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Pentecostals, Kinship, and Moral Economy in Guatemala

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Using a set of interviews from Pentecostal churches in Guatemala, this study makes the following conclusions about the role of family and kinship in this segment of Latin America's rapidly expanding evangelical population. First, evangelization deliberately targets family members. Second, church growth does in fact take place primarily along kinship lines. Third, the family structure is the foundation of church organization. Fourth, the extended family serves an important role as the provider of a social safety net. Fifth, the emphasis on "rapid discipling" along kinship lines carries with it a weakening of commitment to the inculcation of specific values and beliefs.

Introduction

Since the early twentieth century, the growth of evangelicals in Latin America, including Pentecostals, has been dramatic. In 1900 they were 2.6 percent of the Latin American population, and by 2010 they reached 17 percent.[1] In 1964, the last year the Guatemalan national census reported religious affiliation, 8.2 percent of Guatemalans were Protestant, with the majority of those adhering to evangelical and Pentecostal faiths. According to Latinobarómetro, in 2001 an estimated 31.3 percent of Guatemalans were Protestant. In 2007, it was 35.6 percent and in 2016 it was 42.8 percent.[2] Two of the largest denominations in Guatemala today are the Assemblies of God and the Church of God Full Gospel, both Pentecostal.[3] The World Religion Database estimates that between 1910 and 2010, 50.9 percent of Guatemalans professed belief in the manifestations of the Holy Spirit (Pentecostal, charismatic, or independent Charismatic).[4] In

2010, Guatemala was the country with the highest percentage of charismatics in the total population.[5]

Pentecostal churches and, to lesser extent, evangelical and mainline churches in Guatemala, exhibit a conversion pattern along kinship lineages.[6] This pattern of conversion has been observed over decades by missionaries, scholars, and Guatemalan church leaders.[7] The phenomenon of preexisting interpersonal relationships is well-documented in sociological studies of conversion,[8] with special emphasis on kinship ties.[9] Our research with church leaders confirms a pattern of family based churches, schisms, and church growth strategies.[10]

The premillennialist beliefs of the first evangelical and Pentecostal missionaries emphasized the eschatological urgency of conversion in light of the imminent second coming of Christ. The Church Growth Movement, beginning in the 1960s, rearticulated this late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century missiology referred to as the Great Commission.[11] The Church Growth Movement, grounded in a literal reading of the Bible, works through kinship networks within a community context.[12] Pentecostal churches in Guatemala emphasize "rapid discipling" so as to numerically increase membership along kinship networks.[13] The Church Planting Movement and the Unreached Peoples approach to evangelization stress the importance of biblically based group conversion among ethno-linguistic groups.[14] The Church Growth Movement emphasizes the affinal and consanguineal kinship groups (tribe, caste, or clan) as the most viable means of conversion. In other words, evangelizing is aimed at the social unit through a converted family member.

Second, Pentecostal church growth in Guatemala primarily takes place along kinship lines. As a consequence, the conversion experience keeps individuals within their kinship, ethnic, cultural, and socioeconomic milieu. Third, the affinal familial structure is the foundation of church organization, whereby the husband and wife function as a pastoral team (couple ministry) within their respective culturally defined gender roles, and the (male) children inherit the leadership of the church. Fourth, the extended family structure, which is the organizational structure of churches, provides social safety nets in lieu of formal insurance mechanisms such as government health care, social security, pension programs, and private insurance contracts as well as formally organized voluntary nonprofit organizations such as the Salvation Army, daycare centers, food banks, and homeless shelters. Rather, mutual-aid networks in churches play an important role in maintaining the cohesiveness of churches, increasing solidarity and adherence. Fifth, as mentioned in my first point, Pentecostal churches emphasize "rapid discipling" so as to numerically increase church growth. In order to acquire members quickly, churches rely on traditional patrilineal structures to enforce organizational and

normative control over members. The shorter the required membership disciple course, the weaker the inculcation of values such as temperance, honesty, thrift, and hard work, as well as religious beliefs. The church's commitment to values and beliefs is subsumed to maintaining the biological mechanism of kinship for church cohesiveness and growth.

Rapid Church Growth and Kinship

Émile Durkheim's view of religion as a moral community is the appropriate theoretical framework for assessing the conversion experience among Pentecostals in Guatemala.[15] Indeed, kinship patterns and group dynamics are crucial to analyzing why Pentecostal churches historically do not stress investment in human capital or participation in formal voluntary organizations that serve the community outside the church. Durkheim's analysis of religion is that of a collective organization that provides cohesion and social regulation through shared norms. For Durkheim, humans are religious because they belong to a community of believers. This belonging requires both a commitment to collectively binding norms and the affirmation of membership within the social group. Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge, taking Durkheim as their starting point, interpret religion as a group characteristic, not a personal trait.[16] Mark Regnerus further develops this notion and argues that a religious community is not simply a set of personal relationships, but also the setting in which an emergent group property evolves "that can affect individuals regardless of their status as immediate group members."[17] Regnerus calls it the "light switch effect"—the structural, religious context influences the religiosity of individuals who join the group. Ziad Munson found a similar effect among pro-life groups that recruit from "broad pools of people with various pre-existing views, not just from the ranks of those already firmly opposed to abortion."[18] Munson found that participation in pro-life groups can have the spillover effect of heightening a person's religious faith, even among nonreligious individuals.

Kinship networks influence the development and functioning of formal institutions in society such as democratic governance, rule of law, and civil organizations.[19] Studies find that kinship networks reduce levels of cooperation with nonfamily members, thereby thwarting information sharing within a society as well as across societies and precluding scaling up into larger networks.[20] Societies that function along kinship lineages tend to have low trust in institutions as well as strangers (as opposed to high trust in extended familial social networks) and are thus more likely to lack interconnected institutional networks.[21] Societies with strong kinship networks are less likely to be democratic and more likely to have

a weak rule of law (higher levels of corruption) due to a reliance on informal social networks rather than transparent transaction rules.[22]

Focusing on the geographic region of Latin America, anthropological and sociological studies of communities find that the nuclear family, with patrilocality, is the basic unit of social organization.[23] The nuclear family, and particularly the extended kinship network, has adapted to urbanization and corporate family models of economic activity.[24] Family businesses dominate in Latin America, particularly large diversified corporations with extended family members involved.[25] One study found that Pentecostals in Guatemala City were more likely to be self-employed than Roman Catholic families.[26] The family structure continues to adapt to changing socioeconomic conditions, serving as a resource for advancement in society.

