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REFORMATION OF MACHISMO IN COLOMBIA

City University of New York

PH.D. 1986

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THE HOUSEHOLD BASIS OF EVANGELICAL RELIGION
AND THE REFORMATION OF MACHISMO IN COLOMBIA

by

ELIZABETH BRUSCO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of
New York.

1986

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

30 April 1986
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Abstract

THE HOUSEHOLD BASIS OF EVANGELICAL RELIGION
AND THE REFORMATION OF MACHISMO IN COLOMBIA

by

Elizabeth Brusco

Adviser: Professor May Ebihara

This study examines the effects of evangelical Protestantism on the domestic lives of converts in Colombia. Colombian evangelicalism serves to reform gender roles in a way that enhances female status. It promotes female interests not only in simple practical ways but also through its potential as an antidote to machismo (the culturally constructed emphatic masculinity which constitutes a variant of the male role in Colombia as well as in other parts of Latin America.)

The growth of evangelicalism in Colombia coincided with a decline in peasant household production, a consequent increase in female dependence on a male wage earner and a devaluation of women's role in the domestic sphere. This process also intensified the segregation of the sexes into public and private spheres and resulted in a breakdown in the articulation of male and female roles and values.

The asceticism required of evangelicals (drinking, smoking, and extra-marital sexual relations, among other

things, are forbidden) brings about changes in the behavior of male converts, particularly in relation to the machismo complex. By reorienting into the household the resources spent on these things, such changes have the effect of raising the standard of living of women and children who are dependent on the income of these men. The relative participation of men and women in the domestic realm is reordered, and the sphere itself is redefined.

The study concludes that machismo attenuates the husband role by eroding the "prosperity ethic" as an affective component of the conjugal bond. This ethic, which entails the assumption that, upon marriage, spouses enter into a partnership committed to the well-being of the conjugal pair, their children and their kin unit, is reinstated by evangelical conversion. Much of the literature on Latin American conversion, both Weberian and Marxist, uncritically utilizes Western notions of "progress." By focusing on the level of social process within households, a distinction between "progress" and "prosperity" becomes evident, and it becomes clear that Colombian evangelicalism is not necessarily an "opiate" for the masses, nor is it the spirit of capitalism.

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original formulation of the research plan, through the fieldwork period and while writing the dissertation, I have been guided by Joan's commitment to providing explanations in the social sciences and humanities which include a "double vision", and have struggled to fulfill the goal of "keeping women in." The personal and intellectual debt I owe to Joan can never be repaid, and it is my great sorrow that she could not have lived to witness this modest attempt to fulfill the goal I came to share with her and with the many other people who knew and loved her.

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TO THE MEMORY OF
JOAN KELLY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the effects of conversion to evangelical Protestantism on the domestic lives of converts in Colombia. The approach taken here centers on understanding religious change through the examination of social process within households. Recruitment to evangelical religion most often takes place along kin lines, and the major proselytizing activity is located in small Bible study and prayer meetings held in members' homes. Women are often the first to convert and later bring in husbands, brothers, and sons along with female kin. In a sexually segregated society such as Colombia, the household is perhaps the most important locus of social interaction between males and females, and as such is surrounded by deeply ingrained beliefs and values, which themselves are manipulated by family members to their own advantage. A focus on household activities provides a unique insight into individual motivation in the context of the dynamic process of family interaction. It also allows us to see how decisions made in the "private realm" and activities carried on there generate social change in the public order.

The research for this study was initially oriented around the question: Does evangelical Protestantism in Colombia provide, among other things, an ideology used by women to improve conditions in the household by

"domesticating" men? The asceticism required of evangelicals brings about changes in the behavior of male converts, particularly in relation to the machismo complex in Latin America. Drinking, smoking, and extra-marital sexual relations are forbidden. By redirecting into the household the resources spent on these things, such changes have the effect of raising the standard of living of women and children who are in varying degrees dependent on the income of these men.

My data on Colombian evangelical households support the conclusion reached by virtually every other analyst of Latin American pentecostalism, that is, that conversion of both a woman and her husband improves the material circumstances of the household. Quite simply, no longer is 20-40% of the household budget consumed by the husband in the form of alcohol. Ascetic codes block many of the other extra-household forms of consumption that characterize masculine behavior in Colombia: in addition to drinking, smoking, gambling, and visiting prostitutes are no longer permitted. Furthermore, an emphasis on male as well as female fidelity within marriage prohibits a man from keeping a woman outside of his wife, and so a man's limited resources are no longer split among two or more households dependent on his wage. In some ways, Colombian evangelicalism can be seen as a "strategic" woman's movement, like Western feminism, because it serves to reform gender roles in a way that enhances female status. Specifically, it promotes female interests

not only in simple practical ways but also through its potential as an antidote to machismo (the culturally constructed aggressive masculinity characteristic of the male role in Colombia as well as in other parts of Latin America).

The growth of evangelicalism in Colombia coincided with a period of social change leading to an increase in female dependence on a male wage earner and the devaluation of women's role in the domestic sphere as peasant household production declined. Modernization has brought about a breakdown of the articulation of male and female roles, with women segregated in a devalued private realm, and men identified with an extra-household world regulated by the laws of machismo. Because their access to resources is primarily through men, women suffer from the lack of correspondence between their own and male values. In reforming male values to be more consistent with female ones (i.e., oriented towards the family rather than toward individualistic consumption) the movement provides a "strategic" challenge to the prevailing form of sexual subordination in Colombia.

A. Data Collection

The research design for the field study was shaped by an interest in documenting the "private realm" experiences of evangelicals within a wider social context. I conducted anthropological fieldwork in the capital city of Bogota from July 1982 through February 1983, and in El Cocuy, a

small highland agricultural community some 14 hours by bus to the north of Bogota, from March 1983 through December 1983. Methods included participant observation, survey questionnaires, closed and open-ended interviewing, the collection of life histories and family histories, and archival research. The dual focus, on an urban area and on a rural one, provided a vital comparative dimension to the study and yielded a wealth of important data on the changing structure of evangelical families, including geographical and social mobility and the maintenance of rural-urban networks, as they relate to the growth of the movement in a context of rapid social change and urbanization.

Although the research concentrated primarily on evangelical households and families, numerous interviews were also conducted with church leaders, local officials, and non-evangelical members of the community. Participant observation included attendance at church services and other religious functions as well as involvement in secular and Catholic community activities throughout the course of my field stay.

I was fortunate to have been invited to accompany the representative of the Colombian Bible Society on many occasions, as he travelled around the South of the city of Bogota visiting evangelical pastors, and used these opportunities to interview pastors, their wives and other family members. Evangelical chapels are usually located in a front room of the pastoral couples' house, and so through

these visits (which were ostensibly oriented around the business of selling and buying Bibles and the added agenda of my conducting formal interviews) I was able to survey a wide range of evangelical households. As the result of these initial visits, I was almost invariably invited to return to attend a service or a meeting of the Women's Association of the church. As a result, I attended services at churches from the whole spectrum of the evangelical movement -- Unitarian and Trinitarian "Pentecostal", historical Protestant, and independent "charismatic." Three of these were of particular interest: the Canaan Church (Iglesia Canaan), the Charismatic Christian Church (Iglesia Cristiana Carismatica), and the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer (El Redentor). I attended their services regularly during my first six months in Bogota, and subsequently whenever possible until I left Colombia in December 1983.

In Bogota, I collected overview data on the evangelical movement and interviewed the national directors of the United Pentecostal Church, the Four-Square Gospel Church, the Assemblies of God, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Colombian, and the Presbyterian Church. In El Cocuy, I collected archival materials from the Catholic Church Parochial Records.

During my first six months in Colombia I also made three trips outside Bogota, including travelling with the Bible salesman through the Magdalena Valley and attending the week-long Four-Square Gospel Church Convention in the

oil center of Barrancabermeja, Santander. I administered a survey questionnaire to forty-five people (twenty-six men and nineteen women) attending the convention. Another questionnaire was administered at an interdenominational Tea given by the Women's association of the Lutheran Church El Redentor in Bogota, on the occasion of the Day of Love and Friendship (and to raise money for chairs purchased for the Fellowship Hall of the church). Forty-three women responded to this questionnaire.

I was intensely involved in the day-to-day activities of evangelical households during all phases of field research. The core of my sample of households consisted of two large "non-residential extended families," comprised of about 115 people in 25 households. One group was based in Bogota and the other in El Cocuy. The history and composition of these families and my relationship to them is described in Appendix A. Data collection focused in large part on the effect of conversion on household activities and organization. There is existing literature on changes in the socio-economic conditions of families after conversion and comparing evangelical and non-evangelical households in the same community (e.g., Hine 1974, LaRuffa 1969). However, intra-household differences, that is, the differences in standards of living of husband and wife, had not been considered.

B. The Different Levels of "Meaning" in the Conversion Experience

Although a major component of the research was

attendance at church services (including recording sermons, testimonies, prayer and hymn singing), the focus of the present work is not the analysis of religious belief. I.M. Lewis noted that "once they have shown what for secular ends is done in the name of religion, some anthropologists naively suppose that nothing more remains to be said". This means that we leave relatively unexplained "the characteristic mystical aspects which distinguish the religious from the secular", and fail completely to "account for the rich diversity of religious concepts and beliefs" (Lewis 1971). While I wish to clarify from the outset that this study of Colombian evangelicalism pursues a level of explanation linking religious behavior to mundane activities and needs, I recognize its limitations and do not, as those criticized by Lewis may have, assume that I have the whole picture. The pragmatic function of evangelical conversion is in reforming gender roles (and, by extension, marital roles), dramatically improving the quality of life within the confines of the family. I hope to show that this process has implication also for spheres other than family groups. In illustrating the changes that take place, I have examined several aspects of the "meaning" of conversion to individual believers (men and women), and to family life. I have also discussed what conversion "means" to the "male role", which, as it represents a level of abstraction from observed behavior, can be viewed as the observer's (my own) meaning. There is another level of meaning to conversion

which explains why people have chosen to risk the ire of their friends and families, ostracism and persecution by the community, and even death. That the present study dwells on the mundane affairs, individual strategies and interests which are connected to evangelicals is not to slight the passionate emotion, the fervent faith which is the "true" meaning of evangelical Christianity to the followers of that path.

C. Gender Analysis in Conversion Studies

I did not set out to prove that women were dominant in the evangelical churches: that was unnecessary. Nor do my findings, both empirical, based on the Colombian case, and analytic, based on the feminist approach, negate most of the formulations of other students of the topic. The major explanations for conversion -- marginalization, deprivation (status and otherwise), and even individual deviance -- could be fruitfully reworked in light of the gender issues involved, and incorporated into a comprehensive theory of evangelical movements. However, as they are currently formulated, these theories suffer from having left gender out of the picture entirely, or from having proposed separate explanations for male and female conversion, and then taking the male explanation as the more inclusive because it usually pertains to a "supra-domestic" level of social organization. The goal of the present study is to illustrate that essential explanations of the movement emerge by not rising from the household level to some "more

inclusive" social arena (from which, in all likelihood, women are excluded), but by retaining a focus on gender relations and domestic organization regardless of the arenas being considered.

D. Plan of the Study

Chapter II presents an overview of Colombian evangelicalism including the early history of the movement and its contemporary scope. The meaning of "evangelico" (evangelical) is explored in terms of unifying and divisive factors within the movements as a whole. Colombian evangelicals are united across the spectrum of denominations by a rejection of Catholicism and the centrality of the Bible in their religious belief. The primary split among them derives from a doctrinal dispute over the unity or trinity of God (God in three persons or three manifestations of a single God). The larger, trinitarian faction is further divided regarding style of worship: the 'radical' groups manifest the charismatic gifts such as tongue speaking and divine healing, while the conservative groups believe that these gifts were limited to earlier times. This chapter concludes with an illustration of how this latter division is being transcended as charisma pervades even the "conservative" or historical Protestant churches.

Chapter III deals with the intersection of religion and politics in Colombian history. The overwhelming power of the Catholic church in Colombia is of primary importance in understanding the position of evangelical converts, both in

the past and present. Included in this chapter is a discussion of "La Violencia" and its impact on the growth of the evangelical movement. The experience of religious persecution during that period is recounted in the words of an evangelical pastor at the end of the chapter. This chapter illustrates that the politico-religious climate contributed to the "household" orientation of Colombian evangelicalism, which was essential in promoting its rapid growth and endurance.

Chapter IV describes the evangelical experience in a small rural town in Colombia. The "progress-minded" attitude of prominent evangelicals in the town is illustrated with case material, and the way this can be interpreted as a projection of family values into the wider community is suggested.

Chapter V is a review of Colombian sex-gender and family roles. The male role characterized by machismo is analyzed in depth, and the impact of this role on family life is explored. Sex roles and the different values and aspirations of men and women are related to patterns of status acquisition in the public and private domains. Changing consumer patterns associated with class mobility are discussed in terms of a shift from individualistic status markers to ones encompassing families and located in the household.

Chapter VI concentrates on how this male/female dynamic relates to the conversion process. The implications of the

radical change in sex roles, particularly machismo, which follows conversion are considered in terms of the household economy and class mobility. In the conclusion of this chapter I relate the household analysis back to the churches by examining the "feminine ethos" of Colombian evangelicalism.

In the conclusion (Chapter VII) I propose that Colombian evangelicalism can be seen, in one regard, as a "strategic" women's movement, aimed at fundamentally altering sex role behavior to women's benefit. This point is expanded to suggest that notions of "progress" held by converts reveal a "prosperity ethic" that is consistent with a female view of family well-being. This idea is contrasted with existing literature on Latin American conversion, both Weberian and Marxist, which uncritically utilizes Western notions of "progress." It is shown that Weber's Protestant Ethic in particular is misapplied to the Colombian case, which has its own social/historical trajectory. The relationship between Protestantism and capitalist development must be understood in its local manifestations and not preconceived from our models. A better understanding of the "prosperity ethic" will expand our discussion of how evangelicals are positioned in terms of competing class interests within a dependent nation-state.

CHAPTER II

THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT IN COLOMBIA

A. Early Missions

On June 20, 1856, the first evangelical missionary to Colombia, Dr. Henry Barrington Pratt, a Presbyterian, arrived in Bogota. Although the earliest evangelical influence in the country dates back to a visit by James Thomson of the British Bible Society in 1825, it is Pratt's arrival that is considered by evangelicals to mark the beginning of the movement in Colombia. In particular, the later occasion was more convenient when it came to setting the date for the celebration of the centennial: in 1925, the number of Colombian evangelicals was insignificant, whereas by 1956 their ranks had swelled to the point that a major public event was desirable. Pratt began conducting services in Bogota in 1857 and published the first Colombian edition of the New Testament. Shortly thereafter, he was joined by another missionary, Thomas Wallace, who took over the Bogota mission so that Pratt could travel and evangelize, and a missionary couple, the Sharps, who started a night school for workers, with 18 pupils. The Sharps taught their students to read the Bible, write, and do arithmetic. Since that time, the Presbyterians have been very involved in developing educational facilities in Colombia, and their high schools, the "Colegios Americanos" in the cities of Bogota, Cali, Barranquilla, Ibague, Bucaramanga, Giradot and Armero, are prestigious

institutions that attract a large number of non-evangelical students.

The first small congregation was subjected to stonings, and the Catholic clergy was clearly disturbed by the presence of the missionaries. Evangelical lore has it that after the Archbishop of Bogota published a tract condemning the Protestants as "heretics and masons", the first Presbyterian congregation grew from 36 to 150. It became impossible for the missionaries to meet the demand for the Bibles they were publishing. In outrage against the distribution of the Bibles, the Archbishop decided to hold a public burning of Protestant Bibles in the Plaza de Bolivar, in front of the Archbishop's palace. The Presbyterians became aware that this was being planned and were extremely careful not to give the Bible to suspicious people. When the fires were finally lit, the only Bibles they had to burn were two copies of the Catholic version of Padre Scio de San Miguel.

During the early years of the Presbyterian mission, a bookstore was opened, and Pratt wrote several important tracts. In 1859, Pratt returned to the United States to see about publication of his book, Nights with the Romanists. While he was home the Civil War broke out, and Pratt served as a chaplain for a Confederate mounted division. In 1869 he returned to Colombia and started a ministry in the Caribbean coastal city of Baranquilla. His wife became ill in the tropical climate, so they moved to the more temperate

city of Bucaramanga.

Until the beginning of the 20th century, the Presbyterians were virtually the only evangelical mission in Colombia. The establishment of churches began very slowly, with only a handful of missionary groups joining the Presbyterians during the first three decades of this century. In 1908, the Evangelical Missionary Union came, followed by the mission of the Evangelical Alliance in 1918, the Christian and Missionary Alliance in 1923, and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1925. It wasn't until after 1930 that Colombia really began to attract the attention of foreign missionaries. Then, between 1930 and 1946 the pace of foreign missionary activity accelerated, and fourteen more groups appeared on the scene. This sixteen year period of slow but steady expansion was brought to a halt by La Violencia (1946-1966), during which time most foreign missionaries left Colombia for their own safety. Only one new mission was formed during those years, the Panamerican Mission, in 1956.

Evangelical leaders in Colombia divide their history into four main periods. The "Period of the Pioneers" lasted from 1856 to around 1930, and was followed by the "Period of the Establishment of Churches", from 1930 to 1946. The period during La Violencia, from 1946 to 1960, during which the movement really started to take off, is called "The Period of Awakening". After 1960 when relative peace had been restored, came the "Epoch of Organized Evangelization",

from 1960 to 1977 (SEPAL 1981:5).

It is extremely interesting that the "explosion" coincided with the period of least foreign missionary involvement. The persecution of evangelicals during La Violencia drove the movement behind closed doors, and as a result it experienced a transformation: it became more closely adapted to the Colombian reality. This point will be discussed in more detail in Chapter III.²

B. The Contemporary Picture: The Size of the Movement

Estimates of the number of evangelical converts in Colombia at the present time vary widely. Evangelical churches rarely keep good records of membership; this may be due in part to fear of persecution. At a banquet in honor of the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther, held in Bogota in November of 1983, one speaker estimated that there were approximately two million evangelical Christians in Colombia at that time, (out of a total population of about 29 million), served by 4,000 pastors in 3,500 congregations. One of the evangelical service organizations, SEPAL (Servicio Evangelizador para America Latina) is currently compiling statistics on membership nationwide, but they are finding this a difficult endeavor. They estimate that in 1981 there were 1,200,000 evangelical members in Colombia. The Catholic church estimate for 1979 was 900,000 (Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social 1981:111). The evangelicals are divided into approximately

2,500 congregations served by no less than 3,000 Colombian pastors. SEPAL verified in 1980 the existence of 190 established evangelical churches in Bogota. It should be noted that this figure leaves out the single largest evangelical sect, the Iglesia Pentecostal Unida de Colombia (the United Pentecostal Church of Colombia), as well as the Seventh Day Adventists, the Jehovah's Witnesses, and the Mormons. These groups are not part of any of the Colombian evangelical confederations because of serious doctrinal differences.

C. The Meaning of "Evangelical" in Colombia

In this study, the term "evangelical" is used to designate a religious movement and group of believers who, despite having developed significant differences among themselves over the years, manifest a number of common traits and share a common identity vis-a-vis outsiders. Perhaps the most compelling rationale for adopting this term is that it is simply a translation of the Spanish word "evangelico", which is what they call themselves. Within the considerable array of denominations, missions, and splinter groups which may argue over issues of doctrine and styles of worship, and whose historical development has followed substantially different trajectories, similar positions on certain basic issues contribute to a common identity as evangelicals. The Colombian Lutherans, Baptists, or Presbyterians, along with more theologically "radical" adherents of the Assemblies of God or the Four-

Square Gospel Church, identify themselves as "evangelicals", and apply the term to those of the other denominations as well. In fact, one rarely hears the denominational labels used. In the little Lutheran church in El Cocuy, which dates from the 1930s, the young vicar, upon the occasion of Martin Luther's 500th birthday in 1983, waged a concerted campaign to instruct his flock that they were, in fact, Lutherans. Neither the members themselves nor the townspeople had ever identified them as anything other than "evangelicos".

The nature of evangelical identity in Colombia deserves considerable attention because it is not accurately glossed by any of the religious categories commonly found in the United States. The categories "Protestant," "Evangelical Protestant," "Historical Protestant," "Pentecostal," "Fundamentalist," "Charismatic Christian," etc., are either irrelevant in the Colombian context or are used in substantially different ways than in the U.S. A discussion of the unifying as well as the divisive factors in Colombian evangelical identity will be useful for delineating the focus of this study.

1. Unifying Factors

a. Rejection of Catholicism.

The evangelical movement in Colombia exists within a nation-state that has given tremendous power to the Catholic church. The privileged position of the Catholic church in Colombia and its influence on Colombian society will be

discussed in the next chapter. For the moment, however, it should be noted that in the past, and in contemporary Colombia to a very great extent, to be Colombian meant that one was Catholic. No other alternatives existed -- the religious affiliation was as much of a birthright as citizenship. To be human was to be Catholic.

Excommunication meant not only damnation in the afterlife, but in the present life as well. Since church and society were unified, leaving or being expelled from one excluded you from the other. The enormous gravity of the step taken by the early evangelical converts must be understood within this context. Renouncing their Catholicism, risking the ire of the priests and the contempt of their neighbors, they separated themselves, voluntarily and involuntarily, from the mainstream. The relative cohesion of the movement, then, can be viewed in part as an outcome of their status as renegades. In many respects evangelical religion in Colombia was and is an opposition movement. This status was further solidified by the persecution during La Violencia, which will be discussed further in Chapter III.

b. The "Evangelico" and the "Evangelio": The Importance of Owning and Reading the Bible

One of the main distinguishing characteristics of evangelicals in Colombia is the centrality of the Bible in their lives and as the focal point of their religious beliefs and practices. This feature in particular marks

them as something apart from ordinary "Catholic" Colombians, and indeed from truly devout Catholic Colombians, because until very recently Bible reading and Bible owning by lay people were subject to severe sanction by Catholic clergy. The latter believed that in the wrong hands, the Bible was a dangerous and potentially evil document, and only those trained in the correct interpretation of the Bible should be allowed access to it. It would be impossible for the laity to understand the Bible by itself, and its truths could only be revealed through the doctrine and the explication of the authorities of the Catholic Church.³

Thirty years ago the Bible was all but unavailable to the Colombian populace. At a breakfast given for evangelical pastors in Bogota by the Colombian Bible Society (SBC) on the occasion of 'Bible month' (October), a Colombian pastor reported how 30 years ago his father, who lived in a small town, was very much interested in the Bible but couldn't find one. He knew a person who owned one and asked him to sell it to him, but the man replied, that the Bible was "muy mia" (very much mine). When he tried to trade his horse, which was worth considerable money, for the Bible, the man still refused. Finally, he agreed to lend him the Bible for three months, and the pastor's father hand-copied large portions of it by candlelight each night after his full day's work.

Bibles are still not easy to acquire, especially outside of the large cities where bookstores do not exist.

The Colombian Bible Society is a key organization providing Bibles and tracts for the myriad of evangelical sects (with the exception of the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Mormons, who use a different text.) The Bible Society is also the oldest evangelical influence in Colombia, dating from the first visit of an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, James Thomson, in 1824. The SBC sells Bibles directly to pastors and to Christian bookstores, which in turn sell them to members. The little bookstore attached to a thriving Pentecostal church in a working class neighborhood in Bogota sells 100 Bibles a week. The clerk explains that people get converted and come in to buy two or three Bibles. The pastor, Marcos Diaz asks his congregation during the services how many of them have Bibles, and in response people hold up their Bibles above their heads. A forest of arms holding Bibles aloft is a common image in Colombian evangelical churches. Then from the pulpit, Diaz tells those people who are without a Bible to go buy one.

The purchase of a Bible is the first major commitment by those considering conversion. The "discovery" of the Bible or the truths in the Bible figures prominently in the testimonies of believers. Despite the fact that, as Catholics, they had never owned or read the Bible, a major concern for people considering conversion is often the difference between the Protestant Bible and the Catholic one. A number of converts reported that they had purchased a copy of each version and spent a long time comparing them.

They were gratified to find out that the Bibles are the same -- the Protestant Bible was not full of heresies as the priests had claimed. The only difference between the two was that the Catholic Bible contained the books of the Apocrypha, but beyond that the two Bibles corresponded.⁴

Despite a major annual fund-raising effort in October, only 3-4 per cent of the operating costs of the SBC are met by the offerings from Colombian churches, and the Bibles themselves are sold below cost. The SBC is heavily subsidized by the American Bible Society and pays the ABS what it can for the Bibles. Perhaps for this reason the Bible Society representatives do not say that they "sell" Bibles, but rather that they "distribute" them. In 1981 the SBC distributed 131,000 Bibles and 76,000 New Testaments. Although particular congregations may take up special collections to buy a number of Bibles for free distribution, the Bible Society itself almost always requires at least a nominal payment for its Bibles. The SBC field representative explained that this was to make people appreciate and respect the Bible they acquired; if they received it completely free they would just take it for granted. It is only with reluctance that the field representative sells the cheapest, paper-bound version of the Bible, "Dios Habla Hoy", and then he instructs the buyer to obtain a plastic cover for it so that it won't fall apart from the heavy use to which most evangelicals' Bibles are subjected. The SBC offers a whole line of Bibles, from very

inexpensive ones to more costly and elegant ones. They urge pastors who can afford them to buy the highest quality Bibles, because the sale of these subsidizes the sale of the cheaper editions. There is a highly developed appreciation of these "Biblias finas", and the SBC field representative, Ramon Ruiz, turns into quite a salesman when enticing his customers with the fine Moroccan leather and the gilt-edged pages. But he is also an evangelist and hands out free tracts to many of the people he meets on his circuit.

Ramon has worked for the SBC for nearly 25 years. He is a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Colombia, as are the President and the Secretary of the SBC. Ramon has been put in jail and harassed innumerable times for selling the Bible. Until a few years ago he completed his arduous circuit on buses, but the Society finally got him a Nissan jeep, which is his pride and joy. Even now, however, his job is not an easy one, considering the perils of overland travel in Colombia, the severe changes in climate to which he must constantly adjust as he visits cities high up in the frigid mountains and then, two hours later, smothers in the heat of the valley towns. About every 2 months he makes a wide loop, heading west out of Bogota down into the Magdalena Valley to the city of Ibague at the foot of the central cordillera (mountain range), up into the mountains through the heart of the coffee growing region to the cities of Pereira and Manizales and crossing the Magdalena Valley again on a more northern route back to Bogota. I accompanied

him on one of these trips. He works a very long day, and has developed an astonishing capacity for consuming with equanimity and graciousness the meals, snacks and "refreshment" that are offered to him in a stupifying barrage at his scores of stops. Passing through the high paramo (the highest point in the mountain pass), he is greatly amused by the fact that people at a wayside stop call him "padre", because they mistakenly assume that since he is handing out religious tracts and talking about God he must be a priest. Nowadays, his business brings him into contact with a few Catholics, priests and nuns, but he is convinced that the Catholic church has failed in Colombia, and believes that the current interest the Church is showing in promoting Bible reading is really just hypocrisy. When he parks the jeep outside a parochial office in order to pay a visit to some nuns who want to buy Bibles, he turns and says sardonically, "If the police come, tell them that the 'padre' is upstairs talking to the Bishop." His main purpose on the circuit is to stop in every small town and pay a visit to all of the evangelical pastors in each, checking on their supply of Bibles. Occasionally he'll sell a Bible out of the back of the jeep. Someone will ask to buy a "book", and he'll say "What kind of book? A Bible or a New Testament?"

Ramon's knowledge of the various evangelical groups in Colombia is encyclopedic, and he moves among competing sects imperturbably, always addressing his customers as "Hermano"

(brother) and "Hermana" (sister). In return, he is always called "Hermano Ruiz" or simply "El Hermano", and it would be unthinkable to speak his name without this honorary title. People closer to him sometimes refer to him with the diminutive "El Hermanito", poking fun gently at his universal appeal within the Colombian evangelical community.

Passing through one of the numerous "Reten" check points that dot the Colombian highway system, seven police armed with automatic weapons stop the jeep to search for contraband. It's dark now and Ramon is trying to make it through a difficult stretch of mountain road to the city where he'll spend the night. The police at these stops are notorious for demanding payoffs for imagined infractions. Ramon, who is usually a meticulous driver, brings the jeep to a jerky halt and stalls it out. He is clearly nervous. The police ask him what he's carrying and he replies "books." He stays in the driver's seat, staring straight ahead, as they rummage around among the boxes in the back. There is nothing to keep them from deciding to make problems, to delay us, to charge us a fine, but they seem to lose interest after a few minutes and walk away from the jeep. Ramon, who is now free to go, calls out to one of the police, "Brother, how many of you are there?" and the police replies that there are seven. He reaches into a plastic bag on the seat beside him and finds seven "porciones", reprints of the Gospel of John, which he hands out to the police with instructions that they should read them. For a man who has

been dragged off by police for selling the Bible, this is an act of courage.

C. Evangelical Vocabulary and Practice

As is true for any other specialized group within society, evangelical Protestants in Colombia have developed a particular vocabulary, a new way of using words -- new words describing old things, old words describing new things. Evangelicals talk about when they became "cristianos" (Christians), but they don't mean that they were non-believers before. They use the term "Christian" to describe themselves and their fellow believers, and this does not include Catholics. Evangelicals do not perceive themselves as being "religious". The words "religious" and "religion" are used to refer to Catholic practices; they connote something that has to do with rites and rituals. An evangelical describing her non-converted mother as "a very religious woman" might be implying something quite negative: for example, that her mother had many statues of saints around the house, she attended mass and confession regularly, and she owned and believed in the efficacy of religious objects that had been blessed by the priest. Other words that might occur in the context of such a description are "fanatico" (fanatic), "idolotria" (idolatry), and "Romano" (Roman Catholic). One of the main features of conversion to evangelical Protestantism in Colombia is a strong rejection of what is seen as "meaningless ritual" of the Roman Catholic church. Becoming

a "Christian" is seen not as changing one's religion, but rather as changing one's entire life.

The guidelines for this change are laid out in the Bible, the word of God, which has not been central to Colombian Catholicism. (Only very recently has the Catholic clergy in Colombia encouraged or permitted the laity to own and read the Bible.)⁵ Although "evangelio" literally translates as "gospel" (the story of Christ's life, crucifixion and resurrection, a "creyente" (believer) usually thinks of the Bible in general when he or she refers to the time when "conoci al evangelio" (I first came to know the evangelio). For insiders as well as outsiders, the identifying feature of evangelical religion is the centrality of the Bible in worship, in belief, and in dictating a code of personal conduct for believers.

Evangelicals in Colombia will refer to themselves and others like them as "creyentes", "evangelicos", or "cristianos" (or, more generally, any group of believers is referred to as "hermanos", brothers and sisters). They never refer to themselves as "Protestantes", and even among the bulk of Pentecostal churches, rarely as "Pentecostales". Protestant is a word used exclusively by Catholics, and has a negative and subversive connotation. One of the largest Pentecostal groups in Colombia is the "Iglesia Pentecostal Unida de Colombia" (The United Pentecostal Church of Colombia), and people almost always confine their use of the label "pentecostal" to that group. Other Pentecostal groups

don't identify with the word, partly because few of them started out historically as Pentecostal, but rather tended to become so as they were Colombianized. Moreover, the IPU is extremely unpopular with the wider evangelical community because of doctrinal differences (they are unitarian, see Section B.1 below) and conflicts of ethics. Specifically, other evangelical groups resent the IPU pastors' "no-holds barred" attitude towards winning new members. Pastors of trinitarian evangelical groups report that because the IPU pastors and members believe that all other evangelical groups suffer "erroneous doctrine" of the trinity, they are compelled to win (or steal) members from already established trinitarian evangelical churches. The relationship of the IPU to other Colombian evangelical churches, its independence from foreign missionary influence for many years, and its spectacular growth and organizational development is a fascinating story, aspects of which are discussed in Cornelia Flora's work (Flora 1976). The church has changed considerably since Flora's study and this group will be discussed further in Section 2a below.

Another category of people are the "inconversos", the unconverted. People use this word to refer to themselves before they knew about the evangelio, and to non-religious people generally, i.e., nominal Catholics. People's involvement in the Catholic church in Colombia varies greatly; and identifying as a Catholic, especially for men, may essentially mean not practicing any religion. It is one

of a number of ascribed characteristics, and since it is perceived as being pan-Colombian, it may in fact have less to do with a person's identity than the fact of being a Liberal or a Conservative, or a Boyacense (from the department of Boyacá) or a Costeño (from the coast). An evangelical woman, in a sermon instructing members about methods of evangelization, pointed out that it is of very little use to ask a prospective convert the question, "Are you a Christian?", because they will most certainly reply, "Of course I'm a Christian -- I'm not an animal!" In the non-evangelical population, then, "Christian", like "Colombian", is a characteristic that is taken for granted. It is a status, like "human", that one does not have to work to achieve. In this conceptualization, Christian also means Roman Catholic. This stands in marked contrast to the way evangelicals use the word Christian, and they are frustrated by the fact that such a response says nothing about the individual's degree of religiosity and the extent to which his or her life is guided by religious precepts.

Finally, the most important religious terms have been renamed by evangelicals. In keeping with the rejection of the cult of the saints, "San Pedro" and "San Mateo" (Saint Paul and Saint Matthew) become "El Apostolo Pedro" and "El Apostolo Mateo" (The Apostle Paul and the Apostle Matthew). An evangelical praying is "orando", never "rezando" (reciting by rote) as a Catholic would do. A Catholic goes to "misa" (mass) and an evangelical to "culto". The

eucharist as celebrated by the Catholic priest is "comunion", while the evangelicals participate in "santa cena" (holy supper). This takes place in a "templo" as opposed to a Catholic "iglesia". (The word iglesia [church] is used by evangelicals, but not usually to refer to the building itself, which may in addition to "templo" also be called simply the "casa evangelica". Iglesia, when used by evangelicals, usually refers to an entire denomination.)

It is not simply that the evangelicals want to differentiate themselves from the Catholics; these terms really do refer to radically different activities. On every level the evangelical churches are less hierarchical than the Catholic, there are very few religious trappings and a much greater participation of the congregation in the service itself. The extreme reaction on the part of evangelicals against what they see as idolatry in the Catholic church (particularly in terms of the cult of the saints) has rendered most evangelical templos practically bare of ornamentation. It's not unusual for the "altar" to consist of no more than a speaker's podium, although frequently the wall behind the podium will be decorated with a painted mural. These murals tend to be artistically primitive in style, rendered by a talented creyente, and characteristically portray a landscape with a flowing river or waterfall, trees, and in many cases an open Bible suspended over the scene amidst a radiant cloud. Sometimes a ray of light is painted in, strategically descending from

above in such a way that whoever is at the podium is directly under it. The water imagery recurs in association with the Bible, which provides "streams of living water" to the believer. [Revelations 7:17 "and he will guide them to springs of living water; and God will wipe away every tear from their eyes."] The Bible replaces the cross as the central visual symbol in the evangelical churches, and it is only the more traditional historical Protestant churches (such as the Lutherans, Presbyterians and Baptists) that have defined altar areas on which there may be a simple cross. Even in these churches, however, the cross is empty; one never sees a crucifix, that is, the cross with the body of Christ hanging on it. Also, in the historical churches, there are sometimes candles on the altar, but this is a point of controversy because of the strong Catholic association. In the Lutheran church in Bogota in 1983, there was a discussion in progress as to whether the pastors should be made to wear vestments. Evangelical pastors in Colombia as a rule wear regular suits or even more casual clothing, and the cases where they wear clerical robes and collars can be traced to the influence of foreign missionaries or foreign training. In a country where every group has its "uniforme" (uniform), it is significant that evangelical pastors choose not to set themselves apart by any distinctive dress. If there are other adornments in the templo they will usually consist of flags of Colombia and of the church, vases of flowers, and perhaps several ornate

chairs.

d. Martin Luther's 500th Birthday Party

In November of 1983, Martin Luther appeared on the cover of the Sunday magazine sections of the two major Bogota newspapers, El Tiempo and El Espectador. When Aristobulo Porras, a retired Presbyterian minister who had suffered through the long years of persecution, saw this, tears came to his eyes. Martin Luther's 500th birthday was a big event in what is considered to be the most Catholic of all Latin American countries. Colombian evangelicals celebrated the anniversary of the birth of the great reformer with an air of guarded relief, recognizing a degree of public acceptance of their beliefs that is still only tenuously established. The memory of the persecution will always be vivid in the minds of the evangelicals who lost family members during La Violencia, and who themselves suffered stonings, beatings, and the constant threat of death.

The major event of the anniversary celebration was a banquet at the Bogota Hilton, organized jointly by the Association of Pentecostal Churches (ASECOL), the Confederation of Evangelical Churches (CEDEC), the Association of Christian Professionals, and the Lutheran Church of Colombia. Tickets cost 1600 pesos each (about twenty dollars), a healthy sum by Colombian standards. The choice of the Hilton as the location for the event, rather than one of the larger evangelical churches which could have

easily accomodated the approximately 600 people in attendance, was an expression of respectability and desire for public recognition that marks a new trend among Colombian evangelicals. It was a symbolic representation of the fact that the exclusive identification of evangelical beliefs with the lowest classes is no longer appropriate. The president of the Republic, Belisario Betancourt, was invited to attend, and although he sent a very cool letter declining the invitation, he did send as his representative the Minister of Development, who delivered an all-purpose address concerning the need to provide jobs and training for Colombians, with no specific references to religion of any kind. A whole spectrum of Colombian evangelicals was in attendance and represented among the speakers. When the closing prayer was led by Marcos Dias, the pastor of one of the larger independent Pentecostal churches that broke off from the foreign-based World Evangelization Crusade (to form the Cruzada Cristiana Colombiana), the majority of the crowd raised their hands above their heads to pray, Pentecostal-style. ⁶ The choir of a Bogota Lutheran church presented part of a cantata of the hymns of Martin Luther, sung in Spanish, and the entire assembly joined in singing "Castillo Fuerte Es Nuestro Dios" (A Mighty Fortress Is Our God). As the speeches ran on for several hours, no one smoked (there were no ashtrays on the tables), and no alcohol was served. The last speech, delivered by Marcos Dias, departed in tone from its predecessors, which had focused on the success of the

evangelical movement, and emphasized that the great gains which the movement had experienced must prove that it is right and God's will. Dias reminded the listeners of the death toll, and that they are still under the gun, his passion quickened by the murder of one of the Cruzada pastors not quite a week earlier in a small town in Boyacá. He invited everyone to the funeral and demonstration against the continuing persecution the following Thursday.

That among their numbers evangelicals count doctors, engineers and other professionals, that they can hold a major event in the Hilton, symbolizing wealth, progress and, for them, upward mobility, that their choirs can negotiate a Bach chorale, and that a high government official would see fit to grace the event with his presence, all indicate a new status for evangelical religion in Colombia that requires something better than the "opiate of the masses" explanation which Protestantism in Latin America has sometimes received in the social science literature. It is not only that the rate of growth in evangelical churches has been astonishing; over the past century the movement itself has undergone a series of transformations, and the individuals and families involved have been affected dramatically by their participation in the movement.

Around the time of Martin Luther's anniversary celebration, El Tiempo reported that four Protestant organizations (the same ones who sponsored the banquet) had petitioned the government for an abolition of the

Concordance with the Holy See. Colombia remains the only country in the world that has an agreement in force with the Vatican (see Chapter III for a discussion of the Concordat.) The head of the Presbyterian Church in Colombia, Gilberto Vargas, articulated the impatience of evangelical leaders with the stubborn refusal of the Colombian government to recognize evangelicals as an important force in the country. He complained that Belisario hadn't invited a single evangelical to be on his Peace Council, despite the fact that evangelicals had been preaching peace for the 126 years that they've been in Colombia. He pointed out that the heads of the evangelical confederations were intelligent and educated men, and that Belisario's failure to consider them as representatives of a significant portion of the population was evidence of his flat refusal to admit that evangelicals exist in Colombia.

Despite what amounts to a cultivated ignorance on the part of non-evangelical Colombians, particularly among the more educated, towards a national movement affecting more than a million of their countrymen, their perception of evangelicals occasionally appears in a sort of romanticized eulogy. This attitude is consistently connected to diatribes about Colombian national character, in which negative qualities of "the Colombian personality" are enumerated and the failure of the Catholic church to rectify the situation is bemoaned. An article in El Tiempo in November 1983 listed the psychological and sociological

characteristics of the Colombian personality as: "a tendency towards disorganization, a notorious lack of individual and social discipline, an exaggerated interest in vices, a lack of respect for others, an overriding interest in the easy life." The author presents his view of evangelicals as the exact opposite:

an analysis of the human values inherent in the non-Catholic Christian groups that operate in Colombia demonstrates the weakness of traditional Catholicism in this subject. The faithful Protestant, perhaps because he pertains to a minority movement, is above all a dedicated militant, proselytizer, consistent in his faith, given to respect the values of the family and look for worldly inspiration in the Bible. He practices solidarity, brotherhood and sisterhood, he is a friend to dialogue and always observes a profound respect for others. He is philanthropic, a model of good behavior, mystical, an enemy of vices and excesses, modest, thoughtful, peaceful, genuine. Is not this kind of behavior something diametrically opposed to that of a great number of Colombians who belong to the Catholic community? (Sabogal 1983:3).

The author goes on to predict the continuing success of the evangelical movement in Colombia due to the failure of the Catholic church. He points out that although the Catholic church is the national spokesman, this is true only at the high levels of power, while in middle and lower sectors the penetration of Catholic influence has been in name only.

