contributed to the development of modern capitalism at the time of its origin (Weber 1946, p. 312). The church discipline of the Protestant sects “bred” in its people “selected qualities,” and having those qualities was “important for the development of rational modern capitalism, as has been shown in the first essay” (i.e., *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*) (Weber 1946, p. 320). In order to continue his membership in the sect, “a member had to prove repeatedly that he was endowed with these qualities. . . For, like his bliss in the beyond, his whole social existence in the here and now depended upon his ‘proving’ himself” (Weber 1946, p. 320). According to Weber, “there is no stronger means of breeding traits than through the necessity of holding one’s own in the circle of one’s associates” (Weber 1946, p. 320). The Puritan sects were the most specific bearers of inner-worldly asceticism and also the most effective at breeding the traits of that asceticism. Those sects put individual motives and personal self-interest in the service of propagating and maintaining the Puritan ethic.

According to Weber, what matters is not the ethical *doctrine* of a religion, but rather the form of ethical conduct upon which *premiums* are placed (Weber 1946, p. 321, emphasis in original). Those premiums were placed on “proving oneself before God,” that is, attaining personal salvation, and also “proving oneself before men,” that is, holding one’s social position within the sect. According to Weber, “both aspects were mutually supplementary and operated in the same direction: they helped to deliver the ‘spirit’ of modern capitalism, its specific *ethos*: the ethos of the modern *bourgeois middle classes*” (Weber 1946, p. 321, emphasis in original). Moreover, those ascetic sects helped provide a foundation for modern individualism through their radical break from patriarchal and authoritarian bondage and through their emphasis on the idea that “one owes more obedience to God than to man” (Weber 1946, p. 321).

4 PENTECOSTALISM: BIRTH, GROWTH IN LATIN AMERICA, DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE

At roughly the same time that Weber was writing and publishing his two famous essays referred to above, a new religious movement was coming into existence in the United States. The origins of that new religious movement stretched all the way back to John Wesley, the 18th century English theologian and evangelist. Although he came from an Anglican background, Wesley eventually became the founder of Methodism, which stressed evangelical conversion, or “new birth.” Wesley’s message focused on the believer’s heart and emotional experience as proof of salvation. Unlike Calvin, Wesley emphasized human free will in personal salvation. But Wesley’s most distinctive theological contribution was his emphasis on the sanctification of believers, which was another spiritual occurrence after the initial salvation of the believer (Kay 2011, p. 8-11). This belief in sanctification eventually evolved into the Pentecostal belief in “baptism in the Holy Spirit” (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 21).

In the winter of 1906, William J. Seymour, the son of two former African-American slaves, spent about six weeks at a Bible school in Houston, Texas run by Charles Fox Parham. Parham believed that there was a connection between baptism in the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues, and Parham passed that teaching on to Seymour (Kay 2011, p. 23). On February 22, 1906, Seymour arrived in Los Angeles, California at the invitation of Neelly Terry, a female pastor of a local African-American church. A few weeks later, on April 6, 1906, a spiritual revival erupted while Seymour was leading a home Bible study, and that spiritual revival included speaking in tongues (Kay 2011, p. 23-25; Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 21-22). The group soon relocated to a former African Methodist Episcopal Church on Azusa Street in Los Angeles. Thereafter, church services occurred basically around the clock, and the services drew crowds as

large as 1,500 in a day. Attention from the media and from the public was almost immediate, and on April 18, the *Los Angeles Daily Times* published a derogatory account of the Azusa Street revival under the title “Weird Babel of Tongues.” In addition to speaking in tongues, the services were characterized by ecstatic and highly emotional forms of worship. Worshippers attending the services were described as radicals and fanatics, and occasionally the police were called to break up the services. Noise from the meetings often kept people awake for blocks around the church. And from the very beginning, the followers of this new religious movement were racially diverse and predominantly poor and disenfranchised (Kay 2011, p. 23-25; Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 21-22; Robeck 2013, p. 42).

As word of the revival spread, people began to travel to the church on Azusa Street from all over the country, and eventually from all over the world. Approximately one-third of those who attended the meetings were ministers or missionaries, and they returned to their homes carrying the message and experience of the Azusa Street revival (Kay 2011, p. 25-26). By 1907, new Pentecostal denominations were beginning to form. These new denominations institutionalized and carried on Pentecostal beliefs and practices following the Azusa Street revival, which had burned out by 1912 (Kay 2011, p. 30).

Pentecostalism began to spread in Latin America within a few years of the Azusa Street revival. By 1908 Pentecostalism had reached the Caribbean, and by 1910 it had reached Argentina, Brazil and Chile. The Pentecostal message was brought to Latin America in some cases by Hispanics who were part of the Azusa Street revival, and in other cases by foreign missionaries. When Pentecostalism arrived on the scene in Latin America, it was met by a culture in which Catholicism had been the predominant religion since the 16th century, and in which “mainline” Protestantism had been a small and ineffectual minority since the 19th century. Of the few mainline

Protestants that were in Latin America at the time, many of them were descendants of European or North American immigrants, and in many cases they lived in ethnic enclaves. In other cases, Protestantism was the result of European colonization, such as in Jamaica, Barbados, Guiana and Belize. Protestant missionary work in Latin America at that time was mostly directed from North America. For most of their first century in Latin America, Protestants were considered to be “alien invaders” and were targets of hostility (Kay 2011, p. 51-53; Martin 1990, p. 49-57; Robeck 2013, p. 46).

Pentecostalism grew rather slowly in the first several decades of its presence in Latin America. But in the 1960s, the growth of Pentecostalism dramatically accelerated. According to Martin, in 1936 Pentecostals comprised only 2.3 percent of Latin American Protestants. By the 1960s, Pentecostals had grown to one-third of Protestants and over one-half by the 1980s. In some Latin American countries, Pentecostals now account for over 80% of Protestants. During that same time, Latin American Pentecostalism became more indigenous, more autonomous and more fragmented. Another dramatic change was in the use of modern media to spread the Pentecostal message (Martin 1990, p. 52-53, 293). As a result of such growth, Paul Freston claims that “Latin America is now the global heartland of Pentecostalism.” Moreover, Pentecostalism in Latin America is now overwhelmingly indigenous. Catholicism is no longer seen as an essential part of Latin American identity, and Pentecostalism continues to grow, both by conversion and by high birth rates (Freston 2013, p. 104).

In terms of doctrine and practice, from its very beginning Pentecostalism has emphasized speaking in tongues, physical healing and the gift of prophecy. But more than anything, Pentecostalism is characterized by emotionalism. This emotionalism manifests itself in worship services in which people sing, pray, weep, prophesy, shout, jump, dance and even have

trance-like experiences (Kay 2011, p. 57-59; Robeck 2013, p. 42-43). According to Nogueira-Godsey, “[t]hrough often thought of as a side effect of Pentecostal spirituality, the expression of emotion is an integral part of Pentecostal spirituality” (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 25). Anderson adds that in most forms of Pentecostalism, experience and practice are more important than theological dogma (Anderson 2010, p. 25).

In recent decades, this highly emotional form of religion has undergone more changes and has become more diverse. Beginning in the 1970s, Pentecostal churches began to emerge that were independent, not connected to any established denomination, and usually were led by a strong and charismatic pastor. Such churches are usually referred to as Neo-Pentecostal churches. Often these Neo-Pentecostal churches are very large and are referred to as “mega-churches,” and many of them have large presences in the media. Many of the Neo-Pentecostal churches emphasize physical health and material prosperity. The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God in Brazil is an example of a large Neo-Pentecostal church that emphasizes prosperity messages (Anderson 2010, p. 19-20; Attanasi 2012, p. 2; Oro and Seman 2000, p. 615). The prosperity gospel teaches that it is God’s will for believers to be physically healthy and materially wealthy, and that such health and wealth are signs of God’s blessing. But, unlike the Calvinists that Weber studied, the followers of the prosperity gospel believe that physical and material blessings can be obtained by claiming the Bible’s promises about an abundant life for believers and expecting in faith that such claims will come true. This led to a further development often referred to as the “Word of Faith” movement, which teaches that words spoken by believers in faith can change the physical and material circumstances of their lives. In essence, words become tools and weapons to change a believer’s life and circumstances (Attanasi 2012, p. 2-5; Kay 2011, p. 64-67).

Yet another new movement in Pentecostalism arose in the 1980s. The spiritual warfare movement teaches that there are fallen angels and demons at work in the world, and that these fallen angels and demons have responsibility for certain geographical territories. Spiritual darkness and resistance to the gospel are attributed to those fallen angels and demons, and the role of believers is to fight back against the evil powers with prayer and rituals of deliverance from evil spirits (Kay 2011, p. 71-73; Robbins 2004, p. 122).

5 THE PROTESTANT ETHIC AND PENTECOSTALISM

The rapid growth and diversification of Pentecostalism spawned renewed interest in Max Weber's Protestant ethic thesis and a curiosity about whether that Protestant ethic applies to Pentecostalism. According to Nogueira-Godsey, the investigation of the relationship between Weber's Protestant ethic and contemporary Pentecostalism began in 1985 when Peter Berger founded the Institute on Culture and World Affairs (CURA) at Boston University (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 114-115) in order to study the relationship between religious faith and development, and its work is "an exercise in neo-Weberianism" (Berger 2009, p. 73). Referring to CURA, Berger stated, "I always have the feeling that on the ceiling hovering over this place is a very serious German with a big beard, namely, Max Weber," and Berger believes that the relationship of Protestantism and economic development needs to be tested again and again (Cromartie and Berger 2011, p. 10). The work of CURA began with two pioneering studies, one of which explored the explosion of Protestantism in Latin America and culminated in the book *Tongues of Fire* by David Martin (Berger 2010, footnote 3).

