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Methodology Note: Measuring Religion in Surveys of the Americas

Alejandro Díaz-Domínguez
Vanderbilt University
alejandro.diaz-dominguez@vanderbilt.edu

The ability to distinguish among survey respondents' religious affiliations is a key prerequisite to studies of the effects of religious traditions on economic development, political preferences, and support for democracy. While the impact of religion on several spheres of human life has long been studied, the measurement of religious affiliation at the individual level remains problematical.

This paper presents some theoretical and empirical perspectives that have led to a new AmericasBarometer questionnaire item for classification of religious affiliations in the region. This classification will be used for the first time in the AmericasBarometer 2010.

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The literature recognizes several main groups of religious traditions: Catholics (Herberg 1955; Turner 1971; Levine 1986); Mainline Protestants (Weber [1905/1958]; Herberg 1955; Layman 1997); Evangelicals (Martin 1990; Stoll 1993; Campbell 2006); and non-Christian religions (Herberg 1955; Lenski 1963). Unfortunately, those classifications do not offer clear answers about how to classify specific denominations. For example, it does not clearly indicate whether the American Baptist Church is part of the Mainline Protestant tradition (Layman 1997) or part of the Evangelical tradition (Campbell 2006). In the same vein, it is not always clear how to categorize Latin American Baptist Churches, and whether or not Latter-Day Saints should be considered as part of Protestant or Evangelical traditions.

If we take religion to be a multifaceted phenomenon that includes believing, behaving, and belonging (Layman 2001), then, measurements of religious affiliation capture the "belonging" component, which refers to an individual's religious membership and group identification. This paper argues that it is important to classify religious affiliations with as much precision as possible. Further, the paper indicates how these classifications can be related to economics and politics.

Theoretical Background

Considering the low number of articles published about religion and politics in the top political science journals over the past 30 years, one might be tempted to conclude that the topic is of little significance. However, some argue that a primary reason for this low number of publications is that specialists on religion have often failed to link their work to broader theories of political behavior and often do not work with data of the best possible quality (Wald and Wilcox 2006: 529). This paper addresses the latter problem related to data by discussing the importance of classifying religious denominations with greater precision,

and the former theoretical situation by sketching the connection between religious traditions and economics and politics.

Beginning with economics, there is a longstanding view that considers as useful to distinguish between Catholics and Protestant denominations when evaluating the impact of religion on economic accumulation because those religious differences underlie different capacities for stimulating economic growth, as Weber [1905(1958)] argues in his classic work, *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

Several social scientists have attempted to identify the impact of religion on economic growth, with varying degrees of success. Findings from these studies include, for example, mixed effects of Catholicism on poverty (Banfield 1958: 87 and 123; Przeworski *et al* 1998; Barro and McCleary 2003); a positive relevance of Protestantism for economic growth (Inglehart 1997; Harrison 2000: 99); a relationship between successful economic policies and Confucianism (Swank 1996; Kahn 1979); tracing the origins of Japanese capitalism to Buddhist foundations (Collins 1997); linking a tradition of literacy among Jews of Eastern Europe to how they overcame a “subculture of poverty” (Lewis 1966: 24); and, Islam as a potential vehicle of economic growth (Nolan 2005).

With respect to the impact of religion on politics, conventional wisdom at times points to Marx’s well-known statement defining religion as the opiate of the people [1843(1978)]. However, the political relevance of the largest religious affiliation was initially discussed in Marx’s *On the Jewish Question*, where he argues that religious emancipation secularizes political relationships (this emancipation implies the equal co-existence of several religions and precludes the largest religion from becoming a political majority). It is relevant to note that Marx does not detail the specific role of any particular denomination. Nonetheless, it is

arguably illustrative and important to identify the largest religion for political reasons.

In modern political analysis, religion has also been related to several political processes and outcomes. These include Catholics’ political role in Latin American democratic transitions (Huntington 1989); competition in the religious market among Evangelical and Catholic Churches, where Catholic leaders pushed for democracy instead of authoritarianism in order to retain parishioners in Latin America (Gill 1998 and 2001; Lies 2006); and, finally, the collaborative pro-democratic efforts of Catholic clergy and congregants (Turner 1971; Mainwaring 1986; Camp 1997; Hagopian 2008).