2.Divisive Factors within the Colombian Evangelical movement

a. Theology: Unitarians and Trinitarians

The Iglesia Pentecostal Unida de Colombia (United Pentecostal Church of Colombia, hereafter called the IPU) is

the largest single Pentecostal denomination in Colombia. Although a relative latecomer to the evangelical scene in Colombia, the denomination now has some 850 churches in every department of the country.⁷ Other evangelical groups refer to the IPU as the "Jesus Solo", or "Jesus Only", because they are unitarians, believing in a single unified God with three manifestations, as opposed to the other denominations which are all trinitarians. This doctrinal difference is enough to isolate the IPU from fellowship with the rest of the movement; they are not, for instance, part of any of the national evangelical associations such as CEDEC and ASECOL. In the national organization publications the IPU is conspicuously absent, which is quite a sacrifice for them since they are losing one of the largest churches that would certainly swell the numbers in the movement when the accounting is done. In many cities, evangelical pastors have weekly or monthly breakfast gatherings and the IPU pastors do not take part in these. (Other sects that are excluded are the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Mormons).

At first glance the IPU do not seem to differ very much from the other churches. The rough outlines of the services are identical with other Pentecostal churches. When they talk about the Holy Spirit, it is much in the same way that trinitarian groups do, but, to the best of my understanding, they believe that the Holy Spirit is not a separate part of the triune God, but rather seen as a

manifestation of Jesus. The trinity is a difficult theological concept at best, and perhaps part of the wide appeal that these churches have is due to the fact that dispensing with the notion of the trinity simplifies things.

Although all Colombian evangelicals reject Catholicism and do everything they can to distinguish themselves from the Catholics, it is possible to argue that the IPU has made the more radical break from the old religion. While trinitarian evangelicals uniformly reject the pantheon of saints, they still share their belief in the triune God with the Catholics. The unitarians, on the other hand, at least on the level of formal doctrine, have carried this trend of streamlining the number of divine personnel to its limit: not only are the saints cast out but also the multiplicity of God's personalities. At the same time, in terms of their administrative organization, the IPU is at least as hierarchical as the other evangelical churches. The national leadership body, the council of elders, has considerable power over the local congregations, including the appointment and removal of pastors.

At any rate, because of these differences the trinitarians and the unitarians identify one another as having "erroneous doctrine". Members of trinitarian evangelical groups assess other denominations in terms of whether or not they have "doctrina sana" (healthy doctrine). To the trinitarians (who are numerically in the majority, but boast no individual group as large as the IPU), healthy

doctrine means a belief in the trinity and the conviction that the unitarians are sunk in "errores".

One of the sources of antagonism on the part of the evangelical community towards the IPU is the accusation that IPU pastors were responsible for splitting many of their churches. Because the IPU identify the trinitarian churches as having erroneous doctrine, they think that they have the right to recruit new members from among the ranks of other churches. John Firth, of the Four-Square Gospel church, says that when he first began mission work in the coastal city of Barranquilla he made the rounds of all of the other evangelical pastors who were already established there to learn where would be the best places to begin evangelizing without stepping on anybody's toes. The response of the IPU pastor he visited was that it didn't really matter to him where Firth started his mission, because for his part he would open up a church right next door if the Spirit led him. He said that the IPU would try to steal his members away when they were on their way to church, riding down the street in a car and yelling to the people walking along on their way to church that they should come to the IPU instead.

The IPU is one of the most purely "Colombian" of the evangelical churches because there are presently no foreign missionaries either serving as pastors or on the directive board. The church as a whole is economically self-sufficient, and the members love to boast that they are now

sending Colombian missionaries to Canada and Ecuador. In 1983 there were approximately 900 Colombian pastors belonging to the IPU, the majority of whom had received no formal training. Despite the size of the denomination, and unlike most other Pentecostal groups in Colombia such as the Assemblies of God, the IPU has no Bible Institute for training pastors and teachers. It is the duty of the local pastors to keep a lookout for promising prospects, dedicated young men who seem to have the potential for making good pastors, and recommending them to the District leaders. The first appointment will be to an un-evangelized sector of the same municipality, and the local church will support the new pastor for two years while he proves his dedication. After that they will be licensed to preach, but not to officiate at marriages or baptisms. If the young pastor does well, that is, if he makes converts, he may be rewarded by transfer to a more promising spot. Many times the first appointment will be to a "campo blanco" (white or blank field), i.e., to an area with no converts. The local churches are expected to be self-sustaining, so what goes into the offering plate, at least most of it, goes to sustaining the pastor and his family. This is not unlike the way the Catholic church in Colombia operates, where the local priest is supported by his parish and not by any outside funds. In this sense a wealthy parish is truly a reward and a poor one is a punishment. Sometimes if nothing at all is coming in, the national church will provide a

small stipend. The really large churches make enough money to support the pastor's family in style and still have some money to contribute to the national church for mission work. So a transfer to a more fertile or established area is tantamount to a raise. After three years the licensed pastor can have his case reviewed by the council of elders who can recommend him to be ordained. The only requirement to be a pastor is to have the calling.

The importance of the role of the pastor's wife in these churches is quite striking. In many ways, her influence in the church is equal to that of her husband. The woman is in a sense the leader of the women's part of the church, which usually is the majority of the membership. She is in a sense the "co-pastor". This is also true in many other evangelical churches, and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter V.

b. Style of Worship: 'Radical' vs. 'Conservative' Sects

i. The 'Problem' of Charisma in the Historical Churches

Gilberto Vargas, the Director of the Colegio Americano in Bogota and a prominent Presbyterian minister, visited the United States in the 1970s, and says that when he returned to Colombia he hardly recognized his church. He reports that the Presbyterian church in Colombia has been greatly affected by the charismatic movement. The pastors as well as the lay people are speaking a new language, and it has Vargas worried. In the past, he says, the Presbyterian

church in Colombia was very serious about doctrine. Now the sacraments are no longer considered to be as important as before, and the whole style of worship has changed.

The Pentecostal influence has had a tremendous impact on both the historical Protestant churches and the Catholic Church in Colombia. Vargas said that there were 380 evangelical sects in Colombia, and that at least 20 per cent of the Catholic churches have turned charismatic. The numbers are growing. The historical churches are in a precarious position. They are the oldest evangelical groups in Colombia, the ones responsible for putting down the first roots in the face of what appeared to be insurmountable opposition. Now, in comparison to the charismatic churches such as the Pentecostals, they are so small that no one takes them seriously. He says, "If you ask a pastor of the United Pentecostal Church who the Lutherans are, he'll tell you, 'Oh, they're a tiny little church.' This is because the only thing the Pentecostals consider important is the growth rate. They think there is something wrong with a church if it doesn't grow." But he believes that just because a church grows does not mean it's the true church, and he's angry because the church is not remaining faithful to its principles. He quotes the Bible verse, "Many are called but few are chosen", and points out that even though the Jews were numerically in the minority, God chose them.

While he was at the seminary, Vargas said he decided what he really wanted to study was political economy. He

thinks about what effect the Pentecostals are having in terms of the socio-economic progress of Colombia. He concludes, "It's bad, in socio-economic terms. All this Pentecostalism is like a drug to the people. I agree with Harvey Cox, who said that Latin America needs a revolution, but that a people on their knees can't make a revolution." Vargas criticizes the Evangelical Confederation of Colombia, saying that it is a conservative and retrograde organization. When some of the churches put together a human rights resolution, CEDEC refused to get behind it. Vargas and some of the other Presbyterians signed it, but they had to do it in secret. Despite the fact that he loves the United States (his wife and children live there and he has resident status), he agreed with President Betancourt's call for the creation of an organization of Latin American countries that does not include the U.S.

ii. The Young Lutheran Vicars' Charismatic Experiences

The unspiritual man does not receive the gifts of the Spirit of God, for they are folly to him, and he is not able to understand them because they are spiritually discerned. (Corinthians 1:14)

In May of 1983, the Colombian Lutheran Synod set up a week-long training session for five young men who were soon to be ordained as pastors in the Lutheran church. Four of these young vicars had received their training at the Baptist seminary in Cali. The fifth had been in seminary in Brazil. All are native Colombians and grew up in evangelical families. The purpose of the week-long session

was to clarify and emphasize certain elements of Lutheran doctrine which they may not have been exposed to at the Baptist seminary, and to prepare them for writing an essay which would be one of their conditions for ordainment.

The sessions took place in El Cocuy. Leading the class was an American Lutheran missionary, Rev. Robert Hoeferkamp, who had spent most of his career in Mexico and had only recently been temporarily posted to Bogota. All of the vicars had already been serving as pastors or assistant pastors. Two were stationed in separate towns (Paz de Ariporo and El Banco) in the llanos, the eastern plains, one was the vicar in El Cocuy, and one was pastor of a small church in another town in the Department of Boyacá. The fifth vicar, who had been in Brazil, was pastor in the city of Bucaramanga, but he did not attend several of the classes, including the one that is discussed here, because of an illness. The first night they arrived in town, they attended the evening service at the Savior church. One of the vicars, Sigifredo, in his greeting to the congregation, made mention of an experience he had had the previous week, about which he was very agitated. This occurrence, which involved exorcism, would prove to be a central topic of discussion during the week. It came to light that the four vicars who had attended the Baptist seminary had all been involved, to varying degrees, in charismatic experiences (exorcism, healing, and glossolalia). Sigifredo especially insisted on discussing

these experiences with Rev. Hoeferkamp, and was hoping to receive council about what their position as Lutherans should be towards these things.

At Sigifredo's request, Hoeferkamp set aside one class period for the discussion of this topic. During this class, Sigifredo recounted three separate episodes in great detail. The first took place in January of 1980. This was the first charismatic experience that any of the vicars had been exposed to, and it involved two of them. At the end of the annual national assembly of the Lutheran church in Bogota, Sigifredo approached an American woman missionary, and asked her if he could speak to her about what he should do in order to be a better pastor. She told him to meet her on Sunday afternoon, and that he could bring a friend if he wanted to. He had been good friends for a long time with one of the other vicars, Urith Mendvelso, a slightly older man whom he describes, I think accurately, as "especially serious and responsible", so he brought Urith along that Sunday. Later that afternoon they were leaving together to go back to the seminary in Cali. In the Redeemer church, the three of them, Sigifredo, Urith, and the woman missionary, began to pray, and according to Sigifredo, Urith began to speak in what sounded like Hebrew, in guttural sounds, with a good deal of power and emotion. Tears came to Sigifredo's eyes when he heard this. At one point, Urith took Sigifredo's hand and indicated to him a place in the Bible, in Proverbs, where he should read. Afterwards

Sigifredo had many questions, which he asked the missionary. He wanted to know if she could interpret what Urith had said, but she couldn't. Sigifredo noted down in his Bible the date and the Bible message that Urith had indicated. Urith, who was also present in the El Cocuy class, was asked by Rev. Hoeferkamp to relate his version of the story. He recounted that the missionary had asked them to pray in tongues. She said, "One of you wants to speak in tongues, but you have to make the effort." So he prayed to God that if He wanted him to speak in tongues He should make him able. "I continued to pray and pray, for about fifteen minutes. Praying and reading the texts that refer to the gift of tongues. Pretty soon I began to speak in this tongue, to praise God, but my diaphragm and my vocal cords trembled, in a very strong manner. But it made me happy, I felt very happy to be able to express myself in another tongue. And I prayed for a long time, from about one to four p.m., but the time passed very rapidly. Later I went and read a part of a Chapter, but in this language. Señorita Belva (the missionary) directed us, more or less, how to use the gift of tongues. She said it's an ecstatic language, for praising God and nothing else."

That night they left for Cali, and they discussed what had happened and how they should act about it. They felt as if they couldn't talk about it in the seminary where they were studying, so they decided to keep quiet. But Urith continued to speak in tongues regularly since that day.

The next experience that Sigifredo recounts occurred in Cali in the Baptist Clinic in 1982. Under the instruction of the director of the seminary in Cali, a psychologist, they had started to visit the sick. Sigifredo recounts:

"He said that you should never traumatize them, always help them and console them, always bring along your Bible. He said you shouldn't show your feelings. So that's how I went along visiting the sick."

One day a nurse called to him that he was urgently needed. He found a woman crying, and told her he was the chaplain. She said that she wanted him to go be with her son, who was in intensive care. She wanted Sigifredo to heal him. When Sigifredo arrived in the ICU, the nurse and doctor told him that it was too late, that the priest had already been there and gone. The young man was unconscious and dying, and there was nothing more that could be done. But his mother insisted that Sigifredo go in and pray over him.

"I stood in front of the sick man, and I said his name. The nurse who was in there with me was Presbyterian. I told him that I had come to talk to him. As soon as I had said that my whole body became tense. My hands clenched and something like a current ran through my body. I couldn't explain what happened to me, but I said, 'Lord give me power to speak to this sick man.' And I put my hands on top of him, and they stayed there as if they were stuck to him. And I got down on my knees, and I began to pray the Lord's Prayer, but I couldn't do it. I couldn't pray. I tried once, and again, and a third time, and I'd get as far as the petitions, and I couldn't go on. Then I said, 'Brother, I know that you can understand me. I know that you can understand me. Ask the Lord for forgiveness.' And I stayed there on my knees with my hands stuck to him. And I don't know if it was that he asked for forgiveness or what -- I believe he did. At any rate, this

trembling in my body passed away. And I felt liberated, and I got up and praised the Lord. And I looked at the sick man, and his eyes were rolled back in his head, but then he looked back at me for a moment, like a child. Then his eyes rolled back again and he stayed quiet. He had been very agitated at first, thrashing around. But now he seemed at peace. I was full of happiness, but I still felt like a current was running through my body."

When Sigifredo left the room, he saw the doctor and grabbed him. He told him something had happened, he didn't know what, but that he thought it had been an exorcism. He grabbed the doctor's hand and asked him if he could feel the current. The doctor told him he couldn't, that nothing had happened, that it was all right and he should just calm himself. He tried to get Sigifredo to sit down. The man died about a half hour after Sigifredo left him.

Later the doctor and the nurse reported Sigifredo's behavior to the head chaplain, who called him in to talk to him. He wanted to know exactly what had happened, and was clearly skeptical. His skepticism was very wounding to Sigifredo. He told the head chaplain that he'd like to be able to explain what had happened, but he couldn't. He began to cry, and finally concluded that he was better off keeping quiet about the incident because people thought that he was crazy. He thought a long time about whether or not he had been temporarily insane, and decided that he had been in his right mind. At that time a Bible verse came into his head, Corinthians Ch.2:14 (quoted at the beginning of this section). Later, Sigifredo said that he was convinced, after thinking long and hard about the event, that Satan had

been present in the room and had prevented him from finishing the Lord's prayer. When he felt unable to speak, he remembered what he had read about exorcism, and felt the urge to say "Satan, I rebuke you, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." This freed him from the power that was impeding him.

The third experience had happened only a week before the training seminar, and it was this experience that Sigifredo had brought up in the service the first night he arrived in El Cocuy. It occurred in El Banco, the small town in the llanos where Sigifredo serves as pastor. It involved a man whom he described as his best friend in El Banco, who is "very intelligent, knows a lot about mechanics, about watch repair and radio repair and everything." When Sigifredo first arrived in El Banco and made his acquaintance, the man had complained that the people of El Banco were always saying bad things about him, that they didn't like him. Out of pity, Sigifredo decided that he would be the man's friend and visited him often, many times taking along his wife. The man used to read the Bible from time to time. One day he stopped by to visit Sigifredo:

"I'd seen him twice that day, and he had seemed fine. But that night he had gotten drun. Earlier in the day I had been with a lady in the church, and he had come in. Some dogs had followed the lady into the house, and I asked her if she would throw them out for me, because they smelled bad and I didn't like them. Later when he came by, a little boy was with me, and again I had to ask him if he would take a dog

outside that had gotten in to eat the garbage. My friend heard this and he said to me, "You're treating me like a dog", and he stalked out. Later he came back, and he had brought his Bible from his house. He showed me a scripture that I had read to him at some point, from Revelations 22, where it says, "Outside are the dogs, and sorcerers, and fornicators and murderers and idolaters, and everyone who loves and practices falsehood." He said, "Look, you treated me like a dog. Look! You, with your Bible." And I said, "Like a dog?", and then I said, "Read what it says. The Coming of Christ! Christ is coming! Although you don't believe it, Christ is coming." Then he closed the Bible, and said, "Follow me", and he led me out into the yard. It was very dark out then because it was already seven at night. And then he said, "You are a pastor." I stood there wondering what he wanted, what I should say. And I replied, "The Lord has called me for the ministry, and I believe I am a pastor." When I said that, he fell into my arms and he began to cry, to cry like a little child. He was very moved, and he said, "My Father, what was I going to do?" I didn't know what he was talking about. And he repeated, "What had I come here to do? My God! Forgive me!" I was very surprised. Then he said, "Pastor, I had come to kill you, with this knife. And he took out a knife from behind him and said, "take this knife away from me. I had come to kill you with this knife and I couldn't because you are a minister. God protects you. At that I said, "I rebuke you Satan, In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. And he began to tremble. Then he was quiet and after awhile said, "It's gone, it's gone. The Angel." I put my hand on him. He was still trembling. I said, "I don't understand" and he asked me to help him sit down. He said "I don't want to see that knife anymore. Destroy it, because I had come here with that knife to..." And he started to cry. "I was going to kill you with it." Then holding the knife, I read from the Bible, and then we went back inside."

Sigifredo's wife witnessed this event. She had followed the two men at a little distance because she had suspected that the man was going to harm Sigifredo. Many of the people in town had warned her that this man was

dangerous, telling her that he wasn't worthy of anyone's friendship and that's why he lived way out of town. She stood there praying the whole time. Later, in the service, the man gave a testimony. He said that Satan himself uses the Bible, because he had used it against the pastor in order to make him quarrel with him and want to kill him. It was as if something had taken hold of him and compelled him towards the house.

"He said that he had some very bad things. Among them a book, which I burned. He had tried to burn it himself, but he wasn't able to. It's called El Libro Infernal: Tesoro de las Ciencias Ocultas, (The Infernal Book: Treasury of the Occult Sciences). I burned it, and tried to burn the knife, too. The wooden handle burned but this blade remains. I brought it with me. I was going to throw it away. My wife wanted to throw it in the river, but I brought it with me in order to give you this testimony. The man had been under the power of evil, of witchcraft. He told me that his father had been a witch. He used to change himself into a snake and into all manner of things, because he had made a pact with the devil. But my friend had not made a pact with the devil, because if he had he would never have been released from it.

Sigifredo sincerely wanted to get the response of his colleagues and of the senior pastor to these experiences. He said that he knew that they seemed crazy, but that he didn't think it was madness, but rather that they all had to do with spiritual things that one can't understand with the intellect. He acknowledged that his own intellect resists these things, and that he must pray to be more open to the Holy Spirit.

Rev. Hoeferkamp listening patiently to the stories, and only asked a few questions for clarification. The

other vicars, for their part, related that they had also had charismatic experiences, but none went into the detail that Sigifredo had. Urith, who had been speaking in tongues regularly since that first day in 1980, maintained that each of them had different spiritual gifts. Sigifredo clearly had the gift of casting out demons, he himself had the gift of tongues, and thought that Jose Odilio also was on his way to manifesting this gift. He believed this on the basis of a story Jose Odilio had told, which involved his being unable to continue praying the Lord's prayer, and feeling as if some force had taken control over his speech apparatus. He had been very frightened and had not spoken in tongues at that time. Urith maintained that Natanael, the El Cocuy vicar, had the gift of healing, as evidenced by an experience he had had with a Pentecostal pastor up in the hills around El Cocuy. Hoeferkamp was very respectful throughout this discussion, and was gentle with Sigifredo, even when proposing that the demon that had possessed the man in El Banco might have been the demon Rum. His attitude was that these gifts were real, although he had never experienced them, and wasn't sure that he wanted to because it wasn't his kind of spirituality. He emphasized that they were to be handled with great caution. His primary fear was that revealing these gifts in public might cause a scandal, or worse, division within the church. He stressed that in many

cases these gifts can cause divisions, because those that have them start to suspect that those who don't are inferior spiritually. He also acknowledged that the practice of witchcraft was very widespread in the llanos, which led him to believe Sigifredo's story. But he warned him that he shouldn't go looking for devils in every corner -- casting out devils right and left. He warned him that if this gift came to be known publicly, Sigifredo could have his hands more than full with people coming to him with every manner of imagined demon every time they hiccoughed.

Rev. Hoeferkamp questioned Urith quite closely with regard to the role that the woman missionary had played in his first experience with tongues. He wanted to know specifically if she had guided him, prompted him to speak. In a separate conversation, Hoeferkamp told me that many of the Lutheran missionaries were of the charismatic persuasion, particularly those that had been in the field a long time. He was in the minority because of his relative theological conservatism.

Although the charismatic movement is affecting Christian churches throughout the world, the factors which fuel this particular religious expression should be analyzed in their cultural setting. I don't know if foreign missionaries in general have had a tendency to move in the charismatic direction, but this certainly has been true in Colombia. Although these missionaries

originally come to reveal the truth to Colombia, it would seem that Colombia has a very powerful effect on them. When Alice Winters, a very well educated Presbyterian missionary, came to Colombia, she was quite theologically conservative. Her charismatic conversion occurred some years after she had been in Colombia. Now she is creating quite a stir within the Presbyterian church because of her dramatic success in establishing churches in the Northwestern region of the country. It is generally recognized that her success is tied to her charismatic teachings, and some Presbyterians complain that she establishes little churches in the jungle region of the Choco and leaves them to develop on their own, whereupon they become indistinguishable from the Pentecostal churches.

NOTES

1. The dates of the arrival of various missions in Colombia during the 1930s and 1940s are as follows: 1932 - Assemblies of God; 1933 - World Evangelization Crusade; 1934 - United Brothers; 1934 American Indian Mission; 1937 - Calvary Holiness Mission; 1937 - Evangelical Lutheran Mission; 1937 - Latin American Mission; 1941 - Southern Baptist Mission; 1942 - Wesleya Methodist Mission; 1942 - Evangelical Union of South America; 1942 - Church of the Four-square Gospel; 1943 - Interamerican Mission; 1945 - Mennonite Mission of Colombia; 1945 - Menonite Brothers Mission (SEPAL 1980).

2. In Colombia the total number of communicants reported for 1967 was over 70,000 -- 7 times the total for 1950 (Read et al 1969). One could argue that the evangelical movement experiences a geometrical growth rate (this would be logical since each new member becomes an evangelist and converts new people), and that the rate has been steady all along. However, the important point is that it was during La Violencia that the movement really took off; before then the growth had been small. Of course after 1967 and up until the present the growth has been the most spectacular in terms of numbers; see SEPAL for details of this expansion.

3. In Colombia, the current Catholic attitude towards Bible reading is somewhat equivocal and varies from priest to priest. In a Catholic publication (Salesman 1982) which criticizes the evangelicals strongly and enumerates the "errors" in their doctrine, the author gives definite if somewhat grudging recognition that evangelicals tend to have excellent knowledge of the Bible, and that the lack of this among Catholics is something that needs to be remedied. It is also recognized that one of the attractions that the evangelicals hold out to potential converts is the accessibility of the Bible to individual members. The Catholic hierarchy seems to recognize that if they are to successfully compete with the evangelicals, they must be willing to relinquish exclusive control by the clergy over the sacred text and make it accessible to the laity.

4. The least expensive, paperback editions of the New Testament could be obtained for between 50 and 100 pesos in 1982. The least expensive complete Bible -- including both Old and New Testaments -- could be purchased in either hardback or paperback for between 200 and 250 pesos at that time. Although spending this much money at once might represent a hardship for the poorest sectors, these prices would be within the reach of most lower class people. To give some sense of how the purchase of a Bible relates to the cost of some commonly used goods, the prices for

comestibles around that time were as follows: rice and sugar, 25 pesos per pound; coffee, 50 pesos per pound; chocolate, in bars, for making hot chocolate, 70 pesos a pound. The cheapest brand of cigarettes, "Piel Rojas", cost 18 pesos a pack, while Marlboros were available for 80 pesos a pack. A bottle of beer cost 17 pesos, and aguardiente, the anis flavored national liquor of Colombia, sold for 340 pesos for a liter bottle.

5. The Apocrypha consists of fourteen books which are not regarded by Protestants to be canonical: they are not found in Hebrew and are entirely rejected in Judaism, but eleven of them are fully accepted in the Roman Catholic canon. The accusation against the Protestants by the Colombian Catholic hierarchy has been that they were teaching heresies, and the omission of the eleven books from the Protestant Bible does not seem to impress the potential convert as much as the fact that, phrase by phrase, the books that are included in the Protestant version in no way differ from the ones in the Catholic Bible. Because of the long-standing reluctance on the part of the Catholic hierarchy to allow the laity access to any of the Bible, it is doubtful that potential Protestant converts would interpret the omission of the books of the Apocrypha as meaning that the evangelicals are trying to sell them an incomplete truth. In part, the absence of these books was not a concern because relatively few people, especially before they began to think about converting, had ever seen a Catholic version of the Bible.

6. The Roman Catholic policy that the Bible should be read and interpreted by the church hierarchy and kept out of the hands of the laity, less it lead to erroneous interpretations, apparently dates from The Council of Trent, in 1545. This edict was reformed by the council of Vatican II.

7. Pentecostal prayer style in Colombia is quite uniform throughout the various denominations. When the pastor or leader of the worship service begins to pray, each individual in the congregation begins his/her own prayer, out loud. The individual prayers may be actual supplications (e.g., "Please, dearest Lord, heal my daughter of her illness"), or more often, simply words of praise repeated over and over again (e.g., "Lord, Lord, we praise your name, Glory to God," etc.), which sometimes spills over into glossolalia. With everybody talking at once, the prayers can be quite clamorous. The emotional pitch of the prayers tends to follow the pace set by the leader of the service, (although the actual words he (or she) is saying seem to be ignored), and he (or she) usually builds to a crescendo, the congregation following along with him/her, and then slowly tapering off in a soothing voice to a closing amen. The physical posture is

standing with the arms raised and the palms up. That this prayer style is distinct from pentecostal churches in the U.S. is evidenced by the irritation of a Four-square gospel missionary who had come to Colombia from the U.S. to attend their annual convention. He complained that the congregation wasn't listening to his prayer, and after a few times instructed them to keep silent and pray to themselves while he led the prayer. John Firth, a Four-Square missionary who has served in Colombia for the past 44 years, acknowledged that this was a problem. He finds it necessary to instruct his congregation before some prayers, "Let us pray, now, with your heads down, and your eyes closed". When he instructs them this way, they will often keep quiet while he prays out loud, perhaps murmuring "Amen" or "Si, Señor". If he does not give this instruction but launches into a prayer spontaneously, the congregation will participate in the manner described above.

8. While it is clearly useful and desirable to have some numerical estimate of the size of different churches, it is with certain reservations that I commit these numbers to paper. The Assemblies of God will claim that they are the largest single evangelical denomination in Colombia, but the figures cited to me were substantially lower than the IPU count. There is a great deal of flexibility in terms of the way the counting is done: some denominations count as "churches" places that are actually "lugares de predicacion" (preaching locales), which are considered by other churches to be satellites of one local church. One of the reasons for the apparently greater size of the United Pentecostals is that, since they do not send their pastors to Bible school, they can count many more "pastors" than other denominations with stricter requirements.

CHAPTER III
RELIGION AND POLITICS

A. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the turbulent political/religious context within which evangelicalism in Colombia took root and grew. This history is essential to an understanding of both the complex motivations which bring about individual conversion and the position of evangelicalism as a dissident religious movement within a theocratic state. There are notable differences between Colombia and other Latin American countries in terms of religion and national politics. First, I will discuss the Catholic church as a national institution, its especially privileged status in Colombia, and its role in the life cycle of the individual. Next, I briefly describe the fusion of religion and politics in Colombian history and the conflict between the two dominant political parties over defining the role of the Catholic church in the country. The rest of the chapter deals with the impact of La Violencia on the evangelical movement. I have included here, as an especially vivid illustration of the impact of these historical forces on the individual, the first-hand account of an evangelical pastor of his experiences as a young man during that period.

B. The Power of the Roman Catholic Church in Colombia:
The Concordat

The proliferation of denominations within

Protestantism is taken by Colombian Catholics as evidence for the argument that evangelicals do not have the "true" faith. The word preferred by Catholics in this debate is "sect", which is explained as coming from the Latin "sectare" which means to cut off, "as a branch is cut off from a tree" (Salesman 1982:14).¹ The fact that to this way of thinking religious plurality is incompatible with religious truth needs some explanation. In the United States, at least on a certain ideological level, religious pluralism is valued. A small town may boast about the number of churches of different denominations existing within its boundaries. Such a situation would usually be taken as an expression of one of the fundamental values of U.S. society -- freedom of worship -- rather than as an indicator of hopeless theological confusion.

Freedom of religion, however, has not been a basic value in Colombian society, but rather has long been a matter of controversy, both on the level of Constitutional legislation and in the attitudes and behavior of people in everyday life. In Colombia, there has been a complete fusion of the (Roman Catholic) Church and the State, the society of (Roman Catholic) believers and society. The Catholic church in Colombia has a reputation throughout South America as being particularly powerful and influential in national life. The Colombian state has been remarkably willing to delegate public authority over major areas of the lives of its citizens to the Catholic hierarchy. Levine

(1981) describes the legal status of the Colombian Church as "unusually favored." In 1887, the Colombian government signed a Concordat with the Vatican which stands as "a model of the traditional ideal of Christendom -- complete Church-State integration" (Levine 1981:70). The provisions of the Concordat define a major role for the Church in many aspects of social life, recognizing it as "an essential element of the social order" (ibid). It is in the public regulation of personal life that the Church's authority is most absolute, that is, major junctures of the individual's life cycle are under the control of the Church hierarchy. For example,

The Church also received the predominant role in registering births, with parish records having preference over civil records. In addition, the management of death was placed in Church hands, as cemeteries were turned over to the ecclesiastical authorities. Marriage, another step in the life cycle, was also placed firmly under Church control. Civil divorce did not exist, and civil marriage for baptized Catholics was made contingent on a public declaration of abandonment of faith (ibid:70).²

Levine points out that the requirement of public declaration of abandonment of faith worked as a powerful discouragement to those considering civil marriage, since the outcome of such an act would surely be ostracism.

Education at all levels was to be maintained "in conformity with the dogma of the Catholic religion" (art. 12), and religious instruction was obligatory. Catholic control of "public" education still exists in Colombia, a situation which creates problems for evangelical students.

Levine contrasts the Colombian situation with

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neighboring Venezuela. There, it would be unimaginable for the Church to play such a predominant role. Secular, governmental control of registry, education, marriage and death keep the Venezuelan church "strictly a junior partner" (ibid:71). Besides Colombia, Spain and Haiti were the last remaining countries to maintain Concordats with the Vatican, but these countries abolished their agreements some time ago. The Colombian Concordat was renegotiated, amidst intense public debate, in 1973, but it is claimed that the only changes immediately visible were the possibility of civil divorce and the elimination of public apostasy as a prerequisite for civil marriage of baptized Catholics. Levine claims that in some areas the power of the Church actually increased, notably due to special provisions for the Church's missionary role.

Colombian evangelicals experience the privileges awarded the Catholic church by the state as a limitation of religious freedom. They are frustrated and affronted by the fact that devout evangelicals must still come under the authority of the Catholic hierarchy simply because of their status as Colombian citizens. They resent it when their children enrolled in public colegios are required to attend mass or participate in Catholic religious celebrations. Before the 1973 revision of the Concordat, children were required to present a Catholic baptismal certificate in order to be allowed entry into the public schools, and many evangelical converts, against their wishes but for

expendiency's sake, had their children baptized in the Catholic church. A similar situation held for marriage. During the period when civil marriage was equivalent in the public mind to the pathway to damnation, many evangelicals found it easier to simply go through the Catholic ceremony, allowing the priests this temporary jurisdiction over their union more as representatives of the Colombian state than as religious authorities. In contemporary Colombia, only Catholic and civil marriage are recognized as legitimate (in the eyes of the state), and hence the couple who goes through a marriage ceremony in an evangelical church must also be married by a civil authority for the union to be considered legitimate. This is, of course, unnecessary for Catholic marriages. Ironically, given the relative stability of evangelical marriages compared to Catholic ones, an anti-evangelical rumor is that "they don't marry, they just live in sin." This statement reflects the attitude that nothing short of Catholic marriage is truly marriage, and certainly a ceremony in a tiny Pentecostal church does nothing to legitimate the couple's status in the eyes of the wider community. Hence, many evangelicals when asked about their marital status will say that they were married "a la civil" (in a civil ceremony), sometimes neglectin to mention the accompanying evangelical church ceremony.

In November, 1983, four of the leading Protestant organizations used the occasion of Martin Luther's 500th

Birthday to call publicly for the abolition of the Concordat. Although the petition was reported in the major Bogota newspapers, the government failed to respond.

In recent years, the extremely powerful and conservative Colombian Catholic church has been undergoing changes in response to the reforms of Vatican II and the increasing visibility and viability of the evangelical movement. However, these changes have been slow to come about, and in the consciousness of both evangelical and Catholic Colombians, issues of faith are still interlaced with political loyalties and conflicts. To provide a background for understanding the place of evangelicals in the national context, it is useful to briefly examine the politics of religion in Colombian history.

C. Liberals and Conservatives and the Separation of Church and State

"En el tiempo del Partido Conservador, era pecado ser uno Liberal."

(During the time that the Conservative Party was in power, it was a sin for one to be a Liberal.)

-- Jose Vicente Piñeros, a long time evangelical convert

The above statement vividly illustrates the fusion of religious and political thinking characteristic of the period during which evangelical missionaries in Colombia struggled to make their first converts. The dominant political parties in Colombia, the Liberals and Conservatives, which grew out of the early period of independence, differed on many issues, including the relative rights of temporal vs. spiritual authorities. The

Liberals, following Santander, hero of the independence struggle and Bolivar's second in command, were federalists, while the Conservatives, following Bolivar himself, were devoted to the concept of a strong centralized government. Specific issues on which the two parties differed include:

what jurisdiction the Church courts should have, whether ecclesiastical appointments were to be controlled by the Church or the state, whether non-secular schools and non-Catholic cemeteries would be allowed. Although the lines were not entirely clear cut, Liberals generally upheld the power of the state in these matters and Conservatives the power of the Church (Holt 1964:28).

Throughout the 19th century, as Liberals and Conservatives struggled for control of the government, Liberal administrations would try to limit the perogatives of the church, only to have these reinstated when the Conservatives came back into power. A Liberal victory following a civil war which ended in 1861 put them in power for two decades. Holt describes this period as "the high-water mark of official anticlericalism" (ibid:29). He describes the somewhat peculiar measures taken by the Liberals in an attempt to insure religious freedom:

The Constitution of 1863 suppressed all religious orders and decreed separation of church and state. Paradoxically, it authorized the government to exercise "supreme inspection over public worship" at the same time that it provided for freedom of worship. This was not, however, as contradictory in Colombia as it would be in the United States, where church-state relations are based on total non-participation of the state in church affairs and vice versa. In Colombia, there has been, as a practical matter, only one church and one state, each of which felt that it must either control the other or be controlled.

Thus, it probably seemed perfectly natural to mid-nineteenth century Colombian Liberals that the way to guarantee freedom of religion was to inspect public worship; if the state did not do this, the church would -- to the detriment, in the Liberal view, of freedom (Holt 1964:30).

The reforms lasted only as long as the Liberal government, and during the long period of Conservative rule which ensued (from 1887 - 1930), the Church prospered and in return regularly supported that party's candidates and positions. From 1930-1946 the Liberals took over again; "old conflicts over ecclesiastical privileges were reopened, and a visible threat was posed to the status and image of the Church as a central institution of national life" (Levine 1981:64).

Rarely were these changes of government peaceful. Political violence of massive proportions was endemic in Colombia throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, usually accompanying the transfer of national power from one party to another. The most recent, and also the most extended and bloodiest episode of civil violence, is the period known in Colombia as "La Violencia".

D. La Violencia

Like almost everything else in contemporary Colombia, the evangelical movement cannot be understood without reviewing the history of La Violencia. Between 1946 and 1966, Colombia was the scene of "one of the most intense and protracted instances of widespread civilian violence in the history of the 20th century" (Oquist 1980:101). It is

estimated that about 200,000 people were killed, 112,000 of them between the years of 1948 and 1950. The beginning of La Violencia is usually dated as April 9, 1948, the day that the Liberal Party chief, Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, was assassinated, and rioting and police retaliation in Bogota left the city looking like Dresden after the bombing. The worst of the ensuing violence took place in the countryside, and it was during this period that the rural areas of Colombia emptied out as people sought the relative safety of the cities.

The history of La Violencia is complex, and no monocausal explanation is sufficient. Although the political issues involved are generally identified as the conflict between the Colombian Liberal and Conservative parties, the details of the violence in the countryside suggest in many instances that the conditions of social upheaval and the institutional support of aggression towards those not in power were often an excuse for a kind of brutality that took the form of vendetta feuding, banditry, and persecution of what was defined, for many reasons, not all of them readily evident, as the opposition. What is particularly frustrating in trying to understand this political clash is that the real differences between rural people who identify themselves as "Liberal" and those who identify as "Conservative" are virtually indiscernable beyond their identification with the label and their hatred for the opposite side. Although there were originally

fundamental philosophical differences between the Liberal and Conservative factions of the ruling elite, it is unclear to what extent the campesinos themselves, who were the ones attacking each other with machetes, were motivated by these concerns. Although originally the party affiliation of the campesino probably derived from his attachment to either a Liberal or a Conservative patron, by the time of La Violencia, among the rural population, party affiliation was virtually an ascribed characteristic. Liberal campesinos may have been somewhat more tenuous in their devotion to the priests than their Conservative counterparts were, but they were not uniformly anti-clerical (see the statement by Don Jose Garcia at the end of the chapter.) The fact that party affiliation is not class-based, in that both Liberals and Conservatives can be found throughout the class stata, from the landless peasantry to the ruling elite is another factor which contributes to the difficulty in constructing a straightforward analysis of La Violencia. Again, the complexity of the motivation for all the killing extends beyond a single explanation, and individual animosities and long standing vendettas were not minor factors.⁴

Virtually all evangelicals over the age of about 40 contextualize their faith within the framework of the Violence. Evangelicals were severely persecuted during that time, many lost their lives, and the survivors relate stories of stonings, being thrown in jail, hiding out for long periods of time in caves in the mountains, or escaping

to cities. Churches were closed down. The large majority of Colombian evangelicals are Liberals, so they were doubly damned during a time when Liberal party affiliation alone was sufficient for getting oneself killed by the police or officially supported vigilantes. Reading the Bible or evangelizing was courting death. Evangelicals were routinely denounced, many times from the Catholic pulpit, as communists and as subversives, which is ironic because they tend in general to be relatively conservative in their political beliefs.

La Violencia was the worst of times for Colombian evangelicals, but it was also the best of times. Churches were shut, and foreign missionaries, for the most part, abandoned their fledgling congregations and fled back to the U.S. (with notable exceptions -- a number of very dedicated U.S. missionaries stayed throughout the violence and suffered along with their congregations.) Yet during this time, when to publicize one's faith meant risking one's life, the evangelical movement exploded. The scenario repeated time after time was that when a church, having 100 members, was closed down, the home of each of those members then became a church in itself. When the doors to the main church were reopened, 100 new congregations united in a church that now had 1,000 members. That the dramatic growth happened during the years of most intense persecution can be attributed to a variety of factors, but it is certain that in the eyes of

the evangelicals the experience of the church in Colombia has a worthy precedent: the persecution of early Christians as written in the books of the Apostles. A text which is often cited with regard to this is Matthew 5:11,12, in which Jesus said, "Blessed are you when men revile you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account. Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven, for so men persecuted the prophets who were before you". Thus, although stories of evangelical persecution are still recounted with horror and sadness, there is also often a distinct note of pride in the voices of the narrators.

The persecution has almost disappeared, although there are occasional incidents. While people are generally grateful to be able to worship in peace, the experience of the Violence left them with a deep animosity towards the Catholic church, primarily because it was the priests who were actively involved in inciting the people against the evangelicals. Also, evangelicals who survived the violence are sceptical about the strength of commitment of new believers. They are afraid that their children will stray from the path because they were never "consecrated" by having their faith tested under such difficult circumstances.

E. The Effect of La Violencia on Evangelicals in El Cocuy

The following account illustrates the meaning of the preceding history to an individual believer. Oliverio

Mora is the youngest son of one of the first evangelical converts in El Cocuy, Sagrario Mora. Sagrario's sons and daughters and their children form a large non-residential extended family that remains at the core of the evangelical community in both El Cocuy and Bogota. Oliverio still lives in El Cocuy. He is an ordained Lutheran minister, having been sent to study in Argentina during the period of La Violencia, after his brother was murdered by the police and his own life was repeatedly threatened. His story illustrates how the roots of evangelical persecution during La Violencia extend back to the existing animosity between Liberals and Conservatives, which itself was one of the factors predisposing certain individuals (Liberals) towards accepting the "other religion" being offered by the early missionaries.

"My father had had some arguments with the Roman clergy. In those days, the Roman clergy didn't have a single competitor. They had very strong dominion over all the people of this region; everyone was compelled to obey them. They used to say that if you didn't follow their orders, if you didn't do what they commanded, you were damned. They'd excommunicate you. Also, there were two political parties, the Liberal and the Conservative. After the War of A Thousand Days some of the priests became extremely fanatical. The majority of priests always came from the Conservative party. They used to say in their sermons, "Why don't you Conservatives defend yourselves against the Liberals? By chance don't you have an arm up to the shoulder blade?" That's a quote from a priest named Marco Aurelio Quintero. And when they killed General Uribe, a priest here in Cocuy said from the pulpit, "Look, you see? That's how those who are against the church die -- they get it in the head with an ax." That's just an example, but it was typical of many other priests. They were very

political. There was an extremely strong fanaticism against the Liberals. So my father no longer believed the priests, because he had suffered so much opposition from them for being a Liberal.