Berger believes that the growth of Pentecostalism is creating a cultural revolution in Latin America, and the effect of that cultural revolution is the promotion of the kind of ascetic behavior that Weber described in his famous essay (Berger 2004, p. 79). According to Berger, the

cultural revolution that results from conversion to Pentecostalism involves “a turning-away from deeply ingrained traits of Latin America culture,” such as cultural traits involving “the status of women, the education of children, habits of work and leisure and a general hedonism” (Berger 2009, p. 71). The new culture of Pentecostalism is ascetic in the way that it promotes self-discipline, honesty and sobriety, discourages extra-marital affairs and the traditional fiestas and teaches people to form grassroots organizations (Berger 2010, p. 4). Berger claims that “Pentecostalism in Latin America is an anti-machismo movement” because Pentecostal women domesticate their men, require them to work hard, be sober, save money, educate their children and “stop having what in Mexico is called a ‘casa chica’ where you keep your mistress.” And if the men do not go along with the changes, then the women throw the men out of the house and either live alone or find new Pentecostal husbands (Cromartie and Berger 2011, p. 17-18). According to Berger, these attitudes and behaviors of Pentecostals “bear a striking resemblance” to the 17th and 18th century Protestants studied by Weber. That striking resemblance can be seen most readily in Latin America, where the cultural changes brought about by Pentecostalism are so stark and observable (Berger 2010, p. 4).

Berger presents what Nogueira-Godsey describes as a “checklist of characteristics” that constitutes Weber’s Protestant ethic. As Nogueira-Godsey notes, although Berger’s checklist is based solely on *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, “Weber’s description is not as concise as Berger’s summary” (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 115). Berger’s checklist of characteristics of the Protestant ethic is as follows:

1. A disciplined attitude to work (not just *hard* work, which one finds in many very un-Protestant places, but what Weber understood as the *rationalization* of work);

2. An equally disciplined attitude to other spheres of social life, notably the family (Weber's notion of life-discipline);
3. A deferral of instant consumption, resulting in saving and, eventually, capital accumulation and social mobility (what psychologists call "delayed gratification");
4. And all of this in the context of a worldview relatively free of magic (Weber's "disenchantment of the world");
5. A strong interest in the education of children (originally based on the Protestant insistence that the Bible should be read by everyone);
6. And the propensity to create voluntary associations of non-elite people (Berger 2010, p. 4, emphasis in original).

Berger admits that Weber did not enlarge upon items 5 and 6 of his checklist above (Berger 2010, p. 4). However, the final two items have grown in importance through work of other sociologists following in Weber's influence (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 116).

Summing up his checklist even more succinctly, Berger says that Weber's Protestant ethic is "asceticism expressed in worldly activities" resulting in "a morally charged work ethic," delayed gratification and frugality (Berger 2009, p. 75). These attitudes and traits are conducive to modern economic development:

People who behave in this way are prone to becoming entrepreneurial. Give them a generation or so, and they are likely to be lifted out of poverty into some sort of middle-class affluence. And give a comparable time-span to the community or society in which such enterprise expands, and you are likely to see the proverbial "take-off" into successful capitalist development (Berger 2009, p. 75).

Berger claims that Pentecostals exhibit the features of the Protestant ethic that are conducive to modern economic development. He admits that Pentecostals are not Puritans. They are different from Puritans in their emotional exuberance, and their characteristic of speaking in tongues “would have appalled the Puritans” (Berger 2009, p. 71). Nevertheless, Berger claims that Pentecostals correspond to the traits of the Protestant ethic. He sums up his opinion of Pentecostalism as follows: “*Pentecostalism should be viewed as a positive resource for modern economic development*” (Berger 2009, p. 71 emphasis in original).

Notwithstanding Berger’s very positive conclusion about Pentecostalism’s effects on economic development, he offers a couple of caveats. First, he points out that, in addition to religious identity and behavior, other factors will help determine the economic success or failure of Pentecostalism, such as macroeconomic conditions (both domestic and international), political conditions and environmental conditions (Berger 2009, p. 75). Second, Berger notes that Pentecostalism in Latin America is not a monolithic phenomenon, and certain strands of Pentecostalism deviate from the Weberian model. As an example, Berger cites Pentecostals who emphasize the prosperity gospel “wherein God provides benefits to people who have to make little effort beyond having faith.” However, Berger concludes that the overall picture of Pentecostalism in Latin America “fits neatly with Weber’s description of the Protestant ethic and its effects” (Berger 2010, p. 5).

Tongues of Fire, by David Martin (1990), is one of two pioneering studies of CURA at Boston University, and it explores the explosion of Protestantism in Latin America (Berger 2010, footnote 3). Among other topics, Martin considers at length the relationship between Protestantism (both mainline Protestantism and Pentecostalism) and economic development. However, rather than engaging in any original empirical research of his own, Martin summarizes

the findings of numerous case studies conducted by other scholars. Those case studies cover several countries in Latin America, including Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Argentina (Martin 1990, p. 205-230).

Martin's initial assessment of the relationship between Pentecostalism and capitalist development is more nuanced, and less enthusiastic, than Berger's initial assessment. Considering the evidence at hand, Martin says that "we are dealing only with cumulative indications and with more or less sensitive observations about likely outcomes." He says that the relationship between religious belief and economic development involves complicated feedbacks in which people perceive the possibility of change "and so grasp and are grasped by religious ideas which can accelerate that change." Furthermore, Martin says that there is no necessary connection between religious beliefs and economic advance, and that "the posited linkages and plausible likelihoods have to be couched in terms of frequent concurrence and mutual reinforcements" (Martin 1990, p. 206).

Martin observes a significant difference between the history of mainline Protestantism in Latin America versus the history of Pentecostalism in Latin America. The earliest Protestant missionary activities in Latin America were carried out by the mainline denominations. The relationship between mainline Protestantism and economic advancement was mediated through prestigious schools established by the Protestant churches. Those mainline missions, and in particular their schools, provided paths for autonomy and advancement for some Latin Americans. However, the mainline Protestant missions and their educational ethos came in foreign packaging that prevented mainline Protestantism from taking deep indigenous roots in Latin America (Martin 1990, p. 221, 226, 230).

Martin notes that Pentecostalism in Latin America (especially since 1960), has been primarily a grassroots and indigenous movement and that Pentecostals were mostly of low education (Martin 1990, p. 227-228). The case studies he cites regarding Pentecostalism focus primarily on lifestyle changes among Pentecostal believers. For example, he summarizes case studies finding that Pentecostals avoided the fiesta system and secular entertainment, especially drinking, and thereby saved money (Martin 1990, p. 211).

In the final analysis, Martin claims that mainline Protestant missions and churches provided paths for advancement for some Latin Americans, but the foreign nature of mainline Protestantism and its emphasis on education meant that it never became a force for wide social change in Latin America. In contrast, the indigenous character of Latin American Pentecostalism and its lesser emphasis on education enabled Pentecostalism to become embedded in local cultures and alter those cultures. In particular, Pentecostalism offers its believers equality of participation, equal access to gifts of the spirit, a new sense of selfhood and the capacity to choose, opportunities for developing personal skills of expression and opportunities for leadership. Martin claims that in the long run, those positive aspects of Pentecostalism may be relevant to modest advancement and may make Pentecostals more disposed to capitalistic forms of development. However, he cautions that the impact of Pentecostalism will vary according to local social, political and economic conditions and that even the positive impacts may take two or three generations to come to fruition (Martin 1990, p. 230-232).

Similar to Berger and Martin, Miller and Yamamori (2007) believe Latin American Pentecostals have a code of ethics that is very similar to that described by Weber. Pentecostals have an ascetic lifestyle, particularly in their avoidance of alcohol, gambling and extra-marital sex, and they are hard-working and honest and transparent in their business relations. As a consequence

of their ascetic lifestyle, Pentecostals accumulate surplus capital that they invest in their businesses or in the education of their family (Miller and Yamamori 2007, p. 164-165). However, Miller and Yamamori are cautious about the economic impact of the prosperity gospel. They view prosperity gospel churches and preachers as exploiting and manipulating the poor. At the same time, they claim that prosperity gospel messages could cause believers to begin thinking about their circumstances in new and different ways and thus empower the believers (Miller and Yamamori 2007, p. 175-176).

Not all scholars are convinced that there is a Protestant ethic at work in Latin America. Among the skeptics is Anthony Gill, who conducted an empirical study of Protestants and Catholics in Latin America using the World Values Survey. Gill tested the idea that because Protestantism, particularly Pentecostalism, emphasizes a believer's direct connection with God as well as personal responsibility, Protestants should favor individualistic, laissez-faire values of capitalism more than Catholics. Gill's data analysis demonstrated that church affiliation had little impact and that Protestant and Catholic believers were not substantially different in their economic and political attitudes. Instead of denominational affiliation, factors such as age, gender and socio-economic status were much more statistically significant in explaining attitudinal differences between Latin American Protestants and Catholics. This finding held true even when controlling for frequency of church attendance. Gill concluded, "[I]t is clear that Weber is not at work in Latin America, at least in terms of the culturally defining role of Protestantism," and any claims that evangelical Protestants are altering the political and economic landscape of Latin America are overdrawn (Gill 2006, p. 42-61).

Birgit Meyer (2010) offers a theoretical, rather than empirical, critique of claims about a Pentecostal Protestant ethic. Meyer stresses that significant differences exist between the

period of time analyzed by Weber and the present time. Weber was concerned with the circumstances that helped bring about the rise of modern capitalism in Western societies. But Meyer says that “global capitalism is now well in place.” Just because Pentecostal churches offer believers an appealing message and opportunities for participation does not necessarily mean that the relationship between Pentecostal churches and capitalism is the same as Weber identified in his essay. This can be explained by considering three issues (Meyer 2010, p. 114).