Another perspective on politics, economics, and Catholicism is presented by Levine (1986), in his *Religion and Political Conflict in Latin America*. Levine argues that rank-and-file Catholics, who are generally poor, demanded recognition from the Catholic hierarchy through class-based organizations, and Catholic Bishops therefore created democratic spaces inside and outside the Church. In sum, links between democratization, class, and religious affiliation suggest the necessity of capturing Catholicism not only because it represents the majoritarian religion in several Latin American countries, but also because Catholicism plays a relevant role in the political arena.

In two other works, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (Herberg 1955) and *The Religious Factor* (Lenski 1963), both of which study religion in the US, critical differences were shown among these three main affiliations. At the same time, in Latin America, *Tongues of Fire* (Martin 1990) and the incorporation of the study of Pentecostalism (see also Stoll 1993) have further motivated the debate about how to correctly classify religious denominations, especially because of their various theorized political implications.¹ Given

¹ For example, it may be relevant to distinguish among diverse types of Pentecostals and Neo-Pentecostals in terms of support for authoritarian rule, as in the case of Guatemala

both the recognition that different religious orientations and communities may differently affect economic and political processes, as well as the recent increase in the number of religious dominations present in Latin America, it is of real importance that data exist to capture these affiliations and memberships.

In sum, placing the study of religion and politics or economics in a theoretical perspective is an important step for understanding the different implications of the religious diversity in terms of the sense of religious belonging that diverse religious traditions represent.

The Empirical Challenge: Capturing emerging religious groups

Correctly classifying religious affiliations at the individual level presents two main challenges: a) to include the most common religious denominations; and b) to categorize correctly each religious denomination. The AmericasBarometer surveys², carried out by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), have always striven toward these dual goals but a modified set of questions will increase the extent to which we can meet them.

Given that there are many denominations, LAPOP aims to include in its survey question on religion as many religious beliefs as possible within and across traditions, nations, and cultures. However, since classifying religion is only one of a wide variety of pieces of information that are gathered in these hour-long surveys, trade-offs are necessary. Our goal, then,

(Hallum 2002). However, this distinction is not always possible in practical terms because of the small numbers of cases (Sherman 1997) in any sample.

² Funding for the AmericasBarometer project is mainly provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Other important sources of support are the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and Vanderbilt University.

it is to obtain as much detailed data as possible, and do so as parsimoniously as we can.

The research for this paper was carried out in three stages. The first stage was to formulate a comprehensive list of religious denominations and potential variants of labels identifying non-religious persons in Latin America. The second stage was to identify the proportion of affiliates by denomination using a minimum threshold of 2% of affiliates within a given national population (Layman 1997). The final stage was to classify or categorize religious traditions for use in the AmericasBarometer 2010 survey.

The natural starting point in terms of sources is the national census, and I consulted all those instruments when the information was available.³ Nevertheless, some national censuses do not include the question: “What is your religion?”⁴

The second best source of information on religious affiliation are national surveys designed to capture some degree of religious diversity, such as the 2008 round of the AmericasBarometer (Cruz 2009); the Central American Public Opinion Project (Stein 2000);⁵ the World Values Survey (WVS) information in some Latin American samples (Gill 2002; Magaloni and Moreno 2003);⁶ some

³ The most detailed examples were Bolivia (the 2001 and 2002 Censuses); Brazil (2000 *Religiao* Census); Mexico (2000 Census); and Nicaragua (2005 Census). However, as I will mention later, usually the aggregation of religious traditions prevents us from knowing the proportion of affiliates for specific denominations.

⁴ Some examples are the national censuses of Colombia, Venezuela, and Argentina.

⁵ In the case of Central America, the surveys consulted were the 1991, 1995 and 1999 Salvadorian samples; the 1992, 1993, 1995 and 1997 Guatemalan samples; the 1991 Honduran sample; and, the 1991 and 1995 Nicaraguan samples.

⁶ In particular, the V144 question in the WVS questionnaire, using the 1995 and 1999 Argentinean samples; the 1997 Brazilian sample; the 1996 and 2000 Chilean samples; the 1997 and 1998 Colombian samples; the 1996 Dominican sample; the 1999 Salvadorian sample; the 1990, 1996, 2000 and 2005 Mexican samples; the 1996 and 2001 Peruvian samples; the 1996 Uruguayan sample; and finally, the 1996 and 2000 Venezuelan samples.