You could say that the beginning of the Evangelio in this region dates from when Juan Galdames came. He was a salesman. I don't know what region he was from. We thought he was probably from the coast because of his accent. He went from house to house selling the Bible. Finally he showed up at our house. The first thing my father said to him was, "If this is any of that stuff that has to do with priests, don't bring it to me because I don't like it." And Galdames answered him, "No, this is about the word of God." So my father listened to him a little and said, "Yes, what this man is talking about really seems very good, because he is really talking about the things of God." When you really understand what God is saying, he isn't ordering you to hate and detest anyone. After that time my father became very interested in studying the scriptures. That same day he bought the Bible and we began to read it. But at that time it was very much prohibited to read the scriptures, because the priests disapproved of it. So people went and told the priest that we had the Bible, and many people began to criticize us for this.

Well, Galdames had noted down the names of the people who had bought the Bible, and later, around 1938 or 39, a man of European origin came. He was Norwegian, and his name was Andrew Larson. He paid a visit to all of the houses where Galdames had sold the Bible. And he spoke about the Gospel. I remember when he visited our house, my father asked him a lot of questions, and he answered them all, and so my father liked him. We had already heard say of Protestants, that such a thing existed, but the word "Protestant" to our minds was something bad. That was because we hadn't ever met a Protestant. But it seemed to us that this man was humble, and he read some parts of the sacred scriptures, and it all seemed pretty good to us. I remember that he also sang a hymn, "Rock of Ages", and he explained it to us. And one of the things that seemed most curious to me and to everyone was when he bowed his head and he started to pray to God. It was the first time that we ever saw a man close his eyes and bow his head and start to

talk to God. This made us laugh, and we sort of made fun of him at first when we saw this. And I especially remember the women who were there in the house at the time. They didn't come out to be with him, but instead watched from where he couldn't see them, and they were sort of making fun of the way he talked, the way he closed his eyes, and since he didn't pronounce Spanish very well, they were also criticizing him for that.

At first, when this missionary, Andrew Larson, began to hold meetings, they were like lectures, and he held them in the town theatre. A lot of people came, mostly out of curiosity, because it was a new thing. People had heard about Protestantism, but only as something very remote. One would hear it said that there were people of other religions, but we never thought that we would meet them. Still, the criticism against those who read the Bible and those who were showing hospitality to the missionaries was very strong right from the start. There was no way that it was going to pass unnoticed because many people took it upon themselves to take messages to the priests saying that certain people were getting involved in other religions. And the priests delivered a lot of sermons that were no more than tirades against the Protestants. It seems that God wanted it that way because it awakened a lot of interest in many people.

So Pastor Larson visited the homes where they had bought the Bible, and later he rented a house in El Cocuy. We heard that he was holding services in the house, and that you could hear singing coming from there, but we didn't know yet what a service was. His wife was with him, and she used to sing hymns in the services. When he invited us to one of the services, we went, and we continued going, although at first there were very few who went. Other people who Larson had visited, those who were on the original list of Galdames, converted in the same manner.

After a short time the missionaries, Larson and his wife, started a small school. They were very good teachers, and the evangelical school at first was somewhat welcomed. But there were always the attacks, more and more frequently. They used to attack people who enrolled their children in the school, and also the children themselves. And later when the children would go on to the higher grades in the public schools,

they were reproached by the teachers and also attacked by the other students. The other students would say to us, for example, "Devils! These are Devils!" and "Most Holy Virgin, protect us from the Protestants!" and other things like that. But those of us who knew the gospel from the start, we would always talk about it no matter where we were. Because there was a lot of interest, and people were ready to discuss it, even if it was just to contradict us. One would talk with one's friends, with the fieldhands, and with lots of different people, because even if one wasn't talking about the evangelio they would always argue with you and laugh at you, some with ridicule in their voices, others because they were simply interested in asking about it, and others out of anger because you had another religion. They were always talking to you, and all that was a help in truly consecrating us in the evangelio.

In order to be a believer in those days, you really had to believe, you really had to accept the gospel. You couldn't be mixed, because they themselves, the non-evangelicals, wouldn't allow it. You had to declare yourself definitely -- either you were a part of the Lutheran Church or you weren't.

During the early years of the church, it was attacked a lot, and continued to be attacked up until a few years ago. There was book-burning, people were attacked, stoned, some of us were put in jail, and some Christians were sacrificed. Mostly during the time of La Violencia.

But the work of the Lord is not in vain, and many of those people who have attacked us have brought their children to study in our little colegio CELCO, which has always functioned in this town since the days of the missionaries, except for a few years during the time of La Violencia.

I and my brothers in the flesh, and also those in the faith, have suffered some things. For example, on one occasion during the time of La Violencia, some people arrived at our house before dawn. We saw that they had not come to look for arms, but to look for books. They took some books with them after having killed my brother and wounded me. They also took me and another brother and some companions away. In the entrance to the jail they burned the books

they had taken from our house, and when the smoke went up they said, "It smells like Protestants -- that smoke smells like Protestants."

They persecuted me. I came home one day. Most of the time I was hiding out, I was always fleeing from them so that they wouldn't kill me. When I got home that day I found that they had taken all the books out of my room and strewn them all around. Some of them had gone, but others had stayed behind hidden behind a wall. I was writing a letter to send to Bogota, telling about what they had done with the books, when the police who had been hidden came out. They asked me if my name was Oliverio Mora, and I told them yes. They asked me, "Are those your books?" I told them yes. They spoke to me with very coarse words, saying "You have to come with us and bring those wicked books." So they picked up some books, some Bibles and commentaries, and they took me down to town. When we arrived in town they told me I had to go to the rectory. The mayor was there. At that time it was a Captian Borda. He met me in the doorway of the rectory and he said, "Oh, you're the Protestant?" And I told him yes, and he called the priest right away, and a priest came out who I had never seen before. I said hello to him, but he didn't respond. Instead he said to me, "Are you the owner of these damn things?" And I asked him, "What damn things?" And he said "These damn books. Don't you know that they are forbidden?" I told him, no, that this is the Bible and it's sold anywhere. You can get it in Bogota. And he said, "But don't you know that it's prohibited, that you don't understand it? Don't you know that you shouldn't be doing that?" And with a good deal of fury he called the other priest, who already knew me, and when he came out he said to him, "Look at the Protestant." The other priest hardly paid attention to him, but instead said to me, "Hello, Morita, it seems strange to me that you're getting into these things. One swallow does not the summer make. Why are you messing with that? Come over here." So I went over to where he was, and they started to examine the books. And a policeman grabbed a Martin Luther's catechism, and said, "Look, it's Martin Luther, the one that used to steal the nuns and married nuns. Look, that man was so evil, and right here it says "Martin Luther"". I had the urge to answer him, so I said, "Yes, that's a catechism written by Martin Luther, but if you know the word of God, look, I'll show you. Here is the

Lord's prayer, and here are other explanations of the Holy Scriptures, which is the word of God." Then the mayor, Captain Borda, grabbed a text on which was portrayed a cathedral, and he said, "Look at this cathedral, they're probably planning to put a bomb in it." And it went on like that, and finally the priest asked me if it were true that I had a piano. I told him no, I didn't have a piano. And the policeman said, "That's buried up there with the other little priest", making reference to my brother who they had killed earlier up at my house. Then I couldn't stand it any longer, and with anger and fury I answered him, "If that's why you've brought me here, why don't you go ahead and murder me, right here in the patio of the rectory. If it's for that that you've brought me here, I'm ready. If for the word of God you want to kill me, go ahead and do it." Then the priest made a sign that they should shut up. So then some of the police withdrew, and one policeman struck a match and started to burn some books, but finally the priest made a sign that he shouldn't burn any more.

And one of the things that preoccupies me a lot is this: About three years ago I was in the veterinary drugstore that I own, and a priest came in and asked me if I was Oliverio, and I said yes. He said, "Look, they tell me that you sell Bibles here, and it's that we're having a meeting, we've been having them all week in the rectory, and I want the people to buy Bibles. Could you send me some Bibles at about 7 o'clock tonight?" I told him yes, and that if he wished I could bring them myself. So some of the evangelicals and myself went, we brought the Bibles, and after the priest had spoken to the people he asked them who had Bibles. He asked them that, and then he said, "How can you know Christ if you don't know the word of God?" Then after he had talked some more about the importance of the Bible, he called to me to bring the Bibles and sell them. And this took place in the same patio of the same rectory where before I had been attacked for selling Bibles, and for having a Bible, by order of the priests. And later by order of another priest, there I was selling the Bible in the same place. So I have seen that truly, when one fulfills the gospel, one can only triumph. When one no longer triumphs in things it's because we have gotten away from doing the will of God. "

The role of the Catholic clergy in fueling anti-Liberal sentiment, and the status of Liberals as step-children of the Catholic church was reiterated by other evangelicals. Don Jose Garcia, an elderly campesino who is also a long-time member of the Lutheran church in El Cocuy, explained why more Liberals than Conservatives accepted the evangelio:

"Back in the days when I still attended mass, I heard the priest say from the pulpit that by the mere fact of being a Liberal you were already body and soul in hell, and the fact of being a Conservative you were already body and soul in heaven. That's why terrible things would happen. If the Conservatives killed a Liberal they had gained heaven. We Liberals were the bastard children of the Roman church. But even as a Liberal you had to continue to be a Catholic and obey the clergy or you'd be damned. People have a natural instinct, an inclination to look for salvation, to look for God, and since there wasn't any other church, we were stuck with the Catholics. There weren't any other religions around. So we tolerated it even though they shouted insults at us."

In earlier times, the campesinos in El Cocuy had a very real fear of excommunication. As a prominent lawyer in the town, who himself is not evangelical, recounted:

"In those days the Roman Catholic priests had a method of frightening the people, and that was excommunication. The guy who they excommunicated did not even deserve to live in society, and no one would accept him because they knew that he was already body and soul, from this life onwards, in hell. And actually, you could see how those people began to decay, because everybody began to look badly upon them and no one wanted to have anything to do with them, and they would stop helping them in every way. Then the priests would say from the pulpit, "You see what excommunication does to you? There you have it, now you see how it is."

The divisions and animosities between Liberals and

Conservatives, and between Evangelical and Catholic, affect the dead as well as the living. There are at present three cemeteries in El Cocuy: the Catholic one in the center of town, a "lay" cemetery on the outskirts, and the Evangelical cemetery up in the campo. The priests tried to refuse the burial of Liberals in the Catholic cemetery, so the Lay cemetery was founded by the grandfather of the prominent lawyer mentioned above. The evangelicals were in the same straits, and so a bit of rocky property was donated by one of Sagrario's sons way up in the countryside for evangelical burials. The situation has changed substantially, however, and during 1983, when a elderly woman who was a devout evangelical died, her funeral was held in the Catholic church and she was interred in the Catholic cemetery. Although this woman had attended evangelical services faithfully for many years along with her daughters, her eldest son was an aspiring politico, and it was he who made the decision to have her buried from the Catholic church. The Catholic priest took the opportunity to make the point that although people may stray from the fold and enjoy the company of the evangelicals, in the end there is only one church, the Catholic church, to which everyone was born and to which everyone must return.

Needless to say, the evangelicals were not pleased by the decision. Pastor Oliverio, whose account of persecution during La Violencia is quoted above, saw the situation as a good lesson for Natanael, the young vicar, whose attitude

toward the Catholics had been much more open and friendly. Oliverio said that it was good for him to learn what it was like to suffer at the hands of the Catholics, because he was too young to remember La Violencia. Natanael's ecumenical bent, his budding friendship with a radical young priest and his receptivity to the incorporation of evangelical young people into the Catholic youth group illustrate the attitude of younger evangelicals which is very much at odds with the older generation who lived through La Violencia.

F. Conclusion

Stories of persecution during La Violencia could fill several volumes. In addition to my examples, Cornelia Flora (1976) has also documented the experience of Pentecostals during this period. The tensions between Liberals and Conservatives, culminating (but not ending) in the warfare of La Violencia, along with the opposition of the Conservative-identified Catholic clergy to their Liberal parishioners are important to understanding the early growth of Colombian evangelicalism. As an initial step towards developing an explanation of the spectacular growth rate of the movement which is based on the level of social process within households, the following points derived from the above discussion must be stressed. 1) The Catholic church in Colombia was and is extremely powerful. 2) Conversion to Protestantism was a drastic step requiring enormous commitment. 3) Conversion

separated people from the mainstream and allowed for the development of an ethos divergent from the norm. I would emphasize the fact that much of the Catholic church's involvement in the lives of individuals (as designated in the Concordat) concerned matters relating to the family: marriage, baptism of children, and education. The evangelical convert rejected the hegemony of the Catholic hierarchy over these affairs, and this allowed for a new system of regulation to flourish, one that was grounded more in individual responsibility. 4) The retreat of foreign missionaries during La Violencia allowed for the "Colombianization" of evangelical churches to an extent not previously realized. 5) Persecution forced evangelical activity out of the public realm and reinforced its identification with the household.

It is no coincidence that the greatest growth rate in Colombian evangelical history coincided with the enforced establishment of the household as the incubator for new congregations. Nor is an explanation of this phenomenon based on anomie and cultural disruption sufficient. If we confine our analysis to examining how national and even local level political events affected evangelical growth, we miss some of the prime motivating forces behind conversion. The fact that evangelical religion in Colombia was jolted out of its relative stagnation during its closest association with the household is yet another indicator that a focus on household level activity will be fruitful in

understanding conversion.

NOTES

1. This quote is taken from a small book entitled, "Cuidado: Llegaron los Protestantes" (Watch Out: The Protestants have arrived), which was selling in the Catholic bookstore in Bogota in 1983. The book's stated aim is to provide the faithful believer (Roman Catholic), with a way to "defend himself" against the onslaught of the Protestants. It includes an outline of the 10 Christian truths that are denied by Protestants: 1) that there are 7 sacraments; 2) that there are 72 books in the Bible; 3) the veneration of sacred images; 4) the cult of the Virgin and the Saints; 5) the presence of Jesus Christ in the eucharist; 6) the forgiveness of sins by means of confession to a priest; 7) that the Bible must be interpreted according to the doctrine and explanations of the church hierarchy who are guided by the Holy Spirit, and not by each believer, for fear of falling into error; 8) that faith is not sufficient for salvation, but good works are also necessary; 9) the authority of the Pope, the Bishops and the Priests; 10) appreciation of Holy Mass. The author states, in at least two places, that there are "more than 666" Protestant sects. Although he doesn't make the connection explicit, the number "666" in the Bible is significant as the number of the Anti-Christ.

2. The argument being developed here has to do with the relative positions of the Liberal and Conservative parties with regard to religious plurality. However, it should also be noted that the Catholic hierarchy's hatred of the Liberals can also be connected historically to the expropriation of Church lands by Liberal reformers following the Civil Wars of the mid-nineteenth century. Oquist has pointed out that, "the church, deprived by the Liberals of its lands and aggrieved by the separation of church and state, launched a holy war against the Liberals... The Church from 1863 onward...advised that 'Liberalism was sin'" (1980:68).

3. Levine (1981) maintains that Colombia has experienced an altogether slower rate of change than Venezuela, in structural as well as in symbolic realms. The continuing prominence of the Catholic Church in Colombia is consistent, in his analysis, with a relatively slow rate of economic change, including the fact that the Colombian economy is still basically tied to agriculture. In Venezuela, the civil wars of the 19th century were won by the Liberals, who stripped the church of its property and social functions, while in Colombia the Conservatives emerged victorious. Traditional ideologies and legitimations of power and privilege survived in Colombia, where a unified social and economic elite has been carried over into the twentieth century. In contrast, after 1920, the impact of oil on the Venezuelan economy propelled it towards becoming "a

fundamentally different kind of society from Colombia ... in Colombia, the basic problem for elites has been to preserve existing structures and retain old loyalties. In Venezuela, the problem has been to create new institutions, to reach and engage the loyalties of a mobile population in new and fast-changing circumstances" (ibid:59, 61-62).

4. Paul Oquist (1980) has analyzed the multitude of factors contributing to La Violencia. He concludes that a partial collapse of the State and the erosion of centralized authority due to interparty conflict allowed traditional rivalries on the local level to be settled by violence. Although a range of motivations led to hostility, conflict over land was a major problem. The fighting took place both within class groups as well as between classes, but inter-class conflict was more characteristic during the later years of La Violencia (1955-66).

CHAPTER IV

EL COCUY:

COLOMBIAN EVANGELICALISM ON THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

A. Rural Life in Urban Colombia

In Bogota, I was told that I would never understand the Colombian situation until I had travelled to the countryside. The converse would be true if I had started my fieldwork in a rural area, as I did in an earlier research project.¹ I would not have understood what was happening there until I had gone to the city. Rural and urban as categories in contemporary Colombia are less than discrete -- in the thriving city of Ibaguè in the Magdalena Valley, cows graze from garbage cans attached to lightposts in the center of town. In Bogota itself, carts drawn by burros are a not uncommon, if somewhat incongruous, sight. Despite a great deal of urban sprawl, as one travels towards the perimeters of the city, urban zones seem to dissolve quite suddenly into campo (the Spanish term for rural countryside, which in Colombia, tends to be quite rugged and underdeveloped rather than benign and pastoral). Lacking are the sub-urban zones buffering the transition from city to countryside which typify the geography of the U.S. landscape.

A high rate of rural-urban migration has transformed Colombia from a predominately rural country to a predominantly urban one in the space of 40 years. In 1938 about 70 per cent of the country's population lived in rural

areas, while by 1973, 60 per cent of the people were living in urban areas (Mohan 1980:10).² This means that most city dwellers have spent their formative years in the campo, and they have been faced with the task of adapting the values and behavior patterns of the countryside to city life. This process has been no simple shedding of the old skin, but rather has resulted in a kind of amalgam of rural and urban. The relatively tiny percentage of people who think of themselves as "true" Bogotanos -- those whose families have been urban for several generations - display a degree of cosmopolitanism that sets them off from the masses. For many city dwellers, the countryside is idealized as a sort of enchanted place -- despite the fact that numbers of people were driven out of their villages by the horrors of violence and rural poverty. There the milk is pure, the food is nutritious and abundant, the people are wholesome, healthy and honest. Although the work is hard it is seen as rewarding; there is no need to pay for entertainment when the performance of one's daily duties carries as compensation the excitement of seeing a calf born, or of riding a horse up mountain trails, or simply of existing in a landscape of astounding beauty.

B. Choice of El Cocuy as the Rural Field Site

I took the advice about visiting the countryside to be sound, and, conveniently, it corresponded to my original research plans. Selecting the appropriate site for the rural part of the study was a complicated process which I

will discuss in Appendix A. After about six months in Bogota, during which I had also travelled to other areas, I became acquainted with some evangelicals who talked a great deal about a town called El Cocuy, in the northern reaches of the neighboring Department (State) of Boyaca. El Cocuy was the incubator for the Lutheran church in Colombia. The original Lutheran missionary activity had taken place there in the 1930s, and the Bogota church was formed as the result of numbers of families migrating to the city to escape the violence in El Cocuy in the early 1950s. Three other evangelical groups had been established in El Cocuy after La Violencia: the United Pentecostal Church, the Trinitarian Pentecostal Church, and the Church of Branham. The family of the wife of the pastor of the Bogota Lutheran church still lived in El Cocuy, and this generous woman facilitated my move to the town.

El Cocuy intrigued me for several other reasons. First, Boyaca is the department that has contributed the greatest number of migrants to Bogota. To understand Bogota, one must understand Boyaca. Second, the perhaps most famous ethnographic study of Colombian peasants was carried out by Orlando Fals-Borda in that department in the 1950s. Although other parts of Colombia have been investigated by anthropologists and rural sociologists since that time, (notably the Department of Valle de Cauca), virtually no other study of Boyaca has been published since Fals-Borda's (1962). Finally, from what I had been told, El

Cocuy seemed geographically remote. It is high up in the eastern cordillera, a good distance from any central roads, still overwhelmingly agricultural, and hence a place where I might encounter some remnant of a more "traditional" Colombia. I wanted to see what the evangelical experience was like in such a place. Much has been written connecting conversion to the anomie of modernization, the dislocation of peasants migrating to cities, and the experience of people who are "marginal" to a larger system; and it intrigued me that a church existed in an area where none of these factors were present.

I lived in El Cocuy from April through December of 1983. El Cocuy's history in many ways makes it unique among Colombian towns. The experience of evangelicals in the community is also somewhat different from much of what has been written concerning the backgrounds of Protestant converts in Latin America. An examination of some of these differences and how they articulate with the wider movement provides a fresh perspective on conversion in Latin America.

C. Description of the Town

The small highland Andean community of El Cocuy, Boyaca, lies 480 kilometers to the north of Bogota, and is connected to the capital city by regular bus service over mostly unpaved roads. A local police department information sheet estimates that the population of the municipality of El Cocuy is 18,000: 3,500 in the town itself and 14,500 in the nine outlying rural neighborhoods or veredas. Similar

figures were cited in much older documents, and town officials vacillated a great deal when asked to estimate the current population of the municipality. The 1973 national census figures are quite different, counting the total population to be 6,569, with 2,595 in the town and 3,974 in the outlying veredas. Without a doubt El Cocuy has experienced a dramatic depopulation, and out-migration continues. The lower figures seem more accurate at present, and perhaps the higher figures of the police department (which I believe derive from an un-revised estimate of a much earlier time) indicate the severity of the population loss.³

The economy of El Cocuy is agricultural; potatoes, wheat, corn and frijol are the main crops. The raising of cows, for dairy products and meat, and sheep, for wool and meat, also constitutes a major source of income. The town itself is 2,749 meters above sea level (slightly over 9,000 feet) and has a cold climate, averaging thirteen degrees centigrade. The mountains that surround the town reach up to altitudes above 5,000 meters. One of the most extensive ranges of snow-capped peaks in Colombia, the Sierra Nevado del Cocuy, Chita y Guican, is located a few hours from the center of population, and in the summer months of December and January a few hardy tourists visit the area.

The cabecera ("head town", the "county seat" or municipal center) of El Cocuy lies cradled in the palm of a small highland valley, with the mountains sloping sharply

upward all around it. The majority of houses in town are built in the colonial style. The exterior facades of the houses face the street as one continuous wall, each house distinguished from its neighbors only by slight variations in the painting of details and doors, or in upkeep. Almost all of the roofs are made of clay tile in various states of decrepitude. Glass paned windows are almost nonexistent. My house, which had been constructed in recent years, was one of the few that could claim such luxury, and visitors constantly exclaimed how "abrigadita" (warm; "abrigo" literally means overcoat) my house was. Other houses had windows closed off with wooden shutters. With the open central courtyards that typify older houses, the spacious but drafty rooms are rarely comfortable, and people sleep under many heavy woolen blankets.

The cabecera of El Cocuy is marked at the north end (the entrance) by the small hospital and at the south end by the High School. Such head towns are defined in the national census as "urban", which presumably has to do with settlement density, since their flavor is much more that of the countryside than of the city. Although in comparison with the jagged mountains that rise up above it and descend below it, the cabecera rests in a level valley, many of the streets are sharply inclined, and hence the town can be divided into several upper and lower sections. The government offices of the municipality, including the mayor's office, local judges' offices, and the registry are

housed together in the upper section of the town. The Catholic church dominates the central plaza in the lower part of town.

Several developments in the past three years or so have altered the town's appearance. Directly in front of the Catholic church a lighted basketball court has recently been constructed. During the past few years, the weekly market has been relocated from the central plaza to a large, covered, open-air shed, constructed especially for that purpose. A cement butcher house with tiled counters was built adjacent to the market. The re-location of the market was part of a plan to improve the appearance of the town. The center plaza underwent a beautification effort for the regional provincial fiestas of December 1982, which El Cocuy hosted. Cement benches were built, each bearing an inscription of the name of the local personage or Cocuyano "colony" in various distant cities who donated money for the materials. Low cement walls were built to define paths across the square, and flowerbeds were put in. Construction was still underway when I left the field, and one project was a lighted fountain contributed by the colony of El Cocuy migrants in Bogota. In fact, a recent photograph shows that a scale replica of the Nevado (snow-covered range) has been built on that spot.

The town has electricity and running water, although both are erratic. About sixteen houses or stores have telephones, but most people place calls to distant cities

from the national telegraph office "TELECOM", and it is more often the case than not that "no hay linea para Bogota" (there's no line to Bogota). When it is possible to get through, a five minute call to Bogota costs about 130 pesos. Although there are three doctors in the town, their ministrations are usually limited to prescribing antibiotics, and for any serious illness the person is sent to the Departmental capital of Tunja, or more likely, to Bogota. New medical school graduates who are performing their año rural (rural year of service required to get a license to practice medicine in Colombia) staff the hospital clinic. Anyone who can afford to, and certainly anyone who travels to Bogota regularly, has medical needs attended to in the city. Medical emergencies are terrible crises in El Cocuy -- people frantically try to arrange for transportation of the sick or wounded to Bogota, all the time wondering if they are strong enough to withstand the rigors of the journey. Although the hospital has an ambulance which was bought for this purpose, it disappeared soon after its purchase and was said to be "in the shop" for the entire eight months I lived in El Cocuy.

About fifty years ago, the town of El Cocuy was first connected to the the lowlands by a road which winds down in a seemingly endless series of hairpin turns to the town of Capitanejo, in the Department of Santander. This road, which is fifty-three kilometers long, was constructed without the benefit of machinery, entirely with picks and

human labor. Local people say that the road was made "con las uñas" (with the fingernails). Before the construction of this road, loads of potato and other produce destined for market were hauled by men and burros over the high mountains on rough paths.

Most Cocuyanos express love for their town and its exceptional beauty, notwithstanding how many leave for the ugly urban sprawl of Bogota -- a fact which may partly explain their continuing ties to their hometown. The exodus of people that began with the Violence has left visible reminders. In the campo there are numbers of empty houses which are falling down. At the time of my fieldwork there was considerable discussion among local people about developing tourism in the area. Various plans to obtain money from the government tourist agency to build a hotel were hotly debated -- the exact location, the price of the land, the design and contracting of the building were a favorite topic of conversation among the town activists. Tourist facilities at the time were all but non-existent, except for a couple of sad "hotels" which put up the bus-drivers who ended their trips in El Cocuy and the occasional stalwart European or American visitor to the Nevado. But the town offered nothing that could be expected to appeal to a broader public.

Unfortunately, the fundamental problem with developing tourism in El Cocuy was not the lack of comfortable accommodations, but something much less easy to solve: few

people were willing to make the twelve to fourteen hour bus trip over mostly unpaved roads to enjoy the splendors of the scenery. Bus travel was dangerous as well as arduous. There are cases of entire buses being held up by bandits in the isolated mountain passes; and buses are also the center of attention for individual thieves who will relieve passengers of possessions should vigilance stray for a moment. There are also, of course, terrible accidents on the perilous roads. Although some people made the journey in private cars (always jeeps), the condition of the roads was very destructive to vehicles and, in a country where cars are scarce and highly valued, the few people lucky enough to own them were usually unwilling to subject their prize possessions to such abuse.

Most nights, and sometimes during the day, the town is submerged in clouds. At 9,000 feet El Cocuy is one of the highest towns in Colombia. The snow covered range lies some distance from town, and during the rainy season it is almost constantly hidden by clouds. The snow line lies several thousand feet higher than the town, and breathing is very difficult at that altitude. The whole area is extremely well watered: gushing rivers and waterfalls and little streams are everywhere. Water's adjunct, mud, is also very abundant. Local people are accustomed to travelling most places on foot. Even for horses the terrain is difficult to negotiate, and it is sometimes safer to walk than to risk breaking a horse's leg or suffering a bad fall on the steep,

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rocky mountain paths.

The lands around El Cocuy are said to have been very fertile, although in recent years the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides reportedly has had an adverse effect on productivity. Local people blame the government for failing to control the quality of fertilizers sold to farmers. They claim that the fertilizers brought in "burn" the natural fertility out of the land and leave it sterile after a year or two. An evangelical view of this situation is that an increase in crop diseases followed La Violencia as God's punishment on the people for having burned crops and storerooms full of grain.

The mayor of El Cocuy, Marco Antonio Gamba Garcia, is much respected by local evangelicals, despite the fact that he is not a native of the town, and like all mayors in Colombia, was not elected by town citizens but rather appointed by the governor of the Department. He has considerable power: for example, he decides the schedule for irrigation and sets prices for milk and meat for local sale. His presence is very much felt in the town, due primarily to a powerful loudspeaker set up in his office (in the municipal headquarters). It is rarely silent. Most of the time it blares music, but this is interrupted by frequent mayoral messages to the general population, especially on Fridays (market days), and prior to major holidays or special community events.

One of the mayor's innovations was to require the

citizenry to sweep the streets in front of their houses each Sunday and Wednesday night. This ruling applied to all streets within the perimeters of the town, whether paved or not. Failure to comply meant a fine, which at one time consisted of a bag of cement, to be used in the project to improve the town's central plaza. Moreover, the guilty party would be summoned, by means of the loudspeaker, to the mayor's office, thus publicly announcing his or her crime. The mayor himself would often accompany the troop of men who made the rounds early on Monday and Thursday mornings to collect the little piles of trash that had been dutifully swept up by the residents. It was not uncommon that his ferocious banging on the door would awake the laggard who at six a.m. had not managed to sweep in front of the house. The mayor pledged to the town (over the loudspeaker) that it was his duty "to God and to country" to see that El Cocuy was clean and orderly. In fact, compared to many other towns in rural Colombia, El Cocuy appears relatively immaculate. The facades of ancient houses which are falling in on themselves are neatly whitewashed, at least the part which faces the street. El Cocuy was entered in the "Pueblo mas lindo de Boyaca" (Most Beautiful Town in Boyaca) contest in 1983, and leading up to the anticipated visit by the judging committee, the mayor was exhorting the populace almost constantly over the loudspeaker, ordering citizens to remove every blade of grass growing through the cracks in the cement or between the cobblestones that paved the

streets in front of their houses. All their efforts came to nothing because the judging committee never appeared in town. They had apparently been "indefinitely delayed" in a town lower down, allegedly haven gotten drunk and not being able to proceed further. El Cocuy finally did win the contest in 1985.

Evangelicals are very proud of this progress-minded and disciplined mayor, and were concerned that the newly appointed Conservative governor of Boyaca would remove him from office. The political involvement of evangelicals at the community level is discussed below.

1. Male and female occupations

In the rural countryside, men are occupied with farming and the raising of livestock. Few men have not spent some time outside of El Cocuy working as wage laborers. At the present time, most families have kin connections to an urban area, usually Bogota, and younger people often leave, either temporarily or permanently, to live with their urban relatives while they study and later find work in the city. In the town of El Cocuy, many men are occupied in 'middle-man' business dealings, buying and reselling agriculture produce and livestock.

Probably the majority of women in the municipality of El Cocuy, certainly those who live in the outlying rural neighborhoods, are farm wives. They are engaged in the ceaseless activities required of women as their contribution to the household economy. A major task is cooking,

especially when day laborers are hired for major farming tasks such as plowing, weeding, or the harvest. Cooking the five meals, which in addition to approximately 200 pesos constitute the pay of a day laborer, and transporting the food to the field where the work is being done, is an enormous job and one of the key contributions women make to production. Food processing, such as shucking corn, baking bread, making cheese, butter, cuajada (the milk curd which is a staple food in the countryside), and chicha (a mildly fermented corn beer which is traditionally provided for the workers), are all labor intensive activities. A number of gasoline operated grinding mills now function in the town, so women no longer have to use the traditional mano y metate to grind grain, but these worn stones are still evident around rural households, now used for slopping pigs or other animals. Rural women also spin wool to be taken to weavers to be made into blankets or ruanas. An especially valued gray yarn characteristic of the region is called entripulada. It is made by blending the wool of black and white sheep by pulling apart the fibers with the fingers. The time consuming labor of scrubbing clothes by hand on cement scrubboards occupies women in both the countryside and the town. Milking is often a female job, although men also milk, and travelling to whatever distant mountainside the cows are pastured on makes the task an especially tiring one. Rural women also keep chickens and pigs, and the income from these ventures is often their own to do with as

they wish. Given the fact that male support of the household may be erratic, women usually use these funds to pay school fees for their children or buy them the uniforms or supplies they need.

In town, women engage in a range of occupations. Many women run small stores. The stores which double as cafes are more often those of women than those of men. The larger, general stores in town are run by men, with their wives (and children) assisting. The two drug stores in town are run by women, one by a doctor's wife and the other by a woman who also serves as a midwife. Both women also prescribe drugs and give injections. The Institute of Family Welfare daycare center is run and staffed by women, and there are numbers of women teachers in both the elementary and secondary schools. The switchboard at the Telecom office is run by both female and male employees, and many of the clerks in town offices are women. The largest percentage of market vendors of fruits and vegetables and of prepared foods are women, while the meat stalls are run almost entirely by men.

There are a few women who occupy important formal public roles. There is a woman judge in town, and a woman who is head of the Institute of Family Welfare is also very active in local politics, serving on a number of committees and on the municipal council. Among the evangelical women, the most prominent are Dona Julia, who holds no formal office but is politically involved (see below), and her

adopted sister, Edelmira, who is the director of the Lutheran primary school, and also fills the role usually occupied by "pastor's wife" in the Lutheran church.

Many of the occupations which women pursue are of a part-time nature, and they identify themselves primarily as amas de casa (housewives) when asked their profession. Poorer women offer their services as part-time domestic servants, and many women work as seamstresses, or bake small rolls or make sweets or cheeses for re-sale in the local stores to supplement the family income.

D. Early History of El Cocuy

In 1540 or 1542, Hernan Perez de Quezada, along with one hundred soldiers, passed through what is now El Cocuy looking for the "Casa del Sol". Some accounts recognize this event as the founding of El Cocuy. Other accounts state that the town was founded by German conquistadores, Federman, Jorge Spira and Ambrosio Alfinger, who had come over the mountains with an expedition from Venezuela. A good number of people in the area are tall and fair-skinned, with blue eyes and blond or red hair. It is rare that people are able to trace their ancestry back more than a few generations, and people of this physical type are not distinguished in any other way from other campesinos. In fact, a family with several children whose looks more closely approximate the "indian" type which prevails in Colombia -- that is, dark eyes and hair, trigueño (wheat colored) skin, and shorter stature -- frequently also has a

mono (blond or fair one). It is believed by local people that this atypical physical type is the heritage of the German conquistadores.

It is generally agreed upon that the early conquistadores encountered a tribe known as the Laches, who were part of the Chibcha. According to local history, rather than fall into the hands of the oppressors, the native population committed collective suicide, throwing themselves off of a high peak which today bears the name "El Peñon de los Muertos" (The Cliff of the Dead).⁶ The first night that they spent in the region, the conquerers noticed a strange light illuminating the banks of the river that flowed down from the snow capped peaks. They discovered that this phosphorescent light came from fireflies, which bore the aboriginal name Chochue and hispanized became Cocuyo. From this came the name of the town.

In the beginning El Cocuy was a small hamlet which served as a rest stop for those who were travelling to the salt mines of Las Salinas, the major source of salt for consumption for the entire northern region, especially Santander. In 1673 the parish of El Cocuy was founded and the church was constructed.

In the first half of this century, El Cocuy was divided into a three-tiered class system. The jailudos or upper class lived in the town and owned vast expanses of land which provided them with the income to support an elite life style which included trips to Europe, the purchase of fine

imported goods, and a social life embellished by fancy dress balls and string orchestras. The small middle-class was comprised mostly of artisans, who also lived in town but were not wealthy. The majority of people, the campesinos, inhabited the outlying rural areas and made their living by working the lands of the elite in combination with small private plots they were able to acquire, and raising livestock.

El Cocuy has produced a number of distinguished native sons, the most significant being General Santos Gutierrez, who was the president of Colombia from 1868 to 1870. During this century, the town has undergone a complete change in its class structure. The upper class sold their property and began to leave, preferring life in the capital, and those who remained by the late 1940's were driven out by the violence. As a Liberal town in the center of a Conservative region, El Cocuy was particularly hard hit. Oquist, in his comprehensive analysis of La Violencia (1980) uses El Cocuy and its Conservative neighbors as "a particularly important case study" of the role of traditional village rivalries and vendetta fighting in fueling the fires of violence. What remained of the upper class left at this time, as well as large numbers of individuals and families from the countryside. The epoch of La Violencia marked the beginning of a surge of out-migration which has continued until the present. Most have gone to Bogota, but there are colonies of Cocuyanans in other urban centers.

Such emigration has had several effects. First, land became plentiful and relatively cheap, making it possible for the campesinos who remained in El Cocuy to accumulate moderate-sized to extensive holdings. Some individuals of campesino origins have become quite economically successful, mainly through cattle raising. Second, there has been an acute labor shortage. Lands that used to be cultivated have been converted into pastures, since cattle raising requires much less labor input. Third, people in El Cocuy have developed networks that provide various benefits for both the rural-based and urban-based branches of extended kin units. (A similar pattern has been identified in Peru by Bourque and Warren 1981.)

E. Religion in El Cocuy

The vast majority of Cocuyanans, like Colombians elsewhere, are Catholic. Catholic feast days are public events which engage most of the community. Processions of the decorated saints through town on their holy days are still focal points for the community. The month of May, which is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, is celebrated with special masses, the daily ringing of the church bells and shooting off of fireworks. Corpus Cristi day, which is celebrated on June 2, is a major community event. Special arcos (arches) are constructed around the central plaza, each arch the responsibility of a different rural neighborhood or community organization (such as the

secondary school, elementary school, etc.). These arches are elaborately decorated with foodstuffs, such as strings of potatoes, bananas, and specially decorated breads. Also mixed in are store-bought items such as bars of drinking chocolate and even a jar of Tang. The arches are also decorated with boughs and flowers, and hanging from some are cages of birds or wild animals such as foxes. In earlier times, it was explained to me, the animals would be killed and hung from the arches, but the government has forbidden this practice. The priest proceeds around the plaza, saying prayers at each arch, followed by the local band. A large amount of fireworks are set off. I was unfortunately unable to get any explanation of this event beyond the response that it is "traditional". This may have to do with the fact that evangelicals refused to admit that they knew anything about it, and Catholics, identifying me with the evangelicals, were reluctant to appear "backward" in my eyes.

Another major Catholic procession occurs on the day of the Virgin of Carmen, the patron saint of drivers. Car and truck owners move in procession around the streets behind the priest and the image of Carmen, ending in the plaza in front of the church. There, the priest sprinkles holy water on the hoods of the vehicles and blesses them. Needless to say, the two evangelicals in town who owned vehicles did not participate in this ceremony, and, in fact, they mildly ridiculed this blessing of inanimate objects as

typical of the misplacement of Catholic faith.

The history of Catholic-evangelical relations in El Cocuy and the role of politics in religious affiliation were elaborated on in Chapter III. It is important to reiterate that El Cocuy is unusual in the region in being primarily a Liberal town. Despite the severe persecution during La Violencia and the much milder harrassment at present, evangelicalism has managed to endure as a minor but established religion in El Cocuy for the past 50 years. In contrast, nearby Conservative communities, such as Guican and El Espino have tolerated no evangelical presence to speak of.

At the time of my fieldwork in 1983, four evangelical groups existed in El Cocuy. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the oldest and most enduring influence has been that of the Lutheran. The Pentecostal churches, which are split along unitarian/trinitarian lines, began in the early 1970s. The Church of Branham is a more recent development.

I attended services in all four of the churches, interviewed their pastors and members and spent time in their homes. Both because of my contacts and because of its predominance in the town, the bulk of my work was carried out with the Lutheran church. There is some integration among the churches; occasionally Pentecostals will attend services at the Lutheran church. The Pentecostals have a great deal of respect for the Lutherans and especially for

the quality of the primary school, where they send their children to study and get "a Christian education." I will briefly describe the two of the three smaller evangelical churches before going on in more detail about the Lutherans. The Branham church had only a few members, and will not be described here.

1. The United Pentecostal Church

The pastor and his wife are both from outside of El Cocuy: he is from the Eastern Plains and she is from the Coast. They have been assigned to the congregation in El Cocuy for two years and are still finding it difficult to adjust to life in the highlands. Since they are both from hot, flat regions, the environment in El Cocuy is a real change for them and they are somewhat depressed by the situation. The food is unfamiliar and making the rounds requires exhausting climbs up and down the mountains. The IPU does not like to leave pastors in their home towns, because, as it was explained to me, "People there remember how badly one acted before one converted." They have three preschool children, the older two of whom spend the entire day, from 7:30-5:00 in the daycare center run by the Institute of Family Welfare, a pattern endorsed by both husband and wife. The little living space they occupy in a house which is shared with another couple and the chapel, is extremely neat and the children are clean and beautifully dressed.

The Pastor counts about sixty members in the area,

including those who attend services at the little chapel in their house in town and those who gather at members' houses in the distant rural neighborhoods. The IPU in El Cocuy was founded around 1971. The IPU church is suffering from the same problem in membership that the Lutherans complain about. Although the goal is to build membership -- and in the IPU especially, the number of souls he wins is the standard by which a successful pastor is judged -- emigration to Bogota is keeping the numbers low. Pastor Valenzuela complains that a family will join and be active in the church for awhile, but then after a time the whole family pulls up stakes and moves to Bogota. The loss of entire families at one blow is badly felt by the small church.