Pentecostal churches, as well as evangelical and, to lesser extent, mainline churches in Guatemala, exhibit a conversion pattern occurring along kinship lineages, as we have noted. A converted family member witnesses (*testimonio*) to other relatives who in turn convert to the religion.

Pentecostal churches offer maximum rewards with minimal upfront costs. Their strategy is not to screen out potential converts who have low commitment but to draw people in rapidly. The urgency of personal experiential salvation is the focus. Being saved is the most important otherworldly benefit. Yet how the person is saved is far from an individual, private experience such as that of Saul of Tarsus. Conversion usually occurs in small worship groups in a home setting and in the presence of family members, friends, and neighbors. The commitment a convert is about to make is embedded in the "moral community" consisting of a network of familial and social relations that emphasizes shared oral/aural religious experiences such as speaking in tongues, singing and praying out loud together, laying on of hands, prophesying, and miracle healings.

The individual's commitment to the transforming aspect of the conversion experience—to changing one's quotidian patterns of behavior—is questionable.[27] Understanding doctrine and the realities of the bible as text are not of primary importance.[28] Although bible study is integral to being a Protestant, it is done within the context of evangelism. Personal salvation—acceptance of Christ as one's savior—does not require intellectual investment in terms of understanding the theological and doctrinal stances of the church.[29]

Required behavioral changes are bans on activities traditionally associated with Catholic rituals and Maya *costumbre* including *fiestas* and the *cofradía* structure as well as the *compadrazco* system.[30] Pentecostals, like evangelicals and mainline Protestants, take a morally absolutist stance on alcohol consumption as well as use of tobacco and drugs, dancing, gambling, and fireworks.[31] Temperance

has become a self-referential religious identity marker for Pentecostals and evangelicals, distinguishing them from Roman Catholics. Within Guatemalan society, nonevangelical employers in particular intentionally hire Pentecostals and evangelicals because of their abstinence practices. Protestant churches of all types preach monogamy and require formal marriage in the church.

Once entire families join a church, the rewards are both otherworldly (salvation) and this-worldly; for example, the emotional-psychological benefits associated with worshiping together and receiving social support to remain a cohesive family unit. "At any difficult time of the believer's life (sickness, loss, unemployment, familial crisis), the religious community will reaffirm its embracing and solidary presence, that is, its healing potential."[32] Pentecostal churches require significant investment of time and resources by its members. In congregations, home churches, and small worship groups called cells (*celulas)*, members enforce restrictions on drinking and smoking. Active participation in church activities translates into more socialization among members. The high commitment to the religion means that members have little time to join other secondary associations and engage in secular activities outside the church network.

Kinship-based organizational structure, with regard to both church membership and church leadership, is found primarily in Pentecostal, evangelical, and neo-Pentecostal churches.[33] The foundation of a church is the nuclear family. The pastoral responsibilities are shared by a husband-wife team. Culturally defined gender roles define those responsibilities. Children of the pastoral couple are trained from an early age to assume responsibility within the church. Male children are identified as heirs to the church whereas female children become Sunday school teachers and caregivers to aging parents.[34] Their children, as designated heirs of the church, ensure intergenerational transfer of physical assets (financial, infrastructure) as well as human capital (values, preaching style, leadership) giving the church stability. Parents, through their bequests to their children, retain significant influence over their children's life decisions, including mates. Inheritance functions as a future reward (or bribe) to entice children to remain within their parents' ministry and church. Improving one's human capital through secular education is subsumed to the family interest. For example, a son may leave school or a salaried position to work in the family's church. The church as family business and the economic incentive of inheriting the church strongly motivate children to return and care for their elderly parents and to assume ownership as well as leadership of the church.[35] Political authority of the church is consolidated through family members who exercise decision-making—for example, as treasurer, elder, leader of the women's society, and

other leadership roles—over the congregation. Family members also represent the church in the community.[36]

The patrilinear nuclear family forms the basis for church organization.[37] Female pastors are uncommon even among the Presbyterian Church (with four ordained women pastors in 2011).[38] The patriarchal family unit with the husband as head is taught and practiced by Pentecostal, evangelical, and neo-Pentecostal churches to be the cultural manifestation of the divine order as expressed by the Apostle Paul.[39] Using the bible to justify the patriarchal role of the male, the patrilinear family structure supersedes the Protestant belief in an egalitarian community of all believers. By embedding religion in existing kinship structures rather than transforming family dynamics, the cultural patterns of kinship behavior have altered Protestantism rather than Protestantism transforming society. The father-husband is the spiritual "patrón" of his family and of his congregation.[40] The pastor becomes the benevolent father figure who morally guides and disciplines his congregants concerning beliefs as well as restrictions on behavior. The pastor also oversees the distribution of mutual aid within the congregation in the form of donated foodstuffs, used clothing, books, and donations from individuals in the United States. This type of segregation from society at large has implications for educational attainment, economic improvement, and assortative mating among the families that make up the congregation.[41]

Beyond Kinship: Humanitarian and Community Social Service Programs

Pentecostals and evangelicals in Guatemala pursue their brand of Christianity to the exclusion of involvement in social issues and movements addressing chronic poverty, drug and alcohol addiction, gang violence and crime. Although they engage in local humanitarian activities as a tool of evangelization, they display little inclination in developing a Christian social ethic and establishing formal voluntary organizations. Social engagement has not been a priority for most church leaders.[42]

Key to my argument is that a link between religious reward (salvific merit) and charity would be particularly relevant and useful in a society like Guatemala which lacks formal structures, such as government welfare (social) programs, physical security (law and order), and civil society institutions (nonprofits) to deal with individual uncertainties.[43] Applying the teachings of Jesus, particularly the sermon on the mount (Matthew 5–7), to everyday living would provide Pentecostal and evangelical churches with a biblical foundation for retaining

pietistic salvific beliefs while moving beyond kinship networks to apply Christian teachings to society at large.

Based on interviews with church leaders across all types, I found that churches commonly engage in charitable activities in which congregants donate food and clothing and volunteer within the church organization. Mutual aid for the most part occurs among members where the level of personal contact and trust is high. Mutual aid networks are attractive to both current members and to potential members enticing them to join. Kevin O'Neill refers to this type of mutual aid as focusing charity on those who are "biblically deserving."[44] This-worldly benefits distributed through mutual aid networks in churches play an important role in the religious behavior of members, increasing church (club) solidarity and adherence.[45]

Pentecostal and evangelical churches with emphasis on moderate church growth engage in social programs in the form of orphanages and schools for destitute, abandoned, abused, and neglected children. These children's programs are operated by evangelical and Pentecostal, not high growth neo-Pentecostal, churches. All four evangelical and Pentecostal church-sponsored social programs I identified through my interviews with church leaders received funds and volunteer teams from the United States; two from denominational national ministries (Church of God Full Gospel World Missions and Pentecostal Church of the U.S.A. Women's Ministries) and two from general donations and churches in the United States. Two of the four were founded by US couples who were members of the church (El Verbo and Church of God Full Gospel.) Three of the social programs are in or near Guatemala City while the fourth is in the northern-most department of Guatemala, El Petén.

