

**The Political Incorporation of Pentecostals in Panama, Puerto Rico and
Brazil: A Comparative Analysis**

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A Comparative Analysis

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Dedicatoria

Yo dedico este trabajo, conclusión de muchos años de labor, a mi amada Meli. Con amor y paciencia tú me apoyaste en todo momento. Hiciste tiempo y espacio para que la obra naciera y tomara forma. Estuviste allí desde su concepción hasta su conclusión. Sin tí no hubiera sido posible. También les dedico esta obra a mis niños. Lulú, Tata, Chivi y Quiquín. Ustedes son la luz de mis ojos. Quiero dedicarles este trabajo también a John, Doris y Edizza porque en muchas formas hicieron posible la investigación de campo y el lugar callado para escribir. Por último, le doy gracias a mi Dios, porque Él juntó todos los elementos necesarios para hacerla posible. Él la usó para ilustrar y enriquecer nuestro camino y transformó su carga en muchas bendiciones. Pero sobre todo, a través de ella hemos visto el verdadero significado de “buscad primeramente el reino de Dios y su justicia y todo lo demás os llegará por añadidura.” Por último dedico este trabajo a mi madre, porque de ella heredé el amor por Dios y por mi patria, los cuales me guían todos los días.

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Este trabajo es suyo.

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Part I: Introduction & Theory

I. Introduction

The Story

For a long time *evangélicos*,¹ particularly Pentecostals, were perceived as opposing direct participation in politics, other than voting. However, since the early 1970s Pentecostals have raised their political profile in Latin America. Yet, this incursion into the political realm varies in time and scope throughout the continent. What conditions have affected this process?

Since the 1960s, some scholars have shown interest in the growth of *evangélicos* in Latin America (Damboriena 1962, 1963; Lalive D'Epinay 1969; Mintz 1974; Willems 1967), but have focused only on the consequences of that growth for social or religious arenas, because they believed that the *evangélicos*' had limited political impact. It was not until the publication of Martin's (1990) *Tongues of Fire* and Stoll's (1990) *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?* that some scholars began to consider the latter question. Martin and Stoll began to explore the possible political consequences of Protestant growth, primarily Pentecostal, as it transformed Latin America's religious landscape. The topic of Pentecostal growth and influence has become even more important as more religious groups compete for followers and influence and turn the religious landscape into a marketplace,² in which people freely choose from a variety of faiths (Gill 1999; Chestnut 2002; Bastian 1997: 12).

The Question

1. Latin Americans commonly refer to all Protestants as *evangélicos*. For the purpose of this work I will use *evangélicos* when referring to Protestants in general and Pentecostals specifically as such.

2. The use of economic terminology has become more common among students of religious conversion and competition. See Gill (1997), Finke and Stark (1992) and Chestnut (2002).

By now *evangélicos* in general, and Pentecostals in particular, have been politically active in most Latin American countries (Garrard-Burnett and Stoll 1993; Cleary and Stewart-Gambino 1997; Miguez 1999; Marostica 1999; Kamsteeg 1999; Freston 2001; 2004; 2007; Garrard-Burnett 1998; Smilde 1999; Berryman 1996; Arroyo and Paredes 1992). A number of scholars have focused on the political entry of *evangélicos* or Pentecostals in a single country or political event (Freston 1993; Ireland 1997; Williams 1997; Froehle 1997; Garrard-Burnett 1998; Smilde 2004; Wilson 1997; Cleary and Sepúlveda 1997; Arroyo and Paredes 1992; Gaskill 1997), but their research has not been comparative in scope, which limits its applicability. Some have looked into the potential impact Protestant political participation could have for democratization (Freston 2008; Sigmund 1999; Diamond et al., 2005). Freston (2001; 2004) conducted a comparative analysis on the formation of evangelical political parties, as well as conducting in-depth studies of the history of Protestant political participation in Brazil (Freston 1993; 1994a; 1994b; 1995). However, neither Freston nor any other scholar has engaged in a comparative examination of the conditions that have made Pentecostals' political incorporation possible. No one has attempted to understand the long-term historical conditions that facilitated the entry of Pentecostals into the political arena, such as in Puerto Rico and Brazil, or the conditions that delayed it in Panama. This research intends to fill that gap.

This study will suggest, through comparative historical analysis and the method of similarity and difference, that three historical processes contributed to the permanent incorporation of Pentecostals into politics: (1) the time and method of entrance of missionary Protestantism, (2) the nationalization of Protestantism, and (3) Pentecostal

political incorporation. Together, these conditions allowed the Pentecostal leadership to make an effective entry into the political arena. Although Latin American Pentecostalism is far from unified, the political incorporation of minority religious groups attests to the vibrancy of religion as a mobilizing force and the effectiveness of churches as loci for political organization. Incorporation also attests to religious leaders' efficacy and to citizens' belief that *evangélicos* offer something unique that other political entrepreneurs do not provide. This research will also attempt to show that as Pentecostalism evolves in Latin American countries, more instances of incorporation may occur.

Understanding the historical conditions that led to the rise of Pentecostal politics in Latin America is important if we are to understand democratic politics in Latin America and elsewhere (Freston 2001; 2004). Some democratization theorists believe that religious engagement in politics reflects the rise of open spaces in democratizing societies (Putnam 1993; 2000; Linz and Stepan 1996), where they serve as vehicles for people and groups to “bond,” “bridge,” and weave the fabric of civil society (Putnam 2000). This process leads to the formation of “networks of trust” that are believed to strengthen democratic consolidation. Thus, it is in our best interest to understand the process of the Pentecostal entry into the political arena. This becomes more significant when we realize that Pentecostalism has many identifiable members, significant mobilization resources, and seems to be growing in influence, not just in Panama, Brazil, and Puerto Rico, but also in all of Latin America (Freston 2008). In some respects, Pentecostalism, like organized labor in the first half of the twentieth century, may serve as an effective means to incorporate a significant segment of the population.

Because this research project involves only three cases, the applicability of its findings are arguably limited. However, I will use literature on other countries to shed light on the cases of Brazil, Panama, and Puerto Rico. This may make this study more useful for broader comparisons.

To weight the historical significance of each of the proposed variables, I will engage in comparative-historical analysis. This method employs the reconstruction of past events, using memoirs, texts, historical documents, and statistics, guided and illuminated by analytical-theoretical models. The comparative-historical method allows for the in-depth analysis of a small number of cases in order to focus on their similarities and differences. This approach should allow for the introduction of a theoretical approach to the comparative study of Pentecostal incorporation in Latin America.

Relevance

Protestantism has been present in Latin America for centuries (Bastian 1992: 314–8; Dreher 2002: 115–7; Sinclair 1999; Cook 1994: 43). However, its mark would not be felt until the mid-nineteenth century. As the religion associated with modernity and Anglo-Saxon development, Latin American liberal governments invited people from predominantly Protestant countries to migrate and invest, and welcomed Protestant groups to build schools, hospitals, and universities. Latin American governments invited Protestants in hopes that they would help the countries grow economically and compete in an increasingly globalized capitalist world (Garrard-Burnett 1997; Berg and Pretiz 1994: 56–9). However, the relationship was not without conflicts, even if Protestants were welcome. They had to contend with a weakened but stoic Catholic Church that retained the support of conservative elements in Latin American societies. The Church,

which was associated with the national identity of Latin societies, often retained a number of privileges and powers that Protestants lacked, and used those powers and its influence to stack the deck in its favor (Bastian 1986; 1990; 1992; Míguez Bonino 1995: ch. 1).

After about 100 years on the continent, historical Protestantism had still not reached sufficiently large numbers in the population to challenge the Catholic Church's status as "the church" in a sociological sense.³ It would take the arrival and dissemination of the Protestant movement known as Pentecostalism for that challenge to occur (Smith 1998). Scholars differ regarding what determines the ability of Pentecostalism to challenge Catholicism as the "church." Some argue that conversion is a product of the alienation of the masses brought about by modernization (e.g., Willems 1967; Mintz 1960; Lalive D'Epiney 1967). Others argue that it is a product of effective specialization in the provision of spiritual products in the religious marketplace (e.g., Chestnut 2002; Gill 1997). Yet others argue that Pentecostalism has proliferated because it does not

3. There is a wide array of definitions for the sociological concept of "church." According to Johnston (1997), a church claims universality, and includes all members of the society within its ranks, and tends to equate "citizenship" with "membership; exercises religious monopoly and tries to eliminate religious competition; is closely allied with the state and secular powers, where there are frequent overlapping of responsibilities and mutual reinforcement; is organized as a hierarchical bureaucratic institution with a complex division of labor; employs professional, full-time clergy who possess the appropriate credentials of education and formal ordination; gains new members primarily through natural reproduction and the socialization of children into the ranks; and allows for diversity by creating different groups within the church rather than through the formation of new groups. Bastian's (1986: 15) definition of "church" is close to Max Weber's: "dominant religious societies that retain the monopoly over legitimate symbolic religious goods, directed to a whole population, and that, as a general rule, are bearers of national values." Bastian (1997: 25) later expanded this definition of church to "a religious society that covers a social group, benefits from historical legitimacy and models the values and religious customs that span the social group, such that social actors are born in 'the church' and belong to it, without ever necessarily having to adhere to its organization." Historically, the Catholic Church fulfilled that role. Although most Latin American countries have disestablished the official and direct relationship with the Catholic Church after independence (or, in the case of Puerto Rico, after the U.S. invasion), its history allows it to maintain a cultural claim to those countries' national identities that Protestants do not have. Furthermore, the Catholic Church retains its previous linkages to social, political, and economic elites. This results in a significant degree of influence and privilege.

break with the cultural/religious past of the masses but reflects traditional conceptions of popular religion (e.g., Bastian 2007).

Born out of the Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles in 1906, Pentecostalism has become the fastest growing religious movement in the world and has become the main conduit for the transmission of Christianity in the Third World (Martin 2002; Poewe 1994; Miller 2007; Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2006). It is difficult to predict its long-term impact; however, it clearly has changed the religious landscape wherever it has made significant inroads (Jenkins 2002). Pentecostalism has also affected the religious marketplace, filling underserved niches (Chestnut 1997; 2002). It has brought the personal into intense contact with the divine through the gifts of prophesy, divine healing, speaking in tongues, and other forms of religious ecstasy (Cook 1994; Bastian 1997; Corten 1999; Cox 1995).

Perhaps what is most telling about its influence is Pentecostalism's membership numbers. According to recent data on the region, Pentecostals account for two-thirds of all Protestants, although actual percentages vary from country to country (Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2006; Johnston and Mandryk 2001). Pentecostalism took off early on, even though it had a "late" start; this is particularly noticeable when compared with older historical denominations that arrived much earlier yet have had slow and limited growth, if any. Some of the factors that contributed to Pentecostal growth include: a) the appeal of its independence from dominant social structures; b) its similarity to popular religious practices (Zayas Michelli 1990; Agosto Cintrón 1996); c) its willingness to give voice to women and/or the means to domesticate their *machista* men (Brusco 1996); d) its offer of a means of escape from socioeconomic marginality (Lalive

D'Epinay 1969; Mariz 1994); e) a religious logic suitable for the new capitalist order (Annis 1987; Carlsen 1997); and f) the possibility of worshiping in your own tongue and custom without having to follow foreign modes of worship (Cleary and Sewart-Gambino 1997: 5). Of the greatest significance to this research is Pentecostalism's dependence on native lay believers for evangelistic work. This led to an early creolization of the Pentecostal belief system, to evangelistic strategies, and to nationalization of its leadership and administrative structure.⁴

By the early 1980s, the significance of Pentecostals had gone beyond the religious sphere. In many countries Pentecostals had entered the political realm as well. As noted by Martin (1990; 2003), Stoll (1990), the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life (2006), and Freston (2001; 2003), Pentecostals have often claimed that they enter the political realm in support of certain moral or religious agendas. However, the driving force is the desire to be considered a new legitimate force with significant political weight. In other words, they enter the political arena because their "time has come."⁵ It has been this goal, and the Pentecostals' desire to meet particular corporate interests, that has kept them in the political arena (Martínez Ramírez 2005; Fonseca 2008).

Despite the narrow focus of their interests, Pentecostals established themselves by mobilizing the general mass of *evangélicos*. They combined with other groups to bring attention to social and political matters related to social morality. They have formed political parties (Freston 2008; 2004; 2001) and pressure groups (Ramos Torres 1992: 303–36), and sometimes have become part of broad social movements (Barreto 2002: ch.