Latinobarómetro’ surveys;⁷ and specialized surveys at the national level.⁸

The second task is to identify religious denominations that have at least a minimum number of adherents, a level we set at 2%. This was possible using census data where this information was available⁹ and survey data for Catholicism in almost all countries; specific Pentecostal Churches in Brazil, Guatemala, and Chile; and the proportion of secularists or non-believers in nearly all of Latin America.

In sum, identifying the proportion of religious affiliates at the national level was possible using census data¹⁰ and surveys.¹¹ Nevertheless, a common denominator in those sources is that the religious information is grouped in very few categories. This fact also speaks to the fundamental need for data that classify religious denominations with greater precision, as this project proposes.

⁷ Specifically, I used the S2 open question in the *Latinobarómetro* (LB) questionnaire, and the list of affiliations contained in the variable S42 since 1995 until 2007.

⁸ Specialized surveys consulted by country: 2008 CEIL/CONICET survey about beliefs and religious attitudes in Argentina; 2004 IBOPE survey about Creationism in Brazil; 2006 Pew Center survey of Pentecostals in Brazil, Chile, and Guatemala; and finally, 2003 *Parametría Omnibus* survey, and 2007 *CONSULTA* survey about religious practices in Mexico. In addition, Guatemalan and Costa Rican specific Protestant traditions were extracted from *PROLADES* (www.prolades.com). Non-religious labels were obtained from the 1990 Church-State Relations survey conducted in Mexico (Camp 1997). Finally, fundamentals about traditional religions such as voodoo were collected from Fontus (2001).

⁹ For example, one useful distinction among Protestant affiliations based on census data was the Moravian Church in Nicaragua with 1.63% of affiliates.

¹⁰ The aggregation is practically the rule and not the exception in surveys and Censuses. Perhaps, one remarkable exception is Brazil with its list of Evangelical churches, whereas Bolivia and Mexico Censuses are a good example of aggregation. In the last two cases, only the names of religions considered in each group was available.

¹¹ Essentially, surveys aggregate affiliations because the reduced number of cases (Gill 2002). However, the name of several religious denominations included in some categories was available.

Affiliations in the Americas

In order to show the state of the religious diversity in the Americas, as it is currently known, we present results from the *AmericasBarometer* 2008 survey in Table 1 (see the appendix), sorted by religious category and alphabetically by country¹². Those results show the importance of classifying with more detail native or traditional religions, which turn out to represent more than 2% of affiliates in Belize, Brazil, Haiti, and Jamaica, given that they reach our theoretical threshold of 2% of affiliates within a given national population.

There is also room for increased precision in the LDS/Jehovah’s Witnesses category, for which Belize, Chile, Jamaica, and Peru exceeded the threshold of 2% as Table 1 shows. LDS and Jehovah’s Witness are best considered as different types of religions (Gill 2002), and therefore it is important to create a special category for each.¹³

With respect to Judaism and eastern religions, the *AmericasBarometer* practice has been grouped them as non-Christian Eastern religions because of the limited number of cases,¹⁴ but theoretically speaking Judaism is distinguishable from Eastern religions (Nolan 2005). For that reason, Judaism will be considered as a different category.

As noted above, among Catholics it is possible to distinguish among several types, such as “true Catholics” and those who are not observant. However, in order to retain the largest religion in Latin America as a single category for comparative reasons, this distinction should be made by means of another

¹² The specific non-response to Q3 question in the 2008 round was 0.9% for 21 Latin American countries.

¹³ My theoretical distinction does not follow the label created by Bastian (1993) about LDS and Jehovah’s Witness (“Para-Christians”) given its negative connotation.

¹⁴ According to the World Christian Database, in 21 Latin American countries covered by the *AmericasBarometer*, Judaism only accounts for 430,000 affiliates.

variable, i.e. the church attendance variable (Q5a in the AmericasBarometer questionnaire).

The main controversy among religious studies is how to classify Protestant or Evangelical denominations. Here we will follow Weber's original conceptualization (1905/1958) and Layman's classification for the US case (1997); this classification also took into account Gill's concerns about few cases (2002); and Sherman's (1997) and Hallum's (2002) debates about Pentecostals.¹⁵

The Current State of the Art

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, measuring religious affiliation captures the "belonging" component, which represents individuals' sense of membership and group identification. In order to justify empirically why it is important to classify religious affiliations correctly, I analyze six main religious categories in order to see whether or not those religious categories are related to politics, in particular, to support for democracy.