Neo-Pentecostal churches with emphasis on high growth engage primarily in outreach charitable works (food banks, used clothing, short-term medical clinics). Charitable works are an extension of the mutual aid model found in churches across types. Ministerios Casa de Dios, the largest neo-Pentecostal church in Guatemala and located in Guatemala City, asks members to donate nonperishable foods to the church's food distribution network.[46] Iglesia Vida Real collects food donations once a month. Charity, as practiced by evangelical, Pentecostal, and neo-Pentecostal churches, is a voluntary act of giving, most commonly at a church location, and does not address systemic and chronic human development problems.

What is puzzling about the correlation between neo-Pentecostal churches and charity is that these megachurches in Guatemala City attract young professionals and middle-class families.[47] Guatemala City has the highest homicide

rate in the country and the affluent are often targeted for kidnapping.[48] Middle and lower income families are targeted for extortion and robbery. Addressing the systemic issues underlying a high urban crime rate ought to be of concern to neo-Pentecostal churches. Yet, neo-Pentecostal leaders do not offer public support for law enforcement organizations or advocate for stiffer penalties as a means of deterring criminals. Wealthier citizens pay the cost of private security forces—which outnumber the police—rather than advocating for the reform of the national police force and state security institutions.[49]

The implications of these findings for investment in human capital are, first, Pentecostal, evangelical and neo-Pentecostal churches are not committed to addressing national social issues such as chronic poverty, malnutrition, and urban crime. The kinship structure of the churches does not foster impartiality, fairness, and transparency in transactions with outsiders. Being a Good Samaritan to strangers is not encouraged; rather, the opposite is enforced through mutual aid programs within the church. As Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori observe, Pentecostalism does not question structural injustices in society.[50] In our interviews, church leaders expressed concern for issues such as poverty and hunger. Insofar as chronic poverty and hunger affect their members, church leaders addressed these issues through mutual aid or ad hoc actions.

Another indication that Guatemalans are not committed to social programs is that churches rely heavily on foreign (primarily US) donations rather than insisting that Guatemalans assume the financial responsibility for funding and volunteers. Third, the spiritual message of the evangelical churches in Guatemala is one of minimizing social engagement with broader civil society while focusing on the needs of their members.[51] Evangelical and Pentecostal churches frame social problems—poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy, crime—as spiritual matters. The solutions come from supernatural interventions such as prayer and worship. God and the agency of the Holy Spirit, not believers themselves, are agents of change.

Historically, the priority of evangelism has excluded the social message of the gospel. To express it another way, "altruism toward outsiders is often mere proselytizing."[52] Christian involvement in the world and acting to improve the conditions of strangers, not just members of their church, has yet to be integrated with evangelism in Guatemala. The lack of social consciousness might, in part, have to do with a nascent understanding of ecumenism and cooperation among the types of Protestant denominations and churches. More fundamentally, Pentecostal and evangelical churches interpret the universal message of Christianity as evangelism rather than social action. The dichotomous relationship "between evangelization and humanization, between interior conversion and improvement of conditions,

or between the vertical dimension of faith and the horizontal dimension of love" remains unaddressed by Pentecostals and evangelicals.[53]

The Church, Family, and Spiritual Redemption

Since the introduction of Protestantism in Guatemala, temperance has been preached by all denominations and churches. Pentecostalism, in particular, is successful in Latin America as it substitutes alcohol-induced euphoria with emotive ecstasy experienced during religious services.[54] "The spontaneity of worship and expressive patterns in the Pentecostal church service fill many felt needs of the people, including physical, emotional, social, and spiritual ones."[55] Temperance has become a self-referential religious identity marker for Pentecostals and evangelicals who openly state that only Roman Catholics consume alcohol. Unlike Pentecostal and evangelical churches, which impose an absolute prohibition, neo-Pentecostals view alcohol consumption in moderation as morally acceptable.[56]

Pentecostal and evangelical churches frame social problems such as alcoholism or intra-family violence as a faith issue.[57] Social problems are framed as personal ones requiring acknowledgment of sinful behavior, prayer, restoration, and spiritual transformation. Pentecostals place the issue of alcoholism in the realm of the Holy Spirit, as a sin requiring miracle healing. The institutional response of church leaders across all types of Protestants is to visit families frequently and pray for them (*acompañamiento*).[58] The accepted view is that fervent prayer and strong faith will correct the transgressor's behavior. If, through restorative prayer—*promedio de su restauración*—the sinner fails to abandon the sinful behavior, then the institutional response is to discipline the member by suspending his privileges in the church until he repents and ceases altogether. The step of last resort is to remove the individual from the church. This pattern in churches has been long-standing and today is uniformly found across all types of Protestant churches from mainline to neo-Pentecostal.[59]

Large neo-Pentecostal megachurches, as well as evangelical and Pentecostal churches in Guatemala see their role as maintaining family members within the spiritual community. Sports activities, bible classes, rock concerts celebrating Jesus, and parties for children of church members are activities meant to keep the children off the streets as well as create group cohesion and enforcement. Yet, once a child becomes a drug addict (commits a sin) or a gang member, the solution is restoration, not recovery. The process of spiritually restoring a criminal is a family issue. Even in broken homes, children are sent to lineage relatives (aunt, uncle, grandmother, brother) to be cared for. To find the solution

in a recovery program would be to admit that the spiritual realm is ineffective. Drug addiction, in that case, would no longer be a sin but a social problem that the church cannot address.

Women who convert to Protestantism before men, do so in part because of the hardships many of them experience living with alcoholic and abusive husbands.[60] Some churches respond to abusive alcoholic husbands by counseling wives to endure through prayer and participation in the church.[61] Abused women hope the church leadership will be able to pressure their husbands into attending church and undergoing change. Male conversion is usually conducive to positive changes in family life.[62] Yet, conversion to forms of Protestantism is a family experience occurring within the context of familial relations. The socioeconomic benefits derived from the conversion of a family are secondary to ensuring that the family remains intact.