4. Berg and Pretiz (1994: 61–5) provide a good discussion on the factors that make Pentecostal "grass-root evangelism" so effective.

5. See Freston (2008) for a number of case studies where individual religious leaders throughout Latin America stated this.

3; Martínez Ramírez 1998). But the most significant spur to action are political actors who are seen as a threat to their evangelistic efforts or who provide special privileges to the Catholic Church.

The study of *evangélicos* in Latin America is significant because they entered the political arena as distinct political actors attempting to establish a distinct political identity. The forms of entry have varied according to the electoral rules of each country. As Mainwaring and Scully (2003) note in the case of Latin American Christian Democrats, the choice and prospects for electoral gains among Catholic political entrepreneurs has always been affected by the electoral rules in each country, and the entrepreneurs' degree of success has varied depending on how well institutionalized democracy was in a given country. In countries with inchoate, or less institutionalized, party systems (Mainwaring and Scully 1995: Introduction), a low threshold for electoral entry, or a recent history a democratization, *evangélicos* have created their own political parties (e.g., Peru, Nicaragua, and Panama), albeit with limited success. In places with weaker but well-established political parties they have simply made arrangements with the party's leadership and run their own distinct candidates within a recognized label without having to bear a new party's entry costs (e.g., Brazil). And in yet other countries, where parties are well established and the barriers to electoral entry are significant, *evangélicos* have opted to enter as pressure groups (e.g., Puerto Rico). As Freston (2004: 106–8) notes, Protestant leaders see parties as one of many avenues for political participation.

Like other groups seeking greater access to decision making, Pentecostals have tried to play a part in the political arena. However, because the electoral route has

produced mixed results (because of costs and entry barriers), Pentecostals, like the Catholic Church, have also used other forms of pressure politics to make themselves heard and to participate in decision-making.

The rise of Pentecostal participation in politics is also important because it poses a challenge to church-state relations as they have been evolving in Latin America. In Latin America the Catholic Church monopolized the provision of approved religious goods until the establishment of liberal governments in the second half of the nineteenth century (or because of U.S. military intervention in the case of Puerto Rico). The establishment of religious liberty as a constitutional guarantee made possible the official disestablishment of official religions. Still, the Catholic Church retained its influence because of its link to ruling elites and emerging notions of nationhood.

As Pentecostalism becomes the most significant alternative “church” for Latin Americans, and the latest avenue for the political incorporation of lower-class majorities in Latin America, it seeks to become part of the power structure by developing peak organizations that can replicate the historical influence of the Catholic Church. Pentecostalism seeks to raise its profile through its ability to mobilize. To this end, it uses the specter of the Catholic Church, African diasporas’ religions, gays, pornography, or even government regulatory institutions. The specters are not necessarily real, but emphasizing these concerns appeals to the evangelical population. Pentecostal’s goal is three-fold: 1) to obtain recognition and a higher profile, 2) to reach some level of participation in decision making, and 3) to obtain access to government resources. Thus, Pentecostalism poses a challenge to existing patterns of church-state relations.

For all these reasons, we should try to understand Pentecostal political incorporation. Besides that goal, this study will shed light on two little-known cases while using a comparative strategy to illuminate the conditions that make incorporation possible.

Organization

The structure of this work will facilitate the flow of case studies' narratives. This will make it easier to follow the relationships between variables in the countries' religious history, while maintaining a coherent narrative for each country. The sequential logic will be useful in the comparison of the relevant variables. Part I will review the relevant literature on incorporation, discuss the theory being built, and describe the research methodology. Part II will provide an overview of Latin American Protestantism, followed by a theoretically based narrative of Brazilian, Puerto Rican, and Panamanian religious history. Part III gathers the results for comparison and summary of the process of political incorporation of Pentecostals in Panama, Puerto Rico, and Brazil. This will provide some tentative lessons for the rest of Latin America.

II. Literature review

A number of scholars have discussed incorporation. It is seen as either a societal or state strategy for including certain segments of the population into the decision-making processes so that they may reach representational parity with other segments that are perceived to have greater access to such processes. In other words, when perceiving social conflict, either society or the state looks for ways to reduce this conflict by including the excluded group. Historically, the most significant examples of incorporation are labor and ethnic minorities.

Incorporation is a form of interest-group politics, involving interest aggregation for the purpose of increasing representation and participation in decision making. However, it does not involve merely the desire to enter the political fray just to affect the decision-making process. Pentecostals seek parity with the former state religion—Catholicism. To achieve this, they intend to become so active in politics that they can eventually become a routine part of state decision-making.

Incorporation entail a process through which religio-political entrepreneurs, pursuing either their personal interests or those of the group they claim to represent, attempt to convince a target population⁶ with potentially significant political weight⁷ to participate in the political arena, either as parties or pressure groups, and to advance the entrepreneurs' understanding of the group's interests. Pentecostal incorporation occurs only when religio-political entrepreneurs make a sustained effort to mobilize a group and

6. Primarily members or adherents of an organization or identity group that the leaders claim to represent. Schier (2000) has shown that, at least in the United States, party activists attempt to cultivate popular support from defined groups for partisan mobilization through an "exclusive" invitation, unlike broader conceptions of political mobilization.

7. In other words, a group with such population numbers that, if successfully incorporated, could have an impact on political outcomes, although there is no direct correspondence between membership and political support (Freston 2001: 12)

succeed in doing so. In other words, incorporation will not occur if entrepreneurs focus on short-term political goals. Entrepreneurs need to stay the course for many years—perhaps decades—in order to overcome Pentecostals' traditional apolitical stance.

My use of incorporation differs from the notion advanced by Browning, Marshall, and Tabb (2003: 11) in three ways. First, they refer “to the extent to which group interests are effectively represented in policy making, [as measured] . . . by the extent to which it is represented in a coalition that dominates city policy making on issues of greatest concern to that group.” Unlike the work of Browning, Marshall, and Tabb, this research will focus on national level politics because the Pentecostal goal has national implications. Second, many Latin American Pentecostals pursue public office through political parties and not through the formation of policy coalitions (although some completely avoided this alternative, depending on the prevailing electoral rules in their country) (Freston 1993; 2001). Still, Pentecostals argue that they want to affect policies related to public and private morality, as well as matters related to their vision of justice; nonetheless, their actions relate more closely to sectarian and pragmatic interests (Freston 2001: 21–3; Gill 1997: 49). Third, the Latin American charismatic leadership style often focuses not on coalition building but on commanding the populations that leaders claim to represent (Freston 2001: 21–23; Gill 1997: 83). This does not mean that coalitions do not occur, but that the creation of policy coalitions is not the ultimate goal—they are means for acquiring prestige or other benefits.⁸ In the Latin American context, policy coalitions generally lead to legitimacy and some concessions, but not incorporation. The charismatic appeal of a leader is a more frequent and effective means of mobilization and

8. It seems that policy coalitions are used more frequently in the pursuit of specific nonreligious goals, e.g., judicial reform, opposition to war, or an end to violent crime (see, e.g., Martínez Ramírez 1998).

the permanent incorporation of Pentecostals.⁹ Thus, Browning, Marshall, and Tabb's definition of incorporation represents some of the qualities of Pentecostal political incorporation, but not all.

Collier and Collier (2001 [1991]: 7) articulate a notion of incorporation that focuses on labor. They describe incorporation as a process of "establishing a regularized system of labor relations" and taking "the labor question out of the street and away from the police and the army and bring[ing] it into the realm of the law." Latin American states learn to control labor, not through coercion and police inducements, but through parties, which provide labor with direct access to decision making. This access is precisely what Pentecostals seek. They wish to tap the perceived political weight of their followers and insert themselves permanently into the state-level decision-making process. As Gill (1997: 2) notes, religious elites wish to "maintain a fair degree of autonomy from secular authority while simultaneously pursuing a close alliance with government officials." Religious leaders offer to exchange "religious legitimation of a regime . . . for financial assistance or other special privileges."

Freston (1993; 2001) and Bastian (1997) believe that Latin American *evangélicos* (including Pentecostals) have sought this type of incorporation. In Brazil, Pentecostals have used elections to obtain corporate recognition from the state, to enlist its resources for church aggrandizement, and to "strengthen their position vis-à-vis other faith organizations" (primarily the Catholic Church) (Freston 2001: 285, 294). Freston (2001: 295) believes that Brazilian Pentecostals' pursuit of recognition exemplifies a regional

9. Bastian (1997: 16) notes that that the relevance of charisma for Latin America lies in the "the personal link with the inspired religious actor [to] free his followers from the norms, forms of thought, [and] reasoning related to common evidence." In other words, charisma provides a certain "distance" between the "prophet and his followers" and the "world," which makes it possible for the leader to define a new reality.

pattern of religious behavior that they are familiar with—the Catholic model: a large, political, and historically recognized institution that both significantly influences state policies and closely identifies with the national culture. Bastian (1997:178) disagrees and argues that the quest for corporatist arrangements has to do with “the context of [the *evangélicos*’] weak political representation and their general skeptic[al] view of political actors.” Bastian argues that *evangélicos* in general, and Pentecostals specifically, perceive themselves as a religious minority constantly on the defensive vis-à-vis primarily Catholic majorities and ruling elites. Bastian (1997: 33) sees their pursuit of incorporation as a way for *evangélicos* to offset the “privileged links that the Catholic Church and the state maintain” in many Latin American countries.¹⁰ For Bastian an electoral approach to incorporation is also a result of the long legacy of *caudillismo* and clientelism¹¹ (Bastian 1997: 142–3; Gaskill 1997; Berryman 1996), a situation first described by D’Epinnay (1969), who saw the relationship between the pastor and the congregation as essentially *caudillista*¹² (see also Freston 2001: 13, 21) even though membership is voluntary.

Again, *evangélicos* seek parity with the Catholic Church and the access it allegedly has vis-à-vis state ruling elites. They seek the recognition, protection, and

10. Freston (1993) and Serbin (2000) reinforce this point.

11. Clientelism continues to be observed in Latin American politics (O’Donnell 1996; Mettenheim 1998). It involves informal and personal exchange of resources a) between parties of unequal status; b) where each party seeks to advance its interests by offering assets which it controls in exchange for resources beyond its control; and c) involving permanent obligations because the patrons usually monopolize assets vital to the clients.

12. *Caudillismo* is a Latin American expression of the traditional authoritarian political culture. *Caudillismo* exists where there are weak institutional structures and the possibility of anarchy, and a charismatic leader, with resources and a personal social constituency, who can fill the political vacuum, assuming the role and stature of a hero within the group (Climé 1995; Lynch 1992). The religious *caudillo* provides spiritual order, spiritual clientelism, and spiritual fear, which add resiliency to the institution (Mora 2004). See Hamill (1992) for a discussion of *caudillismo*.

privilege that, in my opinion, is only possible within the context of incorporation to the political sphere. Pentecostals will use conflict and morality as a vehicle, and perhaps hope to achieve neo-Christendom¹³ status within democratic states. However, in a pluralist and competitive religious market that will prove difficult. The Pentecostal's sectarian nature prevents the unity necessary for such a project from occurring. As Shah (2004: 125–6) notes,

Third-World evangelicals are constitutionally incapable of creating the kinds of strong aggregative institutions that the establishment of a “new Christendom” would require. . . . [T]hey are poor at creating strong national or international institutions which effectively unify and mobilize the evangelical population, much less nonevangelical Christians.

Perhaps Pentecostals wish for a new form of corporatism¹⁴; however, this form of elite-integration or interest incorporation into the state apparatus will prove difficult. Corporate, patrimonial, and sectarian interests will prevail before greater unity can occur. Perhaps some will seek it regardless, but that issue goes beyond the scope of this research.¹⁵

13. This was a political effort conducted by Catholic elites to reinstitute Church privileges lost in the nineteenth century. They included teaching religion in public schools, the reestablishment of Catholicism as the official religion, signing *concordats* with the Vatican, forming Christian Democratic parties, and regaining subsidies for the Catholic Church (see Mainwaring 1986: ch. 2).

14. “Corporatism” is an old concept with a large amount of literature describing its nature. In the case of Latin America, there are many examples of interest group incorporation being used as a means of averting societal fragmentation and co-opting antagonistic groups. The corporatist idea has been attributed to modernity and industrialization (Schmitter 1974) or Iberian heritage (Wiarda 1973). Collier and Collier (1991 [2001]) defined it as a means to “co-opt labor.” For the most part, these efforts were conducted primarily by the state, not by the groups themselves. Stepan (1978) discusses a third alternative that falls between both: organic-statism. (See the cited references for more details.)