The conceptual operationalization of support for democracy in terms of political culture used by the AmericasBarometer explicitly measures whether or not Latin American citizens believe that democracy is better than any alternative form of government based on the question wording developed by Mishler and Rose (1999; see also Rose and Shin 2001). The specific question wording is "Democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government. On a scale from 1 to 7, to what degree do you agree or disagree with this statement?"

In order to test the relationship between religious affiliations and support for democracy in 21 Latin American countries, I use 14 control variables at the individual level and one control

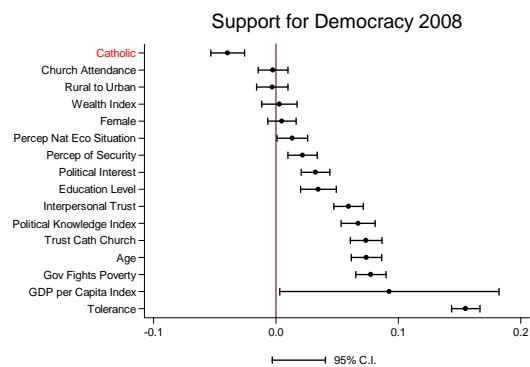
¹⁵ I want to acknowledge the important observations on this subject about Evangelicals contributed by Luis E. Soto (USAID, Dominican Republic).

variable at the country level, and apply an analysis using a Hierarchical Linear Model. In the next five figures, I will show the effects obtained from adding additional religious categories to predict support for democracy.

The significance of the variables in the model is graphically represented in the next five figures. Statistical significance is captured by a confidence interval that does not overlap the vertical "0" line (at .05 or better). When the dot, which represents the predicted impact of that variable, falls to the right of the vertical "0" line, it implies a positive relationship whereas when it falls to the left, it indicates a negative contribution.

Figure 1 shows that being Catholic decreases support for democracy. This analysis also suggests that being non-Catholic increases support for democracy. However, with this distinction alone, we do not know what types of non-Catholic citizens are more likely to support democracy.

Figure 1.
Support for Democracy in the Americas, 2008
(Catholics and Non-Catholics)



Source: 2008 AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 21 countries, 27,546 respondents

In Figure 2, I consider two religious categories, Catholics as in the last model and, additionally, LDS and Jehovah's Witnesses combined. In this case, the rest of the denominations and non-religious people represent the reference

category. The results show that both religious categories reduce support for democracy compared to the remaining denominations and the non-religious.

Figure 2.
Support for Democracy in the Americas, 2008
(Catholic, LDS and Non-Catholic/Non-LDS)

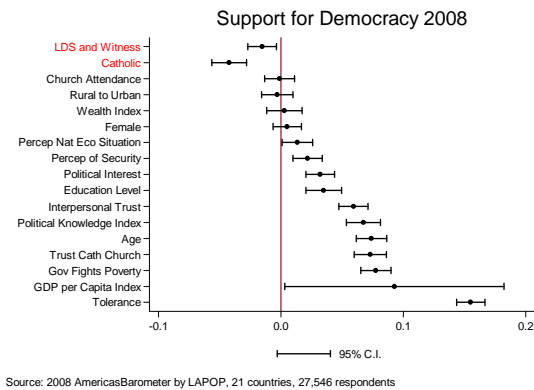


Figure 3 shows the effect of three religious groups on support for democracy. In addition to Catholics and LDS and Jehovah Witnesses, I now include Eastern and Traditional or Native religions. In this case, the reference category is other Christian affiliations and people who do not profess any religion. The main conclusion from Figure 3 is that non-Christian affiliations are statistically unrelated to support for democracy.