First, the Protestants Weber described were manifesting a disenchantment of the world. Meyer claims that Pentecostals are experiencing “religionization and re-enchantment, suggesting an inversion of the Weber thesis.” Contrary to the Calvinists described by Weber, Pentecostals view the world as a site of spiritual warfare between God and the devil, resulting in an enchantment of the world, rather than the disenchantment of the world that was a component of the Protestant ethic (Meyer 2010, p. 115). Second, scholars need to consider carefully the variety of ways that Pentecostals relate to the economy and the variety of settings in which Pentecostal conversions occur. Pentecostals demonstrate a variety of attitudes toward social and economic issues, and in some contexts conversion to Pentecostalism may be more conducive to the Protestant ethic than other contexts (Meyer 2010, p. 115-116). Third, scholars have not paid enough attention to consumption as a religious practice, rather than asceticism. While the Puritans of Weber’s essay were known for their discipline and hard work, many contemporary Pentecostals embrace a prosperity gospel that is focused on consumption (Meyer 2010, p. 116). These three issues demonstrate that Pentecostalism “operates in new constellations that require alternative, empirically grounded theories and concepts.” Weber’s thesis can be useful in this regard, but only if it is not used simply as “a model for which confirmation is sought” (Meyer 2010, p. 116).

In his dissertation, Nogueira-Godsey (2012) offers one of the most detailed criticisms of Berger's theories about a Protestant ethic among Pentecostals. After summarizing numerous studies on Pentecostalism, Nogueira-Godsey concludes that there is no substantial evidence to support the hypothesis that Pentecostalism is promoting economic development. The Protestant ethic thesis was very dependent on the particular context that Weber examined, and even if we assume that Pentecostals possess an ethic of inner-worldly asceticism, we have no understanding of its relevance in producing development in today's world (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 146-147). Then there is the problem of the great diversity among Pentecostal churches and believers and how to classify them, and it is doubtful whether such a diverse group would share the specific qualities of an inner-worldly asceticism (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 148).

Nogueira-Godsey goes on to say that there is inconclusive evidence and a lack of consensus about the impact of the prosperity Gospel. Some prosperity Gospel churches promote irrational economic behavior, while others promote entrepreneurship (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 148-150). Moreover, Berger's hypothesis does not adequately address the dialectic between Pentecostalism and society or the dialectic between Pentecostalism and modernity. Rather, Berger offers a strictly functionalist interpretation of the impact of ideas on economics. That functionalist interpretation has been rejected by scholars who have tried to duplicate Weber's results (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 150). Weber never intended to provide a model in which "one religious belief is inserted and capitalist enterprise is retrieved." In the context of his day, Weber added complexity, not simplification, to the questions about what shapes societies and economies. But Weberian sociology has tended to simplify and universalize Weber's ideas, which has resulted in failures to apply his ideas in the 20th and 21st centuries (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 159).

6 SOCIAL CAPITAL, SPIRITUAL CAPITAL AND PENTECOSTALISM

The time when Weber witnessed the baptism of the man in North Carolina who planned to open a bank was decades before the term “social capital” was first used, and even longer before the term “spiritual capital” was first used. But the baptism of the man who planned to open a bank is a good example of both social capital and spiritual capital. One of the earliest articulators of the idea of social capital was James S. Coleman. According to Coleman (1988), social capital is a resource available to an actor that (i) consists of some aspect of a social structure and (ii) helps to facilitate certain actions of actors within that social structure. Social capital exists in the relations among people, and it makes possible the achievement of ends that in the absence of social capital would not be possible (Coleman 1988, p. S98-101, S118).

Robert Putnam elaborated on social capital in 2000. Putnam described social capital as connections among individuals and social networks and the trust that arises from those connections (Putnam 2000, p. 19). Interpersonal trust is one of the characteristics of a society with high levels of social capital. That interpersonal trust helps to produce norms of reciprocity among people and facilitates cooperation among people for mutual benefit (Putnam 2000, p. 21). Putnam distinguished between bonding (or inward-looking) social capital and bridging (or outward-looking) social capital. Bonding social capital arises from the social ties in small and homogenous groups. Bonding social capital can create high levels of trust and reciprocity within a group, but it can also have the negative effect of alienating or isolating those outside the group. According to Putnam, bonding social capital has the risk of producing sectarianism and out-group antagonism. Bridging social capital arises from social ties among people from different social groups. Bridging social capital acts as a lubricant and enables people to gain benefits from interactions with people from different groups (Putnam 2000, p. 22-23).

Francis Fukuyama (2001) approached the issue of social capital through the concept of the “radius of trust.” According to Fukuyama all groups with social capital have a certain radius of trust, which is “the circle of people among whom co-operative norms are operative.” Similar to Putnam’s notions of bonding and bridging social capital, Fukuyama says that it is possible for the radius of trust to be larger than the group itself, but it is also possible for the radius of trust to be actually smaller than the membership of the group itself (Fukuyama 2001, p. 8). Similar to Putnam’s warning about bonding social capital, Fukuyama says that “strong moral bonds within a group in some cases may actually serve to *decrease* the degree to which members of that group are able to trust outsiders and work effectively with them” (Fukuyama, p. 14, emphasis in original). Such in-group solidarity diminishes the ability of group members to co-operate with those outside the group and can actually impose negative externalities on the outsiders. This problem is particularly applicable to “traditional” cultures, and Fukuyama refers to Latin America as an example. In much of Latin America, social capital is restricted primarily to family members and a narrow circle of friends. Strangers are treated differently than friends and family, and this reinforces a culture of corruption. For example, a public official may feel entitled to steal on behalf of his family (Fukuyama 2001, p. 9, 11-12).

For Fukuyama, the opposite of a traditional culture is a modern culture that consists of a large number of overlapping social groups that permit multiple memberships and identities (Fukuyama 2001, p. 9). The economic benefit of the social capital created by these overlapping groups is that it reduces the transaction costs arising from coordinated actions and agreements among people. It is certainly possible to achieve coordinated action among people who have no social capital, but coordinated action among such people would require additional transaction costs and enforcement mechanisms (Fukuyama 2001, p. 10). In his discussion of social capital,

Fukuyama comments that “religion continues to be a factor in economic development,” and he specifically refers to conversion to Protestantism. Fukuyama claims that “converts to Protestantism find their incomes, education levels, hygiene and social networks expanding” (Fukuyama 2001, p. 17).

Building on the work of Putnam and other social capital theorists, Corwin Smidt edited a volume in 2003 devoted to the idea of religion as social capital. According to Smidt, the relationship between religion and social capital formation is unique for several reasons. Religious beliefs can shape the level, form and goals of a person’s associational life. Religious doctrines may also affect a believer’s views of human nature, the degree that a believer associates with someone outside the believer’s religious community and the priority given to public life and volunteer activities (Smidt 2003, p. 2).

In 2011, Peter Berger and Gordon Redding edited a volume of essays devoted to the newly-fashionable concept of “spiritual capital.” According to Berger and Redding (2011), spiritual capital is “a set of resources stemming from religion and available for use in economic and political development” (p. 2). They indicate that spiritual capital is a subset of social capital, and spiritual capital is that portion of social capital in which religious beliefs exert influence (Berger and Redding 2011, p. 2). Writing in the same volume of essays, Peter Boettke says that spiritual capital is a type of social capital that is associated with membership in religious organizations and the internalization of religious values (Boettke 2011, p. 33). Shah and Shah (2011) indicate that the capital portion of spiritual capital refers to the fungible resources that are accumulated in a religious domain but that can be spent or leveraged in another domain. Referring to Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism in particular, Shah and Shah find that the contributions of those religious movements go beyond the asceticism and moral self-restraint of Weber’s Protestant

ethic. The beliefs and practices of those religious groups “have a demonstrated capacity to generate spiritual capital insofar as they often give individuals in a wide variety of contexts a new sense of self, a new family structure and a new relationship to the wider world – all of which can be conducive to at least modest forms of social, economic, and political improvement” (Shah and Shah 2011, p. 61-62).

In their essay, Shah and Shah (2011) describe how conversions to Evangelical Christianity among the Dalits (the untouchables) in India have generated spiritual capital. However, Shah and Shah insist that their analysis of spiritual capital is not just applicable to India and that it is equally applicable to, for example, Evangelical converts in Brazil. They found that conversion to Evangelicalism generated spiritual capital in two main ways:

First, through the *attitudes and perceptions* of the converts towards themselves, and mutual attitudes and perceptions towards the family and the wider community; and second, through the *agency and capability* of converts, where individuals took responsibility before God to improve their lives, the lives of their families, and the lives of the wider community (Shah and Shah 2011, p. 76, emphasis in original).

In the remainder of their essay, Shah and Shah define six specific categories of spiritual capital that resulted from conversion to Evangelicalism among the Dalits, followed by anecdotal evidence of the impact of the spiritual capital (Shah and Shah 2011, p. 76-86). For purposes of this thesis, those six categories will be used, but evidence that is applicable to Pentecostals in Latin America will be supplied from the academic literature. The six categories of spiritual capital and the evidence applicable to Pentecostals in Latin America are as follows:

Self-Assurance Capital: Do I have an optimistic confidence in my own dignity and humanity?² (Shah and Shah 2011, p. 76) Peter Berger says that Evangelicalism is “the only major religious movement in which an active individual decision is at the center of the faith.” Evangelicals believe that one cannot be born a Christian; one must be born again. Being born again is very much an individual decision. Because of the emphasis on the individual, Berger claims that Evangelicalism is “the most modern religious movement in the world,” and that empowerment of the individual is particularly present in Pentecostalism (Cromartie and Berger 2011, p. 15). Douglas Peterson says that Pentecostalism creates self-esteem among impoverished people (Peterson 2004, p. 305). And Peterson sees a particularly strong growth of self-assurance capital among female converts to Pentecostalism. He claims that women in Latin America suffer from lack of self-worth, but conversion to Pentecostalism gives women a new acceptance of self and sense of destiny (Peterson 2004, p. 298).