15. I believe that this goal may have been achieved in Puerto Rico in 2009 with the appointment of Rev. Anibal Heredia to the cabinet as head of the *Oficina del Gobernador para las Iniciativas Comunitarias y de Base de Fe*. I believe that should be a subject of future research.

My main concern is to understand the conditions that make Pentecostal political incorporation possible. I believe that historical conditions and their interaction have everything to do with the process despite the wishes of religio-political entrepreneurs. If the right conditions are present, the process of political incorporation can occur. Without them, permanent and effective incorporation will not occur or will be delayed.

III. Theory

How does the political incorporation of Pentecostals happen? What does the process look like in its ideal form and compared to the cases discussed in this dissertation? What is the relationship between the causal mechanisms? In this section I will define concepts and I will suggest relationships between variables.

Incorporation

Incorporation is a form of interest group-politics, involving interest aggregation to increase representation and participation in decision-making. It is not, however, merely a desire to enter the political fray for the sole purpose of affecting the decision-making process. Pentecostals seek parity with the former state religion—Catholicism. To achieve this, they become active in politics so that they can eventually become a permanent part of state decision-making.

In the case of Pentecostals, I argue that “incorporation” refers a process by which religio-political entrepreneurs, pursuing either their personal interests or those of the group they claim to represent, seek to convince a target population with potentially significant political weight to participate in the political arena, either as parties or pressure groups, and to advance the entrepreneurs’ understanding of the group’s interests. Pentecostal incorporation occurs only when religio-political entrepreneurs make a sustained effort to mobilize a group and succeed in doing so. In other words, incorporation will not occur if entrepreneurs focus on short-term political goals. Entrepreneurs need to stay the course for many years—perhaps decades—in order to overcome Pentecostals’ traditional apolitical stance.

My main concern is to understand the conditions that make Pentecostal political incorporation possible. I believe that historical conditions are critical to the process despite the wishes of religio-political entrepreneurs. If the right conditions are present, the process of political incorporation can occur. Without them, permanent and effective incorporation will not occur or will at least be delayed. Thus, this research seeks to understand the long-term historical conditions that facilitated the entry of Pentecostals into the political arena.

I hypothesize that three historical processes determine whether an entrepreneur's attempts will succeed: (1) the time and method of missionary Protestantism's entrance in the country, (2) the nationalization of Protestantism, and (3) Pentecostal political incorporation. These conditions allow the Pentecostal leadership to make an effective move for their incorporation. The failure to incorporate is the absence of one or more of these conditions.

Before I proceed, I must define some key terms. Unlike in the United States, where there are different meaningful labels for Protestants, fundamentalists, evangelicals, and Pentecostals, in Latin America people commonly refer to all Protestants as *evangélicos*.¹⁶ Most *evangélicos*, regardless of denomination, have difficulty disassociating themselves from other Protestant denominations because they also use the term. As a result, many researchers, such as Gill (1997), do not differentiate among denominations. I consider a denomination a group of religious congregations united

16. Freston (2001: 2) uses Bebbington's (1980) quadrilateral definition of evangelical, based on British evangelicalism: 1) *conversionism*—an emphasis on the need for change in life; 2) *activism*—an emphasis on evangelistic and missionary efforts; 3) *Biblicism*—a special importance attributed to the bible, though not necessarily the fundamentalist shibboleth of inerrancy; and 4) *crucicentrism*—an emphasis on the centrality of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. However, this term does exclude pseudo-Christian sects, e.g., Jehovah's Witnesses and the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (Mormon).

under a common faith and name and organized under a single administrative and legal hierarchy.

Protestant denominations differ in terms of their time of arrival, expansion, and degree of influence. Other scholars, such as Chesnut (1997; 2002), focus on their practices, such as pneumocentrism,¹⁷ which, although primarily performed by Pentecostals, is also practiced by other denominations. Although not using *evangélico* as the focus of the research would “obscure important ambiguities it causes in the social context” (Freston 2003: 2), I focus primarily on Pentecostals and neo-Pentecostals because their leaders seem interested in incorporating Pentecostalism as the leading sector of the evangelical movement, to counter the perceived power of the Catholic Church. I also acknowledge that most historical Protestant denominations have a charismatic¹⁸ wing that sometimes is closer in outlook to Pentecostals than to their own “denominations.” Some Pentecostal leaders attempt to exploit the ambiguity by calling for the “church”—or the *pueblo evangélico*—to act together on behalf of some cause.¹⁹ Still, I will rely on the Pentecostal label because its leaders often attempt to distinguish faith and membership when targeting their followers for mobilization. After all, it is primarily Pentecostals and neo-Pentecostals, not the older denominations, who see

17. Practices centered on expressions of the spirit (Chesnut 1997; 2002).

18. “Charismatic” refers to a mid-twentieth century development within Protestant and Catholic churches that is a response to demands from the laity for a more personal and vibrant religious experience, similar to Pentecostalism but without all of its strict legalistic demands. Brazilian scholars refer to charismatics as “neo-Pentecostals” or “post-Pentecostals.” In this work I will keep them separate because there are many charismatic groups that do not adhere themselves to the central tenet of neo/post-Pentecostalism: the prosperity theology (Mariano 1999; Siepierski 1996; Steigenga and Cleary 2007: chaps. 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 13).

19. It is important to note that some non-Pentecostal Protestant leaders have also successfully used this ambiguity for political advantage.

themselves as the new religious force in Latin America and who openly seek to participate in politics.²⁰

Focusing on Pentecostals is useful because they are mostly locally grown. According to Cleary and Stewart-Gambino (1997: 5) “Pentecostals did not have to become little Germans . . . [nor] have to accustom themselves to . . . practices established by foreign missionaries . . . [or] subordinate themselves to foreigners.” This process resulted in the creation of an autonomous religious community, independent of foreign missionary control, which appealed to the masses and could lead to mass mobilization.

A further note should be made on the difference between Pentecostals and neo-Pentecostals. Pentecostalism, because it appeals primarily to the lower classes, is the most numerous denominational classification in Latin America; however, this is not necessarily the case for neo-Pentecostals. Neo-Pentecostals—or post-Pentecostals as Martínez Ramírez (2005: 145) prefers to call them—are urban, charismatic churches of recent formation that, preaching a “gospel of prosperity,” appeal primarily to the middle- and sometimes upper-class sectors. The importance of the neo-Pentecostals lies in their interest and ability to enter politics in Guatemala, Brazil, and Puerto Rico, and to ally themselves with leaders of more traditional Pentecostalism. As a result, to account for this blurring of divisions, this research will consider all Pentecostals and neo-Pentecostals as Pentecostals and will use *evangélicos* when referring to Protestants in general.

Another term that requires clarification is “religio-political entrepreneur.” In this research, the term²¹ refers to religious leaders who seek to mobilize the evangelical

20. There are a few other alternatives not discussed here but that are widely used by *evangélicos* to identify themselves. One is the term *cristianos*, which denotes their “Christocentrism” (which implicitly attempts to delegitimize Catholics as Christians). Another term is *crênte* (or *creyente*), which means “believer.” Both of these terms are widely used but have a limited appeal albeit similar significance.

population for political purposes.²² As noted elsewhere, these are most often leaders in the traditional Latin American mold of a *caudillo*,²³ whose attributes correspond closely to those of charismatic religious leaders.²⁴ These are authoritarian figures with significant leadership experience. They have risen through the pastoral ranks in religious institutions (Freston 2001: 15–16; Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 208–28) that recreate the authority of the *patrón* and the stability of the *hacienda* for a constituency seeking to make sense of change and modernity (Lalive D’Epinay 1969). They recreate family links and patrimonial connections in the new religious setting (Cook 2001; Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 239). They are the new brokers in the distribution of religious goods (Auyero 2000: 83). These religio-political entrepreneurs aim to become the highest patrons for their clientele by becoming spokesmen for Pentecostalism and the *pueblo evangélico*. These entrepreneurs focus not only on elections—although that is a major part of their focus—but on furthering their vision of Pentecostal institutional goals.

These *caudillista* traits are essential because only when entrepreneurs have those qualities can Pentecostal incorporation succeed. The process is significant because the religio-political entrepreneur will remain in the public eye for many years. The visibility and public prominence of the religio-political entrepreneur are vital because even after a group enters the political arena it does not necessarily remain incorporated. The entrepreneur must continually keep supporters politically “tuned in.” Permanent

21. Bastian (1997: 78) uses the term “entrepreneur” to identify a charismatic religious leader who gives rise to a religious movement. This corresponds in part with Roberts’s notion of the charismatic leader (2004: 134–5)

22. These are often leaders with high a degree of visibility, legitimacy, and appeal in the eyes of the target population (Freston 1993; 2001: 20).

23. See Climé (1995: ch. 6) and Lynch (1992: 3–9) for the description of the elements of *caudillismo*.

24. See Roberts (2004: 134–8) or Weber (1947: 359–60) for a description of charismatic leadership.

incorporation of Pentecostals is intertwined with the prominence and visibility of the leadership.

Entrepreneurs, primarily Pentecostals, often will have headed a religious or political organization, or hosted a radio or television program, that then serves as a mobilization resource. They attract followers partly by demonstrating that their actions and goals are derived from commonly accepted interpretations of religious texts, and partly by showing that their actions effectively respond to a perceived threat to the followers' religious practice (Martínez Ramírez 2005; Freston 2003: 6).

Variables

Variable I: Entrance

Three variables satisfy *entrance*: the entrance of missionary Protestantism, religious freedom, and the arrival of Pentecostalism. These variables are sequentially related. The successful introduction of each level "2" condition has an impact on the next condition. In other words, they build on one another as causal conditions. I believe that "missionary entrance" can only be fulfilled by the satisfaction of all level "1" variables. I believe that the absence of any one condition will have a negative effect on subsequent variables.

Missionary entrance refers to the time and method of Protestant missionary entrance into the country for the purpose of proselytizing among the local population. This excludes foreign Protestant enclaves in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Protestant enclaves appeared in all three countries prior to the 1850s). These enclaves did not engage in significant proselytizing, and the faith did not grow among the local

population. The enclaves simply remained as cultural centers for non-Catholic migrant populations. Ethnic minorities in a closed or severely restricted religious market tend to avoid conflict because of their tenuous status in the country; they simply attempt to preserve those cultural customs that provide comfort (Bastian 1992: 322). Even if they privately desire the dissemination of their religion, they will not proselytize for reasons of self-preservation. However, this statement should be qualified: although ethnic minorities seldom proselytize among other ethnic groups, they may proselytize within the enclave. The better defined the enclave, the more likely they will seek to expand their faith within their own group. This also means that the better defined the enclave, the more likely those ethnic Protestant minorities will avoid proselytizing across cultures.

To the extent that there is a large and extended presence of enclave Protestantism, it will retard the proselytizing processes and discourage future attempts at political incorporation. Nevertheless, ethnic Protestant enclaves are still significant in one respect: they challenge the monopoly of the established Catholic Church. In that respect, they help breach the wall for future Protestant missionary endeavors.

Missionary entrance refers to when Protestants make a definitive effort to enter the country and proselytize in the native tongue of the ethnic majority. This is crucial because historical denominations need time to build a favorable atmosphere for later Pentecostals' evangelistic efforts. Historical Protestants establish local good will through their investments in social services such as schools, hospitals, and orphanages. The absence of these activities will make it more difficult for the future development of an educated Protestant elite that can facilitate long-term Pentecostal political incorporation.

Still, ethnic Protestant enclaves can have a positive impact on religious deregulation and as well as benefiting from it.

Religious liberty is essential for effective and efficient religious conversions. Protestant preachers and missionaries need sufficient religious freedom to travel and communicate with the population. Thus, the more deregulated the religious marketplace, the more Protestants can proselytize and grow.

The Catholic Church viewed such freedoms as a threat and affront to its previously held “monopoly,” and opposed them at every opportunity. Latin American conservative governments began the process of religious deregulation in the nineteenth-century as a means of fomenting trade with Protestant countries (e.g., United States, United Kingdom, and Prussia) (Winn 1970). Later, liberal governments completely deregulated the religious market to punish the Church for supporting conservative governments, to foment more trade, and to decrease the power of the Church.