Pentecostal and evangelical churches preach self-discipline values—honesty, sobriety, diligence, faithfulness—but they fail to teach the individual agency and responsibility essential to *inculcating* these values. As Berger notes, the manifestations of the Holy Spirit (supernatural phenomena) overtake concepts of human agency.[63] John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff eloquently and convincingly argue this point regarding Nonconformist missions in South Africa.[64] The structured activities of the church, the paternal role of the pastor, and the social enforcement of restrictions by the congregation bring into question self-reliance and individual moral responsibility.

Protestant missions transmitted to Guatemalan converts an exogenous moral economy—a constellation of religious beliefs and moral values that at its core has a defined view of autonomous moral agency.[65] Central to the moral economy of Pentecostalism is the individual who alone is seeking salvation, conversion, and the transformation of his or her moral self. This moral economy encompasses a worldview of personal salvation, individual responsibility for one's transgressions, and autonomous agency for one's actions as a Christian. Missionizing was a transformative process in which Guatemalans adapted some aspects of the Christian Pentecostal and evangelical moral economy to their culture and societal norms.

The vehicle for conversion was and remains the patrilineal kinship structure. Conversion takes place along kinship networks in a communal setting. In the process of communal conversion, the moral economy's concept of agency is weakened, altered by the kinship context. The shorter the required discipling process, the weaker the inculcation of religious virtues and moral values such as temperance, honesty, thrift, and hard work. The church's commitment to values becomes secondary to maintaining the biological (kinship) mechanism

for church cohesiveness and growth.[66] The disjuncture between the reliance on the kinship structure as the basis for conversion, church formation and growth, and autonomous agency fails to translate into a genuine conversion to a specific moral economy.

Conclusion

Pentecostal churches do not have a tradition of providing basic discipleship education prior to joining the church. The combination of rapid numerical church growth, a focus on the urgency of salvation, and familial-based church structure deter investment in human capital, which is fundamental to acquiring the values and understanding necessary for autonomous moral agency. Pentecostal churches in Guatemala inherited a missiology focused on the urgency of salvation—"*salvar el alma*." Formal religious education in the church's theology and Christian morality is absent from many churches.[67]

Pentecostal churches practice a form of social segregation by stressing conversion along nuclear patrilineal kinship networks with a church structure based on male descendant lineage. Kinship patterns of hierarchical leadership in the Pentecostal churches are found in businesses as well.[68] Family networks are valued due to high levels of trust and cooperation. Intermarriage is encouraged among families of the same socioeconomic background, thereby maintaining a tight kinship system that perpetuates shared values. Strong kinship networks make it difficult for outsiders to obtain information about the family business as well as to be employed by that business. The opposite is true as well. Acquiring new information, skilled employees, and knowledge is often difficult due to the closed dynamics of kinship networks.

By bringing into focus the kinship foundation of Pentecostal churches, we can draw connections between religious institutions and society. Favoring kinship segregation rather than promoting investment in the capabilities of individuals so that they can be autonomous and responsible agents in the secular world, promotes limited agency within the confines of the spiritual life of the church and its networks of mutual aid. Churches, by operating along kinship lines, perpetuate a paucity of opportunities for their members' children by failing to create institutional networks across society.

Appendix I: Churches Interviewed

Unless otherwise noted, headquartered in Guatemala City and surrounding towns.

Asambleas de Dios (Assemblies of God)
Agrupacíon Monte Basan
Convención de Iglesias Bautistas de Guatemala (Baptist Convention)
Fraternidad Cristiana de Guatemala
Iglesia Bethania, Quetzaltenango
Iglesia Cristiana Vida Real
Iglesia el Candelero de Oro, San Pedro Sacatepequez, San Marcos
Iglesia de Cristo Elím
Iglesia de Dios del Evangelio Completo (Church of God Full Gospel, Cleveland, TN)
Iglesia de Dios Pentecostes de America, Quetzaltenango
Iglesia Evangélica Centroamericana de Guatemala (CEGIC) and the Consejo Evangelico General de la Iglesia Centroamericana de Guatemala (CEGIC)
Iglesia Evangélica Nacional Amigos de Guatemala
Iglesia Evangélica Nacional Metodista Primitiva de Guatemala
Iglesia Evangelical del Principe de Paz
Iglesia de Jesucristo la Familia de Dios
Iglesia Rey de las Naciones, Antigua
Ministerios Ebenezer
Ministerios El Calvario Internacional
Ministerios Cash Luna
Ministerios Cristianos Yeshua Guatemala
Ministerios Elim
Ministerios Palabra Miel
Ministerios Roca Eterna
Ministeris El Shaddai
Ministerios Verbo
Ministerios Vida Nueva
Mision Cristiana El Calvario
Misión Cristiana Evangélica Lluvias de Gracia
Sínodo de la Iglesia Evangelica Nacional Presbyteriana
Presbiterio Central, Iglesia Evangelica Nacional Presbyteriana
Iglesia Evangelical Presbiteriana Bethel, Quetzaltenango
Iglesia Evangelical Presbiteriana, Presbiterio Occidente
Unión Adventista de Guatemala

Other Organizations Interviewed

Alianza Evangelica de Guatemala
Association of Christian Schools International
Consejo Apostólico de Guatemala
Fé y Alegria Schools (Roman Catholic schools)
Presbiterio Metropolitano de Guatemala
Servicio Evangelizadora para America Latina (SEPAL)
Sociedad Bíblica de Guatemala
Casa Orión (an independent Christian rehabilitation center for drug and alcohol addicts)
Fundación REMAR Guatemala (a network of Christian rehabilitation centers)

Notes

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1. Data from the World Christian Database provided to the author by Peter Crossing, Data Analyst, November 2017.

2. *Latinobarómetro 2001*, *Latinobarómetro 2007*, *Latinobarómetro 2016*, Santiago de Chile: Latinobarómetro Corporation, http://www.latinobarometro.org/latContents.jsp, "Data Bank," accessed April 14, 2018.

3. The Church of God Full Gospel is in the Wesleyan holiness tradition. The Assemblies of God is in the Keswick holiness tradition. Although these denominations entered the country in 1937 and 1934 respectively, they originated in 1916 (Church of God Full Gospel) and 1910 (Assemblies of God). Rachel M. McCleary and Robert J. Barro, "Measuring the Presence of Protestants in Guatemala, 1882–2011." Brian J. Grim, Vegard Skirbekk, and Gina A. Zurlo (eds.), *Yearbook of International Religious Demography 2017*, Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2017, pp. 108–21, esp. 119.