2. The Trinitarian Pentecostal Church

This church was founded on February 13, 1972. At the present time, it is loosely affiliated with the Assemblies of God, receiving periodic visits from Colombian missionaries of the Asembleas. At one time the church had an active membership of about thirty people, but because of migration, the membership has fallen to about eighteen or twenty. For the past three years they have been without a permanent pastor, and the members take responsibility for conducting the services themselves.

Members recounted stories of persecution in recent years. An evangelical wedding that was performed around 1976 was disrupted by an angry man. The woman judge who was present at the ceremony called the man in the next day and

fined him so that he would stop harrassing the evangelicals. Another man commissioned the local fireworks-maker to make some bombs for him to kill the evangelicals, but was later killed himself when he slipped on a rock and fell down a mountain path.

The Trinitarians are perhaps the strictest group in terms of behavioral standards. Women are not allowed to wear pants, earrings, necklaces, or make-up. Men are forbidden to drink, smoke, play billiards or naipes (a card game), or use vulgar language. Dancing is not permitted, and although members can watch television and listen to the radio they are urged to be selective about the programs: soap operas, love songs and other secular music are not permissible. Christian radio programs and cassettes are available, and are approved.

These strict behavioral codes are motivated by the desire of church members to "present a living testimony." Trinitarian pentecostals emphasized how their behavior set them apart from others in the community, of whom they were very critical. They are concerned that others notice their behavior, and that the "good impression" that each member makes will attract people to the gospel. Accompanying this attitude is the belief that one should be hospitable to one's neighbors. "That's how you conquer humanity", said one man. "Show them affection, gratitude, friendship, hospitality." It is interesting that despite strict codes of asceticism, trinitarians are still intensely social in

their orientation, and eager to participate in community life as long as it is "wholesome". I will develop this point further in a discussion of the peculiarities of Colombian evangelical asceticism vis-à-vis the notion of "other-worldliness" which has usually been associated with ascetic religions.

A married couple now occupy the house in town that belongs to the mission. Since they are filling in for the pastor, the mission has offered to pay their utilities, but they refused because they did not want problems with the other members. Candido is a native of El Cocuy, and his wife, Sixta, is from the neighboring town of Guican. He is 42 years old and converted in Bogota at the age of 30. His wife converted two days after him. Candido's father had been murdered during La Violencia, and his mother remarried a man who did not treat the family well. He has had only two years of formal education, and his wife three. Candido did his obligatory military service from 1960-1962, and married in the Catholic church shortly after coming out of the army. He lived in Bogota for a year and a half, but he could not get accustomed to it, so he returned to El Cocuy. He owns no property in El Cocuy, and makes his living through a variety of strategies. He runs an uncle's farm and rents some land on which he pastures livestock. He works as a middleman, travelling around in the countryside buying livestock (pigs, goats, sheep, and occasionally cows or horses) for resale in the weekly market. The couple has

four children ranging in age from 11 to 17. The oldest two are studying in Bogota.

According to his wife, the gospel has worked a miraculous change in Candido's life. Before he converted, he was a cruel man who drank heavily, beat her, and was having difficulty supporting his family:

When we were recently married we weren't Christians -- we were unconverted. And then the home was a disaster area, because we didn't understand each other (no nos comprendiamos), there wasn't affection, there wasn't friendship, there wasn't love or anything. Everything was a disaster.

By the time he left for Bogota, right before he converted, she had decided to leave him, although she was very worried about how to support their children. Candido's sister, who lived in Bogota, was a convert. He reported that when she used to speak to him about the gospel he didn't like it because he thought it was evil. But while he was in Bogota he attended a service in her home.

I said to myself, well, out of decency I have to go and hear what those people have to say. And that night the Lord spoke to my heart and I saw the condition that I was walking around this world in. I acknowledged it, and I said to myself, the mistake of Catholic religion is that one isn't saved there. I said to myself, is that a religion? What happens is that in the Evangelical church they teach one the Bible and they apply that to their lives, and in the Catholic church they don't teach you the Bible nor do they apply it.

Apparently, Candido was already predisposed to the gospel when he was cured of an illness:

According to the Bible it was impure spirits that I had. I went to have x-rays taken in Bogota and Malaga, and eight doctors met there and nothing

came of it -- there were no results. Then my sister said to me, "Let's go to services and there you will be prayed for and you'll get better." And that's how it was, that night, thanks be to God. The Pastor anointed me with oil and put his hand on my head and cried out to God. I felt something that went out of me from the mouth of my stomach, and I've never felt that pain again, nor will it come back. So then that was the basis for me to like the evangelio even better.

The unconverted members of both Candido's and Sixta's families criticized them sharply for converting. Only one brother refused to interfere. When the family spoke about "ridding Candido of these evil customs", that is, his evangelical practice, the brother replied, "But what evil customs? Now he doesn't get drunk any more, nor does he smoke, nor does he fight, and he's responsible for his home ... what do I have to say to him?" Candido is gratified that people recognize the extraordinary change in him and believes he is providing a proper testimony to his family.

Candido had been very interested in politics, and when he converted one of his main concerns was to see how the evangelicals conducted themselves around a presidential election. The pastor of the church announced that the day of the elections the church would be open from six in the morning, that people could come in to pray, and that "God who knows the hearts of men" would elect the next president to govern the country. Candido was very impressed that that was all he had said, because he remembered the priests dictating from the pulpit whom people should vote for. He claimed that the politicians would bribe the priests for their endorsements.

Candido's experience with the gift of tongues seems to be limited to his stay in Bogota. There the words of the tongue speaker would be interpreted by someone else who had the gift of prophesy. Candido felt that this was a very useful gift specifically for admonishing the church or particular individuals who were walking in sin.

Another devout couple who belong to the Trinitarian Pentecostal church live in the distant rural neighborhood of Llano Grande. Antonio is a farmer, renting land from a wealthy cousin. He also watches over the renters on neighboring farms of the same patron, arranging for the marketing of the produce. The couple has been married for 23 years and they have seven children. They converted, more or less at the same time, in 1976. Both of them spoke about how conversion had transformed their married life. Emelina said:

There didn't used to be understanding ("no habia habido comprension"), nor was there happiness in our home, and I used to say, 'Lord, how long will my life go on?' My husband used to get drunk a lot, and he'd spend everything that he had worked to earn, like we used to say, 'What is earned in one year is spent in one day.'

Emelina's phrasing is identical to Sixta's, in terms of the former lack of understanding that conversion has corrected. This same phrasing is used pervasively by evangelical women. The significance of "mutual understanding" in evangelical households is developed in Chapter V.

All of the members recognize the need to evangelize in

order to build up the church, but they feel hampered by the lack of a full time pastor. There are a number of women, especially in the countryside, who they think are interested in attending but whose husbands are preventing them.

3. The Lutherans

Exact figures of membership for the Lutheran church in El Cocuy are not available. I was told that the church records had been among the books burned during La Violencia. The church council estimates that there are now about 30 members. During the best of times there were well over 100, and many more "sympathizers" who would attend periodically. During the past twenty years or so, the church has been losing two or three families every year emigrating to Bogota. An attempt had been made to reconstruct the records, and I had access to baptismal records from 1941-1983. These showed a total number of 125 baptisms for those years. Unlike the Pentecostals, the Lutherans do not believe in re-baptism. Therefore, those who converted as adults (and had already been baptized in the Catholic church) would not appear in the baptismal records. The records of confirmations for sporadic years from 1957-1978 showed a total of 130. According to these records, the people who were confirmed up until about 1965 had all been baptized as Catholics. After 1965, they were all baptized in the El Salvador church, which means that they are almost exclusively the sons and daughters of members.

F. The Impact of Foreign Missionaries in El Cocuy: The Lutheran Church of Our Saviour

The first missionaries to the area, Andrew Larson and his wife, came to Colombia from Norway in the late 1930s. The Larsons entered an area that was completely dominated, in terms of both religious ideology and political influence, by a strong Roman Catholic Church. One explanation for the presence of the Lutherans in Boyaca is that during the early days of missionary activity, the historical Protestant churches divided the territories among themselves, and the Lutherans drew Boyaca. The Department has a reputation among evangelicals as being a difficult region to evangelize because most towns are dominated by the Conservative party, people are highly traditionalistic, and a particularly intransigent machismo flavors interpersonal relations. At the time of the Larsons' arrival in El Cocuy, local people were only vaguely aware that other religions (besides the Roman Catholic) existed. As noted earlier, the Larsons began their ministry by visiting the houses of people they knew had purchased Bibles. At that time, owning a Bible was sufficiently heretical (in the eyes of the Roman Catholic clergy) so that these individuals could be expected to have a more open attitude towards religious ideas than was generally the case. The original list was provided by the Bible salesman who had visited the area earlier. It seems that the families who were positively disposed towards the message the visitors brought were those that harbored anti-clerical feelings and were identified with the Liberal

party. Other factors must also have come into play, since El Cocuy is a predominantly Liberal town, but not all Liberals converted. Party identification is important for a number of reasons (see Chapter III), and it is notable that the missionaries had no success whatsoever in the surrounding Conservative towns.

The major period of growth for the Lutheran mission in El Cocuy was during the years 1938-1950. Larson seems to have been a very dedicated and ingenious evangelist who managed to attract a solid core of families to the church. An early convert reminisced that "the Gospel entered wrapped up in agreeable things." He organized games and sports activities aimed at attracting young people (the Mormons in Bogota are using the same tactic, although basketball seems to have replaced soccer as the game of choice). Children and teenagers who were enured to the endless drudgery of farm work delighted in the sack races, games of blind man's bluff, and soccer matches to which the Larsons invited them. Although clearly aimed at the youth, the goal of these events was to make them family affairs. The idea that leisure activities could be sexually and generationally integrated was something new in El Cocuy. As we will see in section F.3 below, this continues to be an issue to this day. The Larsons also organized outings and picnics, and members brought along musical instruments to accompany the hymn singing. It must be remembered that such events must have rated as major entertainment in the isolated mountain

regions of El Cocuy in the 1930s.

In the early days, Larson held some public meetings in the town theatre that were well attended, and he also sold religious books in the street on market days. Some people were drawn in because of intellectual curiosity. They describe their attendance at initial meetings or their attraction to the books that were being offered (including the Bible) saying, "I felt that there must be something more." One convert continued to attend Catholic mass while he began to become involved with the Lutherans. "I would come down to town on Sundays to go to mass, and then I'd come out of mass and go to the evangelical service. Many times in both places they'd be discussing the same part of the Gospel, the same Chapter. But in the Catholic church the explanations were very twisted, very different from what the Chapter was trying to say." The accounts of early converts suggest that a yearning for some sort of intellectual satisfaction played an important role in their conversion.

The Larsons started a small day school, for the first few years of primary level, which continues to function to this day.⁸ In the early days the children of believers would sometimes be refused entrance in the public schools in town, or if they were allowed to attend they were subjected to abuse from both the teachers and fellow students. The evangelical school also suffered numerous attacks, although the school eventually developed a good reputation based on

its quality of education and the discipline and dedication of the teachers. Eventually, non-evangelicals began to enroll their children in the school, and in 1983 the majority of pupils were from non-evangelical families.

A series of missionaries served the congregation in El Cocuy during the period 1938-1950. During La Violencia the missionaries left for their own safety, and the members of the congregation were subjected to persecution, as described by Oliverio in Chapter Three. Oliverio's older brother Joaquin, who had been very active in the church, was murdered by vigilantes, and the building housing the evangelical school in the outlying rural neighborhood of El Carrizal was burned down. As noted earlier, many evangelicals spent this time hiding in the mountains, or eventually left the town for the relative safety of Bogota or other big cities. It was during this time that the Lutheran churches in Bogota and other cities were established. Although many of the refugees from the violence returned to El Cocuy, once things had calmed down, others migrated permanently. The church in El Cocuy continues to lose members through migration. Its small size may make its contribution in terms of the growth of the movement seem miniscule compared to much larger and more active churches elsewhere. However, an impressive number of evangelicals in Bogota, among them some of the most prominent people in the national church, originally came to know the Gospel in El Cocuy.

1. The Missionaries and the Notion of Progress

The early missionaries were also involved in what might be viewed as small-scale development work, and this interest in "progress" was a main selling point of the new doctrine that continues to characterize evangelical activities in Colombia. An early convert in El Cocuy recalled that Larson was very concerned with improving the quality of life of the people:

He tried to show people how it was possible, despite the fact that they were poor, to improve their situation in the campo, because he was a campesino in Norway. So he used to teach people things like how to make a stove, how to make a bathroom, how to cultivate corn better. He even helped us with the agricultural work at times. And it was clear that that man was a big help, because once he went to an area near El Espino, and later when we went to visit there we found all the houses where that man had been received very changed -- now they had bathrooms there in their houses, and they had stoves, and people were eating better and living better.

These kinds of home improvements very much characterize evangelical life style in El Cocuy. Many women still prefer to cook over the fogon (an open fire surrounded by three stones for supporting the pots), but in evangelical houses there is usually at least a wood stove, so that the smoke does not fill the room and blacken it.

Larson also tried to encourage the cultivation of vegetable gardens. He first had to teach people "how to eat vegetables" (such as lettuce, beets, cabbage, carrots, etc.) because this was unheard of within the normal campesino diet. When Joaquin Mora obediently started to cultivate

vegetables at the instigation of the missionary, his father criticized him for planting the garden so far away from the house, where crops might be stolen. Joaquin answered, "Well, if they steal them, I've accomplished something, because that would prove that the neighbors have finally learned how to eat vegetables." When evangelical women included cooked vegetables to supplement the mandatory meals for the field hands during harvest, the workers would be disgusted and complain, "We're not cows that we can sustain ourselves on grass."

This kind of teaching was aimed more generally at the larger population and not simply at evangelicals, although it would appear by current standards that the evangelicals have been more diligent in applying these ideas. Oliverio dispenses seeds for vegetables in his tiny veterinary drugstore, and on market day the campesinos may come in to buy a tablespoon of carrot or beet seed for a few pesos, which he measures out precisely from a large can and wraps in a twist of newspaper. Malnutrition is a widespread problem in Colombia, and even in the campo where fresh milk, eggs, and grains are available, people often prefer to sell their produce and buy panela (slightly refined sugar) or chocolate with the profits. Evangelical households do tend to eat better, partly as a result of the missionary influence and also because of the reorientation of consumption priorities -- if the money is not being spent by the husband alone on beer, more of it is available to buy

food for the family.

I believe that the "progress-minded" attitude existed in certain families before the advent of the missionaries, but the missionary influence served to reinforce it and provided a context for its expression. This point will be exemplified and developed further by a discussion of the history and political activities of the Mora family, an important evangelical family in both El Cocuy and Bogota. This case material will illustrate how Colombian evangelical notions of "progress" stem from a concern with the prosperity and well-being of individuals and families. In this they are actually domestic standards writ large upon the community as a whole. Modernization for its own sake, as well as class mobility and status achievement, are not the goals of these evangelical community activists. This is an important distinction, because it reveals something about the potential for social change inherent in evangelical conversion in Latin America.

2. Julia Mora and Community Development

Julia Mora is a woman in her early 70s, the middle child among eight siblings whose father and mother were among the first evangelical converts in El Cocuy. Julia's father, Sagrario Mora lived his entire life in the countryside surrounding El Cocuy. He is described by his children as having been a thoughtful and enterprising man, concerned about progress. He continually made improvements on his small farm -- digging irrigation canals, constructing

a more comfortable house, devising an oven for baking clay tiles and a mill to grind wheat and corn. He put his children to work making tiles and sent them along the mountain paths to buy eggs from the housewives. The eggs were packed into boxes, transported to Soata on the backs of mules, and then sent all the way to Bogota by truck, where they were sold. When a Bible salesman appeared at his house up in the mountains in the 1930s, he purchased a Bible and began teaching his children to read it. His home was among the first to be visited by Andrew Larson, and his children grew up dedicated to the evangelical church. One son, Oliverio, became a Lutheran pastor, attending seminary in Argentina during La Violencia. Another son, Joaquin, was murdered during that time. A daughter (Ernestina) married a boy from another town who went on to become pastor of the Lutheran church in Bogota. An adopted daughter is the director of the Lutheran school in El Cocuy. His grandchildren and great-grandchildren (numbering about 50) are involved in the church to greater or lesser degrees.

Sagrario passed on his enterprising spirit and an attitude that life could be improved to his children. There is something about them that distinguishes them from their fellow Cocuyanos. Julia Mora is in many ways an exceptional Colombian woman. Dressed in pants, a brown ruana and a straw hat she is perpetually bustling through the town on her way to some important rendezvous, or engaged in conversation on political topics with anyone who will

listen. Julia has a vision of a paradise on earth, which centers around a cooperative run by women. It would have fruit trees, clean water from an aqueduct, and electricity. Women would learn to raise rabbits for sale and engage in other sorts of small scale projects for improving their lives. While I was there, she was planning to start a cement block business, anticipating a big building boom with the development of tourism.

Perhaps Julia's most important contribution to the town was the electrification of the vereda of El Carrizal. Her brother, Oliverio, had attended an international Lutheran conference in Dar es Salaam in the 1970s, during which representatives from the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva had solicited from those in attendance ideas for development projects in their various countries. The support of the LWF for projects in Colombia was particularly secure due to the fact that the Secretary of the Latin America desk at the LWF is Colombian, a former Colegio CELCO teacher, from the region around El Cocuy. Oliverio had thought of the electrification scheme, which had been greeted with enthusiasm, and was told to return to Colombia and develop a proposal so that the LWF could provide the necessary funding. Upon his return he reported this possibility to the congregation, but months passed without any effort being made to develop the proposal. His sister Julia kept pestering him about it, until he finally turned the papers over to her and told her to do the legwork and the

paperwork. This was an involved procedure, because the LWF wanted at least a symbolic amount of local financial support for the project. Julia ran herself ragged climbing up and down the steep mountain paths in El Carrizal, trying to convince people of the advantages of having electricity, and that the rates they would have to pay for the service were relatively low because of the LWF subsidy. She also managed to convince the national, departmental and municipal governments to put up a small fraction of the money to cover the installation of the lines.

Along with her brother, Oliverio, and the town priest, Julia gave lectures at the high school and at various Junta de Accion Comunal meetings about two years ago on the origins of the political parties. This was motivated by El Cocuy's very bad reputation for political violence, for, with the December fiestas approaching, the town leaders were afraid that there would be trouble. The lectures were aimed at presenting a more rational view of politics that would "de-fanaticize" the people. This was the first time that she had had anything to do with the priest. "Uno siempre tenia como cholera" she said, ("One was still angry somehow", referring to the persisting resentment and anger the evangelicals feel towards the Catholic clergy for having persecuted them during La Violencia.) Her attitude has mellowed considerably, and she now chats with the priest quite amiably when they meet in a store or in the street. In fact, she has a sort of "bootstrap" politics, believing

that the poor are that way because they don't want to work. She has no patience for the Catholic youth association, which is quite radical in its views and vocally denounces the rich while ennobling the poor. She believes that there are no longer any rich people in El Cocuy, that those who have money are hard working people who simply are reaping the rewards of their labors.

She has an undefined political influence in the town because of her determination in talking to the powers that be. She frequently travels back and forth between El Cocuy and Bogota or Tunja (the capital of the department of Boyaca), often for the purpose of speaking to important men in politics. When she returns from such a visit, the mayor asks her solicitously for the latest news. She is angry that she has not been elected to serve on the 10 member municipal council, even though her two brothers do.

I first met Julia at a women's conference held by the Lutheran World Federation in Bogota. This was the first such conference to be conducted by the LWF in the Northern part of South America (others had been held in Chile and Brazil). While she consumed with gusto a plate full of raw onions, explaining that they were very good for the health, she told me the story of the first missionary's visit to their home in El Cocuy. The possibility of attending international conferences is one of the side benefits of membership in the Lutheran church, and the Colombian Synod regularly received invitations to send a representative to

meetings in other parts of the world. Of course such opportunities are highly coveted, and when a letter arrived in El Cocuy saying that the churches had to select a woman to represent Colombia at a meeting of Lutheran women in the United States, it created a stir. The pastor read the letter to the congregation, and explained that they had to select someone to compete with the candidates from the other churches. Julia was cynical about the whole situation. Although she would dearly love to have gone, she said that the "Señores" in Bogota would no doubt select one of their ladies to have the privilege of travelling to the United States, and that although it would certainly be more valid to send a person who knew the countryside and was articulate about the problems people faced, there wasn't a chance that they would send a mere "campesina" [such as herself] to the U.S.

3. Oliverio Mora and the December fiestas

"Todo esto se hace con el interes de mejorar."
 (All of this is done in the interest of
 improving things)

-- from Oliverio Mora's radio address
 concerning changes in the December fiestas

Oliverio Mora, Julia's younger brother, is also unusual in many ways. He has the same "progress-mnded" attitude as Julia, and is constantly trying to think of ways to improve things. He has done quite well with cattle raising. He doesn't tie his cows or milk them, allowing the calves to have the milk so that they'll grow faster. Since cattle-raising for beef is mainly for export to the cities, while

dairy products tend to be sold only locally, he is sacrificing the small, short-term gain for a more delayed, but larger, profit. He also feeds his cows corn cobs mixed with molasses, a habit which the other farmers ridiculed at first until they saw how fast and well his cattle grew. He was also responsible for starting a cooperative to combat livestock rustling. Members contribute 100 pesos in order to belong, and if any animals are stolen, the organization pays to announce the theft over the radio and mobilizes a search.

Oliverio was also very active in a committee set up to administer some land that was left to the town by a wealthy Liberal about 40 years ago. During his service on this committee, he convinced the members to set up 80 scholarships for poor students to study at the high school in town. In an election in 1983, Oliverio lost his seat on this committee. Even though he really didn't care to serve any longer because he was frustrated with the other members, it upset him because he said that the election winners had been up in the campo buying shots of aguardiente for the campesinos to get their votes. He lost because he doesn't politic that way. This incident is an illustration of his priorities and the kind of frustrations he faces in his public role in the town.

Oliverio has acquired quite a bit of land, much of which is used to pasture his cattle. Another portion is cultivated by his poorer brother who gives him a share of

the crop for use rights, in the fashion of a regular aparceño (sharecropper). Two of this man's sons, Oliverio's nephews, live with Oliverio in town while they attend secondary school. Another half-brother contributes his labor to the cultivation of this plot, and he is paid in potatoes at harvest time. He is clearly considered by his family to be the well-off uncle, and he regularly assists other family members when they need money. He has not, however, used his financial superiority to differentiate himself in terms of status from his family or from the rest of the community. He is typically modest about his holdings, and although he suffers from rheumatism that makes it hard for him to get around when the weather is damp, he takes great joy in visiting his herds, participating in the construction of irrigation ditches to keep his fields watered, and just spending time out in the familiar countryside where he grew up.

Oliverio was designated by the Municipal Council to act as "President" for the annual December fiestas in El Cocuy.⁹ Since the fair and fiesta normally involve a great deal of public drinking as part of the celebration, Oliverio, as an evangelical, was in an equivocal position. He is an adamant teetotaler and identifies alcohol and drunkenness as the main factors which inhibit progress in the town. He is also a very reserved man, not given to dancing or any sorts of public display. During the course of presiding over the fiesta, his standards constantly came into conflict with the

wishes of the townspeople. He wanted to "reform" the fiestas, to try to reorient people away from the kinds of behavior he found objectionable towards more wholesome activities. In anticipation of the public disapproval he was expecting as a reaction to his new approach to the fiestas, he made a public announcement over the local radio station. This address is an excellent example of Colombian evangelical rhetoric, and includes the essence of Oliverio's notion of progress, as well as his conceptualization of the problems which exist in the town. Oliverio began his radio announcement by stating that the fiestas are going to be conducted in such a way as to give them a truly Boyacense flavor -- they are going to characterize rural life in the countryside, and be Cocuyano in their very essence. He says, "we don't need to bring things in from outside in order to have a good time, to enjoy ourselves." The message is clear: he values the traditional, things that are campesino, that is, common to the life of the rural cultivator. It is not unlikely that such a rural fair would be the opportunity for a show of farm machinery or agricultural technology, for the sake of showing the modern orientation of the community. Such things would be out of financial reach of the average farmer and have little applicability to the topography in a town such as El Cocuy. Oliverio expresses no interest in such displays, but rather his entire focus is on the enhancement of traditional values.

In his speech, he identifies certain problems that he believes are inhibiting "progress" in the town, and outlines the proper attitude needed to correct these problems and achieve the goal. Juxtaposed are a family orientation and an individualistic one, sharing as opposed to selfishness, productive things (such as agriculture, livestock, flowers, crafts) as opposed to non-productive things (such as alcohol and fireworks). Very early on he mentions that the fiestas should have a family orientation, and he reiterates this point throughout the talk. The emphasis is on learning -- children should be socialized into proper values. He is hoping that people will use the fiestas to instill an appreciation of productive rural activities in their children.

Again, the criticisms that he raises are not aimed at "traditional" values per se. He doesn't urge people to give up their "backward" ways or to adopt foreign characteristics. When he enumerates the things that can be enjoyed in the town, they are the simple foods of the region. His objective is to encourage productive, useful, wholesome things and direct people away from those things which he perceives as wasteful, selfish, and even dangerous.

This year, our fiesta and fair is going to be conducted in a somewhat different fashion from other years. Above all, we want to have a fiesta and fair that truly brings progress to our municipality, and also to the other neighboring municipalities, because they are going to participate in the fair along with us.

We must learn to rejoice in wholesome things.

This fair and fiesta is aimed at progress. Come with your family. Teach them about progress. If they see the exhibition of flowers, and of agricultural products, and of crafts, and of livestock, the children will learn something and they'll get enthusiastic. If you don't win a prize, no matter. What's important, and what is truly a prize is that we should get enthusiastic about the things which are truly useful and make our municipality progress. It will teach your children to cultivate the land, to do projects, to plant trees and flowering plants -- in that respect it is really a school. There is no reason for you to come alone, just to drink beer, just to drink liquor and beer and get drunk, while your family is sad at home. Take them out. Come with them. Share with them. You shouldn't just drink alcohol, because alcohol is the scourge of our country and of our town. There are many other things to eat and ways one can amuse oneself. The amusement one finds in alcohol isn't a true amusement. It's an amusement that brings along with it tears, that later brings pain and poverty. Give your children the many other things that you'll find in town -- you'll find mazato, chocolate, meat, potatoes, and other things. Learn how to share with your family and with your friends. Don't just offer them something that really doesn't have any purpose, any result. Also, you should learn to rejoice in things that don't just leave smoke. Don't think that if you don't hear a lot of fireworks that the fiestas weren't any good. What are fireworks? What do they do and what do they leave behind? Many times what they leave behind are deaths and injuries, and fuziness in the head. It's not necessary to shoot off a lot of fireworks in the fiesta. Help us to make it happy. Happy in a fundamental way, in a way that is based on forward-thinking principles. In advanced places, in those places which have progressed, they don't use these things to have a good time, and these are people whose lives are many times happier than ours. We believe that with shots and with thunder and with drunkenness we will be happy. But these things don't bring true happiness.

Relatively far along in his talk he mentions religion, and he takes special care to appeal to the Catholic population.

Our wholesome fair and fiesta, organized around wholesome principles, will truly bring progress. Happiness which is based on God's principles is happiness that will last a lifetime, while the empty happiness based on satanic principles will soon be followed by sadness. For that reason, we should begin our festivities by praising God. On the morning of the eighth of December, before the fair starts, each one of us should go to our church to worship God. The Catholic-evangelicals go to their churches to have a special service, and the Roman Catholics go to their church to have a special service, worshipping God. I would hope that that day you would study more about the Virgin Mary, what were her desires, how did she act in front of her God, how she served her fellowman and what was it that she wanted us to do. We should teach the children and the young people to be enthusiastic about the things that God has given us for our sustenance: with the plants, with the animals. And we should take care of them and then we will progress. Let's teach them to look at these things which God has created which are so beautiful, so that later they won't have to use narcotics or alcohol in excess in order to feel a false happiness that will bring them pain and end them up in the cementary or in prison. God has given us many ways to be happy. What happens is that we don't understand the things of God very much. We don't know how to rejoice in wholesome things very well.

Finally, in a statement which very clearly illustrates the family/household orientation projected onto the community, he juxtaposes alcohol and milk. He emphasizes the symbolic import of the distribution of milk during the fiesta, representing peace, progress, nutrition and life.

Although I know that some people aren't going to like this type of fiesta, from right now I'm going to tell you that the President isn't going to take it upon himself to distribute alcohol in order to get people drunk. You're better off asking him for a white liquid that is nutritious, not for alcohol which gets you drunk and makes you stupid, and this white liquid is milk, which even in its color is a symbol of peace. At the beginning of the craft, floral and agricultural fair, we are going to distribute milk and bread

to the children, as a symbol of progress, of nutrition and of life. And as president, I'm not going to preside over fiestas for drunks, nor for fighters, nor for exploiters. Although some people won't like it, the majority will, and it will be something that is truly beneficial for our town.

That a man in the prominent public office of President of the annual fiestas would concern himself with the homely task of giving milk to children is perhaps not entirely beyond the realm of possibilities in rural Colombia. But to imbue such a gesture with symbolic significance, as representing an alternative mode of thought and behavior to that which is expected at fiestas, is a radical departure from the norm. If we consider Oliverio's stance in the abstract, disregarding for a moment that it is "en-gendered" (in the sense of being given its particular gender valence) by his evangelical belief, it appears as an attitude profoundly anomalous to the Colombian masculine role. In fact, the bulk of his argument would be quite appropriate had it been presented by a woman.

The point that this case illustrates is a most significant one. Although evangelical conversion does allow women positions of prominence in the relatively "public" world of the church, it is not often the case that evangelicalism provides either the motivation or the means for women to attain public roles such as that which occasioned Oliverio's speech. The point here is that the transformation of the male role into nurturer has to do as much with women as with men. The Colombian evangelical

movement may be generated by a dynamic located within the parameters of the household, but its repercussions reach out into the wider community. Within the confines of a strongly male dominated society such as Colombia, the revolutionary impact of evangelicalism is not that it transforms women's roles but that it has the power to change men to conform with female ideals and aspirations. This point will be explored in greater depth in the chapters that follow.

Finally, although Oliverio, throughout his address, uses the words "progress", "development", "advancement", etc., in fact what he is expressing is a concern with what we might call "prosperity." Progress or modernization in the way we think of them are by no means required to achieve the kind of prosperity and well-being Oliverio promotes. The meaning of this notion of "progress" to Colombian evangelicals, and more broadly, in the literature on Latin American evangelical conversion, will be discussed in Chapter VI.

NOTES

1. My first trip to Colombia, in the Fall of 1973, came about as the result of my participation in a program for undergraduate majors in anthropology sponsored by the School for International Training of the Experiment in International Living. The small group of students travelled from the United States directly to the small town of Silvia, Cauca, where we resided for the first few months in the homes of local families. During the five month stay in Colombia, I spent a few weeks travelling around the country and visited the cities of Cali, Bogota, and Pasto. The bulk of the time, however, was spent in the rural areas, including one month of independent field research I conducted with return migrants in the extreme southern part of the country, in the town of Funes, Narino.

2. The classification "urban" is slightly misleading in this generalization, because "percent urban" includes all people living in a county seat (cabecera municipal). Cabeceras may in fact be tiny towns with fewer than 1,500 people (and there may be other settlements with larger populations that are not classified as cabeceras and hence are not considered urban.) In terms of everyday life, these small cabeceras (including the town of El Cocuy), appear much more rural than urban. Perhaps a better indicator of the rate of urbanization is the percentage of the entire population living in the major cities, which has also increased markedly over the past 50 years. In 1938 Bogota claimed only 3.8% of the Colombian population (numbering 8,702,000 in that year), while in 1973, 12.7% of the 22,500,000 Colombians lived in that city (Mohan 1980:13).

3. I also collected data on births, deaths and marriages during this century from the Catholic Church parochial office in El Cocuy. There are many difficulties with these figures, but the one clear pattern that they reveal is the decrease in population. Since there is now also a secular registry, it is possible that the decreasing figures after the 1950s reveal a switchover to using the government registry. However, the government registry was started around 1900, and I believe that births are now recorded in both places.

4. There is a hierarchy of footwear among Cocuyanans. The poorest peasants wear rope-soled alpargates, which provide a little protection from the sharp rocks but function much as bare feet would -- they get wet, but then they dry. More successful peasants and middle class people who must spend time in their fields checking on livestock or irrigation hoses, etc., wear rubber boots, which keep feet dry but are hazardous when negotiating the steep paths strewn with slippery rocks. Next on the scale, younger people and town

folk favor running shoes, which can be scrubbed clean after each muddy outing. Appearing in town in muddy shoes is unthinkable, and the time and energy spent trying to maintain the illusion that mud doesn't exist in El Cocuy, or, that if it does, one doesn't go anywhere near it, adds to the burden of social reproduction on women, especially status-conscious ones. In town, the people with highest status, professionals and other towns folk, wear normal "city" shoes. For women, this often means spike heels. Presumably for appearance sake such things are important enough that one is willing to risk the dangers of teetering around on the rough, acutely inclined cobblestone streets and negotiating the irregularities of terrain and mud patches that characterize the streets even in town.

5. This custom seems to be rather prevalent in small towns in Colombia, and control of the loudspeaker (either by secular or clerical authorities) is a source of considerable political power. Jorge Velosa Ruiz, a university student of rural Boyacense origin, is a songwriter who has composed a number of verses celebrating rural life in Boyaca. One of his songs, "El parlante de mi pueblo" (the loudspeaker of my town) is dedicated to this phenomenon. The refrain characterizes the ambivalence of public attitude towards the constant noise:

El parlante de mi pueblo	(My town's loudspeaker
suenas y suena sin parar,	never stops making noise,
unos dicen qu'eso es bueno	some say that's a good thing
y otros qu'eso esta muy mal	and others that it's very
	bad)

6. There is evidence of the predominance of Spanish settlers and the domination of the indigenous population in El Cocuy from the 17th and 18th centuries. Maria Teresa Molino Garcia's La Encomienda en el Nuevo Reino de Granada Durante El Siglo XVIII (1976) reports the following figures for the municipality: The total number of Indians in 1635-36 was 748, while in 1755-56 this had fallen to 634, constituting a fifteen per cent reduction in the indigenous population during those 120 years of colonial settlement. In 1755-56 vecinos espanoles already substantially outnumbered the Indians, the Spanish population being reported as 1,648. The relatively small reduction in the Indian population during this time (compared to other towns in the region where it was as high as 85%), along with what seems to be a surprisingly small number of Indians in 1635 in an extensive and fertile area, might indicate that displacement of the indigenous population (including wars of extermination) had occurred much earlier, during the period of conquest in the 16th century.

7. The actual fate of these elite families is somewhat of a mystery. I have searched through the Colombian Who's Who

(Perry et al 1952; Quien es Quien 1978) for the surnames my informants mentioned, in order to determine what happened to these families. In 1952, one individual with the surname Gallo was listed, a lawyer living in Bogota, who was born in El Cocuy in 1911. By 1978, there were no listings for the three major families mentioned by my informants: Gallo, Saravia, and Santos Gutierrez, nor was there any indication that other individuals included in the directory had been born in El Cocuy. It is possible that the families have either died out or left Colombia, but more intensive research is clearly necessary.

8. In 1983, the monthly pension for a child attending the Colegio Celco in El Cocuy was 250 pesos. In that year, there were 52 children enrolled, and the income from the pensions was not sufficient to cover the salaries of the two teachers. In earlier times, there were as many as 80 students in the CELCO, and all five grades of primary school were offered. During my field stay, the school had been informed by the national administration of the Lutheran Church that within the next year or two they would stop providing even the minimal subsidy that the school had been receiving in the past. The Rector was instructed to draw up a plan to make the school self-supporting, but was encountering a great deal of difficulty. She refused to raise the pensions, stating that parents would not be able to pay a higher fee and would send their children to the public school. The parents' association, most of whom were non-evangelicals, was attempting to raise funds through various methods, including sponsoring dances. Their methods were not always consistent with the standards of the Lutherans involved.

9. It's unlikely that an evangelical pastor would have been appointed to such an office in a community that was dominated by the Conservative Party. In addition to being well-known as the an evangelical, Oliverio is respected as a staunch Liberal.

CHAPTER V

COLOMBIAN SEX-GENDER ROLES AND THE FAMILY

A. Introduction

In this chapter, I examine three closely interrelated aspects of Colombian family life that have special bearing on the subsequent discussion of conversion to evangelical Protestantism: sex roles, household support, and strategies of status acquisition. The key points I wish to illustrate are (1) that in a major type of Colombian household there is an attenuation of conjugal roles¹; the machismo role which often defines male behavior is a public and not a household role; (2) that under such circumstances, the lack of conjunction between male and female values and aspirations, combined with the dependency of women on male earnings in post-peasant society, poses the central problem for women in terms of providing for the household which is their main arena; and (3) that patterns of consumption relating to strategies of status acquisition for men and women often reflect distinct value orientations and are realized in different spheres. A lesser degree of sex segregation with regard to patterns of status acquisition appears to be associated with upward mobility and "modernization" in Colombia; and in terms of cultural factors influencing these processes, machismo has been viewed by Colombian writers as a major impediment.

Much of the argument presented in this chapter is

necessitated by a lack of clarity in earlier treatments of Latin American domestic organization. A more critical and conceptually rigorous treatment of the topic is needed. Anthropological approaches to household organization have undergone serious re-evaluation in recent years. For some time now, the conceptual and empirical separation of family and household has been noted (Bohannan 1963:86, and Keesing 1958:271). The concept of household has been further refined by distinguishing co-residence from domestic functions (Bender 1967). A refinement of special importance to the present discussion is the recognition that households are units of cultural meaning: "Households must be explicated as well as enumerated" (Yanagisako 1984:330). Analysis of changes in household composition or activity patterns must be accompanied by a cultural analysis, taking into account how people construe these units and the configuration of activities, emotions, and dilemmas they attach to them (ibid:330). Consideration of these features is likely to reveal a picture that contradicts our idea of the household as a unity, equipped with a single consciousness and volition. In this approach, "strategy and struggle" can be seen to exist within households, not only between households and external institutional structures (ibid:342). Yanagisako criticizes the metaphor of household as human agent,

in which it is assumed that all members of a household share the same goals and strategies or, if they do not, that some (most often women and children) are so powerless as to have their

actions determined by the goals and strategies of others (most often adult men) (ibid:342).

Directing attention to age and gender hierarchies within domestic groups is one way to reveal "the social process through which individuals negotiate the relations that give form to households despite different and sometimes conflicting goals, strategies, and notions about what it means to 'live together'" (ibid:331).

In the past, studies of domestic organization in Latin America have generally suffered from an adoption of the consensus model of the household (see for example, Youssef's 1973 discussion of patterns of authority in the Latin American family.) Most writers have tended to present a model of male dominance and female compliance within domestic groups that leaves us with only a vague notion of what actually goes on within households and neglects to examine the attitudes of other than adult male members of the group. It is interesting that individual domestic strategies seem to appear as a topic for consideration only in studies of the "matrifocal" family, i.e., domestic arrangements characterized by an absence of formal male authority. For more culturally legitimated domestic forms, such as the household formed around a couple married in the Catholic church, there often exists an ideal model which tends to reflect a male perspective.² Several excellent studies have appeared in recent years that attend to the female perspective on domestic arrangements (see, e.g. Browner and Lewin 1982, Bohman 1984, Bourque and Warren

1981, Guttierrez de Pineda 1975, Rubbo 1975). These document women's strategic behavior on the home front, and constitute a convincing argument against the consensus model and/or the acceptance of the male ideal as a true picture of reality.³

This chapter discusses Colombian sex-gender roles, and the effect of these beliefs and behavior patterns on family and household organization. Although the pattern is slowly changing, a high degree of sexual segregation and a wide divergence between male and female goals and aspirations are still among the most salient features of Colombian domestic organization. Evangelical conversion dramatically restructures the pattern discussed here, as well as the meaning of the household to individual members, and the details of that change are presented in Chapter VI. First, however, it is essential to understand the domestic arena upon which evangelical conversion has a revolutionary impact, and within which we can identify some of the powerful motivations for conversion.

B. Machismo and Marianismo

Much of adult male behavior in Colombia, as elsewhere in Latin America, is shaped by machismo. Machismo, or the machismo complex, describes a male personality and concomitant behavior pattern characterized by "exaggerated aggressiveness and intransigence in male-to-male interpersonal relations and arrogance and sexual aggression in male-to-female relationships (Stevens 1973:90). Machismo

also describes a kind of male culture, including the system of sanctions and pressures that promote this kind of complex of values and behaviors. Typically, in Colombia, machismo culture has been most played out in the world of the bars or, in rural communities, the little general stores that are equipped with a table or two and sell beer and shots of aguardiente. In the rural areas on market days, and in the city on "Viernes Cultural" (Cultural Friday), men congregate to drink, alternately buying rounds of drinks for each other. It is a time-consuming process from which it is rarely possible to emerge sober. On such occasions, hostilities between men frequently escalate into fights, and many writers have attributed the extremely high rate of homicide in Colombia, at least in part, to drunkenness.⁴

The Spanish word macho, as used in Colombia, has to do with biological sex, and like its female counterpart hembra, is used to refer to the sex of animals and not of humans. When asked about the sex of their children, people will describe a child as varon (a boy child) or mujer (a girl child). Machismo, then, describes both the state of being male (as a biological given), and the social interaction that results from men acting in a particular way, both men and women believing that this is the way men behave. There is no comparable "hembrismo" to describe the state of being female, although some attempt has been made in the literature to label certain female personality characteristics in this way. Some writers have spoken of

"marianismo" as the female counterpart of machismo. Marianismo takes its name from the cult of the Virgin Mary, but in a broader sense it is used to refer to a complex of female behavior centered on self-sacrifice and long-suffering.