Yet, these measures did not cancel the power of the Church. On the contrary, religious deregulation allowed for a period of self-reflection within the Church, spurring activity. The Church began to compete for a moral and cultural “high ground.” With support from segments of the population at large, the ruling elite, and foreign resources, the Church began to increase its presence while reining in folk practices. This process, however, would take time. Meanwhile, as self-appointed guardians of the national identity, the Church sought to identify itself with local populist movements and to identify Protestants with foreign interests. The Church sought a new “neo-Christendom” arrangement by courting the ruling elites. The Church would also spur the creation of

Christian Democratic parties. The outcome of these activities varied; however, all of them resulted in conflict with *evangélicos*. I will discuss this process greater detail later.

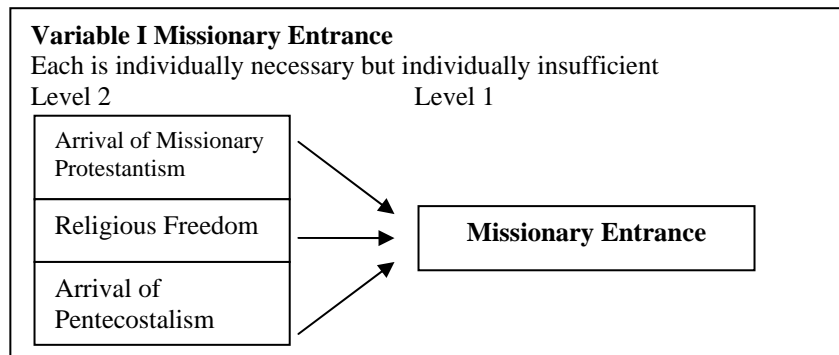
The point is that religious freedom affects the flexibility and contour of the religious market. I rely on Gill's (1999: 309) Religious Regulation Index to track the deregulation of the religious market and its impact on religious liberty and competition. The Religious Regulation Index looks at twenty-one areas associated with the ability of religious organizations to act freely. Gill codes them as "regulated" or "not regulated": The greater the score, the less free the religious economy.²⁵

I believe that significant religious freedom is necessary for Pentecostalism to flourish. Because Pentecostals are not likely to build linkages with ruling elites, they depend on religious liberty and freedom of speech and movement to gain converts. The more restricted the religious market is at the time of the Pentecostal entrance, the more difficult proselytizing will be. Therefore, timing is of the essence.

Furthermore, I believe that the later Pentecostalism enters a country the longer it will take *evangélicos* to effectively enter the political realm. Although the arrival of Protestantism and religious freedom are enablers for this variable, on their own they are insufficient for its fulfillment. Because Pentecostalism focuses on native speakers among the lower class, its entrance will be considered the critical date for the achievement of this variable; however, the Pentecostals' arrival alone cannot fulfill the variable because the doors had to be open before their arrival. Without freedom of religious expression or the precedent of missionary historical Protestantism, Pentecostals would face a much less hospitable terrain, which would preclude them from growing at the rates seen in the

25. See the "Methodology" section for a more detailed description.

twentieth century. It is also important to note that the three conditions must occur sequentially. Without significant religious freedom there can be no proselytizing; without Protestantism, there can be no Pentecostalism.



Variable II: Nationalization

Nationalization refers to the process of turning Protestantism into a national institution run by locals that can be identified with national customs, mores, and priorities. It encompasses a combination of processes. It means that the administrative control of Protestant denominations is transferred from the foreign missionary and parent organization to organizationally independent bodies under native leadership. It also means that Protestantism shifts its efforts toward the ethnic majority and identifies itself with the national culture. These processes are important because they contribute to self-propagation within the country, which, as a result, allows Protestantism to reach a larger portion of the population. And, because Pentecostals were among the first denominations to nationalize their leadership, tend to local majority, and their growth outpaced older denominations, the time when they become the numerical majority in the country has a significant impact on the nationalization process.

The process of nationalization has been a central concern to scholars and missiologists for some time. Moore (1969: 0/5) argues that three criteria determine the

degree of “indigeneity” (or “indigenization”) in a country’s church: the progress of self-support, the development of local leadership, and the achievement of local autonomy.

This argument resembles that put forth by the Congress on Christian Work in Latin America and evangelicals at the Havana conference (Inman 1932; Congress on Christian Work in Latin America [CCWLA] 1917d).²⁶

Silva Gotay (1997: 271) agrees with this definition of indigenization. For him it means that locals fill clergy and administrative leadership positions, and that local congregations achieve “self-sufficiency.” Coleson (1997) goes a bit further in her definition of “Puertoricanization” (*puertorriqueñización*)—I would call this creolization or cultural adaptation—by adding some of the local worldview to it. She defines Puertoricanization²⁷ as “a rational and systematic, and sometimes inconsistent, effort directed at preserving the local culture through the exercise of administrative and religious autonomy, within the Protestant denominations exercising their ministry in Puerto Rico” (Coleson 1997: 30–1). It is precisely this merging of autonomy and adaptability that I seek to identify. Silva Gotay (1997: 266–8), however, disaggregates indigenization from nationalization. For Silva Gotay, nationalization means that the local clergy begins to define and think about the faith from the perspective of the local worldview. He argues that taking on this perspective is significant because foreign missionaries’ view is that locals are capable of taking control of the organization when they are “capable of reproducing the missionaries’ theology and ideological vision” (266–8). For Silva Gotay, only after this process is complete can local clergy begin to “nationalize” their churches. Although I do not disagree with his argument, I believe that

26. See Smalley (1999) for an insightful critique of this approach.

27. Brazil has had a similar process called Brazilianization, and Panama had *panameñización*.

it applies primarily to historical denominations. This was not the case for Pentecostals because they assumed leadership and creolized their version of Protestantism early and simultaneously.

I must also note the impact of foreign enclaves in the process of nationalization. Although missionaries would argue that they must reach all ethnic groups in a country, whenever Protestantism remains associated with a minority group it will have significant difficulty in breaching the chasm between ethnicities. Furthermore, missionary endeavors that attempt to reach migrant ethnic groups that are already Protestant end up working more like a chaplaincy, not a proper mission. This means that foreign clergy and resources will serve primarily to maintain cultural and religious traditions, needs, and expectations of the foreign community with little or no concern for the local ethnic majority. In an enclave setting, a chaplaincy only reproduces the cultural product from the country of origin. In other words, to the extent that ethnic communities dominate the Protestant field proselytizing across cultures will be minimal, thereby delaying the nationalization process.

Regarding nationalization for Panama, Puerto Rico, and Brazil, it is essential to take into account how the process occurred for Pentecostals. Overall, Pentecostalism in Latin America did not spread because of significant foreign missionary activity. To the contrary, diffusion resulted from the limited influence foreign actors had on its formation.²⁸ Locals assumed the leadership of the movement early on and infused it with

28. This led to what Patterson (1999) calls the “spontaneous multiplication of churches.”

their pneumacentric²⁹ practices. The result was simultaneous indigenization, creolization, and nationalization for Pentecostals. Coleson (1997) notes that

. . . Pentecostals were at the center of the conflict over the styles of worship and theology . . . [and] acted as facilitators in the integration of certain cultural tendencies from marginalized peoples. . . . Later, other denominations accepted some of the Pentecostals' charismatic worship styles and simultaneously began to stamp their services with the Creole flavor (30–1).

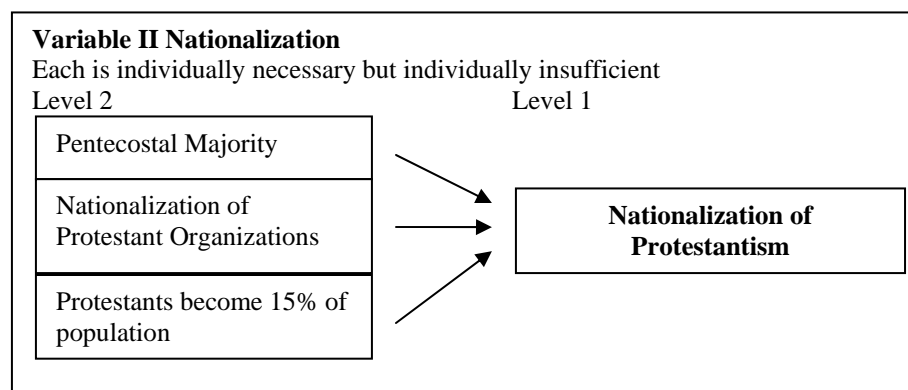
The nationalization and indigenization of other *evangélicos* were significant for the rise of Pentecostals to politics. They provided a powerful foundation upon which Pentecostals could build their incorporation project, especially because the first elected *evangélicos* came from older denominations. Pentecostal political action rests on the confidence that older Protestant denominations built decades before Pentecostal incorporation. As a result, the overall process of Protestant nationalization is causally significant. Although I would argue in favor of this broader definition, the limited scope of this research did not allow for it. Thus, this research is limited to examining the administrative autonomy of foreign denominations and when locals assumed their leadership. I will also consider the numerical impact that enclave Protestantism had on the distribution of Protestantism in each country.

In terms of the variables, as noted above, the level 1 variable of nationalization requires the fulfillment of each of the other variables before it can be achieved. It requires that a majority of the denominations be under national control and tending to the national

29. Centered on expressions of the Holy Spirit: glossolalia (speaking in tongues), faith healing, and prophesy (Chesnut 2002: 5–6, 13–4; Stoll 1990: 49; Gill 1997: 83). To this we could add Wilcox's criteria of emotionalism, religious ecstasy, and glossolalia (1996: 29–30).

ethnic majority. It also requires that the number of Pentecostal congregations surpass non-Pentecostal Protestant congregations because of their overall impact on the different aspects of nationalization.

In my examination of when Protestantism became truly nationalized, one feature remains to be considered: the number of adherents. *Evangélicos* will not be able to establish a credible claim to the highest levels of power until they can claim to represent a significant portion of the population. At least 15 percent of the population must be Protestant before nationalization can occur. This is not an arbitrary figure. The data reported by Gill (1997; 1999), Bastian (1997), and Stoll (1990) reveal that countries with sustained Protestant participation in politics are also places where more than 15 percent of the population identifies as Protestant. This percentage of national adherence to Protestantism seems to provide sufficient national coverage for Pentecostals to establish a claim that the time has come for the government to consider them seriously. Most importantly, because *evangélicos* have a higher rate of attendance to religious services than Catholics in relation to their total population, and as a result a stronger corporate identity, religio-political entrepreneurs will be able to tap that constituency when the political entry occurs.



Variable III: Pentecostal Political Incorporation

Finally, *Pentecostal political incorporation* refers to a combination of factors that allows Pentecostal religio-political entrepreneurs to be recognized as spokespersons for their community within the political arena. The process begins when both the overall population and the country's political leadership realize that *evangélicos* are there to stay and, moreover, recognize their significance in society by openly courting them for political support. At such a juncture we are likely to see a shift from policies that favor the Catholic Church to policies favoring Pentecostals, including the appointment of Protestant religious leaders to high office.

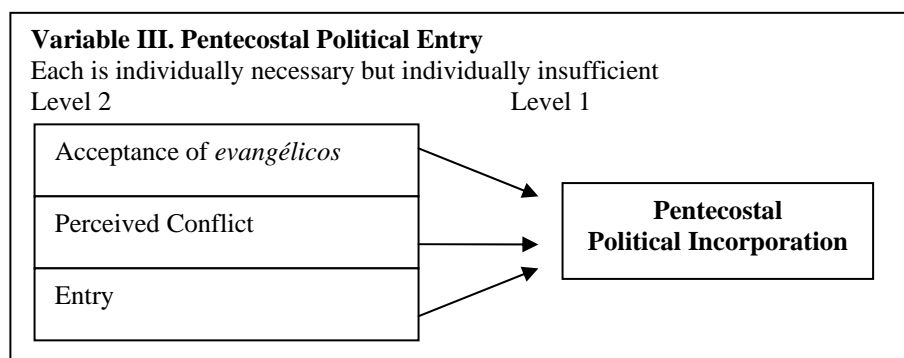
In two of the three countries studied, this process began early in the twentieth century. Since the 1930s, members of older historical Protestant denominations in Brazil and Puerto Rico sporadically participated in politics within mainstream political parties. Later, the *evangélico*'s access to the media, their growth as a percentage of the population, and the Pentecostals' perception of religious conflict fueled the militancy of their movement.

Perceived conflict is an essential condition for the effective entrance of Pentecostals into politics. Freston (2003: 6) noted that religious conflicts are needed for religiously based parties to rise to prominence. Pentecostals are keenly aware of their minority status in Catholic societies, of their lower class origins, and of prejudice by non-Pentecostals. At a certain point, religio-political entrepreneurs, by highlighting perceived threats, especially those related to religious freedom and the Catholic Church, propel Pentecostalism to the political arena.