Figure 3.
Support for Democracy in the Americas, 2008
(Catholic, LDS and Non-Christian)

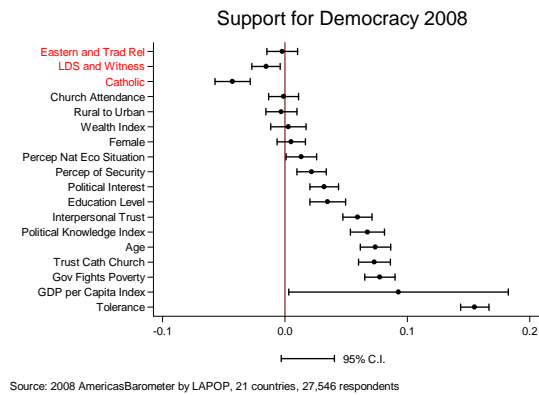
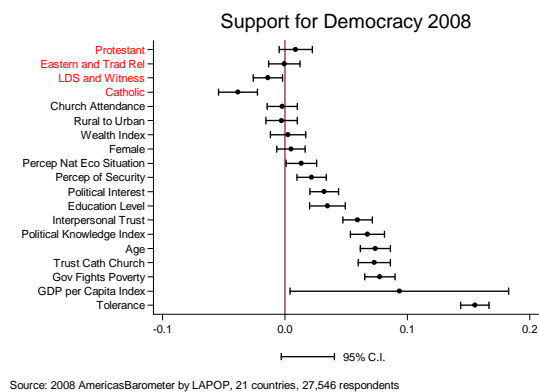


Figure 4 includes one additional category, Mainline Protestants. In this case, Evangelicals and non-religious people represent the omitted category. In this model there is no statistically significant effect for the new grouping, though this gradual inclusion of religious categories reveals that control variables at the individual and country level remain stable in the model.

Figure 4.
Support for Democracy in the Americas, 2008
(Catholic, LDS, Non-Christian and Protestant)

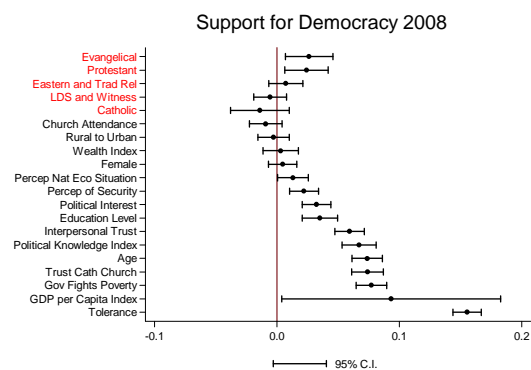


Finally, Figure 5 shows the final model, which includes five religious groups, where citizens who report no religious identification represent the reference category. In this case, the Protestant variable is now statistically

significant, as is the newly added Evangelical variable.

A comparison between Figure 1 and the final model in Figure 5 permits us to conclude that the positive relationship between religious affiliations and support for democracy is driven by two specific non-Catholics groups: Mainline Protestants and Evangelicals (compared to the reference category, those without any affiliation).

Figure 5.
Support for Democracy in the Americas, 2008
(Religious Category Omitted: No Religion)



Source: 2008 AmericasBarometer by LAPOP, 21 countries, 27,546 respondents

It is clear from this evidence that it is important to classify religious affiliations accurately and precisely in the AmericasBarometer countries¹⁶ as well as in other surveys because this distinction permits us to test specific hypotheses related to particular religious categories and sub-groups. Existing theory and evidence available at the country level (Camp 1997; Gill 2002; Hallum 2002) suggests that religious sub-groups other than these six main categories may be relevant politically or economically speaking. For that reason, in order to have any means of testing this type of hypotheses, it is important to

¹⁶ Those countries are México, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panamá, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Perú, Paraguay, Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica and Belize.

categorize specifically religious affiliations in the Americas.¹⁷

A New Classification Scheme

Table 2 (see the appendix to this report) presents the denominations to be used in the 2010 AmericasBarometer and the current affiliations considered by the WVS and the *Latinobarómetro*, as points of comparison.

The new comprehensive list captures not only new and/or emerging religious groups, but also includes the general classifications presented by the other two multinational projects. This formulation represents a new effort to improve prior classifications by the AmericasBarometer.