4. "Pentecostal denominations hold the distinctive teachings that all Christians should seek a post-conversion religious experience called baptism in the Holy Spirit and that a Spirit-baptized believer may receive one or more of the supernatural gifts known in the early church: the ability to prophesy; to practice divine healing through prayer; to speak (glossolalia), interpret, or sing in tongues; to sing in the Spirit, dance in the Spirit, pray with upraised hands; to receive dreams, visions, words of wisdom, words of knowledge; to discern spirits; to perform miracles, power encounters, exorcisms (casting out demons), resuscitations, deliverances, or other signs and wonders." Charismatics are defined as "Christians affiliated to non-Pentecostal denominations (Anglican, Protestant, Catholic, Orthodox) who receive the experiences above in what has been termed the charismatic movement." Finally, independent charismatics

are "Pentecostal or semi-Pentecostal members of the 250-year-old Independent movement of Christians, primarily in the Global South, of churches begun without reference to Western Christianity. These indigenous movements, though not all explicitly Pentecostal, nevertheless have the main features of Pentecostalism." Todd Johnson, "Counting Pentecostals Worldwide," *PNEUMA* 36 (2014): 265–88, esp. 274–76, 283. The World Christian Database includes neo-Pentecostal churches under the rubric "Independent Charismatics."

5. Johnson, "Counting Pentecostals," 285. The World Religion Database uses the term *charismatic* to refer to those individuals who believe in the Pentecostal post-conversion religious experience referred to as baptism in the Holy Spirit and "that a Spirit-baptized believer may receive one or more of the supernatural gifts known in the early church" yet belong to a non-Pentecostal denomination or church (Anglican, Protestant, Catholic, Orthodox Catholic). Guatemalans use the term *charismatic* to refer exclusively to Roman Catholics who believe in *charismata pneumatika* (gifts of the Holy Spirit), including Holy Spirit baptism (but with glossolalia understood as optional).

6. Kinship lineage is used here to refer to people related either genetically or through marriage.

7. Effie Glover Bradley, "Our Indian Work," *Bridegroom's Messenger* 21, no. 266 (Nov.-Dec., 1927): 3; Iglesia Presbíteriana de Guatemala, *Historia de la Obra Evangélica Presbíteriana en Guatemala. Bodas de Diamante 1882–1957* (Quetzaltenango, Guatemala: Tipografía El Noticiero Evangélico, 1957); Alton Clark Scanlon, *Church Growth through Theological Education in Guatemala* (Eugene, OR: Institute for Church Growth, Northwest Christian College, 1962), 24; Wilkins Bowdre Winn, "A History of the Central American Mission as Seen in the Work of Albert Edward Bishop, 1896–1922," doctoral thesis, University of Alabama, 1964, 37; Denzell Teague, "A History of the Church of God in Guatemala," Master of Arts thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Lee College, Cleveland, TN, 1966, 44–45; Gennet Maxon Emery, "Protestantism in Guatemala: Its Influence on the Bicultural Situation, with Reference to the Roman Catholic Background," *Sondeos* 65 (Cuernavaca, Mexico: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1970); Asambleas de Dios, *Origen y Desarrollo de las Asambleas de Dios en Guatemala. 50 Años* (Guatemala City: Asambleas de Dios, 1987); Richard Eugene Waldrop, "An Historical and Critical Review of the Full Gospel Church of Guatemala," doctoral thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, School of World Mission, 1993, 23–24, 61; Ulíses Guerrero, *Sabor a Mí* (Guatemala City: Ipreso por Foto Publicaciónes, 1998), 134; Robert Redfield, *A Village that Chose Progress* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950); Garrett W. Cook, "The Maya Pentecost," in *Holy Saints and Fiery Preachers: The Anthropology of Protestantism in Mexico and Central America*, ed. James W. Dow and Alan R. Sandstrom (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001), 147–68; Rubén E. Reina, *Chinautla, a Guatemalan Indian Community: a Study in the Relationship of Community Culture*

and National Change, Publication no. 24 (New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, 1960); Michael H. Jones, "Ritualized Conversion among the Pentecostals of Guatemala: The Reconstruction of a Disrupted World View," paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Meetings, Las Vegas, NV, October 6–8, 2004.

8. John Lofland and Rodney Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," *American Sociological Review* 30, no. 6 (December 1965): 862–75; James T. Richardson and Mary W. Stewart, "Conversion Process Models and the Jesus Movement," in James T. Richardson, ed., *Conversion Careers* (Beverly Hills: Sage Press, 1978), 24–42; John Lofland, "Becoming a World-Saver Revisited," in James T. Richardson, ed., *Conversion Careers* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Press, 1978), 1–23; Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, "Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds and Recruitment to Cults and Sects," *American Journal of Sociology* 85, no. 6 (1980), 1376–95.

9. Bryan R. Roberts, "Protestant Groups and Coping with Urban Life in Guatemala City," *American Journal of Sociology* 73, no. 6 (1968): 753–67; Alan R. Tippett, "Conversion as a Dynamic Process in Christian Mission," *Missiology, An International Review* 5, no. 2 (1977): 203–21; Marion M. Cowan, "A Christian Movement in Mexico," in William Allen Smilley, ed., *Readings in Missionary Anthropology II*, enlarged 1978 ed. (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1978), 591–601; Theodore E. Long and Jeffrey K Hadden, "Religious Conversion and the Concept of Socialization: Integrating the Brainwashing and Drift Models," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 22, no. 1 (March 1983): 1–14; Jones, "Ritualized Conversion among the Pentecostals in Guatemala," 7–8.