The Protestant rise in prominence will attract the attention of national Catholic hierarchies. Catholic efforts at reaching neo-Christendom relations with the state will heighten the prospects for conflict. Pentecostal religio-political entrepreneurs will seize the opportunity to portray images of the conflict among the faithful.

Evangélicos in general, and Pentecostals in particular, realize that the fulfillment of any neo-Christendom claim by the Catholic Church will curtail their religious freedom. Furthermore, Pentecostals realize that they have prevailed in a liberalized religious marketplace, providing religious goods that the Catholic Church has historically failed to provide. At this point, charismatic religio-political entrepreneurs will rise to try to incorporate Pentecostals into the highest spheres of decision-making.

Pentecostals' efforts at entry will take time to bear fruit, perhaps years. However, the ruling elites will take notice and will court the Pentecostals' support. Over time, Pentecostals will be rewarded. Their goal will be reached when religio-political entrepreneurs become conduits for resources, but more importantly, Pentecostals will be given public parity vis-à-vis the Catholic Church. At that point, incorporation will be complete.



It is important to note, however, that incorporation is not automatic. Just because a Pentecostal leader seeks a political career or support from the elites does not mean that

it will happen. Each of the conditions discussed above must be present. The absence of any variable will forestall incorporation.

Each level “2” variable holds the key to the fulfillment of the incorporation process. In other words, the level “1” event will not occur. I will demonstrate that every attempt at incorporation in the absence of the antecedent conditions will fail. On the other hand, if the antecedent conditions are present, the efforts of Pentecostal religio-political entrepreneurs will be rewarded with incorporation, clientelistic patronage, favorable legislation, and the respect of standing next to the Catholic hierarchy as a legitimate representative of the fastest growing denomination and most nimble competitor in the religious marketplace. Although Latin American Pentecostalism is far from unified, their political incorporation attests to the vibrancy of religion as a mobilizing force and the effectiveness of churches as loci for political organization. Incorporation also attests to religious leaders’ efficacy and to citizens’ belief that *evangélicos* offer something that other political entrepreneurs do not provide.

IV. Methodology

In this section I will describe the methodology used for collecting and analyzing the data. I start by explaining the research logic of the methods of similarity and difference as well as the comparative historical analysis, and the roles they play in this work. Then I will discuss the criteria considered for case selection. Finally, I will operationalize each level 1 and 2 variable.

As discussed previously, each of the variables can cause or prevent the effective and permanent incorporation of Pentecostals into politics. I will discuss the variables in the order of their historical appearance. I will consider each of the three conditions, as well as their respective enabling conditions, independently. Their effect will be considered dichotomously: specifically existing or not existing. This will divide the variables for nominal comparison.

Comparative Research Strategy

I conducted an in-depth study of a few cases through narrative to highlight the processes that make Pentecostal incorporation possible. My approach used a quasi-experimental method through systematic comparisons. I used the Millian methods of similarity and difference (Pzeworski and Teune 1970: 31–9; Skocpol 1979: 37) as an avenue for effective nominal comparison (Mahoney 1999). The method of similarity compares cases with similar independent variables in order to confirm patterns, whereas the method of difference focuses on commonality of outcomes but differences in initial conditions. These approaches are “designed to locate the causes of an outcome by eliminating potentially necessary explanatory factors” (Mahoney 1999: 1158). Each method helps to highlight the impact of an independent variable. This relates to

Mahoney's (2000: 507) understanding of path-dependence, wherein historical sequences are identified because "contingent events set into motion . . . event chains" leading to causation.

I used comparative historical analysis (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer 2003) combined with Goertz and Mahoney's (2003) two-level analysis, which facilitates the identification of conditions and their causal relationships. The comparative-historical method facilitates detailed analysis of a complex sequence of events among a few cases. As Skocpol (1979: 36) notes, comparative historical analysis is "the mode of multivariate analysis to which one resorts when there are too many variables and not enough cases." The approach allowed me to separate the variables into distinct categories and then compare the causal chains and find the similarities and differences between cases.³⁰ Comparative historical analysis allows me to conduct causal analysis with an emphasis on long-term processes and systematic comparison (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer 2003: 10). However, as Mahoney (1999: 1158) notes, since a "combination of causes" act as a "single factor," I have opted for the two-level approach to disaggregate internal variables to each factor. This technique facilitates an understanding of conditions by placing the variables at two different levels: "level 2" identifies a series of lesser conditions that, when accumulated, make larger "level 1" events happen (Goertz and Mahoney 2003).³¹ In theory, when several initial historical conditions are combined they become an enabling condition for a new political development.

In this study three variables are hypothesized as necessary for incorporation.

However, each variable alone is insufficient. Moreover, the absence of any one variable

30. This is similar to the structure focused comparison method argued for by George (1979).

31. Collier and Collier (2000 [1991]) and Skocpol (1979) refer to these as critical junctures.

will prevent the incorporation of Pentecostals. As often occurs in a chemical reaction, the presence or absence of a specific element may not lead to the expected precipitation.

On Case Selection

I selected the cases based on four criteria. First, each country must have had Protestant immigrant nonmissionary foreign enclaves in the nineteenth century. The importance of this lies in the impact that the enclaves had in laying the groundwork for the acceptance of Protestantism as an alternative faith to Catholicism.³² This type of enclave creates the possibility for the local people's acceptance of a different interpretation of life-cycle rites, even if those rites were limited primarily to foreigners. The existence of the enclave is also important for establishing claims for guarantees of religious freedom. This becomes significant because foreign communities, who have access to consular services, can sometimes press the diplomatic corps of their country origin to intervene on their behalf if there are legal obstacles. These factors will have a long-term impact on the religious landscape of each country. In other words, the mere presence of Protestants poses a challenge to the established religious monopoly, even if at first it is just by and for foreigners, regardless of how transient their migratory condition may be. It is important to note that this feature is present in most Latin American countries. However, the size and nature of an enclave will make it more or less significant for the later incorporation of Pentecostals into the political arena.

Second, Protestant missionaries must have definitely entered by the early twentieth century. The significance of this factor is that missionary Protestantism makes possible the propagation of the ideas first brought by the foreign enclaves, harvesting the

32. This is noted by Martínez Fernández (2002).

religious freedom obtained by the enclaves. Furthermore, missionary Protestantism opens the door for later Pentecostal missionaries.

A third criterion relates to religious adherence. The countries selected should have a Pentecostal majority amongst the Protestant population, and about 15 percent of the population should be affiliated with Protestantism at the time of the attempted entry.

These conditions make political entry possible for *evangélicos*—and later Pentecostals.

Finally, religio-political entrepreneurs must have attempted some sort of political incorporation strategy. Religio-political entrepreneurs could have tried to form a political party, pressure group, or some other informal means for obtaining access to political decision making or decision makers at the national level. These entrepreneurs must be Pentecostals of national prominence.

According to these criteria a number Latin American countries have seen or begun (e.g., Brazil, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Chile, Puerto Rico) or attempted (e.g., Venezuela, Peru, Panama) the process of evangelical incorporation. Guatemala and Brazil have already been researched extensively. As a result, I have imposed an additional criterion to the selection. I have decided that two of the three countries chosen for this study will be countries that are rarely studied, even though they have substantial Protestant populations: Panama and Puerto Rico. This neglect is not new. Many Latin Americanists skip Panama and Puerto Rico altogether when studying the region.

There are important reasons for studying these countries. They are of relatively similar population size, and they have sizable Protestant populations (estimated upwards of 15 percent of the population). And they share a history of relations with the United

States wherein both faced a similar time and method of military intervention and long-term occupation that included missionary Protestantism.

There is one more methodologically relevant consideration that I must mention. The method of similarity and difference requires that I look for most similar and most differing cases so that the comparison can approximate the experimental method (Lijphart 1971). The cases of Puerto Rico and Panama, are most similar in the time and method of entry for enclave and missionary Protestantism and relative population size. However, participation of *evangélicos* in politics led to different results. In Puerto Rico they succeeded; in Panama they have not. Thus, I believe that Puerto Rico and Panama provide a basis for the effective comparison of dissimilar outcomes.

Brazil serves as a well-researched case of effective incorporation. It provides a case with similarity of outcome to Puerto Rico. Brazil also is similar in the method of entrance of missionary Protestantism, the arrival of Pentecostalism, growth rates, and time of incorporation. Furthermore, the relative size and impact of foreign-enclave Protestantism in Brazil resemble those of Panama. As a result, this research will bring to the fore two hitherto overlooked and understudied cases, and will compare them to the most widely studied country in Latin America.

Operationalization

Variable I: Missionary Entrance

The value of each variable for “Missionary Entrance” is driven by historical events. “Arrival of missionary Protestantism” refers to the time when foreign Protestant missionaries arrived at a country to proselytize among the majority population in its

native language. If they came to evangelize linguistic or ethnic minorities, or if they sought to evangelize in a foreign language, the variable will not be considered satisfied. As noted before, this is crucial because political incorporation requires the inclusion of the native population. Any political activity by minority groups will be seen as suspect and antagonistic to national interests.

To account for the actual date of arrival for either missionary or migrant Protestantism I have used sources that cover the whole continent (Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Beach 1900, 1925; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston and Mandryck 2001; Brierley 1997; Read, et. al., 1969; Barret, et. al., 2001; Platt and Holland 2003; Holland 2001, 2003, 2006, 2009, 1981, n.d.), as well as denominational or historical sources, when available, and sources specific to each country. Protestant minorities began to arrive in significant numbers only when were assured of the right to worship. This process began with the signing of trade treaties with Prussia, United States, and, most importantly, Great Britain. Every country in the region signed a treaty of friendship and trade with Great Britain. Although these treaties were primarily about trade, all of them included a clause concerning the protection of their citizens to practice their religion. This protection began breaking the Catholic religious monopoly across the region.

To measure the degree of religious freedom in any one marketplace I used Gill's Religious Regulation Index (1997: 309). The index looks at twenty areas associated with the ability of religious organizations to act freely. Gill codes them as "regulated" or "not regulated." The criteria are:

1. official state religion;

2. official state recognition of Catholicism;
3. special agreement with the Vatican;
4. maintenance of a separate ministry of religion;
5. approval and registration of foreign missionaries;
6. registration of religious organizations (beyond tax-exempt status) and restrictions of religious property rights;
7. regulation of the distribution of religious literature;
8. restrictions on media access;
9. restrictions on religious expressions in public;
10. preferential tax status for the Catholic Church and related organizations;
11. state sponsors collection of ecclesiastical (Catholic) tithe;
12. state subsidizes operating procedures of the Catholic Church;
13. state pays salaries of Catholic Church officials;
14. extensive regulation of religious education;
15. state requirement of religious education in public schools;
16. civil validity of Catholic life cycle events (birth, marriage, death);
17. restrictions on religious assistance in public organizations and/or government agencies;
18. requirement that high-level public officials must be Catholic;
19. religious clergy forbidden from holding public office;
20. presence of widespread discrimination against non-Catholic religious denominations;

21. [divorce is illegal]. (For the sake of clarity in the disaggregation of legal restrictions I have separated divorce from the recognition of other life rites because, legally speaking, they have been dealt with separately. As a result, in this work, I have removed divorce from item 16 and listed it as item 21.)

This measurement will give a reasonable estimate of the status of religious liberty at any one time in the history of the countries studied. The greater the index score the less free the religious economy, and vice versa. The values for the index come from the laws and constitutions of each country as they pertain to religious freedom. A change in value will indicate a legal or constitutional change. Changes in the value of the index will reflect changes in the political balance of power between liberal and conservative forces as well as attempts by the Catholic Church to reestablish itself in the new religious marketplace. I consider a religious marketplace free as long as it ranks six or less, making the spread of Protestantism, and later Pentecostalism, possible.

The last criterion for variable 1 relates to the arrival of Pentecostalism. I consider this criterion satisfied when Pentecostalism arrives because: 1) it focuses primarily on nationals; 2) it is always one of the first denominations to become nationalized; 3) it will surpass all historical Protestant denominations in both membership and number of congregations; and 4) it proselytizes locals without alienating citizens from their own culture, in contrast with other Protestant denominations that, for the most part, does the opposite.