Agency Capital: Am I capable of improving my future? (Shah and Shah 2011, p. 78) Peterson claims that Pentecostalism provides its believers with a sense of hope, helps them obtain skills that are applicable to the larger social system and helps them achieve a better life and a more secure future (Peterson 2004, p. 305). Miller and Yamamori believe that there is a connection between the skills of organization and evangelism that Pentecostal believers learn in their church and the skills that are necessary for running a business. They also claim that the

² The first category of spiritual capital is the only category for which Shah and Shah merely name the category of spiritual capital without supplying a description. All other categories have a description following the name of the category. For the first category of spiritual capital (Self-Assurance Capital), I have added a description based on the authors’ examples.

spiritual disciplines practiced by Pentecostals (such as fasting and prayer) help promote disciplined behavior in the secular workplace (Miller and Yamamori 2007, p. 171).

Familial Value Capital: What attitude do I have towards my family? How does my family perceive me? (Shah and Shah 2011, p. 79) David Martin reports that one of the distinctive aspects of Latin American Pentecostalism is its emphasis on family solidarity (Martin 1990, p. 223). Douglas Peterson says that conversion to Pentecostalism helps Latin American women gain control of their domestic affairs and challenge their husbands when their husbands' behavior is immoral (Peterson 2004, p. 298).

Familial Action Capital: Does my family have the capability to act together to improve our future and our lives? (Shah and Shah 2011, p. 80) Peterson says that Pentecostal women feel empowered to confront their husbands about behavior that is contrary to God's law and helps women to gain control of their domestic affairs (Peterson 2004, p. 298).

Reputational Capital: How does my community perceive me? What kind of attitude do I have toward my community? (Shah and Shah 2011, p. 82) Miller and Yamamori (2007) report that Pentecostal converts gain a reputation for honesty in their business dealings, which in turn leads to greater success in their businesses because customers know that they will not be cheated. And Pentecostal converts who are not self-employed tend to be promoted faster in the workplace because of their disciplined lifestyle (Miller and Yamamori 2007, p. 164-165).

Collective Action Capital: Are members of our community working together to improve our lives and our future? (Shah and Shah 2011, p. 85) Peterson claims that Pentecostalism is a popular social movement that exhibits horizontal networks, fellowship and reciprocity. Pentecostals "create their own separate community and in the process establish a staging area from which they might more effectively operate." Also, converts to Pentecostalism are given new

responsibilities in their churches and are encouraged to develop their communication and organization skills (Peterson 2004, p. 297-299). Miller and Yamamori claim that Pentecostalism creates vibrant and expressive communities of believers where isolated individuals find a new group identity that is a source of strength. In addition to providing a new sense of group identity, Pentecostal believers provide a safety net and an extended network of support for each other, which can be particularly important in countries with limited government services. They claim that many of the larger Pentecostal churches provide church-related schools or other educational facilities that give their members a competitive advantage over nonmembers (Miller and Yamamori 2007, p. 169-170). David Martin reports that for some Pentecostal converts from broken families, the Pentecostal church acts as a substitute for a family (Martin 1990, p. 217).

Although the evidence supporting these six categories of spiritual capital may seem persuasive at first glance, the evidence is primarily anecdotal or based on case studies. Moreover, like Putnam's cautionary word about bonding social capital (Putnam 2000, p. 22-23), Collective Action Capital among Pentecostals may have the negative effect of alienating or isolating those outside the group. Likewise, Nogueira-Godsey says that tight-knit religious groups could have a negative impact on economic development because of their focus on members of their own particular faith (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 143). These caveats point to the need for greater quantitative and statistical research on the issues of spiritual capital.

7 CASE SELECTION

Latin America is perhaps the best place in the world to study the impact of Pentecostalism on social and spiritual capital and the Protestant ethic. Pentecostalism has spread most rapidly in the third world countries of Africa, Latin America and certain places in Asia (Hunt 2010). Africa would be a more difficult place to study Pentecostalism, social and spiritual capital and the

Protestant ethic for several reasons, including the diversity of colonial experiences among African countries, the huge presence of Islam, the cultural and linguistic diversity and the presence of large numbers of thriving native African religions. Although several countries in Asia have also experienced phenomenal growth of Pentecostalism, that growth has not been as pervasive among Asian countries as in Africa and Latin America. Because most countries in Latin America share an Iberian culture and colonial history based on Catholicism, and because Latin America is much less linguistically diverse than Africa or Asia and because the religious history of Latin America has been much more uniform than that of Africa or Asia, Latin America is an ideal place to test the impact of the growth of Pentecostalism on social and spiritual capital and the Protestant ethic. Moreover, Berger claims that Latin America is where a Pentecostal Protestant ethic can be observed most readily because of the stark differences between the predominant Latin American culture and the cultural traits promoted by Pentecostalism (Berger 2010, p. 4).

8 THEORY

More than anything, Pentecostalism is a highly emotional form of religion (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 25). Weber expressed concern about highly emotional forms of religious practice, and he cautioned that such practices could lead its followers to desire to separate themselves from the world into a sort of monastic community (Weber 1905, p. 57). Robbins notes that Pentecostals' first commitment is to the church (Robbins 2004, p. 136), and Meyer says that Pentecostals are experiencing a re-enchantment of the world, rather than a dis-enchantment of the world (Meyer 2010, p. 115). Likewise, Nogueira-Godsey cautions that Pentecostalism could create a more isolating and alienating sense of identity among its followers (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 143). Oro and Seman state that in particular the belief in spiritual warfare could create hostility towards other religions among Pentecostals (Oro and Seman 2000, p. 614). And Freston says, "While

Pentecostals are adept at personal transformation, they are less so at the complex task of social transformation” (Freston 2009, p. 41). These characteristics of Pentecostalism should not tend to foster the kind of bridging social capital described by Putnam and Fukuyama that creates ties between different groups and facilitates transactions.

According to Weber, the outward and objective signs of the Protestant ethic were a rationalization of work and limitation of consumption combined with acquisitive activity that resulted in “accumulation of capital through ascetic compulsion to save” (Weber 1905, p. 81). Thus, frugality is the primary measurable indicator of Weber’s Protestant ethic. However, unlike the Calvinists studied by Weber, present-day Pentecostals seek assurance of their salvation through emotional forms of worship and “gifts of the spirit,” rather than through intense work and accumulation of wealth. Robbins says that Pentecostals “do not sacralize earthly work.” Rather than considering their ability to live by a strict ethical code as the sign of their salvation, Pentecostals “find their assurance in ecstatic experience” (Robbins 2004, p. 123, 136). Martin says that for Pentecostals, moral regeneration takes precedence over material advance (Martin 1990, p. 229). Nogueira-Godsey says that Pentecostals have reinterpreted the secular calling of Weber’s Protestant ethic in spiritual terms, rather than in worldly terms (Nogueira-Godsey 2012, p. 31-32). Moreover, in recent years, Pentecostals in Latin America have seen significant growth in religious groups that emphasize the prosperity Gospel, the Word of Faith movement and spiritual warfare. Those teachings do not promote rationalization of work or delayed gratification. Even Berger, perhaps the most enthusiastic believer in a Pentecostal Protestant ethic, admits that the prosperity gospel is a departure from Weber’s model and does not promote delayed gratification (Berger 2010, p. 5).

This thesis theorizes that these religious practices and characteristics of Pentecostals should have observable economic consequences. The religious practices of Pentecostals may facilitate the creation of social and spiritual capital as well as encourage an ascetic lifestyle among its followers. However, any social and spiritual capital that is created should be mainly bonding (inward-looking) social and spiritual capital, rather than bridging (outward-looking) social and spiritual capital, and the ascetic lifestyle should not result in the rationalization of work that is key to the Protestant ethic. In particular, Pentecostals should not exhibit greater levels of social and spiritual capital than other individuals and should be no more frugal than other individuals.

Of course, other religious and social factors may impact social and spiritual capital and frugality. In his 2006 study of Protestantism in Latin America, Gill found that frequency of church attendance was a far more salient variable for predicting support for economic liberalization (Gill 2006, p. 43). Thus, regular church attendance or the importance of religion in a person's life could result in observable differences in economic behaviors and outcomes. If Fukuyama (2001, p. 18) is correct that education transmits social capital in the form of social rules and norms, then increases in formal education should result in higher levels of social capital, including interpersonal trust and trust in people of other religions. In addition, if Beverly and Sherraden (1999, p. 8) are correct that the extent to which an individual understands the process and benefits of saving money should affect that person's actual saving behavior, then an increase in formal education should result in an increase in the understanding of saving, which in turn should be observable and measurable in that individual's frugality. And of course, any increase in income should impact a person's ability to save money and practice a more frugal lifestyle, all other things being equal. Therefore, any analysis of social or spiritual capital or frugality across religious

subtypes should control for frequency of church attendance, the importance of religion in the respondent's life, education and income. Doing so will help isolate the effects of how observant and sincere respondents are from the effects of religious practices as well as isolate the effects of increases in education or income.

The foregoing theoretical considerations lead to the following testable hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Pentecostals in Latin America should not feel that they have any greater freedom of choice and control over the way their lives turn out than others in the region, holding constant frequency of church attendance, the importance of religion in the respondent's life and income and education levels.

Hypothesis 2: Pentecostals in Latin America should not demonstrate any greater interpersonal trust than others in the region, holding constant frequency of church attendance, the importance of religion in the respondent's life and income and education levels.

Hypothesis 3: Pentecostals in Latin America should not demonstrate any greater trust in people of other religions than others in the region, holding constant frequency of church attendance, the importance of religion in the respondent's life and income and education levels.

Hypothesis 4: Pentecostals in Latin America should have no more confidence that hard work results in a better life than others in the region, holding constant frequency of church attendance, the importance of religion in the respondent's life and income and education levels.

