A Latin Protestant Ethic

Protestant evangelicalism has made great inroads in traditionally Catholic Latin America. Evangelicals-most of them Pentecostals, who practice faith healing and speaking in tongues-have grown from 15 million in 1960 to over 40 million. More than half of them live in Brazil, making up nearly one-fifth of its 150 million people. Sociologist Peter Berger and others think that the evangelical upsurge will encourage the growth of capitalism and democracy in Latin America, just as the spread of Calvinism and the Protestant ethic did in Europe beginning in the 16th century. But this may be too optimistic a reading, cautions Goodman, a research associate at the American Enterprise Institute. Evangelicalism, he says, is "more likely to retard than to hasten the onset of 'modernity' in Latin America.'

Berger, sociologist David Martin, and other optimists, notes Goodman, contend that evangelicalism "inculcates a 'bourgeois' message of self-improvement, tames *machismo*, fosters peaceability, and encourages hard work as a service to God. It promotes the 'small' capitalist virtues of dependability, thrift, and sobriety." It also encourages self-reliance and skills and practices conducive to self-government.

Yet, Goodman argues, evangelicalism still promotes "values typical of traditional society." It scants such "modern" values

"Latin America's Reformation" by Timothy Goodman, in *The American Enterprise* (July-Aug. 1991), American Enterprise Inst., 1150 17th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

as individualism, rationalism, "the need for achievement, and identification with society at large rather than just the immediate family circle." Latin American evangelicals are inclined "more toward emotionalism and superstition . . . than toward rationalism," he says. Their religion seems to breed disharmony rather than a sense of the common good: "Competition, rancor, and polarization are often rife among, and even within, their churches."

Nor is it likely, in Goodman's view, that evangelicalism "will unleash the acquisitive drive." Evangelicalism "upholds taboos against the accumulation of material things; Pentecostals work hard for many reasons, but making money is rarely prominent among them."

Perhaps most important, even if the new religion should provide "a positive cultural context" for modernization, that would not be enough to lift Latin America out of poverty. The new culture could not by itself overcome "the economic and political factors—especially statist economic policies, weak political institutions, and inept leadership—that historically have left the region underdeveloped and poorly governed." That will require fundamental reforms. Latin America may blaze a path to the promised land of prosperity, but "[a] Protestant Reformation alone will not do it and may not even contribute to it."

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

The Viceroy's Doublecross

For decades, biology textbooks have held up the viceroy butterfly as a classic example of Batesian mimicry. The bright orange wings of the viceroy (*Limenitis archippus*) closely resemble those of the toxic monarch (*Danaus plexippus*), and bi-

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"Butterflies and Bad Taste: Rethinking a Classic Tale of Mimicry" by Tim Walker, in *Science News* (June 1, 1991), 1719 N St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

> ologists have long believed that the viceroy was concealing an appetizing body beneath its monarch-like colors. English naturalist Henry Walter Bates, after observing butterflies in the Amazon river basin in the mid-1800s, first advanced the idea that a