Thus, the level 1 variable “Missionary Entrance” is satisfied when the three level 2 variables are satisfied. The arrival date for Pentecostalism will complete the level 1 event. Theoretically, the absence of Pentecostalism would preclude the incorporation of

evangélicos in the future. If they have arrived, the lack of religious freedom will severely limit the impact of their arrival. Likewise, the absence of historical Protestants will delay the evangelization and incorporation processes as well as the expansion of religious freedom. In other words, all conditions are interrelated. The success of the level 1 variable depends on their interaction.

Variable II: Nationalization

Nationalization, as noted previously, is a process. It includes three level 2 variables. The first criterion relates to the achievement of a Pentecostal majority among all Protestants. There are two ways of measuring this variable. One method would compare the number of adherents for all Pentecostals and neo-Pentecostals to those of non-Pentecostal Protestants. Although this may seem simple enough there is a significant lack of data on religious adherence in general, and this becomes more of an issue when divided by denomination. Furthermore, the difference in definition between member, communicant, and adherent makes membership reporting even more difficult.³³ Finally, detailed data on Puerto Rico and Panama are scarce.

The alternative method for measuring Protestant denominational distribution is by counting the places of worship. This data is somewhat easier to gather because most of the larger denominations in the countries studied are better able to track how many congregations they have. The main difficulty in using this data lies in the definitions of congregation, church, preaching point, and mission. The difference between them is one of size and self-sufficiency, and each denomination defines them differently. For the sake of simplicity I have decided to define “churches” as established places of worship. This

33. Damboriena (1961: 25–27) questions extant religious adherence data precisely because of this problem.

allows me to take whatever number each denomination defined as “church” or “congregation”; however, it should not include missions or *campos blancos* (white fields), which are unincorporated congregations or church plantings. This approach resembles that of other researchers who handle the same data for the *World Christian Encyclopedia* and *Operation World*.³⁴

To count the congregations I have used four approaches. First, I used all the publications that gathered data on religious adherence across Latin America (Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Beach 1900, 1925; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston and Mandryck 2001; Brierley 1997; Read, et. al. 1969; Barret, et. al. 2001). Second, I sought data from people who conducted research in each country. Third, I collected data from the actual denominations. Finally, I went to denominational Web sites. This amalgamation of data reveals patterns of denominational growth for each country between 1900 and 2008. I was unable to obtain the most recent data for most denominations in Puerto Rico, so the data for that country covers only the period between 1900 and 2001.

The other advantage of tracking places of worship instead of adherents is that it helps track the disparity in growth between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals. This is significant because once Pentecostals become the majority they will lead the political incorporation of all *evangélicos* into politics.

Thus, the next question is who a Pentecostal. This research used the characteristics of pneumacentrism (gifts of the Holy Spirit) to define Pentecostalism. They include glossolalia (speaking in tongues), faith healing, and prophesy (Chesnut

34. See Brierley (1997: 10) and Johnstone and Mandryke (2001: 755) on this issue.

2002: 5–6, 13–4; Stoll 1990: 49; Gill 1997: 83; Cook 1994; Bastian 1997; Corten 1999; Cox 1995; Wilcox 1996: 29–30). Considering the number of denominations in each country, I have relied on other researchers who apply these criteria to discriminate among hundreds of denominations (Holland n.d., 2003, 2006, 2000, 1981; Barret, et. al. 2001: 37).

To complete the historical picture of Protestantism in Brazil, Puerto Rico, and Panama I consulted hundreds of written sources (e.g., denominational reports, web pages, internal written accounts, theses, etc.). Even so, there were still gaps in the data. For the sake of having a complete picture, I decided to average the denominational growth rate between available data points, which allows for the visualization and comparison of Protestant congregational growth by denomination over the period in question.

I also account for denominations by place of origin. I consider denominations that originate in the country or wholly operated by local nationals as “domestic,” and those started elsewhere and operated by foreign nationals “foreign” or “under foreign control.” Denominations of either domestic or foreign origin that tend to the needs of ethnic or linguistic minorities are considered ethnic churches and/or denominations.

The next item is the nationalization of religious organizations. As already discussed in the theory section, this refers to turning administrative control of Protestant denominations to organizationally independent bodies and native leaders. Although there are other aspects to nationalization, I have limited it to the date when locals assumed administrative control. As noted above, Pentecostals often reached nationalization and indigenization earlier than historical Protestants. As far as political incorporation is concerned, however, all *evangélicos* must be considered in terms of their permanent and

effective incorporation. As long as they remain dependent on foreign control, they cannot adopt a more political stance.

Another feature within the “nationalization of religious organizations” variable that I will look at is the number of denominations and congregations that tend to religious minorities. To the extent that these outnumber those denominations or congregations that tend to locals, Protestantism can hardly be considered nationalized. Consequently, I will also glance at this trend as part of the nationalization process.

The last level 2 criterion necessary for the “Nationalization” variable is the national percentage of Protestant adherence. As noted previously, Protestantism cannot be deemed national until it includes a significant portion of the population. At least 15 percent of the population should be Protestant for nationalization to be considered occurring. There are three data sources for this: censuses, opinion polls, and estimates by religious geographers. The numbers for these three formats vary widely. Although censuses may be considered the best source, Brazil is the only country to provide them for a substantial period. Panama did count religious adherence prior to 1940 but has not done so since then. The *U.S. Census on Religious Bodies* never included Puerto Rico. Thus, for the sake of consistency and comparable data measurement, I use non-census estimates. I have relied primarily on sources that provided data for all of Latin America (Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Barret, et. al. 2001; Brierley 1997; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston and Mandryck 2001). However, I have included the additional data points in the countries’ corresponding graphs for intra-country comparison purposes.

The combination of these factors makes the nationalization of Protestantism effective and political incorporation possible. An early Pentecostal majority hastens the nationalization of other Protestant denominations. Then it accelerates growth in adherence, primarily Pentecostal, because nationals will be evangelizing nationals in the same language and with national mores and customs. Only then can Protestantism be truly national and enter the political realm without the fear of political marginalization.

Variable III: Pentecostal Political Incorporation

Finally, Pentecostal political incorporation refers to the combination of factors that allowed Pentecostal religio-political entrepreneurs to be recognized as spokespersons for their community within the political arena.

As noted before, since disestablishment the Catholic Church has sought neo-Christendom relations with the state. The Church perceives the threat posed by Pentecostals and responds in this manner. During the populist period, ruling elites will be sensitive to Catholic concerns, but they will also be sensitive to rising Protestant claims.

The incorporation process begins when the country's political leadership begins to openly court *evangélicos* in general—and Pentecostals in particular—for political support. At such a juncture there is a shift from policies that favor the Catholic Church to those favoring Pentecostals, including the appointment of Protestant religious leaders to high office.

The conjunction of these events presents an opportunity for religio-political entrepreneurs to incorporate the mass of Pentecostals as well as *evangélicos* into politics. Religio-political entrepreneurs will see an opportunity for participation combined with the possibility of conflict. At that point, Pentecostal religio-political entrepreneurs will

attempt to make their entry. Incorporation will be complete when Pentecostal leaders achieve three things: 1) obtain public recognition from ruling elites as representatives of *evangélicos*, 2) become effective conduits of patronage from political elites to their sectarian interests, and 3) proclaim parity in status with the Catholic Church. I consider these criteria interrelated, and detailed analysis is necessary for us to see the relationships. The sequence will match the steps in the level 2 criteria for Variable III. To gain relevant information on the incorporation process, I used several sources: 1) the countries' religious and political histories; 2) statements in the national media of each country from religious and political entrepreneurs about their aims and efforts; and 3) denominational histories and publications. I considered each variable satisfied when there was more than one event reflecting each criterion.

As noted previously, incorporation will occur when all conditions are met. The absence or delay of any level 2 criterion will delay or prevent the level 1 variables from occurring. Each of them plays a role in the structuring of Pentecostal political incorporation; if they are absent or take longer to come into play, political incorporation will not occur. If the criteria are not met we should expect to see repeated unsuccessful attempts by *evangélicos* to enter the political fray. Once the criteria are met, however, we should see a successful process of incorporation.

Part II: The Cases

V. General Introduction to the History of Protestantism in Latin America

What were the prevailing conditions in the Iberian-American religious marketplace prior to the arrival of Protestantism? In 1492, after the final conquest and annexation of Granada, with its large Moorish and Jewish population, Spanish monarchs Fernando and Isabel sought ways to establish firm control over their new territories. One measure was an arrangement with the Catholic Church whereby the Spanish crown would declare the Catholic faith as the one and only faith of the state and the pope would recognize their rule over new colonial acquisitions and any population therein. This relationship, known as the *patronato* (*padroado* in Brazil), allowed Spanish and Portuguese authorities, not the Vatican, to control clerical appointments in new colonies, because the monarchies would pay the salaries of all clergy, their missionary endeavors, and the construction of temples and monasteries.³⁵

The *patronato* system turned all religious clergy into subjects and employees of the crown. The Catholic clergy, paid by the state, would run schools, monasteries, hospitals, charities, and cemeteries and maintain records of all births, deaths, and marriages. The Church became in effect a state agency, primarily concerned with the provision of welfare and social services. However, the Church also ran the Tribunal of the Holy Office (i.e., the Inquisition), which kept political and religious dissent in check until independence. As a result, the Church was not particularly concerned with satisfying customer needs or preserving its share of the market because there was no “competition” (Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 61–62).

35. See Schwaller (2000: introduction, ch. 2) for an extended discussion on the *patronato*.

Iberian America always had a severe shortage of religious clergy and places of worship. In addition, there were fees associated with the services the Church provided, when and where it could provide them. The consequence of these policies was that the Church and the clergy focused their attention primarily on urban centers—where those who protected the Church’s monopoly resided—and in tending to the needs of those who could afford their services. This does not mean that the Church did not tend to the poor, peasants, and lower castes. Rather, it means that spiritual attention to that portion of the population was minimal and infrequent. The Church still had to make itself felt and establish a presence throughout the territory, which would allow the Church build its legitimacy with the population and sacralize the existing social system.³⁶ We also must acknowledge that many members of the clergy and various religious orders did take their evangelistic and charity efforts seriously. However, as with any social service agency, the Church had to operate within the parameters the crown allowed and with the resources available for its mission (MacCaffrey 1910: 376; Garrard-Burnett 2000: xvii–xix; Gill 1997).

Still, like any state sanctioned monopoly, there was contraband and disaffection. Because people wanted to fill their spiritual needs they resorted to the local or personal alternatives available to them (Bastian 2007: 186). At first, there were indigenous and African religious alternatives, but these were officially decried as heresy and witchcraft, and Spanish and Portuguese authorities destroyed related places of worship and killed, imprisoned, or persecuted its priests and practitioners. Nonetheless, these religious alternatives survived by going underground, syncretizing with Catholicism.

36. According to Klaiber (1998), the Church’s legitimacy was unmatched by any of the post-independence institutions precisely because of its previous role.

Two practices fostered the development of syncretism. First was the building of Christian temples atop pre-Christian ones. Iberian authorities brought this European practice to illustrate their victory over local deities as well as a means of legitimizing the new ones. This was a common practice across Iberian America wherever such temples or holy places existed (Garrard-Burnett 2000: xvi).

The second practice was folk or popular Catholicism. As practiced in the Europe at the time, folk Catholicism merged official Catholic rites with pre-Christian practices. Although Spain and Portugal frowned upon the hidden practices of Jews and Muslims, syncretistic religious practices, which blended pagan rites with Christianity, were tolerated. There are saints for every need. You could go to a local saint or a widely known Catholic saint for a specific need and seek their intervention without necessarily involving “God,” just as was done in pre-Christian times. This was one of the most common of folk practices, known as the “cult of the saints” or saint worshiping. For example, if a woman wanted a husband she prayed to St. Anthony of Padua; if an individual wanted a quick resolution to a problem he prayed to St. Expedious. Furthermore, people who lived in remote villages could have a home altar where they could pray without going to a church. Other practices included the lay baptism and concubinage, neither of which required a priest; however, both could be “resolved” if the local itinerant priest showed up and did not charge too much to sacralize the *de facto* marriage or baptism (Zayas Micheli 1990; Martínez Fernández 2002: ch. 2).