10. The Iglesia Pentecostés de América was founded on March 1, 1972 with a group of five families in Quetzaltenango (their surnames are Bolaños, de León, Argueta, Martinez, and Popá), Claudia Martinez, daughter of founder Vicente Martinez, interview with Rachel McCleary, Iglesia Pentecostes de America headquarters, Quetzaltenango, August 9, 2011. El Verbo was founded in 1976 by a group of families: Alvaro Contreras (owners of the newspaper *Prensa Libre*), Francisco Bianchi Castillo (Brewery Company), Alfredo Kaltschmitt (columnist for the newspaper *Prensa Libre*), and Pepe Garcez (owner of Restaurant Nais), Mynor Herrera, interview with Rachel McCleary, Universidad Panamericana, Guatemala City, August 17, 2011 and January 16, 2012. Agrupación Monte Basan was founded in 1966 by the Aurita and Humberto Galindo family in a home church made up of families, Carlos Suruy interview. Fraternidad Cristiana was founded in 1979 by Elsy and Jorge Lopez with five families, http://frater.org/es/pastores/dr-jorge-h-lopez/, accessed January 2012. El Shaddai was founded by in 1983 as a family home prayer group, Sergio Camargo, interview with Rachel McCleary, Iglesia Ministerios El Shaddai, Guatemala City, January 20, 2012. In 2001, Iglesia Intimidad con Dios was founded by three couples and single man in a home church, http://www.intimidadcondios.

org/home/?page_id=31, accessed January 2012. Ministerios Cash Luna-Casa de Dios was founded in in 1994 from a group of three families, http://www.cashluna.org/index.cfm/page/conocenos/show/208/Pastor-Cash-Luna, accessed August 2011. Ministerio Vida Abundante "Luz a las Naciones" was founded by in 2008 by Elías Toledo, his wife and children, http://vidaabundanteluzalasnaciones.info/, accessed August 2011. Cristóbal Montejo, the general superintendent of the Assemblies of God, told us that a pastor can establish a church with one family. He added that "churches are founded and based on the family" (translation mine). Montejo, interview March 12, 2012; Guillermo Galindo, the spiritual head of Agrupación Monte Basan, said that his church stresses "'*reunion familiar*'—read the Bible and pray together as a family—but only within the family. The idea is for the family to know each other, each other's needs and to pray for them. They join and pray for each other. This type of communion is very important in Monte Basan. Good communion in the family translates into good communion in the church. This is only possible if the church is small—cannot occur in a megachurch" (translation mine). Interview with Rachel McCleary, Agrupación Monte Basan headquarters, Guatemala City, January 17, 2012.

11. Donald McGavran conceptually articulated church growth missiology in *Understanding Church Growth* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1970) and *The Bridges of God* (New York: Friendship Press, 1955). For a discussion of this point, see David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003), 340–41.

12. The Church Growth Movement was developed by Donald A. McGavran and expanded upon by C. Peter Wagner.

13. Discipling or disciple-making refers to the educational training a new convert receives before being baptized. The process of discipleship continues throughout one's life as a church member. The term *rapid discipling* refers to conversion and baptism without significant theological and biblical educational training. As a consequence, the believer lacks an understanding of her faith. See Alan R. Tippett, "Conversion as a Dynamic Process in Christian Mission." *Missiology, An International Review*, 5, no. 2 (April 1977): 203–21, esp. 220.

14. An unreached people group is defined as "an identifiable group of people distinguished by a distinct culture, language, or social class who lack a community of Christians able to evangelize the rest of the people group without outside help. The only opportunity for the people group to hear about salvation is through an 'external witness.' Most missiologists consider 2 percent of the population becoming Christ-followers as the 'tipping point' at which the group is generally considered 'reached' with the Gospel." See "Unreached People Groups," *Global Frontier Missions*, https://globalfrontiermissions.org/gfm-101-missions-course/the-unreached-peoples-and-their-role-in-the-great-commission/, as well as the "Guatemalan White," *Joshua Project*, https://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/11963.

15. Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2008 [1915]), 47.

16. Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, "Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds and Recruitment to Cults and Sects," *American Journal of Sociology*, 85, no. 6 (1980): 1376–1395.

17. Mark D. Regnerus, "Moral Communities and Adolescent Delinquency," *Sociological Quarterly* 44 (2003): 523–54.

18. Ziad Munson, *The Making of Pro-Life Activists: How Social Movement Mobilization Works* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

19. For a discussion of the literature, see Jonathan F. Schulz, "The Churches' Bans on Consanguineous Marriages, Kin-networks, and Democracy," unpublished manuscript, January 19, 2017.

20. Avner Greif, "Cultural Beliefs and the Organization of Society: A Historical and Theoretical Reflection on Collectivist and Individualist Societies," *Journal of Political Economy* 102, no. 5 (October 1994): 912–50.

21. Anabella Dávila and Marta M. Elvira, "Human Resource Management in Kinship Society: The Case of Latin America," in Frank Horwitz and Pawan S. Budhwar, ed., *The Handbook of Human Resource Management in Emerging Markets* (Cheltenham, UK, and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2015), 372–92.

22. Schulz, "The Churches' Bans."

23. Hugo G. Nutini, "Mesoamerican Marriage and Family Structure," *Journal of Anthropology* 23, no. 4 (Winter 1967): 383–404. Scholarly literature recognizes exceptions to this pattern, but these exceptions are in the minority. Research also suggests that the unilateral paternal family organization was introduced by Spaniards during the colonial period; see Calixta Guiteras Holmes, "Social Organization," in Sol Tax and Members of the Viking Fund Seminar on Middle American Ethnology, *Heritage of Conquest: The Ethnology of Middle America* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1952), 97–118; Joseph John Gross, "Domestic Structure in a Mayan Community of Guatemala," doctoral thesis, University of Rochester, 1974.

24. Manuel L. Carlos and Lois Sellers, "Family, Kinship Structure, and Modernization in Latin America," *Latin American Research Review* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1972): 95–124; "What's the Rhythm of the Family Business in Latin America?" *Tharawat Magazine*, January 6, 2012.

25. Michael Reid, "Inside Story: Family Firms Still Rule in Latin American Economies," *The Economist* 345, no. 8046 (December 6, 1997): Survey 7–9. Dávila and Elvira, "Human Resource Management in Kinship Society," 380–81.

26. Bryan R. Roberts, "Protestant Groups and Coping with Urban Life in Guatemala City," *The American Journal of Sociology* 73, no. 6 (May 1968): 753–67.

27. A study of Billy Graham crusades found "that the vast majority of 'converts' at such events are performing a ritual which stimulates the integrative re-affirmation of existing values rather than a turnabout acceptance of new values." Ronald C. Wimberly, Thomas C. Hood, C. M. Lipsey, Donald Clelland, and Marguerite Hay, "Conversion in a Billy Graham Crusade: Spontaneous Event or Ritual Performance?" *The Sociological Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (1975): 162–70, esp.163.

28. J. E. Lesslie Newbigin, *The Household of God: Lectures on the Nature of the Church* (London: SCM Press, 1953) made this observation in the early 1950s with regard to Pentecostals. In my field research, from 2009–2013, I found this to be true of evangelicals, Pentecostals, and neo-Pentecostals.