Hypothesis 5: Pentecostals in Latin America should be no more frugal than others in the region, holding constant frequency of church attendance, the importance of religion in the respondent's life and income and education levels.

9 DATA AND VARIABLES

In this thesis, individuals are the unit of analysis. To test all five hypotheses, this thesis utilizes the 2010-2012 World Values Survey. According to its website, the World Values Survey is directed by a global network of social scientists and scholars who study changing values among people all over the world and the impact of those changing values on social and political life. The World Values Survey began in 1981, and it uses surveys conducted in almost 100 countries that together comprise almost 90 percent of the world's population (World Values Survey 2015).

Of all the Latin American countries covered by the World Values Survey, this thesis will utilize the survey responses from only three: Brazil, Colombia and Uruguay. The reason for focusing on only three countries is because of the different, country-specific approaches used by the World Values Survey to categorize the religious affiliation of the respondents. The question on the World Values Survey that describes the religious identity of the respondent is survey question V144. The full text of V144 is below. The most noteworthy part of the survey question is the note at the end of the survey question, which is in bold print in its original form:

V144. Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination? If yes, which one? (Code answer due to list below. Code 0 if respondent answers to have no denomination!)

No:	do not belong to a denomination	0
Yes:	Roman Catholic	1
	Protestant	2
	Orthodox (Russian/Greek/etc.)	3
	Jew	4
	Muslim	5

Hindu	6
Buddhist	7
Other (write in): _____	8

(NOTE: If your own society does not fit into this coding system, please devise an alternative, following this as closely as possible; for example, in Islamic countries, ask about Sunni, Shia, etc. Send a list of the categories used here along with your data.)

For purposes of this thesis, the three categories of religious identification of theoretical interest are Evangelical³, Protestant⁴ and Catholic. Only the survey responses from

³ Since the category “Pentecostal” is not used in the survey question V144 for Brazil, Colombia and Uruguay, “Evangelical” is therefore the category that Pentecostal respondents would most likely choose in self-identifying their religious identity. Oro and Seman state that in Latin America, Pentecostals increasingly define themselves, and are perceived to be, Evangelicals. At the same time, Evangelicals in Latin America are increasingly becoming “pentecostalized” (Oro and Seman 2000, p. 621). Robbins says that in referring to Latin America, scholars often translate the folk term *evangelico* as “Evangelical,” even though it is clear that the people to which they are referring are more correctly classified as Pentecostal (Robbins 2004, p. 119). Martin states that in Latin America, Pentecostals are now the largest subset of evangelicalism. And from a theoretical perspective, the most important categorical distinctions among Latin American Protestants are between Evangelicals and Pentecostals versus traditional or mainline Protestants, rather than any distinctions between Pentecostals and other Evangelicals (Martin 1990, p. 52-53, 230-231). Also, in the academic literature regarding Latin American Protestantism, scholars often use the terms “Evangelical” and “Pentecostal” interchangeably. (See, e.g., Martin 1990, p. 54, 211, 284-285, 287, 289; Oro and Seman 2000, p. 606-607, 613, 616-618). A similar opinion survey, The AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), classifies Evangelicals and Pentecostals together in the same category in its question regarding religious identity (LAPOP, question Q3C, category (05).

⁴ For the three surveyed countries, only the survey results for Colombia utilize the category “Christian” as a possible response for question V144. For purposes of data analysis, the

Brazil, Colombia and Uruguay use all three of these categories consistently. Survey results from all other Latin American countries are inconsistent in their use of these three categories. Therefore, this thesis will utilize survey results only from the three selected countries. Using the survey results from only three countries limits the scope of the analysis portion of this thesis, and the reader should be cautious about extrapolating the findings of this thesis to all of Latin America. Nevertheless, because of the consistency of categorizing religious identification in the three chosen countries, the findings will have greater external validity for the selected countries and will be more persuasive. In addition, one of the three countries, Brazil, is not only among the most populous countries in Latin America, but is also one of the most religiously diverse. Thus, including Brazil in the data analysis is of great theoretical importance.

See Table 1 below for a summary of all responses to survey question V144:

Table 1: Summary of Respondents' Religious Identification

Table 1: Summary of Respondents' Religious Identification

<i>Religious Denomination</i>	<i>Brazil</i>	<i>Colombia</i>	<i>Uruguay</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent</i>
					0.2
No Answer	4	5	1	10	5
					0.2
Don't Know	4	0	5	9	3

respondents self-identifying as “Christian” are combined with the respondents self-identifying as “Protestant” and are included in the “Protestant” dummy variable. A similar opinion survey, The AmericasBarometer of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), also includes respondents self-identifying as “Christian” in the same category as “Protestants” (LAPOP, question, Q3C, category (02).

					40
				1,1	28.
None	211	323	607	41	54
					0.1
Buddhist	3	2	0	5	3
					5.0
Christian	0	203	0	203	8
					11.
Evangelical	344	35	72	451	28
					0.0
Jew	1	0	2	3	8
					0.0
Muslim	1	1	0	2	5
					0.0
Orthodox	1	0	0	1	3
Other; Not specific	17	14	73	104	2.6
Other: Brazil: Espirit, candomble, umbanda, esoterism, occultism	7	0	0	7	8
Protestant	55	2	3	60	1.5
				1,9	48.
Roman Catholic	784	927	237	48	72
					1.3
Spiritista	54	0	0	54	5

	1,4	1,5	1,0	3,9	
Total	86	12	00	98	100

As Table 1 above indicates, approximately 49% of the respondents identified as Roman Catholic, approximately 11% identified as Evangelical, approximately 2% identified as Protestant and approximately 29% identified as None. However, according to Boas and Smith (2015), those numbers represent significant shifts in religious identity over the past few decades. Latin Americans no longer identify themselves as Catholic “by default,” and individuals now increasingly identify themselves as either Evangelical or Pentecostal or as having no religious affiliation at all (Boas and Smith 2015).

Utilizing the results for survey question V144, I created four dummy variables. The first dummy variable is called “Evangelical,” and it takes on a value of 1 for all respondents who self-identified as Evangelical. A second dummy, “Protestant,” equals 1 for all respondents who self-identified as Protestant or as Christian. The third dummy, “Catholic,” equals 1 for all respondents who self-identified as Roman Catholic. The fourth dummy, “All Other Religions,” combines all other responses to survey question V144 into a dummy variable.

My analysis will make comparisons across these major categories that reflect Weber’s major distinction between Protestants and all others, and the distinction Berger, Martin and others draw between Pentecostals and mainline Protestants. In particular, Evangelical should be a separate category, since my primary goal is to weigh in on the debate regarding observable differences in economic behavior and outcomes between them and other social/religious groups. From a theoretical perspective, mainline Protestants should be a separate category as well. According to Weber, “the reformed faith, more than the others seems to have promoted the

development of the spirit of capitalism” (Weber 1905, p. 8), and the Puritan sects were the most powerful and effective at “breeding of traits” useful for social and spiritual capital (Weber 1946, p. 320-321). Based on Weber’s theories, mainline Protestants should be most likely to exhibit the highest levels of social and spiritual capital and frugality. Having a separate category for Roman Catholic is theoretically important, because Roman Catholicism has been the predominant religion in Latin America for centuries and remains predominant today. Finally, all other responses to V144 should be grouped together, since they are neither Evangelicals (the main category of interest) nor mainline Protestants (the category most likely to exhibit highest levels of social and spiritual capital and frugality) nor Roman Catholics (the predominant religion). In sum, given the hypotheses this thesis seeks to tests, these four dummy variables are the most appropriate for my analysis.

Primary control variables of theoretical interest include the following: importance of religion in the life of the respondent (named “Importance of Religion”)⁵, frequency of church attendance (named “Church Attendance”)⁶, education (named “Education”)⁷ and income (named

⁵ V152. How important is God in your life? Please use this scale to indicate. 10 means “very important” and 1 means “not at all important.”

⁶ V145. Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services these days? (Code one answer): (1) More than once a week; (2) Once a week; (3) Once a month; (4) Only on special holy days; (5) Once a year; (6) Less often; (7) Never, practically never.

⁷ V248. What is the highest educational level that you have attained? [NOTE: if respondent indicates to be a student, code highest level s/he expects to complete]: (1) No formal education; (2) Incomplete primary school; (3) Complete primary school; (4) Incomplete secondary school:

“Income”)⁸. Education and Income are coded in the survey in ascending order, such that higher levels of education and higher levels of income receive higher scores. Likewise, the importance of God in the life of the respondent is coded in ascending order. However, the responses to V145, frequency of church attendance, are in descending order. For V145, the response “more than once a week” receives a score of (1), and the response “never, practically never” receives a score of (7). Accordingly, for data analysis the responses to V145 (“Church Attendance”) are recoded.

technical/vocational type; (5) Complete secondary school: technical/vocational type; (6) Incomplete secondary: university-preparatory type; (7) Complete secondary: university-preparatory type; (8) Some university-level education, without degree; (9) University-level education, with degree.

⁸ V239. On this card is an income scale on which 1 indicates the lowest income group and 10 the highest income group in your country. We would like to know in what group your household is. Please, specify the appropriate number, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in. (Code one number)

For more robust results, I use additional demographic control variables, including the following: employment status⁹, urban¹⁰, gender¹¹, ethnic group¹², age¹³ and marital status¹⁴.

⁹ V229. Are you employed now or not? If yes, about how many hours a week? If more than one job: only for the main job (code one answer): Yes, has paid employment: (1) Full time employee (30 hours a week or more); (2) Part time employee (less than 30 hours a week); (3) Self-employed; No, no paid employment: (4) Retired/pensioned; (5) Housewife not otherwise employed; (6) Student; (7) Unemployed; (8) Other (write in). For data analysis, I created the following dummy variables for employment status: Working Full Time, Working Part Time, Self Employed, Retired, Housewife, Student, Unemployed. For all data analysis, the omitted category of employment status is “other.”