Specifically, the answers for the religious denomination question (Q3 in the AmericasBarometer questionnaire) will include a comprehensive list of religious affiliations categorized as follows:

Q3. What is your religion, if any? [Do not read options]

- (1) Catholic
- (2) Mainline Protestant or Protestant non-Evangelical (Protestant; Christian; Calvinist; Lutheran; Methodist; Presbyterian; Disciple of Christ; Anglican; Episcopalian; Moravian)
- (3) Non-Christian Eastern Religions (Islam; Buddhist; Hinduism; Taoist; Confucianism; Baha'i)
- (4) None (None; believes in a Supreme Entity but does not belong to any religion)
- (5) Evangelical and Pentecostal (Evangelical; Pentecostals; Church of God; Assemblies of God; Universal Church of the Kingdom of God; International Church of the Foursquare Gospel; Christ Pentecostal Church; Christian Congregation; Mennonite; Brethren; Christian Reformed Church; Charismatic non-Catholic; Light of World; Baptist; Nazarene; Salvation Army; Adventist; Seventh-Day Adventist; Sara Nossa Terra)
- (6) LDS

¹⁷ I thank Prof. Elizabeth Zechmeister's observation about this distinction between religious categories and religious sub-groups.

- (7) Traditional Religions or Native Religions
(Candomblé, Voodoo, Rastafarian, Mayan Traditional Religion; Umbanda; Maria Lonza; Inti; Kardecista, Santo Daime, Esoterica)
- (10) Does not believe in God (Agnostic; atheist)
- (11) Jewish (Orthodox; Conservative; Reform)
- (12) Jehovah's Witness
- (88) DK/DR

The main advantage of this approach is that the AmericasBarometer will offer two variables in its 2010 dataset derived from the religious denomination question: a) the aforementioned categorization; and b) the detail of each religious affiliation.¹⁸ For example, the dataset will contain the category Mainline Protestant and the database will detail whether or not the respondent belongs to the Moravian Church, or the Lutheran, Methodist or Presbyterian Church.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has attempted to provide an interpretation and critical understanding of religious affiliation's political and economic significance and also offer a new, more thorough classification that will allow a more complete picture of religious denominations in the region. The resulting data can be used by scholars to test specific hypotheses related to particular religious groups.

For example, the 2010 classification will allow analysis of the distinct relationship between LDS and Jehovah's Witnesses affiliates, on the one hand, and support for democracy, on the other, or support for specific public policies.¹⁹ Furthermore, the data will allow the study of specific interactions among Catholics, Protestants and Evangelicals in terms of vote choice, as the "religious threat" in the US (Campbell 2006); the effect of Evangelicals on

the Catholic Church leaders in relation to democracy (Gill 1998); and the capacity of the Catholic Church to mobilize citizens in politics (Hagopian 2008) among other topics. In sum, with the increased quality and precision of data concerning religious affiliations in the 2010 AmericasBarometer, we will gain a more detailed understanding of this aspect of the region in general and its relationships to critical variables related to democracy and other facets of economic and political change and development.²⁰

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¹⁸ This by-product for the 2010 round will be possible thanks to the technological improvement based on handheld computers that will gather the information collected by the interviewers in many countries. I wish to thank Dominique Zephyr for calling my attention to this fact.

¹⁹ I thank Matt Layton's observation about this point.

²⁰ I also wish to thank Prof. Mitchell A. Seligson for his encourage and support in this project.

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Table 1.

Religious Affiliations (%) by Latin American country, AmericasBarometer, round 2008