29. For example, the Amish faith, also a tightly-knit religious organization with the family unit as its basis, requires all potential members to undergo three and a half months of pre-baptismal training. Over the course of the training, the candidates are educated in the beliefs of the Amish faith. Pre-baptismal conversion experience is not common in Guatemalan evangelical and Pentecostal churches even though one neo-Pentecostal and one evangelical church stated that they were introducing this.

30. The *cofradía* is a Roman Catholic brotherhood vested with the care of the saints and the church. Men, primarily, serve in the *cofradías* but wives will occasionally serve. *Compadrazgo* is the godparent system, also introduced to Guatemala by Roman Catholicism. A godparent is a ritual, sponsorship relationship usually beginning with the baptism of an infant and continued throughout the life of the child with sponsorship of rites of passage. Some anthropologists claim that a type of godparent relationship existed among the Maya prior to the Spanish conquest. Lois Paul and Benjamin D. Paul, "Changing Marriage Patterns in a Highland Guatemalan Community," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 19, no. 2 (Summer 1963): 131–48; Bryan R. Roberts, "Protestant Groups and Coping with Urban Life in Guatemala City," *The American Journal of Sociology* 73, no. 6 (May 1968): 753–67; Benson Saler, "Religious Conversion and Self-Aggrandizement: A Guatemalan Case," in William A. Smalley, ed., *Readings in Missionary Anthropology*, enlarged 1978 edition (Pasadena, CA: William Carey, Library, 1978), 582–89.

31. June Nash, "Protestantism in an Indian Village in the Western Highlands of Guatemala," *Alpha Kappa Delta* 30 (1960): 49–53; Sheldon Annis, *God and Production in a Guatemalan Town* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); Liliana R. Goldin and Brent Metz, "An Expression of Cultural Change: Invisible Converts to Protestantism among Highland Mayas," *Ethnology* 30 (1991): 325–28.

32. Cited in Jorge E. Maldonado, "Building 'Fundamentalism' from the Family in Latin America," in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Apple, eds. *Fundamentalisms and Society*:

Reclaiming the Sciences, the Family, and Education, vol. 2 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 214–39, esp. 222.

33. See sources in note 9.

34. If both husband and wife do not belong to the same church, the man will not be allowed to become a pastor.

35. A clear example of this occurred in a Pentecostal denomination in Quetzaltenango, the Iglesia de Dios Pentecostes de America. Vicente Martinez (son) is the current pastor, and his sister, Claudia, works as receptionist and teacher in the church. When Vicente Martinez (father) passed away, Vicente Jr. and his sister Claudia, both of whom had been living in the United States with their families, were asked by their mother and the church to return to Guatemala. Vicente Martinez was a founder of the church and had been its pastor for 35 years. Although Vicente Jr. *has no training as a pastor*, he was asked by the church to come back to assume the leadership of the church. Claudia returned to take care of their mother and assist her brother. Claudia had been living in the United States for over 10 years, and it was difficult for her family to come back. Her daughter spoke only English. Claudia said her daughter was having some trouble at school, but now she was getting a bit more used to Spanish. At some point in the interview Claudia said, "My father was worried about what would happen with my mom if nobody was in charge of the church, so he called my brother to come back." Apart from taking care of the mother, there was a strong economic incentive to keep the family leading the church. Pastors do not have a pension in Guatemala and their salaries come out of the *diezmo* (ten percent) offerings. Should the church have lost members, the income of the family would have dropped. Interview with Claudia Martinez, Quetzaltenango, church headquarters, August 9, 2011.

36. David Scotchmer observed this last pattern among Maya Protestant churches in the western highland town of San Juan Ostuncalco, Guatemala. David Scotchmer, "Maya Protestant Leadership," in James W. Dow and Alan R, Sandstrom, eds., *Holy Saints and Fiery Preachers: The Anthropology of Protestantism in Mexico and Central America* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001), 235–62, esp. 248.

37. For discussions on kinship in Latin America see Hugo G. Nutini, "Mesoamerican Marriage and Family Structure," *Journal of Anthropology* 23, no. 4 (Winter 1967): 383–404. Manuel L. Carlos and Lois Sellers, "Family, Kinship Structure, and Modernization in Latin America," *Latin American Research Review* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1972): 95–124. However, in indigenous towns, clans with a common surname live in a subdivision of a town called a *cantón*, *caserio*, or *paraje*. Often, this subdivision is called by the clan's surname. Early missionary accounts of conversions refer to male relatives bringing their wives and children to be converted. In urban areas, the ladino family structure is what anthropologists call minimal lineage with three or four

generations living in geographic proximity to each other within a family or neighborhood compound or in the same house. Even though the compound household with several houses surrounded by a wall or fence is increasingly less common in urban areas, the extended family household predominates and should not be understood as necessarily sharing the same residential unit or area.

38. The only woman who presided over a church, the neo-Pentecostal church El Shaddai, was Cecilia Caballeros. She was presented as the "spiritual leader" of the church while all the other church leaders were male. Cecilia Caballeros refused to be interviewed but asked a senior pastor of the church to speak with us. Cecilia was temporarily head of El Shaddai because her husband, Harold Caballeros, was running for president and later became minister of foreign affairs under President Otto Pérez Molina from January 2012 to January 2013.

39. Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, vol. 1, trans. Olive Wyon, foreword by James Luther Adams (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), 287, 335.

40. Christian Lalive d'Epinay, *Haven of the Masses: A Study of Pentecostal Movement in Chile*, World Studies of Churches in Mission, Commission on World Mission and Evangelism, World Council of Churches (London: Lutterworth Press, 1969), 81–88, 129.

41. Here I draw on the work of Steven N. Durlauf and Irina Shaoshadze, "Poverty Traps," in Mehmet Odekon and J. Geoffrey Golson, eds., *Sage Encyclopedia of World Poverty*, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publishers, 2015), 1275–1278; Steven N. Durlauf, "Intergenerational Mobility," Unpublished paper, June 4, 2014.

42. d'Epinay, "Haven of the Masses," 81–88; Russell P. Spittler, "Implicit Values in Pentecostal Missions," *Missiology: An International Review* 16, no. 4 (October, 1988): 417–18.

43. Anthony Gill and Erik Lundsgaarde, "State Welfare Spending and Religiosity: A Cross-national Analysis," *Rationality and Society* 16, no. 4 (2004): 399–436; Kenneth Scheve and David Stasavage, "Religion and Preferences for Social Insurance," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 1 (2006): 255–86.

44. Kevin Lewis O'Neill, *City of God: Christian Citizenship in Postwar Guatemala* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 154.