I would like to make it clear from the outset that my goal is not to present a stereotype of Latin American and specifically Colombian men as adhering uniformly to the male role prescribed by machismo. Nor do I want to imply that machismo represents an 'ideal' which all Colombian men strive to achieve. Machismo applies to a particular variety of masculine role and behavior, and although it articulates with other standards of masculinity it can also be distinguished from them. Hunt has described a more positive kind of masculine identity in his study of a Mexican village:

The other dimension of this complex concerns the man who is really tough and in command. Successful San Juan men (real machos) have an assurance of command that is truly impressive. Many of them are highly puritanical, and often deeply committed to what they call progress, honesty, and justice. They are the pluperfect example of what by their culture norms the perfect father ought to be: tolerant, wise, just, honest, and very effective in coping with all aspects of the world...It is our supposition that these men realize the best parts of the ideal male identity (Hunt 1971:116).

Being macho involves command, including command over women, but it can be said to operate on a continuum from successful command to failed command. Ideal maleness -- the epitome of successful, effective, "wise, honest" masculinity

-- is difficult to achieve for a number of reasons (including the problems imposed by economic scarcity). It is possible that machismo may in fact be a response to the failure to fulfill this impossible ideal.

The complex and ambiguous status of machismo within Colombian culture must be stressed. The machista individual may not himself habitually use the term machismo, and the term rather denotes this phenomenon in reflective discourse about it by urban elites, modernizers, social scientists, and journalists (cf. Gilmore and Gilmore 1979). As an emic construct, (or as a term of self-description among males) the term may be absent in the population at large, but I maintain that the phenomenon itself is certainly widely recognized, particularly by women, who identify and criticize a particular brand of masculinity which has been glossed, in the social science literature and elsewhere, as machismo.

While a definitive treatment of machismo, including a full investigation of its causes and distribution, is beyond the scope of the present study, I would like to suggest a few considerations which could fruitfully be pursued in future research. These include: the contrast between machismo and ideal maleness; how age and generational transmission affect the manifestations of machismo; cultural background and machismo in Latin America; and machismo as an emic construct within different social categories (such as men and women, different classes, and age groups, and as an

analytic/descriptive construct of social scientists.

For the purposes of the present discussion, the degree of command, authority, or control which is characteristic of the masculine role is not as important as the content of the aspirations and goals of men and the arena within which or through which these are realized. Colombian women (and men) admire a kind of behavior or person which they label macho (and also guapo, which can mean both strong and handsome, but is in any case desirable). This entails physical strength, the ability to endure pain, and control over certain arenas earned by proven effectiveness. This ideal maleness or 'macho-ness' should not be confused with machismo. Women may respect and value "true macho" characteristics because they also benefit from them. They are the ones primarily responsible for reproducing this kind of masculinity through the socialization of their sons, encouraging them to be strong, fearless, stoical, etc. The behavior associated with machismo, on the other hand, is at best treated with an attitude of resigned tolerance by women, but more often is openly disparaged because women identify such behavior as the immediate cause of their own problems or suffering. Although these models of maleness can be seen as constituting two ends of a continuum, I believe they are quite categorically distinct in the minds of Colombian women.

The key distinction in terms of the present study revolves around the idea of effectiveness: the true macho

is effective, he is cumplido (he fulfils his promises and in fact lives up to the image he projects), while at the opposite end of the spectrum the machista individual is identified with neither trait. Failure to actually fulfill the role is accompanied by a distorted exaggeration of the traits associated with it. The effectiveness and reliability of the true macho is manifest in his responsibility towards others, especially his family (or families.) In contrast, one of the problems which is most often identified as a consequence of machismo, both in the discourse of social science and in women's emic view, is abandonment of a woman and her children -- the ultimate failure by the husband to provide for his family. When machismo places added stress on demonstrating virility and on domination over many women, this undermines the effectiveness of the machista in providing for his family or families. This is especially true if his resources are limited, because the more women he conquers, the harder it is for him to fulfill his financial responsibilities to any of the women and children dependent upon him. A mutation of other characteristics of "true machohood" in the machista can also be identified: If the true macho shows courage, the machista shows recklessness. The proven effectiveness and control of the true macho becomes manifest as arrogance and stubbornness in the machista.

Age is certainly a consideration here, and it is no accident that fulfilment of ideal maleness tends to be

associated with older men while machismo is the province of younger men. Hunt's "real macho" is an "established" man -- one who has had the time to develop his own economic independence. One might speculate that there is something in the socialization of boys into the male role by the authoritative father which may engender this complex. The true macho's control extends not only to his wife and daughters but also to his sons. Goldwert (1985) has recently considered the development of machismo from a psychoanalytic point of view. He outlines the possible effects of the authoritarian father on a boy's identity development:

At a very early age the boy begins to identify with a very powerful, strict, superperfect idealized father. As the child grows up, the father plays with him less and does not replace that play with shared activities. The strong image begins to fade in time and vanishes by adolescence even though the father's word remains law (ibid:165).

The adult male's behavior is shaped by an attempt to recreate in himself that idealized image of his father, and is especially evident in the son's treatment of his own wife and children. Goldwert cites May Diaz's description of how the distance between father and son creates a crucial distortion in the son's idealized picture of his father, which leads to the traits associated with machismo:

The child does not observe his father's making of decisions within the walls of the house, for the respect owed the head of the family channels day-to-day authority into the hands of the mother...the boy does not gradually learn the role as a result of observing how his father acts

vis-à-vis other grown men, for the rules are such that when his father is somewhere outside the house, he [the son] is not in the same place...the father tends to be seen as a free agent rather than as the representative of a nuclear family in reference to the outside world. As a consequence of these factors, the child sees authority as power shorn of responsibility and clothed in the symbols of the male role-- machismo if you will...(Diaz 1966:92)

This analysis is intriguing because it emerges from both the consideration of male dominance and the actual experiential outcome of the division of male and female spheres in Latin culture. Presumably, an authoritarian father actually present in the household and making day-to-day decisions on the domestic front would not be as likely to produce a machista son. It also hints at the difficulties in socially reproducing the true macho: It is as if the role must be created afresh with each generation and is dependent for its expression upon the exceptional characteristics of individuals.

Such psychological models, although suggestive, are by no means total explanations of the phenomenon. Machismo represents much more than a phase in a male's lifecycle, and as a behavioral complex (and, in the eyes of Colombian social critics, a social problem), it has taken on a momentum of its own. The social structural conditions for its entrenchment as a pervasive (but not sole) model of masculine behavior should also be considered.

Gilmore and Gilmore (1979) have examined the nature of Spanish machismo in an Andalusian town by focusing on the relationship between socioeconomic determinants and

individual male gender identity formation. They conclude that "Andalusian machismo is not a libidinal assertion of secure male identity, but is rather a compensatory attempt to resolve intrapsychic conflict between male and female identities"(ibid:283). The authors propose that it is possible to examine both the psychological underpinnings of machismo and the material, sociocultural forces which lead to its expression. Hence, they believe that the conflict between sexual identities results from "external socioeconomic constraints and to consequently blocked male psychic development in the subordinate class of landless day laborers" (ibid). The rich, politically dominant landowners in the Andalusian town do not exhibit the characteristics of machismo. Rather, the machismo complex results from "extreme conditions of male economic failure, matrifocal and matriarchal household patterns, and equally important, political oppression and exclusion" (ibid).

Michaelson and Goldschmidt (1971) also connect machismo to situations of male economic insecurity. They have suggested that the machismo syndrome may arise in response to a conflict between a cultural expectation of masculine authority and bilateral inheritance. In their definition, machismo is "aggressive masculinity which involves the demonstration of manhood through violence and fearlessness, but especially through feats of sexual conquest" (1971:346). They feel that machismo may be "the product of a role demand which does not have adequate economic support. Where male

dominance is not buttressed by control of property, it may generate masculine doubt, expressed in the fear of impotence and the need to demonstrate virility through sexual conquests" (ibid:349).

In Colombia, and perhaps elsewhere in the New World, such as in Mexico, I would maintain that the presence or absence of the machismo complex does not break down so neatly along class lines. As Lewis (1961) has suggested, the particular characteristics of the machismo complex that are most dominant may differ among classes. He noted that "in the middle class, machismo is expressed in terms of sexual exploits and the Don Juan complex, whereas in the lower class it is expressed in terms of heroism and lack of physical fear" (Lewis 1961:xxvii). It is clear from the statements of my female informants in Colombia that even among relatively well-off middle class men, traits associated with the machismo complex were in evidence. The case material presented at the end of this chapter illustrates this situation.

It would be helpful to separate out the distinct elements that comprise the machismo "complex", and to note their differential distribution or emphasis in the areas of the world where this male role is manifest. In particular, the relative role of violence in male-male relations as opposed to sexual virility seems to vary. While both elements are clearly present in the expression of machismo in Colombia, violence in the public realm seems to take on

an importance there that contrasts with the emphasis on sexuality in Michaelson and Goldschmidt's formulation. This does not appear to be simply a function of differences in class (following Lewis), since Michaelson and Goldschmidt cite economic problems as the cause of machista behavior and hence presumably are concerned with lower class men. A more thorough analysis of the class factors involved in this distribution is needed.

The next section considers the impact of colonialism on the development of the male role in the New World. Clearly, the differential expression of machismo in Spain and in Latin America can be traced in part to the legacy of conquest and colonial domination in the New World.

1. Familial Roles as the Legacy of the Conquest

One interesting study which attempts a psycho-historical explanation of both the origin of Mexican sex roles and family patterns is that of Samuel Ramos (1934). He emphasizes the fact that the conquest of Mexico by Spain involved the exploitation of Indian women by Spanish men. The offspring of these unions, the mestizo Mexicans, developed an inferiority complex because of their status as a conquered people. Mexican rhetoric sometimes refers to the creation of the Mexican nation through the sexual exploitation of the Indian woman by the Spanish conquerer as its "original sin." The child of mixed descent began to look upon his mother as a devalued person and upon his

father as the exploiter. The father, as "Don Nadie" (Lord Nobody) expected to be waited on hand and foot by his wife and children, a situation he never could have enjoyed in Spain. The woman became the symbol of the conquered subdued Indian and the man the symbol of the conquering, demanding Spaniard. According to this formulation, the woman comes to be considered an object of violent and sadistic conquest and possession. Both creole and mestizo children find out that the woman who has given them warmth and love in childhood fills an inferior role. When the child of mixed descent grows up, he is said to treat his wife as he saw his mother treated by his father, and a peculiar family pattern begins to be passed down from generation to generation (Peñalosa⁵ 1968:682).

The ambivalence of many Colombians towards their indigenous heritage is quite clear from the popular usage of the word "indio". "La malicia india" translates as something like "indian shrewdness", but with an overtone of wickedness or malice. People will refer to this as the quality, in themselves or others, which inspired a clever but not altogether legitimate deal. A mother will refer to her children as "indios" when they look particularly scruffy or are ill-behaved. And in terms of Ramos' analysis of Mexican sex roles, "india" is often used to refer to a prostitute or to a man's "outside" woman. That a husband has gone off "con una india" is said with great contempt by his legitimate wife, who may in fact share an identical

ethnic heritage with the other woman.

While Ramos' thesis is convincing as a broad explanation for women's lowly status within machista mestizo culture, it is lacking in historical detail concerning the expression of this pattern in various contexts during the several hundred years since the Conquest. Of particular importance here is the distinction between "male dominance", which many writers have assumed exists in most peasant societies, and behavior which is specifically tied to the machista role. For the argument being developed here, these various components of Latin American sex roles need further attention.

2. Sex Roles and Familial Roles

In discussions of the Latin American family, models of ideal male and female roles are frequently deemed to be the central features determining relations within families. These discussions range from 1) a belief in the complementarity and reciprocal nature of male and female roles (Stevens 1973:99), to 2) portrayal of the female role as ascendant in the household and machismo as psychologically pathological, to 3) the conviction that machismo gives men the dominant role in the household, to which women respond with unquestioning subordination and submission. Stevens (1973) notes that mestizo culture (within which machismo is most prevalent) is not "traditional" culture but an amalgamation with a fairly recent history. It is also a cultural development that has

taken place almost entirely within a situation of rapid social change and upheaval. In Colombia, as well as in other parts of Latin America, a variety of different family forms and household types exists; and although it is sometimes difficult to extricate the "ideal" from the "real" when we discuss families, it is always useful to consider the context to which certain forms must respond. Contextualizing machismo may also explain the disparity among the three views of how sex roles operate in the Latin American household.

Contemporary family life in Colombia is shaped by circumstances which clearly differ from those which affected peasant households during earlier periods. In order to understand how machismo affects household relations at present, it is helpful to consider, as background, male-female relations in the context of peasant family economy. This will also serve as background for a later discussion of how contemporary sex roles articulate with different patterns of production and consumption, especially in terms of the development of "separate spheres" of activity for men and women.

3. Sex Roles and the Peasant Household Mode of Production

Rothstein (1983) has criticized the assumption of male dominance in Mexican peasant communities. She points out that this viewpoint results in part from a confusion of the real with the ideal, and in part from a projection of capitalistic notions of individual contributions onto

peasant society. She proposes that male-female relations should be understood within the context of a family economy.

She takes her model of family economy from Shanin:

A peasant household is characterized by a nearly total integration of the peasant family's life and its farming enterprise. The family provides workers for the farm, while the farm's activities are geared mainly to production of the basic consumption needs of the family. (Shanin 1971:30).

The projection of modern capitalist notions of individual economic independence onto peasant society are false because the basic unit of production and consumption, as well as the basic social unit in peasant society, is the nuclear family. Rothstein (1983) points out that in peasant societies which produce for subsistence "consumption and production are two ends of a continuum, rather than two separate spheres." Earlier writers [such as Lewis (1963) and Beals (1946) whose material she uses] have made a false distinction between male-productive activities and female-non-productive activities because they have assumed (with their modern industrial bias) that "domestic" means "non-productive." She proposes, instead, that in peasant households in the three Mexican communities she discusses, relations between the sexes are characterized by "cooperation and independence" (ibid:20), and that "activities are dictated not by one's spouse but by the division of labor" (ibid:12). Decisions are likewise made jointly and determined by family consumption needs rather than by an individual (ibid). Again, quoting Shanin,

the individual, the family and the farm, appear as an indivisible whole... [and] the balance of consumption needs, available labour and the farm's potential, strongly influences a peasant's activities (Shanin 1971:241).

Rothstein's paper is valuable because it summarizes much of recent discussion about male/female roles in peasant families (see for example Rogers 1975; Friedl et al 1967) which has criticized older literature based on idealized and male pictures of reality. With some modifications, Rothstein's model of family economy can be taken as a basis for comparison with the changed circumstances of modern, post-peasant families in Colombia.

In the Colombian peasant household, family roles were largely determined by the requirements of the domestic economy. What remains of or replaces these roles when the family economy dissolves (as peasants migrate to cities, become proletarianized in the countryside, or in other ways turn away from subsistence production) is our concern here. Massive changes in Colombian society over the past 40 years have entailed a rapid rate of urbanization (70% of Colombians are categorized as urban), and even in the countryside very few independent peasant households still exist. The nature of the family and conjugal relations are no longer centered around access to land, nor is the division of labor imbedded in a household production and consumption unit. Most people operate primarily within a cash economy, with the result that the main source of income is outside the household. The distinction between productive and

domestic then assumes a certain validity. Because cash income is now the basis of subsistence, men and women are no longer interdependent. Women do not have the vital role in transforming produce into sustenance because the market economy and the service sector can provide that in exchange for cash.

The negative effects of modernization on women's status have been widely documented (see e.g., Boserup 1970.) In terms of the preceding argument it is important to note that machismo as it exists in contemporary Latin American society (as distinct from simple "male dominance") would have been incompatible with a peasant household family economy. The true machista role requires separate male and female spheres of activity, including production and consumption, the dependence of women on men but not vice-versa, and distinctive (and often contradictory) sets of values and aspirations for men and women.

4. The Attenuation of Conjugal Roles

It is curious that discussions of Latin American domestic life center on male and female roles as reified in the stereotypes of machismo and marianismo, considering that neither type is defined primarily as a conjugal role. It might logically follow that it is precisely this weakness of conjugality as a factor in household organization that such analyses capture. Schneider and Smith (1973) have pointed out that family and kinship roles are compound or

conglomerate roles, and are analytically separable into "pure" kinship elements, sex role elements, and elements derived from the system of status and class differentiation" (ibid:7). Machismo, in particular, is a public role, and does not define how a man is to act as a husband or father, except by default. Indeed, machismo contributes to a man's lack of involvement in his roles as husband or father. Many writers say that the male role really changes very little as the result of marriage, while for women it is the major event in defining them as adults. Marianismo really describes the female role as mother, and has bearing on the conjugal role only insofar as husbands have to be treated as demanding children. That women must be long-suffering in the face of male abuse may be interpreted as part of the conjugal role, but this has bearing only when the husband is present in the household, which, by definition of the machista role, is likely to be infrequently. It is significant that, although husbands are important because legal marriage gives a woman status and her children legitimacy in the public realm, the primary symbolic standard for Latin women's role is the Virgin Mary -- a husbandless mother.

Despite the appearance of male dominance in Colombian families, when machismo defines the male role it is inaccurate to speak of the family as being "patriarchal". It has been noted (Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social 1981:93) that the male covers up his irresponsibility with

an authoritarian attitude towards his wife and children. He gets respect by instilling fear. Carlos and Sellers (1972) point out that

as the male becomes more absolute, he necessarily withdraws from the warm inner-circle of the family, and his distance (social and physical) from day-to-day events makes it possible -- in fact necessary -- for feminine power to prevail.

The point here is that the adult male role as defined by machismo is not a familial role. The husband may play an authoritarian role at home and his wife may declare him to be "boss". But his actual involvement in the household, including the degree to which his own aspirations are realized in the familial context, are not necessarily connected to this behavior. In fact, the household and family become very much the woman's domain. While the man's fulfillment of the standards of machismo must be carried out in the "public" realm, the household and family constitute the sole legitimate domain wherein a woman may realize her aspirations. Conjugal relations then, are shaped on the surface by the dominance of the machista personality (just as it is supposed to be dominant in whatever context), and by the situation of female dependency on male income. Actual household arrangements and family relations may be determined in part by acquiescence to male desires, but the household belongs to the wife who primarily creates it, shapes it, and keeps it running.

This divergence of ideal conjugal roles is centrally important. The "relative aspirations" (Oppong 1974:115) of

men and women rarely coincide and are most often in conflict. Browner and Lewin note that the restricted access of women to employment means that they must meet subsistence needs through relationships with others. They describe how women elaborate either their conjugal or maternal roles in Colombia and the among Latinas in the U.S. as a response to general economic scarcity and indirect access to the marketplace. Since women usually get access to resources through their ties to men, they are at a distinct disadvantage when their goals do not coincide with those of their husband. A woman tries to bind a man to her through sexual attraction, and beyond that by bearing his children. Long after he has lost sexual interest in her, she hopes that his feelings of affection for their children will maintain his contributions to the household.

5. Machismo vs. the "Breadwinner" Role: A Comparative Case

Machismo stands in marked contrast to the male "breadwinner" role discussed by Ehrenreich (1983). As a journalist, Ehrenreich generalizes about "American culture" in a way that would generally be unacceptable to the anthropological approach, which tends to stress the significant cultural diversity within the United States. While recognizing that Ehrenreich overgeneralizes, I include this case as an interesting illustration of how standards of adult masculinity are ideological constructs, which vary both historically within one society and also between societies. Ehrenreich's analysis is also pertinent here

because it relates to the discussion below on the degree to which the male identifies with his domestic group and fulfils his aspirations through it.

In Ehrenreich's portrayal of "American culture" of the 1950s, a man was expected to marry and support a family to be considered truly adult (and truly a man). "This expectation was supported by an enormous weight of expert opinion, moral sentiment, and public bias, both within popular culture and the elite centers of academic wisdom" (Ehrenreich 1983:12). In contrast, the machista individual is not tied down by any such well developed sense of responsibility, nor does "society" generally try to impose it upon him. If he is responsible to his wife and children, if he becomes a "family man", he is breaking with the norms of machismo. Although male irresponsibility is viewed with disgust by women and other defenders of the family, a man who has abandoned wife and children is in no way aberrant in the sense that Ehrenreich discusses:

If adult masculinity was indistinguishable from the breadwinner role, then it followed that the man who failed to achieve this role was either not fully adult or not fully masculine. In the schema of male pathology developed by mid-century psychologists, immaturity shaded into infantilism, which was, in turn, a manifestation of unnatural fixation on the mother...(Ehrenreich 1983:20).

In Colombia, it is assumed from the outset that a husband's "maleness" makes it difficult for him to be faithful and/or responsible. When asked why men find it so difficult to adjust to domesticity, women respond that it is

their nature to be sexually profligate. In his essay "El Machismo en los dos sexos", Jorge Gissi, citing a study by Fromm, states that there is an inverse correlation of machismo with responsibility, cooperation, satisfaction in work and productivity. The traits that are characteristic of machismo are aggressiveness and belligerence (Gissi 1982:90). This contrasts markedly with the standards for adult masculinity in the U.S., as Gore Vidal phrases it:

The thing that makes an economic system like ours work is to maintain control over people and make them do jobs they hate. To do this, you fill their heads with biblical nonsense about fornication of every variety. Make sure they marry young, make sure they have a wife and children very early. Once a man has a wife and two young children, he will do what you tell him to. He will obey you. And that is the aim of the entire masculine role. (Gore Vidal 1980, quoted by Ehrenreich).

Clearly, the historical, economic and cultural influences shaping masculine roles diverge greatly between Colombia and the U.S. The family wage system and levels of consumerism in the U.S. as contrasted to the Colombian situation of general economic scarcity and the on-going effects of rapid urbanization and modernization on a formerly peasant society in Colombia are issues of primary importance.

C. The Consequences of Machismo for Women's Household Roles

To reiterate, Colombian women are dependent on male income for support of the household, but the reliability of male support is eroded by the machismo complex. I will now turn to a brief examination of the implications of this

statement for family/household organization from the female point of view.

1. Women's Work and Support of the Household

Because of pervasive discrimination against women in terms of employment, most Colombian women quite realistically recognize men as the primary source of household income. The average earnings of women characteristically range from about two-thirds to a half of the average for men in most countries in the world. In Bogota they are nearer half. The ratio declines with age: young women earn almost as much as men but older women earn less and less comparatively (Mohan 1981:82).

Nevertheless, large numbers of Colombian women are engaged in income-generating activities from formal sector jobs to domestic service to a wide range of informal sector activities such as giving manicures in people's homes, selling clothing on consignment to friends and relatives, or caring for the children of other women who work during the day. ⁶ If a woman is not engaged in some sort of money-earning activity she constantly thinks of various possibilities for getting some income. The kinds of jobs available will depend on her class and education; and the amount of time and energy spent on income-generating activities will depend, in some measure, on her relationship to a man.

In Colombia, as in the United States, women with full-time jobs often work a double day. They are still

responsible for running their households, and the addition of these duties to a regular full-time job makes for a horrendous burden. For upper class women, domestic servants may take over most of the day-to-day running of the household; as Stevens (1973) has pointed out, professional class women in Latin America benefit from the availability of cheap domestic labor. For the majority of women, however, the domestic work remains to be done at the end of the day. Older children and other female relatives sometimes take over some of the household responsibilities, but the double burden in many cases explains a woman's preference for male support as opposed to full-time employment.

The important point is that men are paid better than women, and not having access to any part of a male wage is a tremendous hardship for women trying to maintain a household. Women's pervasive concern with bringing in a few pesos as best they can reflects the insecurity of their claims on the male wage and their awareness that they had better see to it themselves that they can at least buy a pound of panela (a type of unrefined sugar which, dissolved in hot water, constitutes the standard base-line diet of the poor) and a few rolls for the children's dinner. Women may be able to earn enough to feed their families, but without access to a male wage they have little hope of providing for a better future for their children.

2. The Family and Women's Life Chances

As a direct consequence of this situation, for Colombian women, the destruction of a home is an incredible tragedy, similar to bankruptcy of a business for the entrepreneur or disbarment for a lawyer. In our society it is usually treated as tragic in terms of emotional factors -- loss or failure of love. Divorce or separation and the break-up of a family is tragic because we imbue the family with a sentimentality reserved for non-market sectors of our lives which are supposed to be less brutal than market-governed principles of behavior. It is this disillusionment of our sentimentality that gives family break-ups their particular poignancy. It also is generally felt that the real victims of the dissolution of the family are the children, who presumably require, in addition to material necessities, a "loving atmosphere" in culturally defined terms, i.e., a household comprising a husband and wife united by selfless dedication to each other and to the products of their mutual esteem and affection.

Another aspect of the family break-up tragedy, that of financial ruin, is more immediate, conscious and compelling to Colombian women. While it is undeniably a component of our emotional response to the 'broken home' in the U.S., I think it is more mystified in our society than in Colombia, where financial ruin unto itself is sufficiently tragic without having to provide further emotional embellishment. The terrible disruption and hardship caused by the failure

of the familial corporation is, of course, the result of women's dependence on male income and/or the fact that an economic arrangement between men and women is the only generally recognized way to survive (or maintain a hard-won level of family dignity that is a woman's only avenue to social status.)

A further consideration is the alternatives available to women once separation or abandonment has happened. To a very great extent, Colombian women have a "one-shot" chance at forming a family. Hence, there is an elaboration of ideas surrounding courtship, and parents have intense desire to control their daughter's choice of a mate. Starting a second family is difficult for women even in our own society, but in Colombia it is close to impossible. Although civil marriage is permitted, and since 1974 divorce has been allowed for those who married in this fashion, most Colombians still think of marriage in terms of Catholic marriage, and divorce is not a possibility for Colombian Catholics.

The exception to this is the mating strategy of the "matrifocal family/consensual union" pattern, which is based on the premise of men's basic undependability, and assumes that a woman will have a sequence of mates during her lifetime. In this situation the burden of family support falls more heavily on the woman. However, such support also depends on her success at using the strategy of serial monogamy to maximum advantage, tying men to herself who are

willing and able to contribute to the support of the household, and getting rid of men who are economic drains or non-contributors. This pattern has been well described by Susan Brown (1975) for the Dominican Republic, and its Colombian manifestation has been discussed by Anna Rubbo (1975). Rubbo also points out the changing nature of marital ties with upward mobility. Lower class women tend to have more flexibility in terms of their mating strategies, while lower middle or middle class women are bound to a single man.

D. Conjugal Roles and Status Consciousness

1. Individual Aspirations in Separate Spheres

Referring again to Schneider and Smith (1973), "elements derived from the system of status and class differentiation" also form part of conglomerate kinship roles. These status elements have a complex effect on conjugal relations. An analysis of how status issues differentially affect males and females in households, along with how and which status markers may be important in public as opposed to private realms, is of central importance here.

Payne (1968) has provided an interesting discussion of what he describes as "the all-engrossing struggle for status in Colombia." He maintains that Colombians are highly sensitive to status indicators, and enumerates some of the plethora of characteristics and behavior patterns that affect status in Colombia. These include styles of dress, titles of address, the cleanliness and state of repair of

clothing, level and kind of education, where an individual is, who is with him, how he carries himself, whether he appears anxious or self-confident, whether he is alone or accompanied, if he refrains from engaging in any manual labor including such things as oiling a squeaky hinge or changing a tire, and of course the more familiar status markers of type of residence, place of residence, light or dark skin and family background. Payne's assessment is that each Colombian is in constant competition with his neighbor for status. Payne cites the Reichel-Dolmatoffs' study of Aritama, where

the ultimate goal of life is to be respected ... to be attributed dignity in spite of skin color and poverty. (...) To have a family, to have sons who help in the fields, to have less work and more food, better clothes, to travel, to find a suitable match, were ambitions most frequently stated, but it was always understood that all these minor ambitions had value only insofar as they would contribute to personal prestige (Reichel-Dolmatoff and Reichel-Dolmatoff 1961:441-42).

Status consciousness coupled with a relatively high degree of class mobility means that no one considers anyone else his equal. Because of this, claims Payne, it is futile to speak of "classes" in Colombia. Within any particular strata (his preferred word) there are gradations, and the stratification pattern lacks sharp divisions. There are no groups of "non-status competitive members one could meaningfully call a "class" (Payne 1968:44).

Payne cites a number of Colombian scholars who discuss

the origins of this situation in the colonial period and who have noted the extreme importance of prestige or "honor" in Spanish-American culture. It was the most status-conscious individuals of Spain, some argue, who carried out the conquest and colonization of the New World. The colonies therefore became heavily populated by quasi-, pseudo-, and would-be nobles all struggling for the titles they could not achieve in Spain" (ibid).

As in Samuel Ramos' explanation of the origins of machismo mentioned earlier, Colombian sensitivity to issues of status can be traced to particular features of Spanish colonization in the New World. The transplantation of Spanish notions of honor, the legacy of conquest and subjugation, the personal backgrounds of the individuals who left Spain and their aspirations in the New World, all influence the contemporary situation. It would be interesting also to analyze how the history of economic dependency and cultural imperialism has affected this. Colombian writers frequently complain about the lack of national identity and cultural pride. They state that Colombians are at the same time very xenophobic and immediately willing to believe that something foreign (particular manufactured goods but also styles) is superior to anything locally made. "Industria Colombiana" carries with it the connotation that the item is of inferior quality and likely to break down, while "marca extranjera" designates high-quality imported goods. Employers of

domestic servants advertising in the newspaper will mention that they are "extranjeros" because servants prefer to work for foreigners, partly because of the higher status it infers but primarily because they believe that a foreign mistress will treat them better than a Colombian would.

The lack of class solidarity and the individualistic nature of status acquisition in Colombia affects family life and conjugal behavior. Men and women have very different experiences with regard to enhancing or maintaining status. In her study assessing the relative modernity of Bogotano women's values, Harkess (1973) points out that the differences between the lower middle class and the working class in Bogota is social rather than economic. She further adds that "maintenance of the family's recently or tenuously achieved social status requires constant effort" (1973:237). On a day-to-day basis, it is women who continually reproduce status (keeping clothes clean and mended etc.). It is not uncommon for a husband to be much better turned out than his wife since he is the one who presents an image to the public world. He also has more disposable income to spend on himself, while his wife will most likely use whatever resources she has to feed her family or clothe her children. According to the ideal of marianismo, the self-sacrificing mother receives more approval for spending her money on her children than for outfitting herself elegantly. In fact the attitude would be that her own elegant outfit means that she is in some way denying her children. An example of this is

the inordinate attention paid to the school uniforms of children. Even very small children will have uniforms. These are obvious status indicators, and a woman's compulsive fussiness over her children's uniforms contrasts with her often quite casual attention to her own appearance.

Women derive status from the men associated with them, but the converse is not necessarily true. While a woman can bring a man shame, she (or the conjugal unit they make up) is not usually the source of his pride. Again, a comparison with the situation in the U.S. is interesting. The male breadwinner in Ehrenreich's analysis kept his nose to the grindstone in part because the level of consumerism of his household (which could only be enhanced by his labor) was the most important illustration of his social status. The size and location of his house, where his children went to school, the kind of car he drove, and a multitude of less grandiose status-markers such as ballet classes for his daughters and summer camps for his sons were all central to his social position. It is notable that all of the above status markers are household based. In Colombia, until fairly recently, such consumeristic status markers were not particularly important except among the very upper classes. This situation is undergoing change. It is very important to distinguish between consumerism that is household based and consumerism that is individualistic and takes place outside the household. For the most part, this has broken down along sex lines -- male vs. female consumption

patterns. The classic, and perhaps most prevalent, example in Colombia is the husband drinking up the household budget in the local tienda de la esquina, while his wife wrings her hands helplessly at the prospect. Fals-Borda (1962) noted that tienda drinking was the primary avenue to personal prestige for men in the rural neighborhood of Saucio.

2. The New Consumerism: Household-Based Status Markers

Formerly, consumer goods were relevant as status markers only among the upper classes, who imported English woolens and grand pianos as impressive markers of their distinction. Currently in Colombia, certain types of consumer goods are becoming more widely available. Compared to the earlier generations in the countryside, contemporary Colombian families experience a relatively greater degree of material comfort, except among the extreme lower strata. The markers of middle class distinction tend to be categorized under the term "electro-domesticos": a refrigerator, washing-machine, blender, electric coffee pot, television, and a stereo are all desirable status markers and essentials in the middle class home. The phrase "casa, carro y beca" (house, car and scholarship) appears on a billboard that is frequently displayed in Bogota, advertising a lottery run by a national savings bank with account numbers of depositors, the prizes of which were a house, a car, or a scholarship (also on occasion less costly items such as a color TV). This billboard epitomizes the new orientation of Colombian consumer patterns in the direction of household-based items;

goods that would be consistent with patterns of status acquisition beyond the individual, focussed on the family and household.⁷

In Colombia, it is commonly accepted in the press and in academic writing that the "family" is in crisis. Colombian social analysts look with hope to the changes of the type I describe above, believing that a new kind of family must come into being to replace the old bonds destroyed by the upheavals of modernization. Guillermo Cano, in the Introduction to Gloria Pachon de Galan's book, Se Acaba La Familia (The Family is Ending) says:

The new family, less attached to the customs of their elders, with their own standards of how many children they will have, -- definitely fewer -- with desires of improving themselves, will have to fight before everything against the biggest weight on the Colombian family: machismo, which is constantly present in the highest levels and the lowest, in the cultivated and in the illiterate (1981:12).

It is intriguing that Cano identifies machismo as the stumbling block to upward mobility. Also, he sees it as a problem not for women or for men, but for the family as a unit.

What is critical here is the connection between upward mobility, forms of consumption, and sex role behavior. For many reasons, a move, or an attempt to move, into the "respectable middle class" entails an increase in sexual integration, a change-over from individualistic consumption patterns to household-based ones, and a corresponding

alignment of formerly contradictory male and female aspirations and values.

While this process is widespread in contemporary Colombia, and can also be said to break down along generational lines, it is of primary importance in understanding evangelical conversion. The intersection between evangelical belief and the transformation of sex roles with upward mobility is discussed in the next chapter.

E. Case History: Marina

The following case study illustrates many of the central points raised in Chapter V. It is not a success story; Marina has not experienced the changes in her life that she would like to have had as the result of her conversion. Although she is comparatively well off, many elements of her story are representative of the kind of response I received from women in a range of economic situations whose husbands had not converted with them. Marina clearly articulates the links between her domestic problems and her conversion experience. Her impressions of the church of which she is a member and her description of her personal relationship with the pastoral couple also reveal a characteristically female and familial model. Marina's story serves as a bridge between the discussion of Colombian sex roles and family roles outlined above and the explanation of the impact of conversion on the domestic realm which is to follow in Chapter VI.

Marina is 51 years old. She is an active member of the

Iglesia Cristiana Carismatica, more commonly known as "Los Juanitos", after the missionary couple who began the church, John Firth and his wife Jean. The Firths are presently missionaries of the Four-Square Gospel Church, and have been for many years, since their charismatic "conversion" drove them out of the more theologically conservative Inter-American Mission, a branch of the Oriental Missionary Society. The Juanitos church is one of the few charismatic or pentecostal churches that has been established among "professional" class people in Colombia, and is located in the prestigious Northern sector of Bogota. For the bulk of the 44 years that the Firths have been in Colombia they, like other foreign missionaries, have directed their efforts toward the lower classes. According to Rev. Firth, it was at the invitation of a cousin of former President Alfonso Lopez that he and his wife moved to the North and began their work with the professional classes. He recounts how Lopez' cousin and his wife converted after a visit from the Firths, and then challenged them saying "Why don't you do something for the professional people too. Why do all you missionaries confine yourselves to the working class people?" A Major Leal, who was the Secretary of the DAS (Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad) at the time, said the same thing, and promised to attend meetings and help if the Firths would come to the North. Starting with eight people in 1979, the church has realized an annual growth rate of 100% to 130% each year, and in 1982 had 500 members,

with over 600 people attending services on Sunday. In order that people won't be discouraged from attending, the Foursquare Gospel affiliation is kept out of the name of this church because of its lower class connotations.

The Juanitos have started holding special services devoted to the family, with the objective of pulling more men into the church. John Firth said, "one of the problems amongst the charismatics is we're getting a lot more women than men, and the men are coming along more slowly. The women seem to come first, in most cases. And then, the men sometimes they have another woman, they've got plenty of money, there's a lot of what we call machismo."

Marina's story aptly illustrates the point that the problems which drive women to religion are not unique to the lower class.

Marina was born in the city of Barranquilla, on Colombia's Caribbean coast. In terms of the regional stereotypes commonly applied in Colombia, costeños are livelier and more open than people from the highlands. In fact, as Marina recounts her story, she is clearly saddened, but she doesn't have the usual somber reticence of highland women. Although we have met only once before, briefly, at the church, she talks very openly about the problems she has experienced in her marriage. She has five children, three boys and two girls, ranging in age from 29 to 16, all of whom still live at home with her. Marina and her husband, an executive, are separated. Her husband lives only a few

blocks away, with another woman, with whom he also has children. Marina is an attractive, well groomed woman with short salt-and-pepper hair. She has a good figure for a Colombian woman of her age (or for any woman who has borne 5 children) and wears make-up and perfume. She lives in the far north of Bogota, not far from "Unicentro", the shopping mall that is the pride of modern Bogota. Her house is a large, one-storey white structure of simple cinder block and cement construction, occupying a whole corner in the upper middle class neighborhood.

"I was very much in love with my husband when we got married. I adored him, but now I realize that my adoration should be for God. My married life was a disaster -- he was always drinking, he always had other women. Like all costeños (men from the coast), he liked to enjoy life. I was very proud and I fought with him a lot. There was no peace in the family. His other women would call me on the phone and insult me. I wanted to kill the woman who was going with my husband. If I had had a revolver I would have killed her. My husband was my God. I went to a psychiatrist, and he prescribed sleeping pills for me. Finally, a woman entist gave me a book by Norman Vincent Peale, as a present. I read it, and looked things up in the Bible. I was trying so hard to understand what the book said, but at first I didn't understand. I asked God to help me. I wanted to study the Bible even if I had to pay for it. I had taken courses in glamour, cooking, everything to please my husband, and at that point I thought I might as well pay for a course in Bible study. I told another friend of mine that I wanted to understand the Bible, and my friend, who is also costeña told me to go to this place, Alfa and Omega. I went there for five years, although all during that time I continued to go to the Catholic church. They do that at Alfa and Omega -- they encourage you to continue going to your old church. All that time I was still with my

husband. I took him to a meeting at the Alpha and Omega, but nothing came of it. He even knew the Bible well, because he had gone to the Colegio Americano (the Presbyterian high school) in Barranquilla. He was actually quite sympathetic to these ideas. He also has an aunt who is an evangelical -- she's Baptist. His aunt, Tia Ramona, had a special affection for me. When I was first married, we were living in the same house as her, and she gave me Psalm 91, the psalm of protection, and told me "learn the psalm". In those days the Christians were being persecuted, and Ramona's family attacked and criticized her. But she prayed continually, and she was praying for me. In those days the Christians were without the power of the Holy Spirit. I learned the psalm by heart, but in those days it was to me like reciting the Ave Maria in the Catholic church -- I said it without thinking about what the words meant. The Catholic priests were no help at all -- they just told me to have patience, and that I had to put up with him. Before I came to know the Lord, all I used to ask for was peace. I never asked for riches. Sure, I like to be comfortable, but I've never been very materialistic. I would get down on my knees and pray for peace. Three years ago, when he finally left the house for good, part of me was relieved, because as long as he lived with me that way I felt that I was helping him in his life of sin.

That is a bad thing about this country, that divorce is not allowed. He gives us money for food, and he pays for tuition for the kids at the colegio and the university. But he doesn't give us money for anything else.

My father was also a drunk, but he never looked at other women. He was a very affectionate man, but I used to see that the peace in the household was shattered when my father drank. We were poor, we never had abundance, but my family is one of good name, at least on my father's side. My childhood was sad because of the lack of money, but my father and mother were always together. My father ran a business. My mother still lives in Barranquilla. She's very ill now, and trembles very badly. She got Parkinson's disease when my father died.

My parents were Catholic, but they didn't

practice their religion. They were inconstant. My father didn't like priests. My mother used to go to mass every day before she got married. From the time I was little I loved God, but there is a lot of idolatry and error in the Catholic church. The Catholic church doesn't really lead one to God. They don't have the power of the Holy Spirit, so people don't change in that church. There's no love in the Catholic church. The Juanitos church is full of love -- they are like Corinthians 13. When you know the Holy Spirit, hate, pride, and jealousy fall away. Because I know the Holy Spirit, I'm able to ask for forgiveness from my children, and from my husband, and even from the woman who lives with my husband. I used to be violent with jealousy over my husband. I am by nature melancholy and sensitise -- that's just my personality.

I wouldn't change the Christian life for anything. God is a god of every minute. I live in constant prayer, and I know that I'm not alone. When my husband finally left me for good, I experienced much loneliness, but God was my company. I felt acompañada. My husband didn't turn out to be the kind of company I wanted.

There is work for everybody to do within the Christian life. God has helped me so much, I must do as much as I can to help others. I see people who are alone, and I feel drawn to help them, to make them feel less alone. Unfortunately I don't have a muchacha de servicio (domestic servant). If I could take more time off from the family, that's what I would do, spend my time helping others to feel less alone. Even after I have done a lot of housework, if I am able to help someone in the Lord I feel new -- refreshed and full of energy. The Lord gives me strength to do it.