Country	Catholic	Mainline Protestant	Non Christian	No religion	Evangelical	LDS and JW	Trad Religions	Total of cases
Argentina	77.1%	0.9%	1.9%	15.9%	3.3%	0.6%	0.2%	1,486
Belize	46.6%	17.9%	0.2%	7.3%	7.2%	2.7%	18.1%	1,552
Bolivia	81.8%	2.6%	0.4%	3.3%	10.3%	1.7%	0.1%	3,003
Brazil	69.5%	8.0%	0.4%	6.4%	11.5%	1.1%	3.0%	1,497
Chile	68.3%	2.2%	0.3%	13.3%	13.6%	2.1%	0.2%	1,527
Colombia	82.7%	3.1%	0.4%	6.6%	6.6%	0.5%	0.0%	1,503
Costa Rica	69.0%	13.7%	1.1%	8.2%	7.1%	0.9%	0.1%	1,500
Dominican Republic	67.6%	8.1%	0.3%	10.2%	12.1%	1.6%	0.1%	1,507
Ecuador	83.8%	0.9%	0.2%	5.8%	7.4%	1.9%	0.0%	3,000
El Salvador	53.8%	9.6%	0.3%	12.4%	22.2%	1.6%	0.1%	1,549
Guatemala	56.5%	9.3%	0.3%	10.5%	22.0%	1.2%	0.2%	1,538
Haiti	55.5%	29.1%	0.2%	7.0%	3.2%	1.7%	3.2%	1,536
Honduras	68.5%	7.2%	1.3%	10.2%	12.3%	0.4%	0.0%	1,522
Jamaica	4.6%	32.5%	1.0%	7.8%	36.3%	13.3%	4.6%	1,499
Mexico	84.7%	1.2%	0.3%	7.7%	4.4%	1.6%	0.1%	1,560
Nicaragua	57.1%	7.6%	0.7%	12.5%	20.7%	1.2%	0.3%	1,540
Panama	79.3%	6.4%	1.1%	3.5%	8.5%	1.0%	0.1%	1,536
Paraguay	88.7%	2.4%	0.1%	1.8%	5.8%	1.2%	0.0%	1,166
Peru	80.0%	3.1%	0.3%	4.9%	9.4%	2.2%	0.1%	1,500
Uruguay	52.8%	1.1%	1.0%	34.6%	6.9%	1.9%	1.6%	1,500
Venezuela	82.5%	1.1%	0.6%	9.3%	4.7%	1.5%	0.3%	1,500
Total	68.4%	7.5%	0.6%	9.1%	11.1%	2.0%	1.4%	34,521

Mainline Protestant or Protestant non-Evangelical = Adventist, Baptist, Calvinist, The Salvation Army, Lutheran, Methodist, Nazarene, Presbyterian.

Non-Christian Religions = Jewish, Muslims, Buddhists, Hinduisms, Taoists.

Evangelical and Pentecostal = Pentecostals, Charismatic non-Catholics, Light of World.

LDS and JW = Latter-Day Saints, Jehovah's Witness, Spiritualists and Seventh-Day Adventists.

Traditional Religions or Native Religions = Candomblé, Voodoo, Rastafarian, Mayan Traditional Religion.

None = secularist, atheist, do not believe in God.

Valid cases = 34,223 respondents. Missing cases = 298 (0.9%)

Table 2

Comprehensive list of Religious Affiliations in Latin America, by survey project

	AmericasBarometer 2010 (project)	WVS (1990-2005)	LB (1995-2007)
Catholic	Catholic	Roman Catholic Catholic (does not follow rules)	Catholic
Orthodox		Orthodox	
Christian	Christian		Christian (in general)
Mainline Protestant	Anglican Calvinist Disciple of Christ Episcopalian Lutheran Methodist Moravian Presbyterian Protestant	Protestant (in general)	Evangelical (Methodist) Protestant (in general)
Evangelical	Adventist Baptist Charismatic non-Catholic Assemblies of God Church of God Universal Church of the Kingdom of God International Church of the Foursquare Gospel Light of World Nazarene Pentecostals Salvation Army Brethren Christ Pentecostal Church Christian Congregation	Pentecostal	Adventist Evangelical (Baptist) Evangelical (Pentecostal)

	AmericasBarometer 2010 (project)	WVS (1990-2005)	LB (1995-2007)
Evangelical (cont)	Mennonite Christian Reformed Church Seventh-Day Adventist Evangelical	Seven-day Adventist Evangelical (in general)	Evangelical (no specific denomination)
Jehovah's Witness	Jehovah's Witness	Jehovah Witnesses	Jehovah Witness
LDS	Latter-Day Saints (LDS)		LDS
Non-Christian Eastern Religions	Buddhist Baha'i Confucianism Hinduism Islam Taoist	Buddhist Hindu Islam	
Judaism	Orthodox, Conservative, Reform	Jew	Jewish
Traditional Religions	Candomblé Voodoo Rastafarian Mayan Traditional Religion Maria Lonza Inti Kardecista Umbanda Santo Daime Esoterica	Candomblé Spiritism/Esoterism/Occultism Umbanda	Spiritism/Kardecism Umbanda
None	None Believes in a Supreme Entity but does not belong to any religion	None	None Believer (does not belong to any church)
Atheist	Atheist Agnostic		Atheist Agnostic

Blank spaces = Not asked