Popular religious practices, together with syncretism, developed as an alternative within the confines of official Catholicism. They were “weapons of the weak” who sought to resist Catholic domination through the appropriation Catholic rituals and

images.³⁷ For example, St. Barbara, with her red cloak, the holy patron of many units in the Spanish army, became *Changó*, the Yoruba god of war, to many African slaves and their descendants. The Mayan deity *Maximón* became St. Simon.³⁸ These syncretic practices, in the case of the African diaspora, became known as *santería*, *palero*, *macumba*, *candomblé*, or *umbanda*.³⁹ Indigenous practices were carried out through the *cargo*, *mayordomía*, *costumbre*, or *cofradía* systems (Norget 1999: 94–97; Carlsen 1997). With the creation of these systems indigenous people, lower class Spaniards, Africans, and their mixed-race descendants could worship their favorite deity or “saint” in plain view with the blessing of the Church. Protestantism began to appear in this mix (Garrard-Burnett 2000: xvi–xvii).

The history of Protestantism in Latin America extends to the late sixteenth century. At that time, the Dutch and the English began to chip away Spanish dominance in the New World. The Netherlands and England established colonies in the New World, bringing reformed Protestantism with them. In the Caribbean, ships from both powers engaged in contraband and piracy and tried to wrest away colonies from the Spanish, leaving Bibles wherever they went. Thus, Puerto Rico saw its first Protestant religious services during English and Dutch occupations of the island. Panama had its first one during Henry Morgan’s occupation of Panama, and later at the Scottish settlement in the Darién (1698–1700). Brazil saw its first, albeit short-lived, Protestant settlement with the arrival of French Huguenots on an island off the coast of Rio de Janeiro. Protestantism

37. Scott (1985; 1990) provides an interesting approach to social protest from the point of view of the weak. His approach to the “weapons of the weak” and the “arts of resistance” are useful for the study of folk religious practices.

38. Carlsen (1997) provides a detailed description of *Maximón* and its relationship to the *cofradías* and *costumbres*.

39. There are many books and articles that discuss African diasporic religions. See, e.g., Johnson (2002), Chesnut (2002), Pérez y Mena (1998), and Romberg (2003).

arrived again during the Dutch control of Recife in the North. However, none of these events left a permanent Protestant mark on the respective countries (Bastian 1987: 37–86).⁴⁰

Protestantism made its definitive entrance in Iberian America during the Latin American wars of independence, which occurred during Europe's Napoleonic Wars, and the ascendance of British commercial influence. The wars of independence brought the first whiffs of liberal constitutionalism and religious freedom to the continent.⁴¹ However, the reforms related to religious freedom were for the most part shallow and short-lived. As Bastian (1992: 318) notes, Catholicism “was seen as the only ideology capable of forging national identities and of cementing fragile nationalities threatened by the centrifugal forces of regional interests and the latent or apparent rebellions of indigenous nations.” Concern for order and stability, after the chaos of the wars of independence inspired conservatism and stalled religious freedom throughout the continent (319). Nevertheless, the door had been opened, and although native Protestantism had to wait, foreign Protestantism did not.

Later governments in Catholic countries sought to modernize through the migration of peoples from more advanced countries. Liberal thought at the time considered it essential to invite foreigners (including many Protestants) from more industrialized countries who brought labor, capital, and expertise to modernize and “Whiten” their countries. To attract foreigners, governments had to guarantee the free

40. Bastian (1987: 19) refers to this period as the first “epoch” of Protestantism in the Americas. These events, however, had no impact on the development of Protestantism, and will not be discussed in detail in this dissertation.

41. As Bastian notes (1992: 318), the main exception was Brazil, which became an empire in 1822 as a constitutional monarchy. It lasted as such until 1889 when it became a republic.

exercise of religion (Bastian 1992: 320–1). Not every country did so, however, and some did it sooner than others. However, there were tangible costs for the countries that delayed the application of more liberal religious freedoms.

The ability or willingness of Latin American governments, and of the Spanish government in the cases of Cuba and Puerto Rico, to provide religious guarantees varied. During the first half of the nineteenth century, some countries provided no guarantees at all; however, because the Catholic Church had fewer resources to enforce its protests, Protestantism was able to expand its presence.

Religious guarantees, where they existed, varied from freedom of religious conscience to freedom of religious exercise to complete religious freedom. Freedom of religious conscience simply meant that you could be a Protestant in private life but could not have a dedicated place of Protestant worship nor proselytize. Freedom of religious exercise allowed for the building of Protestant temples but allowed neither proselytizing, conducting services in the local language, producing materials use in services or proselytizing.⁴² Finally, complete religious freedom allowed for all activities, including proselytizing.

Yet, this did not mean that Protestants were free from harassment (Bastian 1992: 320). Catholicism remained the church of the state and faith of most citizens. As noted by participants to the 1916 Congress on Christian Work in Latin America, the strength of the Church “as a social force, it is influential out of all proportion to the number of its membership” (CCWLA 1917b: 226).

42. Winn (1970) discusses the practical meaning of these differences.

The desire for trade with the British opened the door for a freer religious market. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Spain, Brazil and other Central and South American governments entered into trade agreements with the British that required local authorities to respect the religious exercise of British subjects residing in those countries. True, law and practice diverged. Nevertheless, the agreements cracked open the door in Catholic Iberian America, paving the way for European and later U.S. Protestants (Bastian 1987: 92–93; Hertslet 1835; Winn 1970).

The presence of European Protestants created a foothold for religious freedom in South America. They organized themselves into faith communities and established links with their home countries and local diplomats. These linkages served as conduits for the importation of religious material and ministers, and diplomatic representatives facilitated formal protests regarding the infringement of foreigners' religious rights.

Some refer to early Protestant presence in Latin America as the first wave of Protestantism (Gill 1997: 81–83).⁴³ The period was marked by the arrival of European traders, investors, and migrants who brought with them religious beliefs and the desire to continue religious practices in Latin America. This early presence often fell under the jurisdiction of “missionary” efforts under the various Protestant denominations; however, this early work operated primarily as chaplaincy, not as evangelistic work. The work of the early clergy consisted primarily of providing spiritual care for a specific ethno-

43. Rather than waves, Lalive D'Épinay (1981) argues for a classification of churches according to characteristics, which correspond somewhat to the waves discussed here. He divides the Latin American Protestant churches as follows: 1) *diaspora*, which consisted of Protestant immigrants and temporary residents; 2) *ethnic*, which was made up of people of foreign descent of the second or third generation; 3) *mainline denominations*, which were characterized by the perpetuation of cultural beliefs and worship forms of their missionary founders, established in second half of the nineteenth century, mainly North America; 4) *holiness Protestants*, which emphasized the necessity of conversion and a subsequent holy life; and 5) *sectarian Protestantism*, which was mainly Pentecostal.

religious community (Abumanssur 2002: 77). The clergy were often citizens from the same country, spoke the same language, used the same music and instruments, and rarely engaged locals in the local language for purposes of conversion.

To summarize, the first Protestant wave into Latin America was foreign in all respects and, for the most part, did not actively proselytize. Protestants, despite being welcomed and praised by local liberal elites, remained a foreign oddity that attracted the attention of few outside of the communities they served. Protestants, regardless of denomination, spoke in foreign tongues, read foreign Bibles, sang foreign music, and remained detached from the local religious market. Furthermore, their foreignness made them a target of criticism and chastisement from the local Catholic clergy and their supporters (Damboriena 1962: 17–27; Bastian 1992: 319–21).⁴⁴

Still, these early nineteenth-century Protestants left a legacy that would take some time to bear fruit. They were the tip of the Protestant missionary spear that was yet to come in force to Catholic lands. The benefits and influence they brought made it possible for local elites to invite more of them. Their presence cracked the *de jure* and *de facto* religious monopoly in Latin America's underserved religious market and exhibited alternatives to Iberian Catholicism. Finally, the legal, diplomatic, and social battles they fought for their right to practice their faith made it possible for future generations to enjoy greater religious freedoms.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a new kind of Protestant arrived: the missionary. As noted before, Latin American liberal elites wished to modernize their

44. It is important to note that despite the ban on proselytizing, Protestant services did attract the attention of liberals and people disaffected with Catholicism. Some people even converted. However, this was more the exception than the rule. See Martínez Fernández (2002).

countries and believed that the best way to do so was by inviting Europeans to work and invest in their countries. Education, orphanages, and health care, which had been under the purview of the Catholic Church, now would fall to foreign Protestant missionaries. Latin American liberal governments relied on them because missionaries and their denominations were willing to carry most of the cost associated with their activities, and because they drove a wedge into the deteriorating relationship between the Catholic Church and the state (Damboriena 1962: 17–27).⁴⁵

Foreign missionaries saw mission costs as necessary to establish a legitimate and long-term presence in formerly closed Catholic countries. Missionaries believed that their efforts would contribute to evangelism.⁴⁶ Some Latin American rulers were not particularly interested in the missionaries' evangelistic activities per se, but modernizing rulers believed it was an important ingredient in their "civilizing mission." Furthermore, liberal elites considered the missionaries' literacy activities amongst the indigenous populations essential for absorbing those communities into the national fold, thus strengthening the state through the development of modern notions of nationhood.

Two distinct types of missionaries appeared during the second Protestant wave (Gill, 1997: 81–3): those engaged primarily in social work, and those engaged primarily in evangelistic work. The second group came primarily from U.S. denominations and believed that previous missionaries placed too much emphasis on social work. Both groups profited from the advances made by the first of Protestant incursion into Latin

45. Bastian (1992: 323) notes that "moderate liberal initiatives had been unable to eradicate corporatist interests associated with the big landowners, or to destroy . . . religious structures of colonial origin." As a result they applied radical liberal anti-clerical reforms in the second half of the nineteenth century to remedy that condition.

46. This can be seen in the efforts invested in such works, as reported in the Panama Congress (CCWLA 1917a; 1917b; 1917c; 1917d), and the justification for such endeavors.

America. First wave Protestants were already well established. Their circumspect activities had retained their air of foreignness, even as their congregations had become less “foreign” through the native-born descendants of earlier migrants, for they had a greater desire for integration to the larger culture. Meanwhile, the host societies were more tolerant of foreign congregations within established enclaves (Damboriena 1962: 17–27).

The degree to which locals accepted Protestants depended on the social and ethnic make-up of the foreign group. White European congregations faced fewer challenges and were more accepted than were working-class Afro-Caribbean congregations. In general, the degree of acceptance varied in relation to the group’s numerical presence, its concentration, and its proximity to large urban centers.

When it came to Protestant’s impact and influence on politics and society, their power was limited. The majority of first and second wave Protestants attracted some attention from segments of the new middle class. These churches offered a religion that diverged from traditional Catholic practices. Their congregations were democratically governed. They expected a minimum level of literacy and education for membership and attendance. They required a high level of education for ministers. They required significant finances to build and maintain church structures and associated facilities, and to pay ministers’ salaries. They were well connected with the outside world. They used foreign musical instruments and hymnals. And they required an unparalleled level of membership commitment.

Host societies perceived Protestant churches—and even their evangelistic activities—as mostly politically nonthreatening. Protestant missionaries adopted

noninterventionist attitude vis-a-vis local political affairs. Foreign enclaves became cultural bastions of their country of origin. Those engaged in social activities were primarily concerned with continuing their efforts. Those engaged in evangelism had primarily otherworldly concerns. Protestants remained aloof to politics as long as liberal religious legal guarantees remained in place.

To summarize, in the eyes of many Latin American liberal elites, Protestant churches reflected the values of Western modernity and symbolized the level of development to which they aspired. Because their numbers were, for the most part, small, Protestants were seldom a political concern. In any case, the benefits associated with their presence outweighed the perceived costs. Only the weakened Catholic Church and local conservative supporters opposed them.

The third stage in the history of Protestantism in Latin America began with the arrival of Pentecostalism. The origin of Pentecostalism as a movement remains a subject of debate; however, the push for Pentecostal missionary endeavors in Latin America began after the Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles in 1907. Pentecostalism brought some important traits that must be highlighted because they help us understand the advancement of Protestantism in Latin America. Some of these traits included 1) the absence of significant central denominational control; 2) an emphasis on glossolalia and orality; 3) an anti-intellectual vision of the gospel; 4) a direct relationship with the divine; 5) an emphasis on manifestations of the Holy Spirit for a calling to the ministry instead of a formal theological education; 6) an absence of significant foreign resources; and 7) minimal missionary presence (Freston 1994b; Wilson 1988; Fernández Quevedo 2000). These traits proved to be the greatest assets that any Protestant denomination had brought

to the continent. With those traits, Pentecostalism became the fastest growing denomination on the continent. They facilitated the nationalization of nascent structures and led to the creation of indigenous churches, following culturally relevant patterns of worship and organization.⁴⁷ As a result, Pentecostalism brought the third Protestant wave to Latin America.