My children aren't Christian. The second one and the youngest one believe a little bit, but they don't go to church. When my youngest son got drunk for the first time, I had to be very tough with him, and that was hard. After that I went to see Juanita, to cry on her shoulder. My children, especially the girls, are a little bad-tempered, because they feel the lack of their father. The boys are better than the girls. The girls need a father for their normal sexual development. The boys --

they have their mother's love and so they don't have as much of a problem. My oldest daughter (29) is a very frustrated person. At the University of the Andes, she studied economics for one year and then quit, then she studied biology, but she never finished that, even though she liked it a lot. She only had a year and a half more to go to finish her degree. She's not married, she lives here with me. She's a big help around the house, she does the marketing. Each person has a function in the family. She loves the other kids a lot. Her bad temper is improving because I've been praying for her. I dedicated more time to her, because she was the first, so I protected her from things. Mothers here in Colombia have a tendency to overprotect their children. My second oldest, a boy, is finishing his degree in economics at Los Andes. Another one studies graphic design, and another one is studying publicity. Nowadays, more than before, it's important to prepare oneself well for a career. A high school degree in business doesn't get you very far these days. The kids are able to get loans from ICETEX to pay half of their university tuition, and their father pays the other half.

The Juanitos are trying to win souls for Christ among the wealthier people. Their new church, which just opened is in Chico, which is the most elegant barrio in Bogota. They are trying to make headway among people of that social level, but it's always been easier with the poor folk. The Juanitos started their church in Barranquilla in the Barrio del Chino, where the lowest people, the prostitutes, lived. The wealthier people are afraid of the tithing. The Catholic church doesn't ask for the 10% -- they just ask for alms and for payments for marriages and burials. It's run like a business, so they don't have the power. The Juanitos also have prayer meetings in people's houses. If you want to have a service in your home, they put your name on a list and it's announced in church. Sometimes it's just more convenient and comfortable to have the meeting in someone's house. The format for the service is basically the same as the cultos in church. At the moment there's no special instruction for the leaders of these home prayer groups, but that is something that is needed. I preached in church once. In order to prepare a sermon you start by praying. Then

you go to the Bible. You don't sit and write it all at once, the inspiration comes to you bit by bit, as you're cooking, doing things around the house and all. The Holy Spirit guides you in terms of what to write down. You have to have love and discipline. When I prepared the sermon for the service at the Juanitos I spent all week in prayer, and the Holy Spirit gave me the message little by little. Some people have a real calling to preach, like Rubi, who gave the sermon yesterday. At Alpha and Omega they teach you how to preach. You start in front of small groups. The Holy Spirit helps you get over your nervousness, helps you to forget the people in front of you.

People from all different churches come to the Juanitos for the Liberation services, and from all different social classes. The Juanitos have started having services on Thursday nights, special services of intercession, to pray for the family. On Thursdays one of the things we have to do is to pray for more men, to pray that people's husbands will come to church. Men are very cold.

Religion is different from Christianity. Christianity is not religion, it's an entire change in one's life. In religion, one gets all hung up on the rites of the church, but if you're not fulfilling all of the things in the Bible, it's not Christianity. You have to experience the gifts of God. If there's not a change in your life, Christ hasn't entered.

God is always looking for man. It's not that man is looking for God. Before I became a Christian, I thought that everything came from the hand of my husband rather than from the hand of God.

I like stability. Even down to the arrangement of the living room furniture. My daughter and her friend changed the furniture around one afternoon when I was out, and when I came home I made them put it all back the way it had been. I feel well situated at the Juanitos, I don't feel like I have to look around for anything else.

I feel somewhat bitter towards the people at Alfa and Omega, because they were interested

in selecting the people who had money, and I don't think that was very Christian. They demanded that the members tithe, and I felt they were robbing the food out of my children's mouths. One day I went to talk to one of the zone leaders, and he was having an elegant luncheon and wouldn't give me the time of day. If I had been a rich person they would have helped me more. I'm kind of slow to figure out when I'm being taken advantage of. Besides that, there was a woman who attended meetings there who was friendly with the woman who my husband is living with, and so there was gossip. I finally left Alpha and Omega because they lacked love.

I am a very sincere person -- to the point that sometimes I'm accused of being rude. My kind of sincerity doesn't have a place in society nor in the church. Juanita told me that she had noticed how sincere I was.

Juanita's special gift is teaching. She also preaches from time to time in the services. She has a very tranquil temperament. She is Juanito's helper, she's always ready to help him. Juanito is completely opposite from her. This is the ideal. Juanito is very sweet and affectionate. Sometimes after a day of fasting he will give me a plate of soup. He is a perfect pastor -- exactly the way this is described in the book of Tito. He cares for his flock. They compliment each other -- he is good for some things, and she is good for others. They have the ideal marriage -- he is sanguine and she is phlegmatic.

In my family, we were 6 children -- 3 boys and 3 girls. All of my brothers and sisters are still alive. My oldest brother lives in Venezuela. Three are still in Barranquilla, and the sixth brother is here in Bogota. I lived in Barranquilla throughout my childhood, until I was 31. I studied business in the Colegio de Barranquilla, which is a state high school. I left 20 years ago. When I was 18 I went to work in the Office of the Exchange Registry in the Bank of the Republic. My husband worked in another bank, an American bank. That's how we met. He used to bring his deposits to me -- I was the teller who used to receive his deposits. When we met I was 20 and he was 21. At that time I was making a good salary, quite a bit more than he was earning.

We courted for about 2 years, and got married without really thinking. We were very crazy in love -- and I was more in love than him. We were married in 1953 in the Catholic church. The first 13 or 14 years we lived in Barranquilla, and then he was transferred to Monteria for one year and then to Tunja for two years. I went with him to help him succeed in his post. I had gotten him the job, at the Bank of the Republic. He is now the head of a branch office, and has 50 employees under him. After we were married he wouldn't let me work -- he was very jealous. I'd like to work now, but what could I do? Once I taught a gamine to read and write, here in my house, and also a muchacha de servicio, and I liked that very much. But here a mother dedicates her life to her children, and that is a good thing, helping them in whatever she can. Now when I help them it is with the love of God rather than with human love.

I always consulted my husband about decisions that affected the household. We decided things together. That's basic. He is still the head of the house, even though he doesn't live here any more. I still consult with him when difficult things come up. He comes to visit on Sundays, eats lunch with us and visits with the kids. Sometimes he sleeps over. I'm surprised he hasn't shown up today, since it's a holiday."

[When I asked her if she still held out hope that he'd come back to her, she said yes.] "I hope he'll come to Christ. This would be the biggest thing that I could do in my Christian life. The maximum. I ask this of the Lord more than anything else. (She begins to cry). I still believe what it said in the marriage ceremony -- that we are one single flesh. I pray that I don't die without seeing my husband come to Christ and return to the family."

Marina showed me around her house, which is quite large. Only about half of it is finished. There were several very pretty rooms which were completely bare, no glass in the windows, although there were bars covering them. She described to me her plans for the rooms -- how

she wanted to fix them up. The kitchen is very new and modern. The bedrooms that were finished had several beds crowded into each of them. There was a two car garage, containing a smashed up Renault-4. She told me that her daughter had had an accident but that God had spared her injury. As we stood in a front room with low windows overlooking the street, she told me that if the room were finished it would make a nice place for prayer meetings. The rain was dribbling in through the unglassed windows. She turned to me and said, "This is what happens in a broken home." The physical condition of the house was a visual illustration of all that she had told me. When the husband is absent, things stay incomplete, a mess. If her husband didn't have another woman and another house, all of these rooms would be finished and the house would be whole and beautiful, instead of a shell.

NOTES

1. Ethnic, regional, and class differences complicate generalizations about the Colombian domestic group. At the same time, rapid culture change within the context of neo-colonial dependency, the prevalence of migration, and the relative scarcity of unassimilated Indian groups make for some degree of similarity among Colombians of different ethnic, regional, rural and urban backgrounds. The ethnic breakdown of the Colombian population is estimated to be: mestizos and mulattos, 75%; whites, 20%; blacks, 4%; and Indians, 1% (Blutstein et al 1983:viii).
2. An extreme example of this is Fals-Borda's discussion of the family in Saucio, a rural neighborhood about 56 miles north of Bogota. He describes sex roles within the family as follows: "Men's and women's roles are clearly defined. The former are knights in their castles, entitled to all prerogatives; they are at the same time responsible for discipline, domestic respect, and the upholding of the family pride. He makes all the decisions which affect his conjugal family. He works hard in the field and, in recompense, has a right to become noted for his tienda demeanor and ensuing prestige. Women, on the other hand, are mainly to serve their husbands, to give them children, to wash and cook for the family, to help in certain farming chores, to haul water from the springs, and to spin wool (1962:206-207). It is notable that those elements assigned to the male role are all phrased in terms of values and prerogatives while the female role is comprised of actual domestic activities. The construction of this statement makes the degree to which it is based on observation of family life highly suspect: men "are entitled to" and "are responsible for;" women "are mainly to serve". The phrasing of women's role is particularly revealing: instead of 'women are expected to serve' or 'women are required to serve', we are told "women are to serve." There are no social circumstances compelling them to do these things; serving is simply the sum and fact of their existence.
3. An earlier study that documents the disparity and conflict between male and female experiences within the household and attitudes with regard to domestic life is Alicia and Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff's The People of Aritama (1961). In general, the wealth of detail provided in this study is impressive, and it is one of the few earlier works in which women's roles are given full recognition (Lewis in Mexico might be another). The culture and personality approach which the authors utilize leads to some questionable interpretations on their part, but it seems also to have directed them towards an inclusion of women's reality.
4. Fals-Borda (1962) recorded the household budgets of several families in Saucio. He reports that about 20% of

earnings were spent on beer, and during holidays this increased 100% (representing 42.1% of the household budget.)

5. Perhaps the most poetic formulation of the machismo personality is that presented by Octavio Paz, in his essays on Mexican national character (The Labyrinth of Solitude, 1961). That among the variety of masculine roles which exist in the world's cultures, machismo is an especially cruel one (and by extension especially incompatible with the affective bonds of domesticity) is suggested in the following statement by Paz: "...whatever may be the origin of these attitudes, the fact is that the essential attribute of the macho -- power -- almost always reveals itself as a capacity for wounding, humiliating, annihilating" (1961:82).

6. Mohan (1981:82) elaborates on why employers discriminate against women, citing the interruption in careers necessitated by child bearing and child care. He believes that these factors provide employers with "objective" reasons for discriminating against women. A further consideration in comparing male and female income in Colombia is the fact that most women work part-time, informal sector jobs. The disparity may be even worse than Mohan has estimated, since such jobs are not reflected in aggregate statistics on employment, and in general the more formal jobs are likely to pay better or at least provide more steady income.

7. A World Bank study (Mohan 1984) shows that women are in control of savings, in most cases, in Bogotano households. It would be very interesting to consider how males and females are likely to invest resources they control in terms of the patterns of status acquisition outlined here.

CHAPTER VI

COLOMBIAN EVANGELICALISM FROM THE HOUSEHOLD-OUT

A. Gender Roles and Marital Roles in the Conversion Process1. The Dangers of Machismo

... machismo may be an asset on the dance floor, but it's a health hazard at high altitudes. (Ehrenreich 1982:139)

There are compelling reasons why men under certain circumstances would be open to an ideological system that would release them from the pressures of machismo. According to Gloria Pachon de Galan (1981:105), violence in Colombia causes more deaths than cancer and heart attacks, and the primary cause of death in the population between 15 and 44 years of age is homicide.¹ Although even long term city dwellers are susceptible to violent incidents of all sorts, male migrants to urban areas are particularly vulnerable. Female migrants outnumber male, and in some respects the situation favors them. Very few, if any, women or girls would migrate to the city if they did not have family there to receive them, and hence they are enfolded in the protection of a household and its networks from the moment they arrive. Men, on the other hand, may also rely on kin for a place to stay and for help in locating a job, but it is unlikely that they will be satisfied with limiting their sphere of activities to the household. The public life they get involved in is geometrically more dangerous than the corner stores where they drank beer with their

friends and neighbors (and enemies) in the small town they came from, and the complexities of urban living are not yet known to them. Stories abound about the many misadventures of sons, husbands, nephews, etc., who have unwisely ventured off into the mysterious and dangerous world of the streets. This is not simply a case of the country boy being hoodwinked by sophisticated urbanites. The inexperience of the rural migrant in the ways of public urban life may have fatal consequences. Although women may repeat these stories as object lessons to impress upon their sons the advantages of staying close to home, they have an undeniable basis in reality. The culture of machismo, which is dangerous even in the relatively more regulated world of the small town, may not, in the urban area, carry along with it enough benefits to outweigh the proportional increase in its risks.

2. Moral Inequality and the Role of Women as Reformers of Men

According to Colombian sex-role stereotypes, women are generally considered to be the morally superior partners in a relationship. This is perhaps one of the few inherent "strengths" that is attributed to women within a gender system that is strongly prejudiced in favor of male dominance and superiority in every other realm.² It could be argued that women's presumed moral edge functions as yet another burden, restricting their behavior and keeping them "good", i.e. submissive, long-suffering, and occupied with serving others rather than pursuing the gratification of their own needs and interests. However, there is also a

more active aspect to the female role in this regard, and I think it is of much importance in considering the dynamic of evangelical conversion within the household context. I would argue that in a sex/gender system dominated by machismo, the woman's role as the defender of moral standards includes her responsibility to continually attempt to reform the male. She exerts moral pressure on others as well, including her children and other women, but for the moment I would like to consider male/female interaction in this regard.

The particular focus of a woman's reformist impulse will vary depending on the stage in the developmental cycle of the relationship, but I believe that it continues from the early stages of courtship throughout married life, and the only thing that can actually put a stop to it is success, when the male lives up to her standards. The playing out of this drama is especially vivid during courtship. During this period, if he is living up to machista standards, a man must try to conquer (i.e., commit an "immoral" act by having sex out of wedlock), and the woman for her part must resist (i.e., defend both her own and the man's moral standards).³ Although other strategies may be involved and complicate the issue somewhat, in general a woman will hope that she is sufficiently attractive to her novio that he will eventually chose her over his machista standards. Therefore, during this time she will try to utilize his desire for her to cut back on his involvement in

the culture of machismo. Her primary concern will be that he has other women, and the amount of jealousy and competition that exists among women involved with the same man is, in part, related to the fact that as long as he has other women her advantage in reforming him is undermined. Of course there are other reasons, including simple economic interest: a woman obviously prefers not to share a man's already limited resources with his other lovers or households. (See, e.g., Rubbo (1975) regarding women's economic interest and the use of love magic against other women.) Here I would like to elaborate on the ideological system surrounding this harsh economic reality, taking women's economic dependence on men as a given for the moment. A woman's persuasiveness in controlling her novio is proportionate to the intensity of his interest in her, hence, if his interests are divided (among several women), her leverage decreases. This issue is of paramount importance, as evidenced by the fact that, even if there is no real competition, a girl may indulge in rages over imagined or potential rivals. Such behavior might be viewed as a kind of "test" of her novio's commitment.

That this pattern during courtship extends beyond issues of mere sexual jealousy is evidenced by the fact that a man's involvement in the male world of public drinking, fighting, etc. will also be subject to his novia's censure. Although she obviously must be very delicate in her criticism, because to be too aggressive would not be in

keeping with her role, the novia has more power in this regard during courtship than she will after she's married. She can make demands on his time and money, as a proof of his love, that will conflict with his investment in the machista lifestyle. A primary argument used in this respect will be the dangers of his activities (see section 1 above.) She has a real interest in reforming him in this regard, because once she has committed herself to the relationship with him, should he be killed she would not only grieve, but be left in a difficult position in terms of starting up with someone else.

Within the gender ideology that prevails in popular music, the male looks to his sweetheart as his salvation from the trials of the life required by the standards of machismo. In a popular Vallenato song, a man wants to speak to his sweetheart, to tell her all the things that she saved him from.⁵ In fact, a temporary or "pretend" reform by the male is often an element in the courtship pattern. It's not unusual for a man to mend his ways while he's courting in order to please his girl (young couples, both Catholic and evangelical, will attend church together), and then to continue with his former habits after he has her safely married to him. In this case her reformer role continues, and although she complains about many of the same things (other women, drinking, his failure to come home), the power she enjoyed during courtship may have diminished drastically. She hopes that bearing his children will give

her some leverage over him, but having a wife and children at home has rarely inhibited the expression of machismo impulses. Her criticism of him at this point may function to drive him away even more. Under what circumstances, then, would he be likely to reform? As long as his wife is maintaining moral standards at home, he is free to do as he likes.

A fruitful place to look for the answer to this question is in the testimonies of male converts to evangelical Protestantism. While religious conversion is by no means the only manner in which Colombian men "reform", and it is surely possible that Catholic women also experience success in their efforts towards this end, in keeping with the argument being developed here I would like to direct attention to the way in which evangelical conversion (for men) erodes the essential separation between male and female spheres.

Many factors may serve to predispose a man towards religious conversion, and my goal here is to elaborate on one of them which is clearly imbedded in the male/female dynamic. Men frequently state that they were led to convert as the result of having been healed of an illness. They describe a series of visits to doctors, expensive x-rays and treatments without result, and continuing affliction. When nothing else has seemed to work, they agree to attend an evangelical service, usually at the invitation of a wife or another relative. Two things usually happen: they are

healed of their illness, and convert out of gratitude, and they report that that night "the Lord spoke to my heart", so they are open to the gospel message and become curious about it. If we place this type of testimony in the context of the argument outlined above, the male/female dynamic inherent in it becomes clear. Machismo culture, with its premium on individual independence and physical prowess, makes no provisions for illness, and in fact, physical disability is anathema to it. When a man gets sick he must withdraw from his usual activities and return home so that his wife can nurse him. ⁶ (Although in an urban area the service sector can replace many of a wife's functions, in Colombia, even a hospitalized person relies heavily on his or her family to bring food and see that the patient is cared for.) Because he is physically disabled, he becomes dependent upon his wife and family in a way that would be unthinkable if he were well. He is also physically present in the home to a much greater extent than is usual. His suffering, his fear of what's going to happen to him, and his dependence on his wife and family combine to render him uncharacteristically receptive to their counsel. If his wife has already converted, she is armed with the logic of the church to argue that his illness is the result of his vices, and that only by giving them up will he be well again. A non-evangelical woman might apply a variant of this logic, but the evangelical wife will be better equipped with extensive ideological backing from her fellow believers.

For some men, then, a debilitated state (brought about by illness or another sort of personal disaster) may be crucial to rendering them susceptible to the Gospel message. Numerous writers on Pentecostalism and evangelical Protestantism in Latin America and elsewhere have noted the role of illness in the conversion process, but it has not been analyzed further in order to reveal how it functions within the underlying male/female dynamic. In terms of this type of male testimony, it is the interplay of these two things, illness and the continual effort of women to reform men, that often results in a man's conversion.

It is interesting that the pattern of recruitment into Mexican Spiritualist groups described by Finkler (1983) corresponds in certain strategic ways to this variety of evangelical conversion experience. Although Spiritualists do not proselytize, "the most common route for which individuals are recruited into Spiritualism is through an 'illness network,' encountered during an episode of sickness. This network is composed of the friends, relatives, or neighbors who tell a sick person about Spiritualist therapy after treatment by a physician has proved unsuccessful" (Finkler 1983:289). It is also intriguing that, although men seek temple therapy as the result of a variety of disorders, "those who are recruited and choose to become adherents usually have a history of alcoholism" (ibid:292). Spiritualist temples do not prohibit drinking as vigorously as Pentecostal sects, but

they do prohibit drunkenness; and Finkler notes that the change in drinking habits resulting from the man becoming an adherent provides an economic advantage to the household. Like Colombian evangelicalism, Mexican spiritualism is a strongly female dominated religion, and Finkler notes that a temple goal is to rid males of their machismo. The components of machismo that are cited by Spiritualists include not only drinking, but womanizing and "lack of submissiveness and obedience" (ibid:291). Spiritualism, like evangelical Protestantism, "fosters positive male-female relationships within the family unit" (ibid:300). The three elements of machismo -- drinking, womanizing, and aggression -- mentioned by the Spiritualists are those habits or characteristics which are most often the objects of on-going female reform efforts within male/female relationships, which suggests that the pattern outlined above for Colombian evangelicals may also be relevant to other dissident religious movements in mestizo Latin America.

The mention of lack of "submissiveness and obedience" is particularly interesting. These are classified as female traits in Colombia as well as in Mexico. Yet they are essential to the development of a true commitment to evangelicalism (as well as Spiritualism). Referring back to the testimonies cited above, the experience of healing and the gratitude resulting from it are only one component. The other, that "the Lord spoke to my heart," is in fact much

more central to the individual's continuing commitment. This phrase refers to a deep emotional experience of contrition and a longing for personal change. It can occur only when the individual is in a submissive and obedient frame of mind, an attitude antithetical to the dominance and defiance revered as machista qualities. For the man who has been heavily involved in machista culture, then, the debilitation of illness will often serve to shatter certain emotional barriers that would preclude his receptivity to evangelical teaching.

Although illness figures prominently in many male testimonies, the situation outlined above is by no means the only way that men become involved in evangelical religion. Some men report that they converted "junto con la esposa" (along with their wives). Where the conjugal bond is stronger, i.e., men are more involved in their marriages than in machista culture, women's role as reformer and moral superior is less significant. Also, some evangelical men never experienced conversion per se. At the present, many men, among them many evangelical pastors, report that they were raised in the faith, or that they converted when they were very young and attended church with their mothers. These men, of course, fall outside of machista culture. Their personalities and aspirations have taken form within a value system that stands in opposition to much of the dominant culture, and to machismo in particular. Also, many testimonies reveal a curiosity about religion that

stimulated an individually motivated "search for the truth", and do not seem to be tied specifically to gender issues. I believe that these men also fall outside of machismo culture, for a variety of reasons outlined below. These testimonies are important because they dovetail with the material on households and illustrate the transformative potential of evangelical conversion on Colombian society.

Finally, Finkler mentions that Mexican Spiritualism holds an attraction for some men because it allows them "to avoid drinking and side-step the macho role, for which all men are obviously not cut out" (ibid:293). I think this is also true in the case of Colombian evangelicalism, but it needs some further elaboration. Some of the literature on pentecostal conversion has explained individual attraction to the movement in terms of psychological factors. In this view, "deviant" individuals may find a place in these religious movements which has been denied to them by the wider society. (For a review of this literature, see Hine 1969.) Although this may be true to a minor degree, I think it is inadequate as an explanation of motivation for conversion to evangelicalism in Colombia for a number of reasons. In terms of the machista role, I believe that this complex must be considered as central to shaping male/female relations in Colombia, but not all Colombian men fulfill this role to the same degree, and failure to fulfill it does not necessarily make a man a "deviant" in the sense of a person whose psychological peculiarities make him a social

outcast shunned by the rest of the community. Certainly, if a man refuses to establish himself as "macho" he is sacrificing a certain kind of social status within particular circles, but such a man would be more accurately called "unusual" rather than "deviant". Moreover, the full range of modern machismo characteristics is unevenly represented within the Colombian male population. Although the machista role as a sex-role stereotype is very much a part of Colombian society, the actual fulfillment of the role by individual men will depend on a number of factors, including the particular sub-cultural background of the individual, the amount of disposable income available to him, his own as well as his wife's class background, the degree of involvement in a "household mode of production", his integration into various family networks and the size of the settlement he lives in. In terms of this last factor in particular, it is commonly believed that a man's potential for getting into trouble increases with his move down to town from the countryside, and from the town to the city (see section A.1 above). Obviously, since much of machismo culture involves leisure time activities, his involvement in it will also depend upon the amount of time he is freed from the grind of daily subsistence work.

3. Conjugal Sexuality Before and After Conversion

When machismo is replaced by evangelical belief as the main standard for male behavior, conjugal relations are also affected in terms of the role of sexuality in marriage.

Masculine sexuality is clearly subjected to constraints that are unheard of and would be intolerable to machismo thinking, but actually conjugal sexuality is redefined to accommodate the element of desire now inhibited from outside expression. For Catholics, conjugal sexuality is overwhelmingly defined in terms of its procreative function. The good wife is not supposed to enjoy sex -- she submits to it as her "sacred duty". In 1979, Maria Ladi Londono, a Colombian clinical psychologist and president of the Colombian Society of Sexology, conducted a study in Cali, Colombia, on female sexual pleasure. She interviewed 264 women living in stable unions, most of whom were between the ages of 25 and 35. Most of the women had more than two children. Only 15% of the women in the group claimed to enjoy sex -- the remaining 85% said they experienced only a minimum of pleasure. The women spoke openly of various ploys they used to get out of having sex with their partners, an event which they commonly referred to as "the cross" and "the heaviest burden of matrimony." Londono points out that the striking lack of sexual pleasure in the experience of these women contrasts sharply with a study done with Ecuadorian women, 80% of whom reported that they were greatly satisfied in their sexual relations.

It is interesting that the Colombian women interviewed were originally contacted at a "Profamilia" clinic, a private organization started with foreign funding and the compliance of the national government. Its main function is

the distribution of birth control at low fees.

Unfortunately, Londono doesn't question the women regarding their feelings about the reproductive role of sex, which is probably a primary issue for them and bound up with their experience of sexual pleasure in a central way.

For whatever reasons, pleasure and procreative purpose are at odds in Colombian Catholic conjugal sexuality. A man's indulgence of his desire outside of marriage in a way collaborates in protecting his wife's "chaste" image, and her lack of enjoyment in sex reinforces the idea that the union between husband and wife is primarily for procreative purposes.

Most evangelical churches in Colombia hold special classes and "campaigns" on family relations, and deal with the topic frequently in sermons and Bible study during regular services. A basic text for evangelicals with reference to marital relations is found in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, which is commonly a central focus. Implicit in the teaching of this text is that sex is pleasurable and that it is human nature to desire it. Although Paul wishes that everybody could be like him -- that is, celibate and dedicated only to the Lord -- he concedes that it is better for people to marry if they cannot exercise such self-control. "For it is better to marry than to be aflame with passion" (1 Corinthians 7:9). The reproductive role of marriage is barely mentioned in this passage, probably because to Paul, reproduction of the

world was the last of his worries; what difference would it make when "the appointed time has grown very short" (7:29) and "the form of this world is passing away" (7:31). He suggests that husband and wife should not refuse one another his or her conjugal rights, except perhaps by agreement for a short time to devote themselves to prayer, "but then come together again, lest Satan tempt you through lack of self-control" (7:5). Marriage, then, is the holy outlet for sexual desire. The positive emphasis on sexuality in marriage, rather than solely on procreation, marks a significant change from the Catholic ideal. One outcome of the acceptance of this teaching is that, for evangelicals, male sexuality becomes defined in terms of and expressed within the husband role. Although there is considerable variation in terms of evangelical teaching about reproductive issues, in general the churches take a non-interventionist stand on the topic.

4. Changing Sex Roles with Conversion

With conversion, machismo is replaced by evangelical belief as the main determinant of husband-wife relations. The boundaries of public-male life and private-female life are redrawn and redefined. The relative power positions of the spouses change. This is not to say that women now have power over their husbands. In evangelical households the husband may be the powerful one, but his "relative aspirations" have changed to coincide with those of his wife. Christine Oppong has provided some of the parameters

which must be considered in a discussion of conjugal power relations:

The process of decision-making in the home, how domestic tasks and resources should be allocated, is an admittedly complex sequence of events, taking place between spouses and between them and their kin, affines, colleagues and other significant sets of associates and reference groups, with and about whom they exchange goods, services, and communications. It depends to a great extent upon the relative power position of the spouses and their respective aspirations. A spouse's power position may be thought of as consisting in his or her ability to alter the partner's behavior to conform to that desired, even in spite of counter demands and pressures from outsiders, especially in terms of the use of money and time upon objects persons and interests valued by the spouse (Oppong 1974:115, emphasis added).

The evangelical husband will be more likely to confer with his wife when making decisions that affect the household, but more importantly, the way he disposes of his income and his concerns regarding his family are probably going to be consistent with his wife's desires anyway. This is why the evangelical response is so powerful and successful: instead of trying to revolutionize the public realm, which is what would be necessary for women to be allowed greater direct access to regular public sector jobs and "male" income, it reorders the relative participation of men and women in the private realm, enhancing the value of family and household so that they are in the ascendance. Thus issues about public sector success take on a different meaning -- they are subsidiary to and contingent upon a private valuation (or meaningful in terms of private realm

values rather than in their own right). A transformed domestic realm becomes the center of life for both women and men.

B. The Economic Effects of Gender Role Transformation

1. The Family Economy of Evangelical Households

Although conversion may not return the production capacity to households, it does reinstate its role as the locus of consumption. Insofar as consumption as investment is a form of production, and pooling of resources and other financial strategies generate income, evangelical households do often have the look of family corporations. In this they resemble much more the peasant families that Rothstein discusses (see Chapter 5, section 4) than the individualistic, dependent households of non-converts.

In Weber's interpretation (1905), the Calvinist doctrine of asceticism allowed for the amassing of capital because of reduced expenditures on vices and luxuries. Because of ascetic standards the Protestant did not have much else to do with profits but reinvest them. Asceticism is a key issue for Protestants in Colombian society, the one that at first blush sets Protestants off from non-converts most dramatically. However, the way it operates in the Colombian economic situation is distinctly different from what Weber described. While conversion affects consumption patterns, patterns of investment in these cases are fundamentally different from the situation with which Weber

is concerned. What generates money in this case is not profit per se, but rather the transformed consumption pattern itself.

In one sense of the word, asceticism is about consumption patterns. Ascetic codes designate proper and improper (or moral and immoral) types of consumption. In the Colombian case, and I think this is true for Protestantism more generally, asceticism does not mean world-rejection -- it is not a withdrawal from material reality in the manner of Hindu ascetics. Instead of being monastic, Protestant belief is profoundly social, although the nature of the Protestant social world, especially for men who convert in Colombia, is dramatically altered so that the family is placed at the center. "Other-worldliness" has a meaning beyond the dichotomy between the spiritual and the material. For Colombian evangelicals, "cosas del mundo" (things of the world) commonly denotes sinful conduct outside of the bounds of the family, i.e. "improper" or "immoral" types of consumption that are pervasive in the male/public world. In a way, then, the "other world" that the male convert enters is the feminine world. He eschews male values and conforms to a value system and to behavioral norms that are consistent with women's aspirations. In this light, asceticism actually entails a shift from male consumption patterns to female ones. In other words, in Colombia, women, Catholic as well as evangelical, are already ascetic. Willems notes that "most Latin American males would probably

agree that the Protestant model of asceticism admirably fits their concept of correct female behavior" (Willems 1967:49).

Much of Weber's discussion of asceticism does not apply to the present discussion, but he does mention the home-orientation in connection with Calvinist asceticism. He says, "Over against the glitter and ostentation of feudal magnificence which, resting on an unsound economic basis, prefers a sordid elegance to a sober simplicity, they set the clean and solid comfort of the middle-class home as an ideal" (Weber 1905:171).

Flora (1976) surveyed current possessions and acquisition patterns among samples of Colombian Pentecostal and Catholic households. She found that the first item bought by Catholics is a radio (97 per cent of Catholics as opposed to 66 per cent of Pentecostals have a radio), while the first item bought by Pentecostals is a dining room table (82.5% of Pentecostals contrasted with 47.5% of Catholics own a dining room table.) This consumer pattern indicates something about family relations. Flora interprets the importance of the radio to the Catholic households as an outreach for identification outside the home, while the centrality of the dining room table indicates a higher family solidarity among Pentecostals. She says:

The typical eating pattern in lower-class Colombia, which Willems (1967:172) substantiates for Brazil, is for the meal to be served directly from the stove to each individual separately when he is ready. He then takes his meal to some quiet corner to consume alone in silence. This contrasts with the Pentecostal experience, where the family tends to eat together more, and the

women, particularly, benefit from this increase in status through inclusion (Flora 1976:221).

In terms of investment, money which would otherwise have been spent on "vices" by men in the public realm is reoriented back into the household budget. Asceticism and a family orientation go hand-in-hand for most Colombian evangelicals. One of the striking features of evangelical Protestantism in Colombia is a pervasive concern with the quality of family life. Such things as a husband's responsibility to his wife and children, marital fidelity, the mother's role in the raising of her children are common themes in sermons and Bible study. More than in any other area of life, conversion, especially of both husband and wife, will have a profound impact on the family. Ascetic codes forbid much of the behavior associated with the machismo complex: Men can no longer drink, smoke, or have women outside of their marriage. A man's social world becomes transformed also, from the male public world to a redefined private world where the family is the central focus.

Although asceticism does not specifically lead to capital accumulation, the transformation of consumption patterns can be linked to upward mobility. Household consumption can include income-generating purchases, such as real estate (houses or land, urban and rural), livestock, a car or truck, and of course education for children. It is important to note that such investment is distinct from individual entrepreneurship because it is strategically

linked to consumption and it is household-based. The household is acting as a corporation, and although a profit motive may operate in any particular case of investment, the form that investment takes is influenced by the consumption-orientation (i.e., houses, land, cars, and livestock all have use value for household members as well as market value as commodities). It might be said that this kind of consumption pattern is traditional, that it does not create new economic opportunities (i.e. it does not have a transformative effect on the economy). But it does frequently lead to upward mobility, or at least greater financial security, for the family involved. In section B below, I will consider this last point in more detail.

2. Colombian Evangelical Women and the Transition from Peasant to "Professional" Class

A striking process of upward mobility for certain evangelical families is based on the education of children for professional careers. Norman Whitten (1969) has noted that capital spent on children's education in the Colombian-Ecuadorian littoral is related to the desire of rising groups to enhance their social prestige. A common pattern in Colombia is for a family to experience financial success through entrepreneurial activities and then spend money on educating its children in order to bring its social status into line with its increased economic status. Here I would like to suggest that for evangelical families (and possibly for many non-evangelical ones) education plays a very

different role in terms of upward mobility. Education is the primary means by which families, and extended kin groups, are realizing a dramatic upward mobility specifically in terms of "professional class" status. The celebration of Martin Luther's 500th Birthday described in Chapter II was a dramatic illustration of the changing status of many converts. Women as mothers are playing a strategic role in this process, and for evangelicals their church membership provides institutional and ideological support which facilitates mobility.

The evangelical movement, since its very beginnings in the 19th century in Colombia, has always had at its core a concern with education. The first missionaries, who were Presbyterians and came to Colombia in 1856, almost immediately set up a school for working class people in Bogotá. The Colombian Bible Society quite appropriately views its major enemy in Colombia to be illiteracy and encourages literacy programs. Small evangelical churches in rural areas will often start their own primary schools, sometimes just the first three grades. These schools fill up with the children of non-evangelicals, who, despite their lack of interest in converting or sometimes open hostility to evangelicals, believe that their children will be better educated in the evangelical school than in public schools, often reporting that there they will learn discipline and respect. The Colegios Americanos which evolved out of the early Presbyterian schools are now established and quite

prestigious high schools where only a small fraction of the students are actually from evangelical families. There are several of these schools located in various major cities in Colombia, and they are considered to be a sort of factory for future professionals. Many evangelical denominations have established Bible Institutes which train pastors and train teachers for the primary schools. These Bible Institutes continue to provide an opportunity for education for the poorest classes. Many evangelicals who are now professionals began their advanced education in Bible Institutes, and entering a religious career is sometimes the first step towards secular professional class status.

Evangelical groups also provide some scholarships for members' children through the university level. The Colombian Lutheran Synod has been particularly active in this regard since its beginnings in the 1930s; and in conjunction with the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva, it also offers numerous opportunities for young Colombian evangelicals to study or attend conferences abroad.

In addition to these institutional arrangements, there also exists a pervasive attitude within evangelical families that lays the groundwork for the high valuation placed on learning. The major focus for this attitude is Bible-reading and a contemplative attitude toward religious and moral issues. In the countryside where the never-ending routine of rural tasks consumes the energies of all the family members, time is specifically set aside for family

Bible reading, discussion and prayer. From the time they are very young, evangelical children are expected to read or recite from memory in church services, and to be able eventually to lead Bible study or preach a sermon. Even the manner in which prayer is conducted is conducive to a certain kind of creativity. For Catholics, to pray is "rezar", which means to recite by rote, whereas for evangelicals to pray is "orar", which means a spontaneous outpouring from the heart, which will be different for each individual and different for every prayer that is said. All of these skills distinguish Colombian evangelicals from their Catholic counterparts among whom Bible reading, until very recently, was considered to be an activity fit only for the priesthood. As noted earlier, the Catholic hierarchy actively discouraged members from owning or reading the Bible, maintaining that such activity could only lead to a proliferation of misinterpretations of the sacred text. Among evangelicals, then, the "priesthood of all believers" exists not only on a doctrinal level but also is put into extensive practice and establishes an ethic of reading, contemplation and analysis which is clearly useful in orienting young members towards higher education.

The growth of the professional class in Colombia has the dimensions of a major social phenomenon. This development is affecting large segments of the Colombian population, regardless of religion. However, because of the factors outlined above, many evangelical families have been

particularly successful at making this class transition. An examination of some of the dynamics involved in these cases might prove to be suggestive for subsequent studies of women and class mobility. The growth of the professional class, and/or the mobility of families from peasant or poor backgrounds to urban professional status, is often the direct result of women's activities. The education of their children is an area where Colombian women can exert real influence. Whereas a woman has some hope of her child training for a career, and in fact this is the stated hope of most mothers for their children, it would be less possible for her to contribute to a child's success in business, for example, which is a domain controlled by men and also much more class-bound than the professions. For evangelicals, success in business is particularly difficult because the ascetic codes of behavior prohibit much of the social behavior that is critical in Colombian business dealings, in particular, drinking with business associates. This quandary is vividly illustrated by the testimony of Gilberto, a member of the Juanito's Charismatic Christian church in Bogota. He had been a very talented architect, but acute alcoholism had brought him to the brink of financial disaster. As the result of his conversion he was able to give up drinking, but had been suffering financially because he could not play according to the social rules required by the men who might offer him contracts. In his testimony, he praised the Lord because he has finally been

able to land a contract even though he was drinking Coca-Cola.

Similarly, evangelicals are also notably absent from the legal profession, which has traditionally occupied a position of importance and prestige in Colombian society (Goode 1970). This may be traced to the close connection between law and politics in Colombia and to the fact that the same kind of sociability is required of men in political activities as is required for making business deals. Also, success in law and politics requires a kind of social visibility and approval that would not be forthcoming for non-Catholics in Colombia. Extensive social networks and "palanca" (influence or "pull") are strategic to any endeavor in Colombian society, including education and the professions.

By contrast, the people who constitute the clientele of physicians and dentists (often women and children) do not require the same kind of sociability on the part of the professional whose services they were utilizing. A reasonable amount of success in one's profession can be achieved as the result of diligence in one's studies and expertise in a particular area (such as medicine or agronomy). A far smaller degree of favoritism and pull is necessary than one would need in any sort of business dealings. Also, investment in education takes the form of relatively small outlays of money over an extended period of time. A rural woman might pay school fees for her children

out of money earned selling milk from her cows or from her
"egg money".⁷

The point to be made here is that the ostensibly "private" concerns of women receive institutional and ideological support from membership in the evangelical churches. When their husbands share their values and aspirations, e.g. educational opportunities for their children, the success of their strategies is further guaranteed, and can have profound transformative potential in terms of the social mobility of the family over the generations.

C. The Feminine Ethos of Evangelical Religion

The discussion that follows aims to tie the points made above about gender and household to a more general understanding of the character of Colombian evangelical churches. I argue that the predominance of women in Colombian evangelical churches determines, to a very great extent, both the form or organization of the churches and the content of their religious teaching and expression.

The numerical preponderance of women in evangelicalism in both the United States and Latin America has been widely documented (see for example Argyle 1975, Blanchard 1975, Flora 1976, Garrison 1974, Harrison 1974, Sexton 1978). To a much greater extent than in other Christian denominations, women occupy significant positions within the formal organization of these churches. They also gain prominence through the less institutionalized "authority of personal

charism" (Clark 1937, Flora 1976, Hardesty 1979, Hollenweger 1969, LaRuffa 1971, Ruether 1979, Samarin 1972). Where Pentecostalism is the result of missionary activity or develops out of (and often in opposition to) an established religion, women are often the first to convert to the new religion; their husbands may or may not be persuaded to join them later (Goodman 1972, 1973, LaRuffa 1969, 1971, Mintz 1960).

My data from Colombia support the findings of other researchers with regard to women's prominence in the churches. Furthermore, women's participation has given Colombian evangelicalism a "tone" or "flavor" which is distinctly consistent with Colombia femininity: what we might call a "feminine ethos." Bateson defines ethos as "the expression of a culturally standardized system of organization of the instincts and emotions of the individuals" (1936:118). Ethos sets a definite tone of appropriate behavior and a standardized system of emotional attitudes. "...ethos constitutes a factor in the determination of the needs and desires of the individuals. [It is] the system of emotional attitudes which governs what value a community shall set upon the various satisfactions or dissatisfactions which the contexts of life may offer..."(ibid:220). As a determinative factor, then, the concept of ethos is useful to the present discussion because it allows us to move beyond the level of individual strategizing.