45. This point tends to be overlooked by sociologists; see Stark and Bainbridge, "Networks of Faith," 1376–1395 and *A Theory of Religion* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987).

46. The ten recipient organizations are: Asilo de Ancianos Emmanuel, Remar Houses, Ayudame a Vivir Foundation, Ciudad de Refugio, Esperanza para Guatemala, Funda

Niños, Machen, Fundación Nicky Cruz, Viva Juntos por la Niñez, Rescate 911 Maras Para Cristo.

47. "The term megachurch generally refers to any Protestant Christian congregation with a sustained average weekly attendance of 2000 persons or more in its worship services, counting all adults and children at all its worship locations." "Megachurch Definition," *Hartford Institute for Religion Research*, http://hirr.hartsem.edu/megachurch/definition.html, accessed February 20, 2016.

48. World Bank, Crime and Violence in Central America: *A Development Challenge* (Washington, DC: World Bank Publications, 2011), 3–4.

49. Julia Schünemann, *"Looking the Monster in the Face": The International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala and the "Rule of Law-Builders Contract,"* IFP Security Cluster Country Case Study: Guatemala. Madrid, Spain: FRIDE and The Initiative for Peace, 2010, 13. The only official response to high crime and lack of security in Guatemala on the part of wealthier citizens is the document, "Guns, Drugs, and Cash: Analysis and Proposals on How to Manage the Crisis in Central America," published by The Coordinating Committee of Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial y Financial Associations (CACIF), National Economic Research Center (CIEN), Foundation for the Development of Guatemala (FUNDESA), Foundation G, and Integrated Security Solutions (ISS) released in 2012.

50. Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 179.

51. This problem is found in evangelical and Pentecostal churches and denominations worldwide; see Bosch, *Transforming Mission,* 405–408. Interviews with Cristóbal Montejo, Assemblies of God, January 12, 2012; Carlos Suruy, Agrupación Monte Basan, August 5, 2011; Mario Requena, Pentecostal Church of God USA, August 29, 2011.

52. Ferren MacIntyre, "Was Religion a Kinship Surrogate?" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 72, no. 3 (September 2004): 653–94, 675.

53. Jürgen Moltmann, *The Experience of Hope* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 4.

54. Eugene Nida, "The Role of Cultural Anthropology in Christian Missions," *Practical Anthropology* 6 (1959): 110–16, esp. 105.

55. Waldrop, "An Historical and Critical Review of the Full Gospel Church of Guatemala," 139.

56. Interview with Jorge Lopez, Fraternidad Cristiana, January 11, 2012; interview with Mynor Herrera, El Verbo, January 16, 2012.

57. The Seventh Day Adventist Church (classified with Pentecostal and holiness churches and denominations, see Brian Steensland et al., "The Measure of American Religion: Toward Improving the State of the Art," *Social Forces* 79, no. 1 [September 2000]: 315) in the Rio Blanco municipality of San Marcos launched a joint public health program with the city government to promote a comprehensive healthy lifestyle. The low crime and alcohol rates in Pueblo Viejo, a town of the municipality, where 90% of the 1,200 residents are Seventh Day Adventists caught the attention of indigenous community leaders. "In Guatemala, Adventist public health campaign to impact local Mayan communities," *Adventist News Network*, May 30, 2012, http://news.adventist.org/en/archive/articles/2012/05/30/in-guatemala-adventist-public-health-campaign-to-impact-local-mayan-communi.

58. Paul Burgess, a Presbyterian missionary, founded the Liga Antialcohólica in 1921 in Quetzaltenango and one in Guatemala City; see Thomas Edward Bogenschild "The Roots of Fundamentalism in Western Guatemala, 1900–1944," paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Meeting, Crystal City, VA, April 4, 1991, 15.

59. The one exception is El Verbo which does not believe in disciplining its members as it only "humiliates the person." Interview with Mynor Herrera, a member of El Verbo board and rector of Universidad Panamericana, January 16, 2012.

60. Anne Motley Hallum, "Taking Stock and Building Bridges: Feminism, Women's Movements, and Pentecostalism in Latin America," *Latin American Research Review* 38, no. 1 (2003): 169–86, esp. 178.

61. Andrew R. Chestnut, *Born Again in Brazil: The Pentecostal Boom and the Pathogens of Poverty* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 106; Elizabeth E. Brusco, *The Reformation of Machismo: Evangelical Conversion and Gender in Colombia* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 170–80; Cecilia Menjivar, *Enduring Violence: Ladina Women's Lives in Guatemala* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 219–20.

62. Nash, "Protestantism in an Indian Village," 40; Hallum, "Taking Stock," 178.

63. Peter Berger, "Pentecostalism-Protestant Ethic or Cargo Cult?" *The American Interest*, July 29, 2010, http://www.the-american-interest.com/2010/07/29/pentecostalism-protestant-ethic-or-cargo-cult/.

64. John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Christianity and Colonialism in South Africa*, vol. 1: *Of Revelation and Revolution*: *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

65. The work of John and Jean Comaroff, *Christianity and Colonialism*, vol. 1 (1991) and idem, vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997) and Peter van der Veer, *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity* (New York:

Routledge, 1996) are innovative new paradigms in how foreign missions interact with local cultures and societies. Comaroff and Comaroff use the term *moral economy* to refer to a constellation of ideas "of personhood, belief and conversion" held by Nonconformist Protestant missions in South Africa in the nineteenth century. The "civilizing mission" dimension of this moral economy is, to a large degree, absent in the premillennialist moral economy I am referring to and which was held by U.S. Protestant missionaries to Guatemala at the turn of the twentieth century, see Camaroff and Camaroff, *Christianity and Colonialism*, vol. 1, 230–51.

66. Ralph D. Winter, who served as a Presbyterian missionary to Guatemala from 1956 to 1966, was critical of this tendency in Guatemalan Protestant churches and denominations. See Ralph D. Winter, "Protestant Mission Societies and the 'Other Protestant Schism,'" in Ross P. Scherer, ed., *American Denominational Organization: A Sociological View* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1980), 194–224.

67. Some churches are beginning to introduce discipleship classes, for example, the Baptist Convention, El Verbo, Vida Real, El Shaddai, and Fraternidad Cristiana de Guatemala. All of these churches, except for El Verbo, are neo-Pentecostal. El Verbo refers to itself as an independent charismatic evangelical church holding certain pneumatic beliefs in common with Pentecostals.

68. Dávila and Elvira, "Human Resource Management in Kinship Society," 372–92.