¹⁰ V253. (Code size of town): (1) Under 2,000; (2) 2,000-5,000; (3) 5-10,000; (4) 10-20,000; (5) 20-50,000; (6) 50-100,000; (7) 100-500,000; (8) 500,000 and more. For data analysis, I created one dummy variable called “Urban,” which indicates towns of 500,000 and more. For all data analysis, the omitted categories are all town sizes other than 500,000 and more.

¹¹ V240. (Code respondent’s sex by observation): (1) Male; (2) Female. For data analysis, I created a dummy variable called “Woman.” For all data analysis, the omitted category is male.

¹² V254. (Code ethnic group by observation, modify for your own society): (1) Caucasian White; (2) Negro Black; (3) South Asian Indian, Pakistani, etc.; (4) East Asian Chinese, Japanese, etc.; (5) Arabic, Central Asian; (6) Other (write in): _____. For data analysis, I created the following dummy variables: Black, White, Mulatto. “Mulatto” is included as an ethnic group for each of the three countries included in this thesis. For all data analysis, the omitted categories are all other ethnic groups.

Finally, I create dummy variables for respondents from each of the three countries: Brazil, Colombia and Uruguay. In each of the regression analyses, Brazil is the omitted country dummy variable.

10 ANALYSIS

Using survey data from the World Values Survey from the three selected countries, my analytic goal is to compare Evangelicals' levels of social and spiritual capital and frugality to those of Protestants, Catholics and All Other Religions. To achieve this goal, I use OLS regression analysis (except in two cases noted below when I use logit regression analysis) to compare of the impact of a respondent's religious beliefs on social and spiritual capital and frugality, while controlling for importance of religion, frequency of church attendance, education and income. I do so in a series of regression analyses set forth below to test each of the five hypotheses of this thesis. For each hypothesis, I complete four separate regression analyses. For the first regression analysis of each hypothesis, "Evangelical" is the omitted category of religious identification. For the second of each regression analysis, "Protestant" is the omitted category. For the third of each regression analysis, "Catholic" is the omitted category. For the fourth of each regression analysis, "All Other Religions" is the omitted category.

¹³ V242. This means you are ____ years old (write in age in two digits).

¹⁴ V57. Are you currently (read out and code one answer only): (1) Married; (2) Living together as married; (3) Divorced; (4) Separated; (5) Widowed; (6) Single. For data analysis, I created the following dummy variables: Married, Living Together, Divorced, Separated, Widowed. For all data analysis, the omitted category is single.

To test the first hypothesis, the dependent variable is called “Life Control,” and it is measured using a question from the World Values Survey that measures how much free choice and control the respondent believes he or she has over his or her life:

V55. Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means “no choice at all” and 10 means “a great deal of choice” to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out.

The four regression analyses for “Life Control” are set forth in the table below:

Table 2: Religious Identity and Perceptions of Free Choice and Life Control

	1	2	3	4
Evangelical		-0.182	-0.151	-0.359**
		(0.18)	(0.125)	(0.144)
Protestant	0.182		0.032	-0.177
	(0.18)		(0.148)	(0.166)
Catholic	0.151	-0.032		-0.208**
	(0.125)	(0.148)		(0.094)
All Other Religions	0.359**	0.177	0.208**	
	(0.144)	(0.166)	(0.094)	

Importance of		0.169**	0.169**	0.169**	0.169**
Religion	*		*	*	*
		(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Church					
Attendance		0.045**	0.045**	0.045**	0.045**
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Education		0.030*	0.030*	0.030*	0.030*
		(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
		0.101**	0.101**	0.101**	0.101**
Income	*		*	*	*
		(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Working Full		0.662**	0.662**	0.662**	0.662**
Time	*		*	*	*
		(0.207)	(0.207)	(0.207)	(0.207)
Working Part					
Time		0.246	0.246	0.246	0.246
		(0.232)	(0.232)	(0.232)	(0.232)
		0.694**	0.694**	0.694**	0.694**
Self Employed	*		*	*	*
		(0.215)	(0.215)	(0.215)	(0.215)
Retired		0.549**	0.549**	0.549**	0.549**
		(0.238)	(0.238)	(0.238)	(0.238)
Housewife		0.31	0.31	0.31	0.31

	(0.215)	(0.215)	(0.215)	(0.215)
Student	0.058	0.058	0.058	0.058
	(0.272)	(0.272)	(0.272)	(0.272)
Unemployed	0.410*	0.410*	0.410*	0.410*
	(0.218)	(0.218)	(0.218)	(0.218)
	0.324**	0.324**	0.324**	0.324**
Urban	*	*	*	*
	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.075)
Woman	0.037	0.037	0.037	0.037
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Black	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
White	-0.058	-0.058	-0.058	-0.058
	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.1)
Mulatto	-0.069	-0.069	-0.069	-0.069
	(0.135)	(0.135)	(0.135)	(0.135)
Age	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Married	-0.200*	-0.200*	-0.200*	-0.200*
	(0.106)	(0.106)	(0.106)	(0.106)
Living Together	-0.017	-0.017	-0.017	-0.017
	(0.106)	(0.106)	(0.106)	(0.106)
Divorced	-0.073	-0.073	-0.073	-0.073

		(0.204)	(0.204)	(0.204)	(0.204)
Separated		-0.366**	-0.366**	-0.366**	-0.366**
		(0.168)	(0.168)	(0.168)	(0.168)
Widowed		-0.024	-0.024	-0.024	-0.024
		(0.189)	(0.189)	(0.189)	(0.189)
		0.370**	0.370**	0.370**	0.370**
Colombia	*	*	*	*	
		(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.115)
		0.528**	0.528**	0.528**	0.528**
Uruguay	*	*	*	*	
		(0.123)	(0.123)	(0.123)	(0.123)
		4.579**	4.761**	4.729**	4.938**
Constant	*	*	*	*	
		(0.343)	(0.357)	(0.33)	(0.322)
Observations		3,721	3,721	3,721	3,721
R-squared		0.061	0.061	0.061	0.061

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The results of the regression analyses for “Life Control” show that Evangelicals and Catholics demonstrate statistically significant lower levels of belief that they have freedom of choice and control over their lives than respondents from All Other Beliefs. The degree to which Evangelicals demonstrate lower levels of belief that they have freedom of control over their lives as compared to All Other Religions is both substantial and statistically significant. Among the control variables, Importance of Religion, Church Attendance, Education, and Income have statistically significant positive impacts on the belief that the respondent has freedom of choice and control. Similarly, having a full time job, being self-employed, being retired, being unemployed or living in an urban area all have statistically significant positive impacts on the belief in freedom of choice and control. Being married or separated have statistically significant negative effects on the belief in freedom of choice and control. Respondents in Colombia and Uruguay demonstrate statistically significant higher levels of belief that they have control over their lives as compared to respondents from Brazil. Most importantly, for the main category of interest of this thesis, Evangelicals, the results of the Life Control regressions do not support the contention that they demonstrate higher levels of social and spiritual capital than others in the region. This finding is consistent with my first hypothesis.

For the second hypothesis, the dependent variable is called “Interpersonal Trust,” and it is measured using a question from the World Values Survey that asks whether the respondent believes that most people can be trusted, or whether a person must be very careful in dealing with other people:

V24: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people? (Code one answer): (1) Most people can be trusted; (2) Need to be very careful.

For purposes of data analysis, the responses to V24 are recoded, such that “need to be very careful” receives a score of 0 and “most people can be trusted” receives a score of 1. Also, because Interpersonal Trust is a binary variable, rather than a continuous variable, logit regression is used instead of OLS regression. The four regression analyses for “Interpersonal Trust” are set forth in the table below:

Table 3: Religious Identity and Interpersonal Trust

Table 3: Religious Identity and Interpersonal Trust

	5	6	7	8
Evangelical		0.708 (0.514)	-0.3 (0.246)	0.063 (0.28)
Protestant	-0.708 (0.514)		-1.008** (0.47)	-0.645 (0.491)
Catholic	0.3 (0.246)	1.008** (0.47)		0.363** (0.171)
All Other Religions	-0.063 (0.28)	0.645 (0.491)	-0.363** (0.171)	
Importance of Religion	-0.067** (0.029)	-0.067** (0.029)	-0.067** (0.029)	-0.067** (0.029)
Church Attendance	-0.043 (0.038)	-0.043 (0.038)	-0.043 (0.038)	-0.043 (0.038)
Education	0.100*** (0.032)	0.100*** (0.032)	0.100*** (0.032)	0.100*** (0.032)
Income	0.043 (0.036)	0.043 (0.036)	0.043 (0.036)	0.043 (0.036)

	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.4)
White	0.081	0.081	0.081	0.081
	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)
Mulatto	0.045	0.045	0.045	0.045
	(0.307)	(0.307)	(0.307)	(0.307)
Age	-0.005	-0.005	-0.005	-0.005
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Married	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131
	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)
Living Together	-	-	-	-
	0.605***	0.605***	0.605***	0.605***
	(0.227)	(0.227)	(0.227)	(0.227)
Divorced	0.707**	0.707**	0.707**	0.707**
	(0.301)	(0.301)	(0.301)	(0.301)
Separated	-0.64	-0.64	-0.64	-0.64
	(0.418)	(0.418)	(0.418)	(0.418)
Widowed	0.188	0.188	0.188	0.188
	(0.338)	(0.338)	(0.338)	(0.338)
Colombia	-0.577**	-0.577**	-0.577**	-0.577**
	(0.249)	(0.249)	(0.249)	(0.249)
Uruguay	0.631***	0.631***	0.631***	0.631***
	(0.204)	(0.204)	(0.204)	(0.204)

	-	-	-	-
Constant	2.009***	2.717***	1.709***	2.072***
	(0.64)	(0.758)	(0.606)	(0.595)
Observations	3,669	3,669	3,669	3,669

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The results of the regression analyses for “Interpersonal Trust” show that Catholics demonstrate the greatest likelihood of trusting others when compared to respondents from any other religious categories, and that greater likelihood is statistically significant when Catholics are compared to Protestants or respondents from All Other Religions. Among the primary control variables, Importance of Religion has a statistically significant negative impact on Interpersonal Trust, but the impact is small. Education has a statistically significant positive impact on Interpersonal Trust, but the impact is small. Being a woman, being black or living together have statistically significant negative impacts on interpersonal trust, but the impacts are small. Being divorced has a statistically significant positive impact on Interpersonal Trust, but the impact is small. When compared to respondents from Brazil, respondents from Colombia have statistically significant lower levels of Interpersonal Trust, and respondents from Uruguay have statistically significant higher levels of Interpersonal Trust. But in both cases, the differences are small. Most importantly, the Interpersonal Trust regression analysis shows that Evangelicals do not

demonstrate any significantly different likelihood of trusting other people than others in the region. This finding is consistent with my second hypothesis.