What I call a feminine ethos is represented in the nature of evangelical religion in Colombia in various ways. In numerous cases, the merger of church and household exists in concrete spatial terms as well as on the more abstract level. The templo or meeting place for evangelical services is very frequently a large room in the pastor's house. This arrangement is facilitated by Colombian architectural style. When the house has more than one door facing onto the street, a front room can be opened up to directly admit people into the house, without disturbing the family's residential space. The room utilized for this purpose is usually the "sala" or living room, where guests would normally be received. The integration of the templo in the "casa pastoral" (pastor's house) is true of even quite large churches. The Christian Charismatic Church in the prosperous North of Bogota conducted services in the home of Jean and John Firth, the pastoral couple. On Sundays, some 600 people would attend services, which were conducted in three shifts because the large downstairs room could squeeze in only 200 at a time. The Firths were blessed with a very good cook, and during the morning services as people sang and prayed, the room was often filled with enticing smells wafting from the kitchen. In El Cocuy, the little Lutheran church, as well as the Lutheran primary school, are located in the "Casa Evangelica", which is a large old house in town. Both Edelmira Mora, the director of the day school, and her brother Oliverio, the pastor of the church, live in

this house. When their brother, Vidal, comes down from the mountains on horseback, clad in alpargates (rope sandals) and ruana, to attend a meeting of the Municipal Council of which he is a member, they sometimes roll out a mattress for him on the altar, which is carpeted and slightly raised and hence not as cold as the bare floor.

This spatial arrangement of evangelical churches in Colombia is much more than simply a matter of poverty or convenience. It is an outgrowth of the continuing household basis of evangelical religion in Colombia. The movement experienced its most dramatic growth during the period when it was driven "behind closed doors" by persecution during La Violencia (see Chapter III, Section E).

Up to the present, the core of evangelizing efforts are the "cultos a domicilio" (services in the home). Every church, in addition to frequent services and special meetings held in the templo, has a list of these home services which are held at varying times and a range of locations during the week. It is usually the case that members (almost always women) volunteer their homes for these meetings, and take on the responsibility of leading the prayer, Bible reading, and hymn singing. This technique of evangelization is a brilliant use of the primary resources available to the church -- the commitment of women members, their interpersonal skills in a traditional context, and their personal networks of kin and friends. A woman preacher stresses the compatibility of evangelization

with the Colombian woman's traditional role:

"The Bible says to go out to the whole world and preach the gospel. Those of us who have homes and children, it's very difficult for us to go all over the world. But we can give the message to our neighbors, to our families, to our friends, our block -- we have a lot of people to give it to."

Testimonies of conversion experiences reveal that quite often a potential convert will attend home services for some time before ever venturing into the main templo. There are a variety of reasons for this. If a man opposes his wife's involvement with the evangelical group, her visits to a neighbor's or relative's house are less visible and hence less likely to be a provocation. A similar rationale applies for some men also, who would be embarrassed to be seen publicly attending an evangelical service, but are open enough to the idea that they would go along to a relative's house (or stay in their own home if their wife was conducting the service, assuming they're not openly opposed to her involvement).

There is also evidence that other kinds of proselytizing activities are far less productive than the home services. The "soap box" approach, where a preacher takes his place on a street corner or, more often, near the market place, and proceeds to declaim to any listeners about the Gospel, has been used since the early days of missionization with mixed results. It has many drawbacks. First, nothing ties the preacher to his audience. Since he is addressing a group of strangers he must depend

exclusively upon their curiosity about what he has to say and has no other hope of holding their interest. Second, especially in the smaller towns where this is practiced, he is likely to provoke a considerable amount of animosity from a crowd who believe, as the result of the teaching of the Catholic clergy, that he is a heretic (and possibly also a communist). In the past, even outside of the epoch of La Violencia, he risked being thrown into jail for his efforts. It would be fairly certain that his activities would be reported to the local Catholic priest, who would respond with a sermon lambasting the intrusion of heretics into the town. Even recently, evangelical groups who have attempted this type of public evangelizing have been attacked by angry mobs. The Assemblies of God, during a campaign they ran in 1980, sent a group of evangelists to the small town of Villapinzon in the Department of Boyaca. The group attempted to begin open-air evangelization but were thwarted by a mob of angry men who attacked them and destroyed valuable sound equipment. It probably does not help that on market day most men will be engaged in endless rounds of reciprocal drinking, and as a consequence are going to be less than enthusiastic about a preacher's denunciation of their activities. Finally, even when a preacher manages to overcome these considerable obstacles and his message reaches the heart of a listener, little will come of it unless "the seeds are cultivated", that is, unless there is a continuing effort made by believers to

draw the neophyte into an ongoing set of religious activities. It is this continuing availability and reinforcement that the "cultos a domicilio" supply to the potential convert, and when an evangelical mentions public preaching as a factor in bringing about his or her conversion, it is usually the case that he or she already had friends, relatives or neighbors who are involved with the evangelical church.

Another type of activity associated with evangelization in many parts of the world, which is peculiarly unsuccessful in Colombia, is the giant "Crusade", an open-air rally, usually held in a stadium, where a famous preacher such as Billy Graham addresses a huge crowd and at the end of the service invites people to come down to the front to commit their lives to Christ. Apparently in the past, evangelists such as Billy Graham have visited Colombia, but the outcome of their Crusades were never considered as successful as in other countries, so they have not returned. Evangelicals attribute the failure of these rallies to difficulties in transportation and communication in Colombia, but these difficulties do not seem to stop people from hearing about and attending soccer games. I would suggest instead that the failure of the open-air rallies is tied to the fact that they are inherently inconsistent with the feminine ethos of evangelical religion in Colombia. It is understandable that the technique that is the furthest away from the "cultos a domicilio" should be the least successful. Where the home

services are personal, intimate and private, the open-air rallies are impersonal, anonymous and public. There is no basis for a Colombian woman's involvement in such an activity, and the concept is likely to seem foreign to her.

Most successful evangelical churches in Colombia have active women's organizations. Flora (1976) found that eight out of thirteen Pentecostal churches in the area she studied has "active and aggressive" women's organizations, the leaders of which were often the wives of the pastors. All of the evangelical churches I studied had women's organizations, and although their degree of activity as groups relatively independent of the rest of the church varied, it was often the case that the "confraternidad de damas" (brotherhood of ladies) took on the lion's share of responsibility for the church. These organizations carry out a number of primary functions, foremost among which are evangelization campaigns, but also include such things as fund raising activities, social welfare work, and furnishing, maintaining and decorating the church. Special weekly services for women are held by many churches, sometimes as part of the activities of the women's society and sometimes independent of them. In both the Canaan church (an independent working-class church in the south of Bogota), and the Christian Charismatic church in the affluent north, the women's mid-week services were extremely popular and as well-attended as the Sunday services.

The imagery used by women in their sermons is very

specifically and compellingly female: images of cleanliness and images of food -- tied to two of the central activities Colombian women engage in. The following examples are from a sermon given by a woman at the Christian Charismatic church. The major theme of her sermon was Spiritual sustenance, and the metaphor that she used repeatedly was the word of God as food.

"We as Christians have to feed ourselves, sisters, because, some time ago (and I am still a bit thin), I was completely malnourished. When I travelled to the United States, and the first doctor that I saw said to me, "Senora, I've never seen a person as thin as you -- I think you must have tuberculosis." And I thought to myself, if that's what it's like for the body to be malnourished, what must the person be like who is malnourished spiritually? We are nourished -- body, soul and spirit. And our spirit must be completely nourished, fat, but if we don't eat of the word of the Lord, if we don't nourish ourselves with it, we are going to be more malnourished than I was when I was sick."

"Some people say, my Bible is very pretty. I keep it as an adornment. Well, we may have a fine, clean Bible, but our life is not going to be as clean as the Bible, it will more likely be dirty. What is clean is the Lord's word."

"Realmente, hablar es un arte". "Lo que nosotros debe hablarle al mundo es corto, poco, pero sustancioso. Es como la comida, pero que sea poca, pero nutritiva." Really, speaking is an art. What we have to tell the world is short, small, but substantial. It's like food, it might just be a little bit, but it should be nutritious.

The hogar (home) is the perennial topic for special week or month-long "campaigns" held at regular intervals during the year. A great deal of teaching is done on the topic of home and family. This is an example of how the

content of evangelical religion appeals to Colombian women. The churches pay much attention to a topic which is close to their hearts and in many cases their primary frame of reference. In El Cocuy, the Lutheran church sponsored a class on the family which met weekly over the period of several months, covering such topics as courtship, marriage, sexuality, and family roles. During the annual convention of the Four-Square gospel church, the guest pastor delivered a series of sermons over the course of five days on the topic of the Christian husband and father. A sign announcing the "semana del Hogar" in the United Pentecostal Church lists a full week of activities, with different meetings for wives, husbands, parents and children, the whole family together, with a stress on family unity. The sign encourages people to attend, claiming, "Ud. puede tener un hogar feliz - asista!" (You can have a happy home - attend!)

Rather than viewing this emphasis as a ploy on the part of the church to draw women in (in which case we would be preconceiving the church as male-dominated), I think that the heavy emphasis on the family that exists in Colombian evangelical religion might have to do with the fact that women were allowed a say in the church, as preachers and teachers, from the early days, and hence their concerns went into the shaping of Colombian evangelicalism when it became Colombianized. As a consequence, it had a great appeal to other women, and for that reason the church grew.

NOTES

1. Other sources have mentioned the extremely high homicide rate in Colombia. A recent article in The Economist (Anonymous 1985:45) cited a Gallup survey allocating to Colombia the status of "the most violent country in the world," and claiming that ordinary crime in Colombia is more widespread and violent than in most parts of Latin America. In the same article, Colombian police records of violent crimes for 1984 were given: "299 kidnappings (three times as many as in 1981), about 10,000 murders and 25,000 armed robberies" (ibid). Jimeno and Volk, quoting a Bogota weekly magazine (Semana), give an even higher figure for the homicide rate in recent years: "In the late 1970s and early 1980s, there was an average of 36,000 murders and 83,000 attempted murders each year" (1983:20). The anonymous correspondent in Bogota responsible for The Economist article stated that "critics of the government's inability to limit the violence blame a shortage of police, too many corrupt judges and increasing poverty and unemployment" (op. cit.).

2. This situation differs markedly from the sexual ideology of Spanish men in Andalusia, described by Stanley Brandes (1981). Brandes points out that despite the fact that women are restrained by society, men feel severely threatened by them. He states that the essential moral dichotomy within this system is that men believe themselves to be inherently more virtuous than women, an opinion which is justified primarily on religious grounds. Women are considered to be sexually voracious, and for men sex is debilitating. Brandes makes no mention of the "Virgin Mother" ideal of femininity within this ideological system, although Kenny (1962:79), who worked in Castile, states that the "cult of the Virgin Mother" is fervent throughout Spain. Kenny sees the pervasiveness of this cult as indicating that "the picture of the ideal woman lies in the dual ideas of immaculateness and virginity" (ibid). This apparent contradiction in the reports may be related to the duality of the female role as wife and as mother.

3. This discussion primarily refers to courtship ending in church (or civil) marriage. There is a high rate of consensual union in Colombia, and both courtship and conjugal relations within the consensual union pattern can be expected to differ in many details from the situation being outlined here. I think it could be argued, however, that women's interests (in courtship and marriage) are quite consistent across class lines and in cases of both church marriage and consensual unions.

4. Much has been written about male sexual jealousy of women in Latin culture. Given the pervasiveness of the

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter, I propose that Colombian evangelicalism can be seen, in one regard, as a "strategic" women's movement, aimed at fundamentally altering sex role behavior. I then expand on this point to suggest that notions of "progress" held by converts reveal a "prosperity ethic" that is consistent with a female view of family well-being. I contrast this idea with the Marxist and Weberian views of Latin American conversion, in which Western notions of "progress" (whether agreed with or not) are applied to social and historically distinct situations uncritically.

A. Colombian Evangelicalism as a "Strategic" Form of Female Collective Action

A feminist interested in discussing the experience of women in contemporary Christian fundamentalism might be inclined to quote some particularly imposing ancestors: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, for example, said that "the Bible and the Church have been the biggest stumbling blocks in the way of women's emancipation". More recently but no less forcefully, Mary Daly stated that "a woman's asking for equality in the church would be comparable to a black person's demanding equality in the Ku Klux Klan" (Daly 1973:6).

On the other hand, an anthropologist commenting on the explosive growth of evangelicalism in Latin America might conclude that conversion is a counter-revolutionary act

which produces a docile labor force (or in Weberian terms, progress-minded entrepreneurs), indicating that the movement is best interpreted as an ideological servant of capitalist interests penetrating their world market.

And putting the two approaches together, an anthropologist who considered herself a Marxist-feminist might regard the whole situation of women in Christian fundamentalism in Latin America as too gloomy to even consider. She might readily concede that evangelicalism serves women's psychological needs by promising them that their earthly suffering will be compensated with rich rewards in the here-after. But it's unlikely that she would feel any philosophical affinity to Latin American women evangelicals, or believe that they are involved in an intensely pragmatic movement aimed at reforming those aspects of society which most affect their lives.

I have argued here for a quite different point of entry into the debate about the role of evangelicalism in modern Latin America. This point of entry, based on an analysis of social process within households, reveals both the revolutionary nature of the evangelical movement as a challenge to the prevailing form of gender subordination, and its capacity as an especially powerful ideological tool which radically alters sex role behavior, promotes female interests, and raises the status of women.

Fundamentalist and revolutionary movements share certain features: they stress collective interests over

individual ones and they make goals and values explicit in a way that is unusual in everyday life. To some extent, also, both fundamentalism and revolutionary programs can entail a fusion of male and female values. For example, in the context of nationalist liberation movements in Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, and Namibia, see Urdang 1984), women in the military and in decision making bodies were united with men in their goal of establishing a new and just society that would bring an end to all forms of exploitation. A similar unity of purpose characterized the sexes during the Cuban revolution. However, the prominence of women in revolutionary movements is often eroded after the battle has been won and the new structure established. One problem is that, although they look good on the books, even the most well-intentioned and vigorous legislative reforms aimed at promoting gender equality often fail to bring about real changes in male and female status and role behavior, particularly within the context of the family and household. Although many would argue that the "private" world of the family is ultimately shaped by wider political forces, the intimate world of courtship patterns, marital roles, and who washes the dishes seems to be one of the most conservative areas of life, or at least one of the areas which is the most difficult to police.

The comparison of fundamentalism and revolutionary movements highlights the remarkable success of a movement

such as Colombian evangelicalism in radically altering the most resistant roles. That it has had no effect on legislation concerning women's rights and that at first glance it bears little resemblance to what we would consider a feminist movement might lead us to the conclusion that, insofar as evangelicalism in Colombia enhances the quality of women's lives, it accomplishes this only within the bounds of traditional structures and is in no way revolutionary. Such movements are quite commonly noted in the literature on women's collective action cross-culturally. Maxine Molyneux (n.d.) has provided a useful distinction between two kinds of women's movements: those which are based on women's 'practical interests', such as consumer movements, which are generally formed around some encroachment on women's ability to fulfill their traditional obligations, and those based on women's 'strategic interests', which, like Western feminism, are aimed at revising the sex/gender system. I believe that Colombian evangelicalism in certain respects resembles the latter type of women's movement.

The appeal of evangelicalism in serving women's practical interests is very clear. Many writers have been content to note this and then move on to what they consider a more encompassing explanation of the movement, one that, for some reason, often ignores their observations about women's interests.

The tangible changes and improvement in the standard of

living of women and children in dependent households is only a symptom or an indicator of something much more remarkable that is happening. With conversion, machismo is replaced by evangelical belief as the main determinant of husband-wife relations. The machismo role and the male role defined by evangelicalism are almost diametrical opposites. Aggression, violence, pride, self-indulgence, and an individualistic orientation in the public sphere are replaced by peace seeking, humility, self-restraint, and a collective orientation and identity with the church and the home. One outcome of conversion, then, is that the boundaries of public-male life and private-female life are redrawn and the spheres themselves are redefined. The relative power positions of the spouses change. This is not to say that women now have power over their husbands. In evangelical households the husband may still occupy the position of head, but his relative aspirations have changed to coincide with those of his wife. I believe that this last fact constitutes a change of revolutionary proportions, and is the key to the analysis of Colombian evangelicalism.

The numerical preponderance of women in evangelical churches and the fact that they frequently occupy leadership positions has not prevented some writers from concluding that women's place is still structured to be behind that of men. These writers argue that the organizational structure of the evangelical church does not include women in the higher leadership roles. For one thing, this ignores the

parallel nature of male and female organizations within the church, and the fact that women do lead their own organizations. It is simply automatically assumed that the women's organizations will be less important than the male controlled ones, despite the fact that they are sometimes equal to if not more powerful than their male counterparts. But even more importantly, when they share the same values and aspirations as women, most men in positions of leadership are not operating at odds with women members. This is what makes the evangelical response so powerful and successful: instead of trying to revolutionize the public realm, which is what would be necessary for women to be allowed greater direct access to jobs and male income and to have their interests taken seriously by male power holders, it reorders the relative participation of men and women in the private realm. Part of this process entails the re-valuation of the private realm of home and family, placing it at the center of both women's and men's lives.

Now I'd like to return to the consideration of evangelical protestantism in Colombia as a form of female collective action. One of the biggest problems faced by feminist reformers in the U.S. and elsewhere is that, while women's role is redefined to allow her greater "freedom" (in terms of jobs, education, political participation, etc.), male roles do not automatically transform themselves to accomodate this changed situation. The result of the expansion of women's role is that women end up working a

double day. But imagine if male and female values were the same.

While it's hard for us to see the changes that result from evangelical conversion in Colombia as involving anything that from our perspective could be called "liberation", one of the hard-won lessons of contemporary feminist anthropologists is that "woman" is not a universal category, nor are women's problems and interests likely to be uniform across cultures. Western feminism has been true to its cultural origins in that it has tended to reflect an emphasis on individual freedom. Kaplan (1982) reveals this bias in her evaluation of types of female collective action. She labels certain movements as emerging from what she calls "female consciousness", and claims that these differ from true feminism in that female consciousness values social cohesion over individual rights, and quality of life over access to institutional power. I prefer Molyneux's distinction cited earlier because it tends not to be as culture bound.

Antagonism towards the family has been a frequent bone of contention between Western feminists and third-world feminists, who are also interested in ameliorating structures of sexual subordination but see the family as their main source of security. Like other institutions within society, the sex/gender system must be seen as culturally specific, and also functionally integrated with other aspects of society. Whether the family, then, is

either woman's primary oppressor or her special source of power and security, is not a philosophical debate but a question which must be answered empirically. At this point in time in Colombia, changes in the family which work to the advantage of women is a most desirable reform.

Many women's collective movements have been organized around re-gaining basic rights which are being infringed upon by modernization, social change, etc. (see, for example, Molnar 1982, discussed below). They may seem reactionary, because they do not challenge the traditional sex/gender system, but in fact they are challenging a prevailing situation which neither provides them with the basic rights they are accustomed to nor replaces them with new rights.

The basic premise here is that traditional systems may be more effective in providing for the fulfillment of women's basic needs, goals, and allocating status to their activities, even when they remain separate from the activities of men. Male and female activities complement each other within a basically shared system of values. This is not to say that male and female perceptions of the universe are congruent in traditional societies. This can often entail a good deal of antagonism between the sexes, but the antagonism itself is regulated by implicit cultural rules. In general, however, I think that there is a more humane and effective articulation of the two world views (within systems which contain a much more limited range of

possibilities in any case.)

The Colombian situation provides a particularly powerful example of a disruption of the traditional mode of articulation of the two world views, resulting in a disjuncture between male and female value systems. Occuring within a historical context where women's access to resources becomes increasingly tenuous, women become dependent on what portion of male salaries they are able to extract on the basis of personal persuasion rather than through formally recognized rights, and the economy is strongly prejudiced against women laborers. This conflict between the value systems has many negative results. Abandonment of a woman and children by a male wage earner is a manifestation of the disjuncture of the articulation between female and male values, and has devastating economic consequences for those who remain behind. The high frequency of abandonment in Colombia would be unthinkable in a society where a man's values and goals were realized through his attachment to a family. Another indicator is that when women work, a larger portion of their earnings are spent on the family, whereas a much larger part of a man's income is spent on his personal consumption. Severe competition among women for men and a great deal of mystification of each sex by the other and of the male-female relationship in general is another symptom. And finally, the commoditization of sex, which is manifest on both sides, is one of the major indicators of a severe

disruption of the male/female relationship. This runs a continuum from married women who reward their husband's contributions to the household with sexual favors and punish his failure to provide by withholding them, to women who enter into a series of relationships with men depending on their ability to provide income, to actual prostitution.

In such a context then, a template such as evangelicalism for re-articulating men and women is as desirable to women in terms of improving their condition (and surely to some men) as any feminist reform movements I know of. It is not simply practical but also strategic, in that it challenges and seeks redress for gender inequalities. That it accomplishes this through the transformation of male as well as female roles is the key to its effectiveness, and something that Western feminism, despite having labored mightily, cannot claim to have achieved to the same degree.

I am not arguing that this type of religious movement in all places and at all times serves the same function. Where there is less sex segregation, less female dependency, and a more individualistic orientation for both men and women, I could imagine that such a movement would not be viable in terms of improving women's status but it would also probably never get off the ground anyway. Perhaps this interpretation is relevant only to situations where conversion challenges the specific male role defined as "machismo". However, there is compelling case material from

areas quite far removed from Latin America that indicates that the evangelical ideology serves this function in situations of culture change that have disrupted the articulation of male and female worlds. Not too long ago, among the Telefolmin people of Papua, New Guinea, a revival movement which took on the ecstatic features of evangelicalism occurred after the establishment of a large Baptist Bible school. Among the Christian converts who led the revival, women played a key role, often manifesting shaking fits which were attributed to possession by the Holy Spirit. During these trances, the Holy Spirit made known his wishes that all Telefolmin convert to Christianity and that the old Telefol religion be abandoned (this includes centrally the esoteric men's cult practices.) The Holy Spirit also demanded, through a female trance victim, that egalitarian relations between men and women be established and that conjugal ties and nuclear family obligations take priority over men's duties in the men's cult. As a result of this revival, over a dozen men's houses had been destroyed or desecrated (Jorgensen 1980). The report indicates that the Telefolmin were being affected by the transition to a cash economy.

In the final section I will briefly address the question: What do these observations about the role of evangelical conversion in changing gender roles and domestic organization mean in terms of current interpretations of Latin American conversion and social change?

B. Progress, Modernization, and Culture Change

Notions of social change implicit in writings about evangelical conversion in Latin America fall into roughly two categories: 1) The Marxist or Dependency perspective, and 2) the Neo-Weberian or Development perspective.

In the first of these, conversion is viewed as a conservative force, retarding change by orienting people away from the political and hence away from involvement in the future of their country. In the strongest version of this view, religion serves as an "opiate" making people placid and enured to the status quo. Lalive d'Epina (1976) observes that for evangelicals, politics is an evil to be avoided. He believes that the insurrectionary potential built up over centuries is neutralized by their prescribing noninvolvement. It is axiomatic to this approach that all religion is bad because it rationalizes or mystifies oppression. It follows that evangelicals, as fervent converts, would be particular obstacles to change, since the more involved people are in religion the more opiated they are. Conversely, the least devout are the most likely sources of culture change. Furthermore, evangelicalism, as an import, must be considered as an aspect of ideological imperialism. Implicit in this evaluation are ideas about what constitutes the proper direction of social change.

The Development or Neo-Weberian approaches to Protestant conversion in Latin America usually ignore the issues of imperialism and mystification which engage the

Marxists, and focus on the transformative role of Protestant belief in the process of modernization. In this approach, conversion brings about a rationalization of activity which is useful for upward mobility and hence for development. Development and modernization are both synonymous with capitalism. In a prescriptive sense, the modernization and development of a country depends on its citizens acquiring habits and attitudes which are consistent with capitalist economic behavior. Generally, "traditional" patterns of thought and behavior, including Catholicism, are considered to contain "irrational" elements which inhibit the developmental process.³ This approach also clearly contains implicit ideas about the proper (or at least inevitable) direction of social change.

It would appear that we are still under the influence of the nineteenth century notion that "progress" is a teleological process, unfolding inevitably and leading to an eventual amalgamation of the world's cultures in one depressing uniformity. Most anthropologists have come to recognize that what we view as "traditional" was itself arrived at through a creative process of change. Yet, founded as it was on the study of the "exotic", it is often the case that within anthropology there exists an understandable romanticization of the "traditional" and the diverse. "Progress", then, is anathema in that it leads to "modernization", which entails a rejection of the indigenous, the traditional, and the diverse in favor of the

imported, the contemporary, and the uniform.

Since the days of the early diffusionists, we have been aware that the process of cultural borrowing is characterized by two important features: 1) cultures are selective about what they adopt from outside, and are unlikely to accept something that they do not need or that contradicts basic premises of the society; and 2) a borrowed culture trait will be tailored to fit the setting into which it is adopted. The acculturation process which operates within arenas of gross inequalities in power allows for a great deal less freedom of choice in this regard than the simpler process of borrowing between relatively equal neighboring groups. Nevertheless, these basic observations about the process of diffusion have generally been disregarded entirely when it comes to discussions of the "modernization" process. Modernization is not considered to entail selection and adaptation as identified in the diffusion process, but rather is seen as a wholesale "conversion" of all aspects of society.

Notions of "progress", "development", and indeed the inference that there is any particular directionality in social change must be analyzed to reveal their hidden meaning and the values of those using these terms. It is clear that all societies do not share the Western notion of progress which has been implicit in social science models for a century. For example, Mead reported that the Chambri of the Sepik River area of New Guinea have no idea of

"unilateral development". They have "no goal beyond the attainment of the status -- artistic, economic, or technical -- of some neighboring tribe." (Mead 1938:37). Yet among the Chambri, the importation of culture traits and the social change that results are common features.

Importation and change must be separated from our notion of progress, and local attitudes towards particular changes must be assessed. It is by no means inevitable that the importation and acceptance of a particular "modern" trait is equivalent with "progress".

C. Women, the Prosperity-Ethic, and the Household Writ Large

I would like to utilize a modified version of Scott's (1976) "subsistence ethic" to elaborate on the notion of progress held by Colombian evangelicals (see especially end of Chapter 4), and relate this to the household-base of Colombian evangelicalism and women's special contribution to the movement.

In her paper on the political action of Kham Magar women in western Nepal, Molnar (1982) applies Scott's (1976) concept of "subsistence ethic" in evaluating whether the women's collective action she observed constitutes a change in traditional female roles and attitudes, or is simply an extension of women's traditional political roles. She outlines Scott's definition of subsistence ethic: "that an individual or community has a right to subsistence; that the ability to survive crises and maintain minimum

subsistence should not be jeopardized by laws or economic relations imposed on an individual or community" (Molnar 1982:497). Scott concludes that the peasant revolts in Southeast Asia resulted from the violation of this ethic by colonial rulers: "He contends that their revolt was not to stop exploitation or to achieve equality but to protect their right to minimum subsistence, which they felt was jeopardized by colonially imposed laws" (ibid). Molnar cites several cases where women's protests (utilizing traditional forms of female militancy), have resulted from a similar breach of expectations.

In this concluding section, I would like to propose that Colombian women's involvement in evangelicalism emerges from a similar kind of disappointment of expectations. Unlike the situation of Scott's peasants, however, something more than the individual's right to minimum subsistence is involved. A commitment to well-being, which in its application at the household level is synonymous with "prosperity," is at the core of this attitude.

An attitude or belief characteristic among Colombian women is that the conjugal unit should cooperate to promote the well-being of 'the family,' which I will leave loosely defined as an important residential or kin unit. What I am calling the "prosperity ethic" constitutes an affective component of the conjugal bond in many places, for both men and women, particularly when the household is a cooperative productive and consumption unit (for instance, in the

peasant family economy, see discussion of Rothstein, Chapter V.) It is the assumption that, upon marriage, spouses enter into a partnership committed to the well-being of the conjugal pair (i.e., each other), to a more widely construed unit which usually roughly coincides with the household, and most importantly, to the children which result from their union. It is manifest in the cooperative enterprise of husband and wife, pooling of resources between them (the "conjugal fund" is one example, but other sorts of economic arrangements whose primary reference is the sustenance of the household unit, such as budgets, also illustrate the operation of this ethic), and most broadly, a sense of responsibility for others, including the material world (i.e. objects that constitute the immediate environment).

Given the relations of exploitation, poverty and scarcity which are characteristic of most peasant societies at present, hardship (as opposed to prosperity) is a great likelihood, no matter what intentions or aspirations a husband and wife might have. The same situation applies to the rural proletariat and the urban poor. Whether or not the couple succeeds in their joint aspirations of providing for the well-being of the family will depend to a large extent on the realities of gaining a livelihood. What is at issue here is whether or not this is a shared goal of the conjugal unit.⁴

It is important to note, however, that the opposite of prosperity is hardship. Progress in the sense of

modernization is not implicit in the attitude of Colombian evangelicals, nor is its antithesis "backwardness" or "traditionalism." The notion of progress as improvement is present, in part as a reflection of the centrality of the parent-child relationship in defining expectations. Parents expect to be able to maintain their children, but in addition, a child's development is inevitable; one stage supercedes another and growth is equated with progress.

The prosperity ethic, applied to conjugal or intra-household relations describes a fundamental expectation of one individual about another. A central premise, therefore, is that aspirations are shared: The goal of both individuals is the well-being of the household. The individual strategies of maximization described by Browner and Lewin (1982) contrast markedly with this situation. In their case (discussed in Chapter V) women emphasize either their role as mothers or their role as wives, depending on which role promises the greatest return. Machismo undermines the prosperity ethic as a component of conjugal mutuality, erodes the male's role as husband, and results in the divergence of male and female aspirations. I would propose here that such individualized strategies result from the disjuncture of male and female aspirations as outlined above. When these aspirations are no longer aligned, the expectations characteristic of the prosperity ethic are shattered.

It is a mistake to assume that evangelical emphasis on

progress constitutes a "Protestant Ethic" consistent with capitalist development. Because conversion revives the prosperity ethic as a feature of the conjugal bond, the economic situation of evangelical families does often improve. But the main point to be made from introducing this concept into the discussion is that it is not "progress" per se in our Western sense that evangelical conversion in Colombia brings about, but rather a re-institution of the prosperity ethic in the conjugal relationship. By distinguishing between progress and prosperity, the way in which evangelical conversion is embedded in gender relations and domestic organization remains visible.

NOTES

1. Lewis has interpreted women's possession cults such as the Egyptian zar as "thinly disguised protest movements directed against the dominant sex" (1971:130). Insofar as they protect women from the exactions of men, and are useful in manipulating husbands and male relatives, he believes they "play a significant part in the sex-war in traditional societies and cultures where women lack more obvious and direct means for forwarding their aims." Lewis sees the same process occurring in Christian contexts, and quotes Ronald Knox, who said, "from the Montanist movement onwards, the history of enthusiasm is largely a history of female emancipation, and it is not a reassuring one."

2. In terms of the role of the movement in institutionalized politics, there is a notable absence of evangelicals in political offices beyond the local level in Colombia. This may be related to the peculiar position of evangelicals in Catholic Colombia, as a persecuted minority, unlike their counterparts in Brazil and Central America. In these countries, however, I feel that it is a mistake to assume that national level political figures who claim to be evangelical are engaged in the same process as the membership at the grass roots level. That the movement can be coopted at the top (or conversely, that political leaders may pretend affiliation to win votes) does not invalidate the power of the movement at the local level to affect the changes I have outlined above. Its very schismatic nature both protects it from becoming a vehicle for such male political interest, and is consistent with the "feminine ethos" of Colombian evangelicalism. The movement works best through small groups which are based on personalistic ties, and its tendency to keep reproducing such groups through schisms when a church gets too large is highly functional.

3. As Ivan Vallier put it: "Catholicism, and Roman Catholicism more specifically, emerges as a religious system that blocks, restrains, and otherwise handicaps a country's capacities to generate and institutionalize modernizing forces" (1970:156).

4. I would like to stress that I do not mean to suggest a kind of cognitive determinism after the fashion of Banfield's "amoral familism" (1958) or Foster's "image of limited good" (1965). Although the prosperity ethic is an attitude which may have material consequences, it cannot be said to determine in the last instance the nature of Colombian households. Clearly, the material constraints within which these households variously operate will set the outside limits for their relative prosperity or hardship.

APPENDIX A: RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

The core of my sample consists of two large "gran familias". These resemble what Nutini recognized as significant kinship groupings in Mesoamerica, and called "non-residential extended families" or "limited kindreds" (1967:385). In the literature on Latin American social organization, such groupings have been variously called simply "families", "extended families" or "great families." It has been widely acknowledged that, despite the prevalence of nuclear family households as a residential form in Mestizo Latin America, individuals situate themselves within the context of a much wider range of relatives. This network provides a vital form of support for its participants.¹

The first family I lived with, the Piñeros, is based in Bogota; and the second, the Mora-Alvarado, in El Cocuy. The composition and history of each family is described, along with my relation to them.

La Familia Piñeros: Composition

This family includes about 45 members, residing in nine separate households in Bogota. It consists of three generations: the grandparents (los abuelitos); their children (los hermanos, what I am calling 'the sibling set'); and their grandchildren (los nietos). At the time of my field stay, the family was just starting to extend into four generations of depth, with the birth of the first great-grandchild to the oldest grandson.

Both of the founding grandparents of the group are

still alive and recently celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary with a big party and special communion service in the Lutheran church attended by the whole family. Jose Vicente Piñeros is in his eighties, and his wife Cristina Guerrero de Piñeros is in her mid-seventies. Both grandparents, but especially Cristina, continue to exert a strong influence over the whole group. The family resembles a "clan" in that group membership is determined through relation to these founding ancestors, ambilineally.

Of their nine adult children, ranging in age from 29-45 (four female and five male), seven are married and live with their spouses and children in separate nuclear family households. The two youngest children of this generation, a man aged 31 and a woman aged 29, continue to live with their elderly parents. There are 25 children in the grandchild generation, ranging in age from 2-26. With only a few exceptions, the entire family is actively involved in the Lutheran church in Bogota. (One daughter-in-law is a Jehovah's Witness, another is Mennonite, and one or two of the male members are not devout).

Brief History of the Piñeros Family

Jose Vicente and Cristina are from campesino backgrounds: Jose Vicente moved to Bogota from rural Boyaca, and Cristina grew up in the small town of La Calera, Cundinamarca. Always a thoughtful man with a great interest in reading, Jose Vicente converted to evangelicalism during the early years of their marriage, in the 1930s, and became

a travelling evangelist with the "Cruzada" church. (Formerly the World Evangelical Cruzade, the church is at present divided into a national and a foreign-based branch, and in terms of style of worship can be considered one of the 'radical', Pentecostal-style sects.) The family was very poor as it was growing during the 1930s and 40s. Cristina started a bakery to help support the household, and the business thrived. Then a conflict erupted with the church because the bakery was open on Sundays, and some of the members accused them of selling beer. As a result, Jose Vicente left the Cruzada, and joined the Lutheran Church, which had recently been established in Bogota as the result of people fleeing the countryside to escape the Violence. Around that time he enrolled in a correspondence course in homeopathic medicine, and began to develop a medical practice in connection with his evangelist circuit. At first he treated people for free as an adjunct to his ministry to their souls, but as he gained more confidence in his healing abilities, and as the result of several spectacular cures, he began to charge a small fee, and his reputation and his practice grew. He worked hard, and Cristina invested the profits in real estate. The family prospered, and the four eldest sons were all sent to university. The oldest son, Carlos, is an economist, the next son, Armenio, studied business administration, Josue was sent to study medicine in Mexico, and Samuel is a dentist. The youngest son, Milton, is something of a black

sheep, and although the family constantly encourages him to take up a gainful profession, his projects consistently founder and he seems content for the moment to serve as his parents' driver. Of the five daughters, only the youngest was sent to university, but she lacked motivation to commit herself to a career and failed to complete her degree. The older daughters did not finish high school, but attended the Lutheran Bible Institute which functioned in Bogota in the 1950s and 1960s. Of the three married daughters, two have successful marriages. The eldest, Rosario, married a mild-mannered man who complied with her wishes and converted to Lutheranism and is now active in the church (he is an accountant). Nohemy married a black man from the coast who is a pediatrician and comes from a devout evangelical background. The middle daughter, Lydia, married an evangelical from Soata, Boyaca, and her marriage has been beset with problems. Her husband, Reynaldo, left home several years ago to work in Venezuela. He continues to visit his family at least once a year at Christmas, but his relationship with Lydia is problematic. He seems overwhelmed by his wife's close-knit family. Reynaldo contributes little or nothing to the support of his family, and Lydia and the children rely on her parents and other members of the family for support.

The Piñeros have frequent family gatherings: Christmas eve, Christmas day, New Year's day, January 6th (Epiphany), anniversaries, birthdays and graduations are all marked by

celebrations attended by most of the sibling set and their families. In addition, the sons and daughters frequently visit their parent's house, usually at lunch time. Several of the daughters and their children regularly eat lunch at the grandparents' house. In Colombia, the mid-day meal is the major one of the day, the time when the family congregates. There is frequent visiting among the sisters. Until recently the family had devotionals at the grandparents' house every week. Most of the family attends weekly church services, and several sing in the choir, participate in youth groups or women's group, and serve on the church council. Every member of the family attends communion at the Lutheran church on the first Sunday after New Years.

Family members are very affectionate with one another. At lunchtime at the grandmother's house, the grandchildren always kiss their mothers and their grandparents when they come in from school. There's a great deal of affectionate physical contact, hugging and kissing, and also a lot of horseplay among the sisters, between uncles and aunts and nieces and nephews.

Generally, however, the day to day attitudes and behavior of the Piñeros family is accurately glossed by the commonly used Colombian term, "formal". This is not well translated literally as the English word "formal", because while it does connote something about good manners it has none of the "stuffiness" associated with the English term.

It is also much more pervasive an ideal model of behavior -- it is something that all Colombian strive to be. A way of saying "thank you" to someone is to say "muy formal". It suggests both respectability and kindness. The person who is "muy formal" is fulfilling customary obligations, being responsible towards others with whom he or she shares a relationship. This element of responsibility (and concern) towards other family members and towards people in general is very strong among the Piñeros.

The family also manifests a distinctly "puritancial" streak, which in some ways can be viewed as an appendage of this "formal"-ity. A vivid illustration of this occurred when the Colombian author Gabriel Garcia Marquez won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1982. There had been a tremendous clamor in the media over the success of this native son. Colombia very rarely receives anything but bad press in the international media, most of which focuses on the drug trade, emerald smuggling, violence, and poverty. The Piñeros, like other Colombians, would complain to me that most foreigners thought that all Colombians were violent drug dealers or thieves or beggars, and that this was an unfair stereotype. Colombians generally were ecstatic to receive outside recognition of (what they viewed as) their widely unappreciated creative and literary side. In Bogota, whose elite at one time called their city "the Athens of the Americas", even illiterate cigarette vendors in the streets posted the front-page photographs of the

Nobel Laureate with the legend "Tenemos premio Nobel" (we have the Nobel prize). Given this state of affairs, I was very puzzled by the reaction of the Piñeros family to the news. The house of Jose Vicente and Cristina is one of the few I visited in Colombia that contained books. In fact, the house has a separate small room, the biblioteca, lined with bookshelves. Given the emphasis on learning that pervades the family, and Jose Vicente's much discussed fondness for books, I thought that the family would be particularly proud about Garcia Marquez. But instead there was very little mention of the event, and when I tried to bring up the topic for discussion, several of the Piñeros brothers and sisters admitted that they hadn't ever read his work. Most of the family, outside of the grandfather and a couple of the brothers, are not avid readers, but I thought that surely they had been exposed to this famous author during their school years. Finally one of the sisters explained that Garcia Marquez is "muy grosero", that is, he uses vulgar words. Their objection to his books, which should have occurred to me early on, was that they were too 'steamy'.

Given the dramatic degree of upward mobility that the Piñeros family has experienced in the past 50 years, it is quite interesting that almost all of the nine households are located in the South of Bogota. The city of Bogota is spatially divided along class lines in terms of a North-South division. As Henry, my 15 year old 'little brother'

(Lydia's son) described it to me, "People look down on you for living in the south." It always made him nervous to visit his aunt's neighborhood in the Northern part of the city, because the other boys loved to make fun of him for living in the South. The poorest barrios, the squatter settlements, and industrial zones are located in the south. But vast expanses of the Southern part of the city are working-class neighborhoods, ranging from fairly poor to quite respectably middle-class. In the North, on the other hand, live the 'ricos', rich people with connections who have been among the urban elite for several generations. (This is in many ways more of a fantasy than a reality. To the uneducated eye many of the neighborhoods of the North would be indistinguishable from some in the South, and the occupations of their residents in many cases would likewise be indistinguishable. I think one of the factors here is length of time in residence in Bogota. 'Recent' migrants, that is families that came from elsewhere during the Violence in the 1950s, generally have lower status than Bogotanos who can claim to have been urbanized for generations.) Although the major government buildings are located in the "Centro", the center of town which has a different status altogether (see below), the fancier restaurants, the embassys, elite schools, ciubs, and fanciest barrios are all located in the North.

Four of the nine Piñeros households are located within a block or two of each other in the barrio Ciudad Jardin Sur

(Garden City South.) A fifth is only a short walk away, in an adjacent Barrio. On several occasions, people who made my acquaintance when I was living with Lydia in Ciudad Jardin refused to visit me at home when they heard the "Sur" in my address. Even long-term Bogotanos were under the impression that if they ventured into a Southern neighborhood by cab they would no doubt be robbed and beaten and left for dead. In actuality, Ciudad Jardin is a respectable, residential barrio. Most of the houses are two-storey cinderblock constructions, inevitably surrounded by high railings and with bars on all of the windows. There is nothing 'pretty' about the barrio; the architecture is a bland, boxy, "modern" style that suggests rapid development. But the streets within its limits are paved, and people generally fastidiously keep up the little postage-stamp of lawn within the front patios.

A number of the residents own cars. Josue, Lydia's brother who lived across the street from us but worked as a physician in a town some two hours from Bogota, owned an old Pontiac (Vintage 1956) in immaculate condition. Many other people owned versions of "el carro Colombia" (the Colombian car), which is the least expensive car available in the country, manufactured by Renault.