For the third hypothesis, the dependent variable is called “Trust Other Religions,” and it is measured using a question from the World Values Survey that measures the degree to which the respondent believes that people of another religion can be trusted:

I'd like to ask you how much you trust people from various groups. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all? (Read out and code one answer for each): V106. People of another religion. (1) Trust completely; (2) Trust somewhat; (3) Do not trust very much; (4) Do not trust at all.

For purposes of data analysis, the responses to V106 are recoded, such that responses indicating greater trust receive higher scores. Also, because Trust Other Religions is an ordinal variable, rather than a continuous variable, logit regression is used instead of OLS regression. The four regression analyses for Trust Other Religions are set forth in the table below:

Table 4: Religious Identity and Trust in Other Religions

Table 4: Religious Identity and Trust in Other Religions

	9	10	11	12
		-		
Evangelical		0.378**	-0.07	0.192
		(0.155)	(0.108)	(0.125)
				0.571**
Protestant	0.378**		0.308** *	
	(0.155)		(0.127)	(0.144)
		-		0.262**
Catholic	0.07	0.308**		*
	(0.108)	(0.127)		(0.083)
All Other		-	-	
Religions	-0.192	0.571***	0.262***	
	(0.125)	(0.144)	(0.083)	
Importance of				
Religion	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.006
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Church				
Attendance	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.005
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
	0.094**	0.094**	0.094**	0.094**
Education	*	*	*	*
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Income	0.004	0.004	0.004	0.004

	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Working Full				
Time	0.062	0.062	0.062	0.062
	(0.181)	(0.181)	(0.181)	(0.181)
Working Part				
Time	0.079	0.079	0.079	0.079
	(0.202)	(0.202)	(0.202)	(0.202)
Self Employed	0.094	0.094	0.094	0.094
	(0.187)	(0.187)	(0.187)	(0.187)
Retired	0.155	0.155	0.155	0.155
	(0.208)	(0.208)	(0.208)	(0.208)
Housewife	0.083	0.083	0.083	0.083
	(0.186)	(0.186)	(0.186)	(0.186)
Student	0.342	0.342	0.342	0.342
	(0.237)	(0.237)	(0.237)	(0.237)
Unemployed	0.091	0.091	0.091	0.091
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
	-	-	-	-
Urban	0.188***	0.188***	0.188***	0.188***
	(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.066)
	-	-	-	-
Woman	0.143**	0.143**	0.143**	0.143**
	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.071)
Black	-0.101	-0.101	-0.101	-0.101
	(0.149)	(0.149)	(0.149)	(0.149)
White	0.097	0.097	0.097	0.097

		(0.087)	(0.087)	(0.087)	(0.087)
Mulatto		0.196*	0.196*	0.196*	0.196*
		(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.116)
		0.009**	0.009**	0.009**	0.009**
Age	*		*		*
		(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Married		0.027	0.027	0.027	0.027
		(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.093)
Living Together		-0.032	-0.032	-0.032	-0.032
		(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.093)
Divorced		-0.002	-0.002	-0.002	-0.002
		(0.182)	(0.182)	(0.182)	(0.182)
Separated		-0.288*	-0.288*	-0.288*	-0.288*
		(0.147)	(0.147)	(0.147)	(0.147)
Widowed		-0.258	-0.258	-0.258	-0.258
		(0.166)	(0.166)	(0.166)	(0.166)
		-	-	-	-
Colombia		1.278***	1.278***	1.278***	1.278***
		(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.102)
		-	-	-	-
Uruguay		0.426***	0.426***	0.426***	0.426***
		(0.111)	(0.111)	(0.111)	(0.111)
		-	-	-	-
Constant cut1		0.661**	1.039***	0.731**	-0.468
		(0.308)	(0.319)	(0.297)	(0.291)

					0.829**
Constant cut2	0.636**	0.258	0.567*	*	
	(0.308)	(0.319)	(0.297)		(0.291)
	3.290**	2.912**	3.220**		3.482**
Constant cut3	*	*	*	*	
	(0.315)	(0.325)	(0.304)		(0.299)
Observations	3,575	3,575	3,575		3,575

Standard errors in parentheses

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

The results of the regression analyses for “Trust Other Religions” show that Protestants demonstrate statistically significant higher levels of trust in people of other religions than respondents from any other categories of religious identity. Among the primary control variables, only Education demonstrates a statistically significant impact, and that impact is modestly positive. Being in an urban area and being a woman have statistically significant negative impacts on respondents’ trust in people of other religions, while age has a statistically significant positive impact. Respondents in Colombia and Uruguay demonstrate statistically significant lower levels of trust in people of other religions when compared to respondents from Brazil. Most importantly, these regression analyses show that Evangelicals are no more trusting of people from other religions than any other respondents. This finding is consistent with my third hypothesis. Also, in line with my theorizing, Evangelicals appear to have more bonding social capital than mainline Protestants.

For the fourth hypothesis, the dependent variable is called “Hard Work,” and it is measured using a question from the World Values Survey that measures the degree to which the respondent believes that hard work pays off, or whether success is more a matter of luck and connections:

V100: Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between. Statement on left: In the long run, hard work usually brings a better life. Statement on right: Hard work doesn't generally bring success – it's more a matter of luck and connections.

For purposes of data analysis, the responses to V100 were recoded, such that responses indicating greater belief in the efficacy of hard work receive higher scores. The four regression analyses for “Hard Work” are set forth in the table below:

Table 5: Religious Identity and Hard Work

Table 5: Religious Identity and Hard Work

	13	14	15	16
Evangelical		-0.605** (0.256)	-0.244 (0.177)	0.11 (0.205)
				0.715**
Protestant	0.605** (0.256)		0.361* (0.211)	* (0.237)
				0.354**
Catholic	0.244 (0.177)	-0.361* (0.211)		* (0.135)
All Other Religions	-0.11 (0.205)	0.715*** (0.237)	0.354*** (0.135)	
Importance of Religion	0.049* (0.028)	0.049* (0.028)	0.049* (0.028)	0.049* (0.028)
Church Attendance	0.032 (0.029)	0.032 (0.029)	0.032 (0.029)	0.032 (0.029)
Education	0.046* (0.024)	0.046* (0.024)	0.046* (0.024)	0.046* (0.024)
Income	0.047* (0.024)	0.047* (0.024)	0.047* (0.024)	0.047* (0.024)

	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Working Full				
Time	0.179	0.179	0.179	0.179
	(0.294)	(0.294)	(0.294)	(0.294)
Working Part				
Time	0.259	0.259	0.259	0.259
	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)
Self Employed	0.318	0.318	0.318	0.318
	(0.305)	(0.305)	(0.305)	(0.305)
Retired	0.702**	0.702**	0.702**	0.702**
	(0.338)	(0.338)	(0.338)	(0.338)
Housewife	0.417	0.417	0.417	0.417
	(0.306)	(0.306)	(0.306)	(0.306)
Student	0.353	0.353	0.353	0.353
	(0.387)	(0.387)	(0.387)	(0.387)
Unemployed	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.18
	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)
Urban	-0.206*	-0.206*	-0.206*	-0.206*
	(0.107)	(0.107)	(0.107)	(0.107)
	-	-	-	-
Woman	0.350***	0.350***	0.350***	0.350***
	(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.115)
Black	-0.273	-0.273	-0.273	-0.273

	(0.241)	(0.241)	(0.241)	(0.241)
White	-0.186	-0.186	-0.186	-0.186
	(0.142)	(0.142)	(0.142)	(0.142)
Mulatto	-0.053	-0.053	-0.053	-0.053
	(0.192)	(0.192)	(0.192)	(0.192)
Age	-0.007	-0.007	-0.007	-0.007
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Married	0.351**	0.351**	0.351**	0.351**
	(0.151)	(0.151)	(0.151)	(0.151)
Living Together	0.117	0.117	0.117	0.117
	(0.151)	(0.151)	(0.151)	(0.151)
Divorced	-0.045	-0.045	-0.045	-0.045
	(0.294)	(0.294)	(0.294)	(0.294)
Separated	-0.207	-0.207	-0.207	-0.207
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Widowed	0.183	0.183	0.183	0.183
	(0.269)	(0.269)	(0.269)	(0.269)
	-	-	-	-
Colombia	0.749***	0.749***	0.749***	0.749***
	(0.165)	(0.165)	(0.165)	(0.165)
	-	-	-	-
Uruguay	0.818***	0.818***	0.818***	0.818***
	(0.176)	(0.176)	(0.176)	(0.176)