There is a primary and secondary school in the barrio, which run in two shifts. The neighborhood is purely residential, the only businesses within its boundaries being a variety of small stores which provide groceries or dry

cleaning or home repair services to the inhabitants. Several Protestant groups have churches in the barrio: the Baptists, Assemblies of God, and the Mormons have thriving congregations. The barrio is also distinguished by having a Carulla supermarket. Supermarkets are just starting to catch on in the urban areas of Colombia, and it is usually an indication of middle-class (or better) status when a woman shops in one.

Across the wide Avenida Caracas is the commercial barrio of El Restrepo. The Piñeros women do most of their shopping in El Restrepo, and although they travel out of the barrio of Ciudad Jardín to attend church and choir practice, and occasionally to visit the sisters and brothers who have moved to other parts of the city, they never go into the center of the city, which is only about 10 or 15 minutes away by bus. In their minds it is a dangerous and frightening place. Except when they can get one of their brothers to provide car service, the Piñeros ladies usually travel by buseta (the half-size buses that clog the streets of Bogotá, and are slightly more comfortable than the regular size buses.) The fare was 9.50 in 1982 and went up to 11 pesos in 1983. [The exchange rate for the Colombia peso was 62 for the U.S. dollar when I arrived in 1982, and when I left in December of 1983, it was closer to 100 for the dollar.] They never take the buses, which are much cheaper (3 pesos), because they believe the buses are full of thieves, although the busetas are not safe either.

The Piñeros are difficult to categorize in terms of their class position. Although at first blush I would like to call them middle class, they manifest certain characteristics which distinguish them from other middle class Bogotanos. None of the households has a live-in muchacha de servicio (domestic servant), although sporadically a woman was hired to come in once a week to the grandmother's house to clean. The sisters are all hard workers -- they and their daughters do the cooking and cleaning. Like other city women in Colombia, the Piñeros women pay compulsive attention to their fingernails and their manicures. This would be an interesting cultural analysis in and of itself. I believe that, like the symbolic message of long fingernails elsewhere in the world, a perfect manicure in Colombia conveys that the person is not engaged in physical labor. For the Piñeros women, who frequently wash clothes on the cement scrubboard of the lavadero (wash tub), maintaining this illusion is time consuming.

The grandparents own a "finca" (farm) in a temperate zone about an hour down from Bogota near the town of Fusagasuga. Owning a "finca" in the hot lands is a goal for all upwardly mobile Bogotanos, and although the name indicates a link with an old concept of the rural 'estate', much of the time such fincas are simply vacation homes. For the Piñeros, the finca provides an opportunity for a kind of indulgence in the old ways of the campo. The house and

property are cared for by a campesino couple, but when the family visits, the sisters do the cooking and cleaning. When the grandparents return from a weekend trip they bring fresh fruit and vegetables produced on the farm.

It was striking to me that the caretaker's children in Fusa referred to the Piñeros children with the honorific titles "El Niño" (for boys) or "La Señorita" (for girls) before their names, rather than by their name alone. When I asked about this it seemed to make people uncomfortable, and I was told by Rosario that they didn't like it, but it was a term of respect and a holdover from the ways of the upper class that the peasants were accustomed to.

On several occasions I heard various members of the Piñeros family identify themselves (and the family as a whole) as "clase profesional" (professional class). In Chapter VI I discuss the implications of this class status in contemporary Colombia and for evangelical families in particular.

My relationship with the Piñeros

I lived with the Piñeros family (in Lydia's house) from July 1982 to April 1983. In April I moved to El Cocuy to complete the rural part of my study, but I continued to maintain my room at Lydia's and returned there during my visits to Bogotá. My relationship with the family was very close throughout my field stay, and I am still corresponding with them.

My original contact with the family came about through

the friend of a friend, an architect/contractor who had been hired by Doña Cristina at one time to remodel the third floor of one of her houses as an apartment. During my first few weeks in Colombia I described my proposed research to this man, who told me that he knew some Protestants and would introduce me to them. He arranged for me to meet Josue, Lydia's brother. When I mentioned to Josue that I was looking for a room to rent, preferably with an evangelical family, he told me that his sister Lydia had a place and that she could use the extra income because her husband had left her. In short order I was installed in the maid's room of Lydia's house, a room which came to be referred to as "El barco" (the boat), because I complained that it was so tiny that it was like being in a berth on a ship. Lydia had inherited this house from her parents, and she lived there with her three children: Marcela (19), Rocio (17), and Henry (14). Lydia supported her family with what she earned working for her father in the "consultorio" (medical office), a job which often included preparing lunch for the 10-20 people who showed up at noon each day. Henry and Rocio were still in secondary school when I arrived and Marcela was attending a technical college, studying for a degree in special education.

Despite all the drawbacks of living in the bosom of this straight-laced family, my connection with them was a very fortunate one. As a long-term evangelical family they had extensive contacts with the evangelical community of

Bogota. Through them I made the acquaintance of the Colombian Bible Society representative who in turn introduced me to the width and breadth of the evangelical clergy in the city, and later in scores of towns on his bi-monthly circuit.

Lydia's fourteen year old son, Henry, volunteered to escort me on my numerous trips to churches and interviews around the city, amusing himself with my camera and tape recorder to make up for the tedium of the trips for a boy his age.

But most valuable of all was being allowed the insiders' view of a Colombian evangelical family. For the kind of data I was interested in, this experience was invaluable. I found that, perhaps due to the desire most Colombians have to appear "formal" to outsiders, the interviews I conducted with people I had met only once or twice often lacked substance. People very much tended to keep their answers polite and vague. Also, the kind of information I wanted was of a nature not often articulated by Colombians -- how people fulfill their various roles and how their attitudes about the family change. It was difficult for people to put into words in the context of an interview what seemed self-evident to them.

Sharing the day to day life with the Piñeros, I came to know first-hand the concerns of family members. I was also privileged witness to their dialogues with one another, which provided fine detail on how they perceive themselves

and others in the context of the family and the wider Colombian society. In Lydia's house, the five of us gathered around the dining room table every night, to eat our bread and cheese and chocolate, and I listened as they reported to each other on the days events. Lunch was almost always eaten two blocks away at "la casa" (the house), which was what everyone called the grandparents' home. I was often frustrated by the lack of modifier in much of their speech. For example, if I asked one of the kids where they had been, they might reply "donde mi tío" (at my uncle's house), never indicating which of the five possibilities this referred to. It was assumed that I would know by the context which one they meant. It required a great deal of this "intimate" kind of fieldwork to easily understand the informal discourse of the family. Lunchtime was an opportunity for me to observe and listen to the extended family and their frequent visitors. Often the banter was rapid-fire, and filled with inside references that at first slipped past me. But over the months I was able to put together profiles of the various players in this lunchtime "circus."

My original plan for the study had been to spend a few months in Bogota collecting 'overview' information on the evangelical movement in Colombia and establishing contacts that would facilitate my move to a small town. My reasoning behind the plan to conduct the bulk of the data collection in a small town was that such a community would have a more

stable and homogeneous population, which would lessen the difficulty of isolating out the relationships among different variables. Also, as a single investigator, a small town would be more manageable for data collection purposes.

As the months passed and I became increasingly enmeshed in the Piñeros family, I began to feel frustrated at my inability to locate an appropriate town. I had visited scores of small towns on my travels with Ramon Ruiz, the Colombian Bible Society field representative, and through him met and conducted interviews with the evangelical pastors we visited. By December, I was strongly considering the town of Armero in the Department of Caldas (which was later destroyed by a volcano eruption in November of 1985). Armero had a range of well-established evangelical churches, it was a busy market town of medium size, and the people I spoke with had been relatively open and friendly. But when I kept bringing up the topic of Armero to the Piñeros, they would react politely but seemed uncharacteristically uninterested in using their extensive contacts to help me get established in the town. Although they did not openly refuse to allow me to move, I understood that if I were to go off to Armero on my own they would consider this unwise, impolite, and a breach of the trust that had been established between us. To their way of thinking, if I insisted on removing myself from the bosom of the family, they should at least have a say in where I went. As I had

been "adopted" into their family, they took very seriously their responsibility towards their "daughter." Their peace of mind would be insured only if I were handed over directly to people with whom they had a relationship of "confianza" (trust, confidence). Armero was situated in the Magdalena Valley, and hence viewed as an alien place by these highlanders. There one could contract malaria and Chaggas disease and be kidnapped or killed by guerrillas. Besides which, they didn't know anyone there very well.

The process of deciding on a town where I would be "allowed" to go seemed so slow that at times I considered cutting my losses and exerting my will. But several considerations led me to have patience. First, I did not want to jeopardize my extremely valuable relationship with the Piñeros family; second, I was truly grateful to them for all they had done for me and I felt I owed them my allegiance; and finally, and perhaps most importantly, after six months of living with this family I was beginning to think like a "dutiful daughter", and such behavior would have been truly inconsistent with that role.

Fortunately, around Christmas of 1982, I began to develop a relationship with the pastor of the Piñeros church, El Redentor, and his wife and daughters. Doña Ernestina's family, the Moras, came from the remote highland town of El Cocuy. Around the time of Epiphany 1983, the Wilches spent a week or so with the Piñeros at their finca in Fusagasuga.

For the women, most of this "vacation" was spent preparing food and caring for the hcardes of children. In the kitchen, as she prepared "arepas Boyacense" (a cross between a pancake and pita bread), Doña Ernestina talked about the beauty of her native town, and about her childhood experiences there. Plans were made (jokingly) for a mass trip of the Piñeros clan to visit the beautiful snow-capped peaks surrounding the town. I was very intrigued, even more so when I learned from Pastor Wilches that this was the region of the earliest missionary activity in the 1930s.

When I returned to Bogota after a brief trip to the United States in March of 1983, I came armed with the news that I had been "ordered" by my professors to move to my rural site immediately. I am grateful to Jane Schneider for the "order". When I discussed my plight with her she quite insightfully suggested that this phrasing might make my mission clearer and more legitimate to the Piñeros. By saying this, my removal from the bosom of the family seemed less like a personal rejection and more like an odious task imposed by a higher authority. It worked wonderfully. In short order, calls were made, and I was on my way to El Cocuy, escorted by the Pastor's wife herself.

My removal from the Piñeros was not completely without trauma, and they perpetually made slightly bitter jokes about my "abandonment" of them and my "ingratitude". This seems to be a highly stylized form of female discourse in Colombia (although Piñeros men used it to me too, I think it

is more characteristically female and they were mostly imitating their mothers and sisters). I received the same treatment from the other end when I would leave Cocuy for a visit to the Piñeros in Bogota. I learned from this that from the female point of view, having more than one family is considered betrayal. This is probably linked to the traditional double standard, where women have one family and men have two or more, and the assumption that divided loyalties inevitably lead to disloyalty. It is not only husbands that provoke this jealous response, but sons and daughters also. The natal family should always be more important than the conjugal one, and the son or daughter who shows more interest in their spouse (and by extension, possibly, the spouse's family) is a potential stray from the fold.

Upon arriving in El Cocuy, I was "handed over" immediately to the care of Ernestina's sisters, Apolonia, Julia, and Edelmira. Thus began my association with the Mora-Alvarado, whose composition and history I will describe first before going on to detail my relationship with them.

La Familia Mora-Alvarado: Composition

In terms of composition and residence the Mora-Alvarado family is quite a bit more complicated than the Piñeros. For one thing, it is split residentially between Bogota and El Cocuy. Its approximately 70 living members reside in some 16 different households. Eight of these I would call

"dominant" households, in that they are focal points for activities, exchange and communication for the entire non-residential extended family group. Of these eight, six are located in El Cocuy and two in Bogota. Members whose actual residence is elsewhere (in other words, outside of the eight dominant households) often participate in one or more of these households, both in terms of important domestic activities, such as taking meals, or frequent visiting which includes the exchange of goods and information. Household composition is much more fluid than within the Piñeros family, with frequent shifts of residence within the town or the city, or between the two. Extended visits to the urban households are often precipitated by the need for medical care, educational resources, or simply for vacations. The urban-centered members return to El Cocuy for vacations which are sometimes constructed as being beneficial for the health (particularly for children), and are also the occasion for the transaction of business. The Bogota-based residential groups still own land and livestock in El Cocuy, and hence arrangements for the rental of land or pasturage rights, and the care, buying and selling of livestock often takes up a good portion of the visit. Among the El Cocuy based households, nieces and nephews change residence frequently, residing in town-based households in order to attend school and assist with chores. Personal animosities are another important factor in determining residence.

The original conversion of the family is recounted in

Chapter III, and its early history was described in Chapter IV. Julia and Oliverio Alvarado Mora, whose roles in the community were described in that chapter, are two members of the "sibling set", equivalent to the generation referred to as "los hermanos" within the Piñeros family. This generation, among both the Mora-Alvarado and the Piñeros, is the first generation born to parents who themselves converted. Although some of the children of this generation, in both groups, were born before their parents converted and baptized as Catholics, most of their lives (and for the younger siblings, all of their lives) they have been evangelical.

In terms of the developmental cycle of the extended kin group, the Mora-Alvarado group is older. The grandparent generation (who were the first converts) is dead, and the oldest sibling (Apolonia) is approximately the same age as Doña Cristina Piñeros. Certain members of the family, both of the sibling set and among their children, have achieved a significant degree of upward mobility, but this has not been as uniform as among the Piñeros.

At the time of my fieldwork, the oldest sibling, Apoloia Mora de Alvarado (Pola) served as a focal point for the larger kin grouping, in that its members, to a certain degree, include themselves in the family on the basis of their ties to her. The "matrifocality" of the Latin American family becomes clear when kin groups beyond the nuclear family are considered. Bryce-Laporte (1970) reported that,

while the father figure may have considerable authority within the nuclear family household, it is rare to find men of the grandparent generation who wield the kind of power or influence over a wider circle of kin that women of the same generation do. My data on these two "gran familias" certainly support the latter half of his assertion. Both Apolonia and Doña Cristina Piñeros were predominant in terms of both authority and influence within the wider kin group. They also represented, as symbolic figures, idealized reference points for determining and demonstrating inclusion in the kin grouping, and stood as constant reminders, above all, of the value of family unity.

My relationship with the Mora-Alvarado

I first met Pola one very rainy, cold, foggy day, a few days after I arrived in El Cocuy. I had gone up into the mountains outside of town with Ernestina to visit some of her relatives. Ernestina is Pola's youngest sister, in her late 50's. She is one of the Cocuyanas who has made the transition from her peasant background to a more or less middle-class existence in Bogota. Although she suffers from arthritis, she had been kind enough to make the arduous 14 hour bus trip from Bogota with me, to introduce me to her family in El Cocuy and help me get established. That day we borrowed her brother Oliverio's jeep and drove up into the hills to visit her brother Vidal and her sister-in-law Josefina. They live in an idyllic spot, next to a rushing river, in a highland valley. After we had been fed "onces"

or elevenses (coffee with milk and home-baked bread), we went for a walk. I understood we were going off to see Pola. Climbing up the side of a mountain at a 45 degree angle, struggling up a practically vertical, rocky path in the dripping rain, sloshing through a very wet pasture, we slowly approached a little, crumbling hut, made out of stone and mud, with a corrugated metal roof partly covering it. Pola loved this spot; she spent as much time as she could up there with her cows. Standing in the door to the hut one could look down over the sloping hillside to the rushing river that cuts through the valley from the snowcapped peaks down into the town of El Cocuy. In the distance the mountains rise consecutively, the tallest one the peak of Maoma, which is where the "Mohan" lives, stealing the most beautiful women and children and turning them into forlorn zombies like himself. The air smelled like wood smoke and eucalyptus; huge trees are left lining the paths and along the borders between people's farms. That day her daughter, Emerita, her son Jorge, and Emerita's daughter Enith had come up from town to visit her for the day. Inside the hut, which is tiny, about 10 ft. by 10 ft., there is an open wood fire, over which a blackened pot full of potatoes boils propped up on three large stones. The hut has a deeply rutted dirt floor, and a bed made out of saplings tied together on top of which Pola throws her mattress. They were getting lunch ready, which consisted of heaping plates of boiled potatoes with a sauce made out of onions, tomatoes

and milk curd. In keeping with the standard etiquette of the campo, even though we had just eaten, they insisted that we join them. There was a great deal of laughter and joking about the "elegance" of Pola's estate because they were all slightly embarrassed about my first impression of Pola. She had on a dirty, worn dress that looked like it dated from the early 50's, old beat up shoes and a straw hat that was falling apart. Underneath the bed was strewn a large assortment of wrecked shoes and slippers, which I came to learn were the subject of a standing joke in the family. Pola's children try to keep her from spending so much time up at the "rancho"; they say she is old, she could become ill, it's so cold and damp up there, and it certainly isn't a seemly thing for her to be doing. But she is tied to the old ways and is really happiest up in the campo. She spends her time caring for the cows, milking and making the "cuajada" or milk curd that she sends down to the market once a week to sell. There is no running water or toilet or electricity there, and she makes do like the other poor people of the campo, using the woods or the hillside as her toilet, and taking water from a little stream that runs across the pasture up a way from the house. There is also no chimney in the house, and it fills with smoke when she is cooking. There is an old wood-stove standing in the corner of the hut, a relic of a missionary family that had transported it all the way from the United States in the 1930's, but this is used as a table and to store the few

things she needs to cook with. Many people still prefer to use the "fogon", or open fire, rather than a wood stove because it is more economical in terms of the amount of firewood needed. The cows graze all around the house which is in the middle of the pasture.

A few days after this visit, I was invited to Pola's house in town for lunch. Later I came to understand that this had been a ceremonial lunch, planned so as to impress upon me that I wasn't really dealing with a little, poor old campesina, as I had at first assumed. She served 3 kinds of meat, and vast quantities of potatoes and noodles. Her house in town is rather nice by Cocuy standards, although like all houses in the center it was built a long time ago and is falling to pieces. She is not a fastidious housekeeper; the city standards of housekeeping are for the most part unknown in Cocuy, where processing and preparing food, washing clothes, and caring for the animals is all done with very rudimentary technology, and hence is very time consuming. Pola had spruced herself up for the occasion, she had on a clean dress, although it looked like it was of the same vintage as the one she had worn in the highland pasture. Her long black hair was pulled back in a pony tail. When Pola's children and grandchildren make fun of her they like to say that the reason her hair has not turned white with age is because she never washes it. All of these habits they associate with how peasants behave.

During the months that I stayed in Cocuy Pola adopted

me. There was a period after I had established myself in my own house, with one of her daughters as my companion and caretaker, that she kept flooding my rooms with roses. My house was always filled with roses: vases, glasses, pails of them all over the place. Pola would send me huge bouquets every four or five days, via her daughter or grandson. The roses did not have time to die before I would get replacements. Other people would often say, casually, "Here, I make you a present of this rose", in the midst of an otherwise homely chat. As a city dweller, I was astounded to have such an abundance at hand. Lilies also grow in great abundance in El Cocuy. The chapel of the little Lutheran church was always decorated with a splendor that would shame New York City's great gothic cathedral St. John the Divine. Many women have gardens in the central patios of their houses, and they can (and do) talk endlessly about flowering plants. The tone of voice is almost identical as when talking about children -- pride in the beautiful, flourishing ones, vexation with the scrawny ones that don't progress no matter what you do, mournfulness for the ones that inexplicably die. It seemed amazing to me that women with so much drudge work to do in what remains partially a peasant family economy could find the time and energy for tending these gardens. You can't eat these plants, but they serve the perhaps almost as important function of adorning social relations that are otherwise very stark. Pola's patio garden was particularly

luxurious. Her children would often bring her a special plant when they came to visit from Bogota. She never empties a can or any other container without observing to herself that it would serve nicely as a flower pot.

In 1933, at the age of 22, Pola married Pedro Leon Alvarado in the Catholic church in El Cocuy. Pedro Leon is her first cousin, and of their ten children, four are deaf. As she points out in the interview, and as is corroborated by the records of the Catholic church register, in earlier times people commonly selected their mates from those close at hand, and over a period of several centuries this practice has resulted in much close inter-marriage. Pola's relationship with Pedro Leon was the source of great unhappiness for her. His affairs with other women, his drunkenness and his opposition to her wishes in practically every matter made her life a perpetual struggle. It is only because of the tremendous tenacity of this woman that she has managed to create a family, and to see several of her children achieve a social and economic status that she would never have even dreamed of. Her husband is still alive, but he lives permanently up in the campo, taken care of by a little campesina woman. He is 84 years old. In September they had their 50th wedding anniversary, which her most successful daughter who lives in Bogota insisted on celebrating with a big party in Bogota. The party was almost cancelled several times, because Pola doesn't speak to her husband. She always mentions him with rage,

recounting times when he used to hit her across the face with the reins of the horse, or flip hot soup into her face with a spoon because she didn't let it cool a bit before serving it to him. He is notorious in town as a drunken, brutal man. Pola's daughters told me how their mother would get up in the morning covered with black and blue marks, and explain that witches, sent by the "indias" of Pedro Leon, had attacked her while she slept. Within the family they commonly refer to the fact that he never has contributed economically to the support of the family. Miraculously, not having the strength to work them any longer himself, he divided his lands among his children a few years ago, and all of them, the sons and the daughters alike, received their inheritance. There continues to be a problem with the lands that he held jointly with Pola, for example the pasture with the hut on it where I first met her. This was given to one of her younger daughters, Carolina, but she really can't use it because her mother is constantly moving her cows up there and staying in the rancho. Carolina is now 37, and is frustrated because her siblings are all able to derive a small amount of income off their lands, mostly by selling pasture rights on a monthly basis, and she has to resort to working as a maid for her better-off sisters in Bogota if she wants to have any cash of her own. When she brings this issue up to her mother it inevitably ends up in a tearful fight, with Pola saying "You might as well just go ahead and bury me while I'm still living and breathing."

Carolina is soft-hearted and certainly a faithful daughter, so she's not pushing her case. Pola has always seen her cows as her main source of economic security, and even though this is really no longer necessary because she has children who are making money and who would gladly see that she had enough to live on, she refuses to give up her cows. And as long as she has her cows she has to have pasture for them. Her most successful daughter, Fredesbinda, is constantly trying to lure her mother to come live with them in Bogota, which Pola does from time to time, but after a few weeks she is bored with being a captive in the house and wants to return to Cocuy.

Fredesbinda is Pola's second oldest daughter, and the one who has done best for herself. Pola's rendition of Fredis' courtship and eventual marriage to Efrain provides an excellent illustration of the family dynamics within both her own nuclear family and the larger kin grouping:

"Fredis had a sweetheart, but then this guy took a shot at his brother-in-law and wounded him in the head. And the whole family at that point, Oliverio, all of us, said to her, Don't marry him, you see what kind of a guy he is?", the same as they had said to me with regard to Pedro Leon. But she didn't pay any attention to us. At that time she was teaching at the Lutheran school in the vereda of El Carrizal. And the very same night that he shot his brother-in-law, he went up into the mountains to visit her and tell her what he had done. And I thought to myself, I hope now she'll recognize what he's really like, and she'll hate him for it and break up with him. But as for that, it was as if she liked him even better for what he had done! The guy fled to Bogota, so that they wouldn't put him in jail here in El Cocuy, but they managed to find him there and arrested him and brought him back a prisoner. After they put him in jail here, Fredes used to go on the sly

to visit him. Around that same time, my daughter Emerita had a sweetheart who was a captain in the army. That's when Efrain came on the scene. I had a little store, here in the house, and the captain and some of the other soldiers used to come and drink in my store. That's how Efrain met Fredes. It wasn't long after that that he asked her to marry him. And she hesitated, but he told her to go ask her mother. So she came to talk to me, and I told her, "These things shouldn't be decided from one moment to the next, after all, you haven't known him that long, and you need to know your feelings before you take such a big step. You can't just rush ahead and say, 'Yes, let's do it.' Get to know each other first." They were so impulsive. Besides which, she was still interested in the other guy, she still loved him and kept going to see him in jail. Then Efrain left with the army, he was stationed in Sogamoso and after that in Soata, but he kept on writing to her. I'd always manage to find the letters she'd received from him, and I'd read them. And from those letters I discovered that he was a guy who had very fine sentiments, he was a very good person. And he was clearly making an effort to win Fredes. And he came back to visit, and he tried to talk to Fredes' father (Pedro Leon), but Pedro Leon always gave him the cold shoulder. Pedro Leon never wanted him to be Fredes' husband. But nevertheless, little by little we were coming to an agreement about the marriage. And all this time Fredes continued to visit the other guy (Julio) in jail! That Julio had some relatives who were very good people, they were university educated, and they always held us in very high esteem. And finally one day they came and paid us a visit, and one of them said to Fredes, "It's true the Julio is a member of my family, but it upsets me that you would consider marrying him, because he's so reckless, and he's a drunkard. It pains me to see you acting the way you do with him." And they all agreed. They said that Julio had something like four girls on the string, and all of them were going to visit him in jail. So finally, one day it resolved itself. I don't know what else happened between them, but the guy said something to Fredes that was the straw that broke the camel's back. He said, "All right, I'll marry you, but I won't let you go to Protestant services any more." And at those words she finally woke up, and she answered him, "'By God, then neither will you be the husband of Fredes! Goodbye!" And she finally left him for good. So then we arranged for her marriage to Efrain, who was

stationed in Sogamoso at the time. And the wedding was held on January 1, 1966, and all of us went from here in El Cocuy, my brothers and sisters and all of my kids. I hired a truck to take us directly, because we also had to take some chickens and a potato or two. And they were married in the Catholic church, because Efrain used to be a very devoted Catholic. But he was very open to advice, and he listened carefully to everything that Fredes said to him. Even up to today he accepts everything that Fredes says to him! He used to drink and smoke a lot, whole bottles of aguardiente and whole packages of cigarettes. But Fredes slowly proceeded to rid him of these vices, and now he doesn't smoke anymore, and he doesn't drink. Well, he'll take an occasional drink from time to time, but not because he has that vice. Just to be sociable. The wedding was very beautiful. Thank God that Pedro Leon stayed away. He was so angry about it, that from the day we left to go to the wedding he spent the whole time drinking. He drank and drank, with a compadre, and one day my oldest daughter, Rosalba, looked out of her window and spotted him heading for the campo without his pants on! He was so drunk he was unaware of what he was doing. He refused to go to the wedding because Fredes had ignored his wishes in the matter. He had wanted her to marry Julio, the guy who was in jail, not Efrain."

Efrain and Fredes live in Bogota now, in a quite comfortable large house shared with Fredes' sister Marleny, who is single. Efrain has been a member of the Lutheran church for some time, and occupied the position of "Administrator" of the Colombian Lutheran Synod during the time I was there. They are very upwardly mobile, striving to achieve a "professional" class life style which includes cars, a fancy house, and much conspicuous consumption. Their connection with the little old lady in the shephard's hut is quite remarkable, and that relationship and the history of Pola's life and her goals for her children represent on a small scale the vast social changes that have

occurred in Colombia during this century.

The Church Services (cultos)

It is difficult to study evangelicals at close range without spending a great deal of time in church. A colleague who was doing her fieldwork in Belize at the same time I was in Colombia, wrote to me that she envied my research because it was so easy to meet people in the church. This was certainly true, and I could depend on frequent meetings of my data base.

Many researchers on Pentecostalism and other proselytizing religious groups have expounded on the hazards associated with this kind of fieldwork. Cornelia Flora, who also worked with Colombian pentecostals, described the obstacles to her research presented by members' constant demands that she and her husband convert.

My experience with the Pentecostals is that while it is possible to do "short term" work without being foiled by their interest in one's soul, there is a definite time-limit to it, after which the pace of confrontation increases and further questioning is hampered. Questions will be turned back upon the interviewer and the focus of the interview switched from the informant onto the condition of the fieldworker's immortal soul. The nature of this interaction may in itself be interesting, but it can also be extremely trying and for my purposes was tangential to the topic of the study. An example of the kind of exchange I am speaking about may be helpful. I had been working for several months

with a 30 years old man who was a very active member of the Assemblies of God. He was something of a free-lance journalist, and when he heard about my study from a friend whom I had interviewed after a service, he called me expressing interest in my study. His aim, as I understood it, was to write a history of the evangelical movement in Colombia, from the point of view of how great is the love of God in working miracles for his people.

He was organized and knowledgeable, and we collaborated on constructing a questionnaire to be administered in a wide-range of evenaglical churches in Bogota. We would both have access to the data collected to use as we saw fit. I was grateful for his help in phrasing questions in a way that would seem meaningful to evangelicals, and he benefitted from my willingness to take on the burden of production of the questionnaire. Over the course of three months we met many times, and he told me much about himself. For Colombia evangelicals, the first order of business when meeting a new person is to find out if he or she is a "creyente" (believer). I had two factors working in my favor in terms of my acceptability into the evangelical community. First because I was a gringa, people didn't always know how to categorize me. For many people, the only gringos they had ever met had been evangelical missionaries, and they assumed that a North American, especially one who was spending a great deal of time with the creyentes, was probably a missionary. Second, I had been raised in a devout Lutheran

family, and when more detail on my religious beliefs was solicited, I told people that I was Lutheran. This explanation satisfied many people, who knew that "luteranos" were "evangelicos", and hence I was one of them, and only the more theologically sophisticated tried to push it beyond that. My collaborator and I would begin and end each of our meetings with a prayer, and at first he seemed quite content when I would demur to him to proceed when he asked me if I'd like to lead us. Once, when I was suffering from a cold (and also anger at his having been two hours late for our last several meetings), he interrupted our conversation to pray for my healing and laid hands on me. By this time I was used to this kind of behavior, and felt reasonably comfortable going along with it as long as I could assume a passive role. But as our acquaintance went on, more time was spent on prayer and less on work. Finally he asked if I had accepted the Holy Spirit as my guide, and when I tried to evade the issue by saying, of course, I had been baptized and confirmed in the Lutheran Church, he refused to accept this and kept pressuring me to accept and experience the work of the Spirit in my life. I told him that for me the most important order of business at the moment was completing my study, and that if I lost my objectivity I would be unable to complete it. For him this was no answer, and he responded that the Holy Spirit knew all, and that if I trusted in the Spirit the Spirit would lead me to the truth. This sort of impasse began to

characterize all of our meetings, and he seemed to lose interest in our collaboration on the questionnaire. After I left for El Cocuy, our relationship ended.

NOTES

1. I would strongly agree with Carlos and Sellers (1972) who argue that the importance of kinship ties is not being eroded by modernization. They suggest that quite the opposite process is taking place: the modernization process is being molded to existing family and kinship institutions.

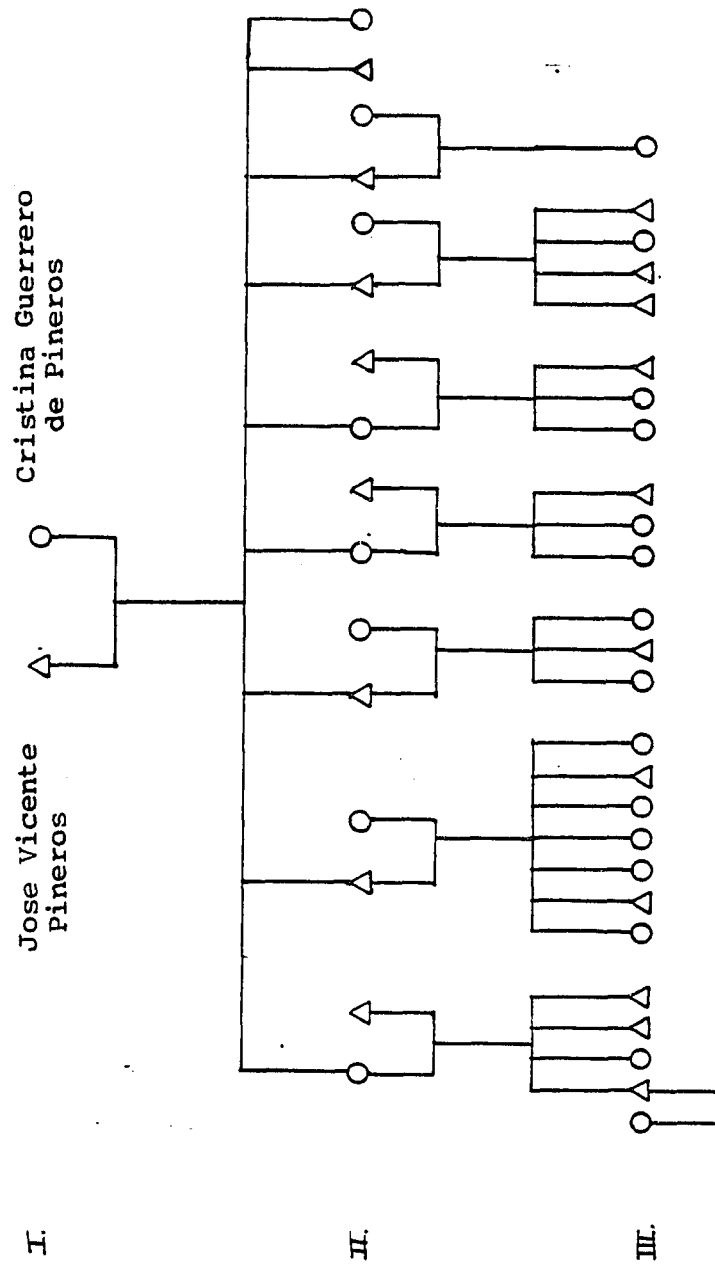
The importance of familial networks of nuclear and extended kin in providing support to the individual's adaptation to socio-economic and cultural environments, regardless of his community of residence or his class standing, has long been recognized. Perhaps the classic statement of this point of view was made by Gillin concerning the Latin American family: "A man without a family of this sort (i.e. extensive and functioning as a unit) is almost helpless in Mestizo America" (Gillin 1949:171). (Carlos and Sellers 1972:95).

When they state that "the family is the critical social institution in Latin America", it is evident that they are referring to the wider range of relatives that Nutini specifies, rather than to the simple nuclear family households. This is an important distinction because, despite the prevalence of nuclear households as the common residential unit, in Colombia the kinship roles within such units are relatively less elaborated compared to those that organize behavior among other kin. This point is important to the argument presented in Chapter 5, on the "attenuation of conjugal roles" (see page 153 above).

In an intriguing link between the "public" and the "private" realms in Latin America, Carlos and Sellers quote a political scientist, who has recognized that the family in Latin America is a key institution in understanding much larger social and political forces:

The family is easily one of the most important institutions in Latin America. As the primary group in society it exerts a greater influence on the individual than does any other group... the family and its role is of interest to us not only as a key social unit but also as one of the major influences shaping the nation's political and economic development (Edelmann, 1965:85 - quoted by Carlos and Sellers (ibid: 95).

Figure 1: Diagram of the Pineros Family



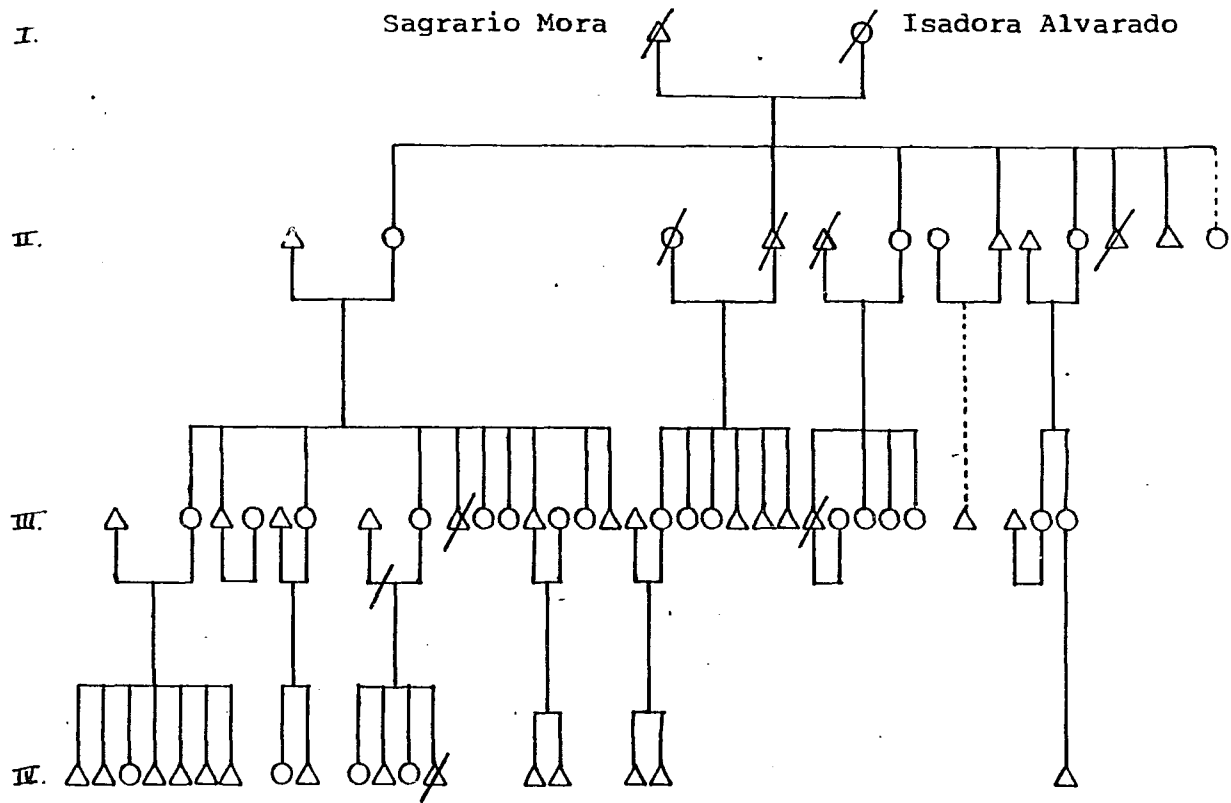
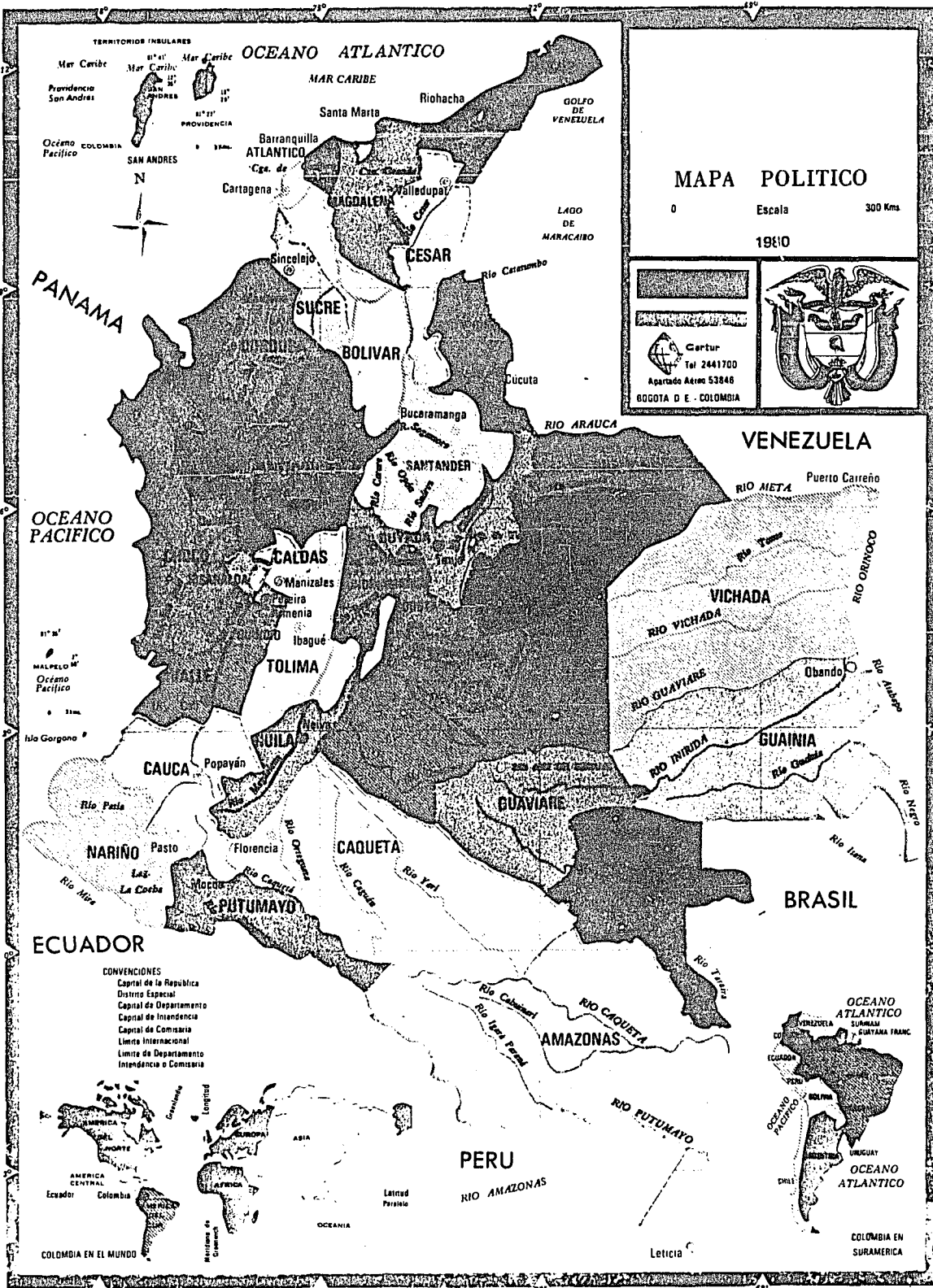


Figure 2 : Diagram of Mora-Alvarado Family

Figure 3: Map of Colombia



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