		5.798**	6.402**	6.042**	5.688**
Constant	*	*	*	*	
		(0.493)	(0.512)	(0.474)	(0.462)
Observations		3,683	3,683	3,683	3,683
R-squared		0.042	0.042	0.042	0.042

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The results of the regression analyses for “Hard Work” show that Evangelicals are no more likely to believe that hard work brings success than anyone else, but Protestants are more likely to believe that hard work brings success than everybody else. Among the control variables, Importance of Religion, Education and Income all have a statistically significant positive impact on the belief that hard work brings a better life. Being married has a modest and statistically significant positive impact on the belief in the efficacy of hard work, and being retired has a substantial and statistically significant positive impact. Being a woman has a statistically significant negative impact on the belief in the efficacy of hard work. Surprisingly, living in an urban area has a statistically significant negative impact on the belief that hard work brings a better life. Respondents in Colombia and Uruguay demonstrate statistically significant lower levels of belief in the efficacy of hard work as compared to respondents from Brazil. Regarding the four religious categories, the results tend to cast doubt on the idea that Evangelicals are fostering greater

levels of social and spiritual capital when compared to others in the region. Moreover, the regression results for the “Hard Work” variable cast serious doubt that Weber’s Protestant ethic thesis is at work among Evangelicals. If the Protestant ethic were indeed at work among Evangelicals, then they should demonstrate at least similar or comparable beliefs in the efficacy of hard work as Protestants. However, Evangelicals not only demonstrate substantially lower levels of belief in the efficacy of hard work than Protestants, the difference is statistically significant. Thus, for the main category of interest of this thesis, Evangelicals, the results of the “Hard Work” regressions do not support a finding that they are demonstrating higher levels of social and spiritual capital than others in the region. This finding is consistent with my fourth hypothesis. These results also support my thesis that Evangelicals in the region are not demonstrating Weber’s Protestant ethic.

For the fifth hypothesis, the dependent variable is called “Frugality,” and it is measured using a question from the World Values Survey that measures the degree to which the respondent’s family was able to save money in the past year, or if they “just got by,” or if they spent savings or borrowed money:

V237. During the past year, did your family (read out and code one answer): (1) Save money; (2) Just get by; (3) Spent some savings; (4) Spent savings and borrowed money.

For purposes of data analysis, the results of the question are recoded, such that “Save money” receives the highest score, and “Spent savings and borrowed money” receives the lowest score. The four regression analyses for “Frugality” are set forth in the table below:

Table 6: Religious Identity and Frugality

Table 6: Religious Identity and Frugality

	17	18	19	20
Evangelical		-0.023 (0.086)	-0.07 (0.059)	0.055 (0.069)
Protestant	0.023 (0.086)		-0.047 (0.071)	0.078 (0.08)
Catholic	0.07 (0.059)	0.047 (0.071)		0.125** (0.045)
All Other Religions			- 0.125*** (0.045)	
Importance of Religion	-0.004 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.009)
Church Attendance	0.005 (0.01)	0.005 (0.01)	0.005 (0.01)	0.005 (0.01)
Education	0.034** (0.008)	0.034** (0.008)	0.034** (0.008)	0.034** (0.008)

		0.069**	0.069**	0.069**	0.069**
Income	*	*	*	*	
		(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Working Full					
Time		0.032	0.032	0.032	0.032
		(0.099)	(0.099)	(0.099)	(0.099)
Working Part					
Time		0.068	0.068	0.068	0.068
		(0.111)	(0.111)	(0.111)	(0.111)
Self Employed		0.013	0.013	0.013	0.013
		(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)
Retired		0.065	0.065	0.065	0.065
		(0.113)	(0.113)	(0.113)	(0.113)
Housewife		-0.037	-0.037	-0.037	-0.037
		(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)
Student		-0.252*	-0.252*	-0.252*	-0.252*
		(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Unemployed		-0.101	-0.101	-0.101	-0.101
		(0.104)	(0.104)	(0.104)	(0.104)
Urban		-0.021	-0.021	-0.021	-0.021
		(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)
		-	-	-	-
Woman	0.101***	0.101***	0.101***	0.101***	0.101***

	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.038)
Black	-0.176**	-0.176**	-0.176**	-0.176**
	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)
White	-0.054	-0.054	-0.054	-0.054
	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)
Mulatto	-0.072	-0.072	-0.072	-0.072
	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)
Age	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Married	-0.052	-0.052	-0.052	-0.052
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Living Together	-0.012	-0.012	-0.012	-0.012
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Divorced	-0.015	-0.015	-0.015	-0.015
	(0.098)	(0.098)	(0.098)	(0.098)
Separated	0.013	0.013	0.013	0.013
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Widowed	0.022	0.022	0.022	0.022
	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.089)
	-	-	-	-
Colombia	0.146***	0.146***	0.146***	0.146***
	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)

		0.212**	0.212**	0.212**	0.212**
Uruguay	*	*	*	*	
		(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.059)
		2.443**	2.466**	2.513**	2.388**
Constant	*	*	*	*	
		(0.164)	(0.17)	(0.157)	(0.154)
Observations		3,767	3,767	3,767	3,767
R-squared		0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The results of the regression analyses for “Frugality” show that respondents from the four religious categories demonstrate different levels of frugality. However, except for the difference between Catholics and All Other Religions, none of the differences between the religious categories rises to the level of statistical significance. Of the primary control variables, Education and Income have a positive and statistically significant impact on respondents’ levels of frugality. Being a woman, black or a student has a statistically significant negative impact on frugality. Respondents from Colombia have statistically significant lower levels of frugality than respondents from Brazil, while respondents from Uruguay have statistically significant higher levels of frugality than respondents from Brazil. From a theoretical perspective, frugality is the

most objective and quantifiable measure of whether Max Weber's Protestant ethic is at work. Frugality was the primary outward sign of the impact of the Protestant ethic in a person's life. The fact that Evangelicals do not demonstrate statistically significant greater levels of frugality than others in the region is consistent with my fifth hypothesis. It appears that the Protestant ethic is not at work among Evangelicals nor among mainline Protestants when compared to Catholics, at least as measured by frugality. The fact that Catholics demonstrate higher levels of frugality than Evangelicals makes it even more persuasive that the Protestant ethic is not at work among Evangelicals. If anything, the opposite appears to be true.

11 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis tests one of the most famous theories in social science, Weber's Protestant ethic thesis, and also tests theories that are more recent but nevertheless important, social and spiritual capital. And this thesis tests those theories on the fastest growing religious phenomenon in the world today, Pentecostalism, in the best part of the world in which to conduct such a test, Latin America. Therefore, this thesis tests important social science theories in the context of an important current religious phenomenon. And this thesis utilizes data from the World Values Survey, a leading social science instrument.

Peter Berger, David Martin, Rebecca and Timothy Shah, Donald Miller, Tetsunao Yamamori and numerous anecdotal accounts suggest that Pentecostals in Latin America should be creators of social and spiritual capital and be the modern-day equivalent of Weber's ascetic Protestants living out the Protestant ethic in their lives. However, the data analysis of this thesis paints a different picture. Based on the results of the regression analyses in this thesis, Pentecostals in Latin America do not appear to be demonstrating any greater levels of social or spiritual capital than others in the region, nor do they appear to be a modern day equivalent of Max Weber's ascetic

Protestants. Compared to the other religious categories, Pentecostals demonstrate social and spiritual capital that is average at best, and certainly do not demonstrate greater levels of social and spiritual capital than others in the region. Specifically, in the data analysis for the five different hypotheses, Protestants score higher than Evangelicals in four out of five, and Catholics score higher than Evangelicals in all five.

Most importantly, the two most important variables of this thesis from a theoretical perspective are Frugality and Hard Work. In both of these categories, Pentecostals rank third among the four religious groups, lower than both Protestants and Catholics. These results cast serious doubt on any claims that the rise of Pentecostalism in Latin America is resulting in increased social or spiritual capital or an emergence of Weber's Protestant ethic among Pentecostals. Likewise, the findings of this thesis should cast serious doubt on any claims that Pentecostals in Latin America are having a positive and meaningful impact on economic growth.

In the data analyses for the five different hypotheses, increases in education or income have positive impacts on the dependent variables in all five cases. The positive impact of education is statistically significant in all five cases, and the positive impact of income is statistically significant in four out of five cases. The impact of education in each of the five regression analyses supports the findings of much of modernization theory, which views human capital as critical to modernization and education as critical to human capital. Education not only provides skills that are necessary for modernization but also provides attitudes and aspirations that are necessary for modernization (Aldcroft 1998, p. 252; Schultz 1993, p. 17-19).

The data analyses show mixed and inconclusive results on the impact of church attendance and importance of religion. Similarly, comparisons of respondents from Colombia and Uruguay to respondents from Brazil also show mixed and inconclusive results. Thus, it

appears that the more likely pathway for promoting growth in Latin America is through increases in education and income, rather than increases in the number of Pentecostals.

As Anthony Gill points out, one of the most important functions of scientific inquiry is to disprove “longstanding notions about what we think is true,” and that this is especially the case “when new forms of evidence . . . are brought to bear on assertions based on other (often less rigorous) methodologies” (Gill 2006, p. 51). Although his historical, religious and sociological analysis was brilliant in both his Protestant Ethic essay and his Protestant Sects essay, Weber did not have the benefit of scientific surveys or robust tools for statistical analysis. And Peter Berger and David Martin relied primarily on case studies and anecdotal evidence to reach their positive assessments regarding Pentecostalism. The statistical analysis of this thesis suggests that Pentecostals in Latin America do not appear to have greater levels of social or spiritual capital than others in the region and do not appear to be modern-day equivalents of Weber’s ascetic Protestants. The statistical analysis of this thesis also suggests that Berger’s theories about Pentecostals may be too optimistic or even wrong. Moreover, hopefully this thesis also suggests the importance of utilizing the best available data and methods for social science inquiry.

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