But Pentecostalism's traits are not the sole explanation of the ensuing Protestant growth. The foundation was the increase in religious liberty that the first two waves helped cement. Nevertheless, Pentecostalism's lack of institutionalization, unlike the older denominations, made it malleable and adaptable to Latin America.

Pentecostalism's characteristics made it attractive to the largest segment of Latin American society: the lower class. This first Protestant wave operated as a chaplaincy for foreigners. The second wave appealed to outsiders and the middle class or its aspirants. The third wave took root primarily among the lower class. The fourth wave would aim for all classes but would prove most effective for the proselytization of the upper middle class and to some extent even the upper class.

In the interim, however, there would be a period of conflict between Protestant and Catholic faiths as the religious and political leaders sought a rebirth of the old forms of church-state relations. The period from 1930 to the 1960s saw the rise of a "neo-Christendom." This was a political project wherein political and Catholic elites sought to reinstitute Church privileges that liberal governments of the nineteenth century had removed. They sought, among other things, to teach religion in public schools, re-recognize Catholicism as the state religion, sign *concordats* with the Vatican, form

47. See Oro (1995) for a list of characteristics that define autonomous Pentecostalism.

Christian democratic parties, and regain subsidies to the Catholic Church. As noted by Mainwaring (1986: 33), “Catholic leaders became deeply involved in politics seeking an alliance with the state to influence society.” In sum, “neo-Christendom” sought, at a time of increased religious competition, to bring some of the protections that the previous religious monopoly had provided.⁴⁸

Rapid modernization and the return of authoritarian rule to most of the continent also marked this period. The Catholic Church realized that Pentecostalism had become a real threat to their religious hegemony over the mass of lower class nominal Catholics (Smith 1998). Protestantism had been present for at least a century throughout most of the continent. However, historical Protestants had achieved very little growth despite sustained, well-funded efforts. Their appeal reached primarily the urban middle class, who historically had always been a small portion of the population. On the other hand, Pentecostalism, with little outside resources, had grown substantially among the rural and urban lower classes. It was under these conditions of increased competition and rapid change that the Latin American Catholic Church decided to focus its efforts on the most neglected segment of its historical constituency: the poor. According to Smith (1991), liberation theology rose as a strategy to regain the poor from Pentecostalism. Gill (1997) confirmed this claim by noting that the Church’s support for liberation theology in Latin America was most vigorous where it felt most threatened by Pentecostalism, e.g., Brazil.

Over time, these efforts by the Catholic hierarchy led Protestant leaders to believe that the only way to counteract Catholic strength would be by challenging its hegemonic

48. See Alonso (1998) on the political battle for religious education in Puerto Rico; Mainwaring and Scully (2003) on Christian Democratic parties; and Mainwaring (1986: ch. 2) on general relations with the state in Brazil.

notion of still being “the Church.” Bastian (1985: 15) notes that Catholicism, as a sociological “church,” maintains a “monopoly over the legitimate religious symbols,” can address itself to all of the population, and can claim to carry its “national mores.” In other words, the Catholic Church has a legitimate claim to the symbols of the nation and can speak on its behalf. Thus, the Church considers itself part of the national identity and has an implied relationship to all citizens by virtue of its history. Furthermore, more often than not, the Church’s hierarchical structure allows it to speak with a unified voice.

Protestantism, by virtue of its foreign origin and sectarian nature has not been able, until recently, to make similar claims. The ability of *evangélicos* across the continent to challenge the “church” claims of Catholicism began in the 1960s but did not bear fruit until the 1980s. These efforts varied widely across the region, depending on the level of nationalization of Protestantism in each country.

According to Bastian (1985: 15–16), “religious actors become producers, reproducers and distributors of symbolic salvation goods . . . producing their goods as a function of social demand that varies according to the religious interests of the different classes and sectors that conform the Latin American social structure.” This has meant that as Latin American society became more urban, modern, nationalistic, and prosperous they needed a Protestantism that filled the needs of that kind of society. From the 1960s on Protestantism in general, and Pentecostalism in particular, would provide the necessary adaptation and the most innovative religious firms would be rewarded with a larger portion of the religious market.

Indigenous Protestant efforts mark the fourth wave; however, neo-Pentecostalism is the most prominent modality of that period. There are two interpretations of neo-

Pentecostalism. One sees it as a development of historical denominations seeking to adopt some Pentecostal practices without the rigorous discipline practiced by traditional Pentecostal denominations. These are often called “charismatics.”⁴⁹ The other interpretation sees neo-Pentecostalism as an adaptation of traditional forms of Pentecostalism to modern urban life, modern methods of communication, and all classes’ aspirations of affluence (Mariano 1999; Proença 2003; Wilson 1997: 144–7). In other words, neo-Pentecostalism is Pentecostalism plus prosperity theology minus legalistic requirements.⁵⁰

Still, the application of the “neo-Pentecostal” label remains controversial. In fact, some would rather identify it as post-Pentecostalism to differentiate it from traditional forms of Pentecostalism (Siepierski 1996). Although its lineage, as related to televangelism and the prosperity gospel, may not be Pentecostal, other neo-Pentecostal practices are clearly rooted in Pentecostalism. Furthermore, as this research has found, its leaders in the countries studied are former Pentecostals themselves, or are still affiliated with their Pentecostal denominations. In either case, the politicization occurred during this period and neo-Pentecostalism became an active participant in the incorporation of Pentecostals in Latin America.⁵¹

49. This independent variety of Latin American Protestantism also produced a significant movement of missionaries and evangelists within Latin America by and for Latin Americans. Electronic means of communication and rapid means of transportation have aided the process, producing significant cross-fertilization among movements and denominations throughout the continent (including Latin Americans in the United States and Canada). See Steigenga and Cleary (2007) and Vasquez and Marquardt (2003).

50. Pérez Torres (1997) calls these legalistic requirements “external dogmatism” because they refer to the external elements of ascetic Pentecostal behavior. They include rules related to dress, hair length, shaving, and the use of jewelry and make up.

51. In the case of Brazil, Freston (1999: 539) divides the history of Pentecostalism into three waves: 1910s, 1950s, and 1970s. He argues that these waves result from “the sect’s difficulty in updating itself” where this “intra-Pentecostal institutional creation . . . renew[s] the relationship to culture. [Where] new groups have freedom to adapt because they do not carry decades of tradition.” Although I agree with his interpretation of the causes of the waves, here I am only acknowledging two of his waves because the

What is most significant about Pentecostals and neo-Pentecostals is that they have actively taken steps to incorporate *evangélicos* to the political realm. *Evangélicos* have been participating in politics for some time. In Guatemala, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Brazil, *evangélicos* have taken stands on contentious political issues since the early twentieth century. However, their participation was ephemeral and fragmented. Ephemeral, because *evangélicos* would take a stand on a specific issue but retreat to their traditional view of noninvolvement in politics once the issue lost relevance. And *evangélicos* were fragmented: each denomination took a different stand on the issue of political involvement depending on dogma or whether the leadership was local or foreign. The salience of these obstacles changed under the Pentecostal majority and leadership. Where the conditions discussed above were established, *evangélicos* in general, and Pentecostals in particular, were effectively and permanently incorporated into the political arena.

One factor seems to have had the most influence in determining how and when Pentecostals become incorporated: nationalization. This refers to the process through which native Protestant leaders take control of their denominations and become independent of their missionaries and the foreign mission boards that brought the denomination to their countries. The process is significant because it leads to the rise of a local leadership, which attempts to interpret a foreign religion within the local context. In other words, nationalization is crucial for the creolization of the gospel.

Nationalization occurred in waves, affected primarily by historical events. The first wave of nationalization occurred between 1900 and 1916 (the year of the Congress of Panama), during which indigenous Protestants sought a greater say in their

second wave did not create similar movements in Panama or Puerto Rico. There were schisms but no new traditions or theologies were developed.

denominational structures in order to be able to more effectively compete with the Catholic Church. As noted by Inman (1930: 23) and Bastian (1992: 335), the rise of popular nationalism across the continent demanded greater independence. The second wave occurred during the Great Depression. This wave reflected the economic reality of dwindling resources for missions. This period marked an intense effort, fostered by the missionaries themselves, to achieve a level of self-support for all denominations and to nationalize the churches (Inman 1930: 89–100). It also reflected the early onset of Pentecostalization among historical Protestants, which often led to expedited autonomy, schism, and nationalization. Finally, it marked the beginning of economic import-substitution-industrialization, which had implications for the social, political, and religious spheres (Bastian 1992: 333). The confluence of modernization and post-colonial nationalism in the 1950s and 1960s produced the third wave of nationalization. The military nationalism of the 1970s and the growth in the middle class fostered the last wave. This last wave continues to this day, producing autonomous indigenous denominations and independent churches in every country in the region.

This pattern of growth and competition between Catholic and Pentecostal faiths would become more political in the 1980s. With the nationalization of Protestantism and the movement of redemocratization across the continent, Pentecostal growth would foster the entry and incorporation of Pentecostals in a few countries. Yet in other countries, political leaders courted Protestants for political support.

In some places the incorporation occurred; in others, it did not. I will focus on the historical analysis of the Brazil, Puerto Rico, and Panama. They will help illustrate the

connections between the variables. The patterns will help us compare and understand their relevance in the process of political incorporation.

VI. Brazil

Introduction

The religious history of Brazil is an evolving relationship involving religious freedom, Protestant evangelizing, Pentecostalizing, and the nationalization of Protestantism. That relationship evolved over more than 150 years, eventually leading to the incorporation of Pentecostals in the political realm. The relationship came, however, from humble beginnings. It was the product of a combination of factors that took time to acquire momentum. Once the dynamic of their interaction took hold, other factors led to an inevitable conclusion: Pentecostal political incorporation.

As noted previously, I am attempting to establish the relationship between the historical variables as they evolved over time. The narrative that follows delineates the background needed to understand these relationships.

Religion in Colonial Brazil

Protestantism arrived in Brazil in 1555 when French Huguenots settled on an island off the *Baya de Guanabara*. This early French Calvinist settlement was part of an early Protestant effort at fleeing the continental wars occurring at the time. However, because of disease and Portuguese opposition, the effort was short-lived (Beach, 1916: 64; Inman, 1918: 123).

The Dutch led the second Protestant incursion in Brazil. They occupied a portion of northern Brazil in Pernambuco in 1624. It was here that Maurice of Nassau declared the first decree of religious freedom in Brazil in 1627, which allowed Jews and Protestants to worship openly. However, the Protestant presence here was also short-

lived. Military defeat at the hands of the Portuguese forced the Dutch to depart the region in 1654 (Beach, 1916: 64; Inman, 1918: 123).

Neither of these early Protestant incursions into Brazil had a lasting effect because the historical conditions were not favorable for such an enterprise. There were no incentives for opening the door to the officially sanctioned state religion. Just as in the case of Spain, Portugal had a *padroado*. As a result, Brazil endured a closed religious market until the signing of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1810.

During this period, the Catholic Church enjoyed an officially sanctioned monopoly over the provision of religious goods. The Church was in effect a state agency and was not overly concerned with satisfying customer needs or preserving its share of the market because there was no “competition” (Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 61–62). As noted before, Brazil had a severe shortage of religious clergy and places of worship. As a result, the Church had to be selective in its investment of resources, because it still had to make itself felt and establish a presence throughout the territory (MacCaffrey 1910: 376; Garrard-Burnett 2000: xvii–xix).

There was significant contraband in the pursuit of religious goods. However, these practices did not undermine the Catholic Church’s state sanctioned monopoly. On the contrary, this contraband strengthened the Church’s hold over cultural legitimacy. Allowing syncretism and popular practices to flourish afforded the Church a continued claim of legitimacy that remains to this day. As noted by numerous researchers, many practitioners of folk Catholicism still identify themselves as Catholics and take part in Catholic rituals (Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 79–82).

Nevertheless, this monopoly did not mean that the Catholic Church could do as it pleased. It was a quasi-state institution and under the *padroado* it was subject to the vagaries of the state's leadership. In Brazil this became apparent under the enlightened despotic rule of José I and his de facto regent, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, better known as the Marquês de Pombal. As a reformer influenced by the Enlightenment, the Marquês de Pombal sought to weaken the influence of the Church, leading the expulsion of the Jesuits from the New World and all Portuguese territories. In other words, the Church always had to contend with social forces that sought to undermine its position and authority (Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 91).

Beginning the Liberalization of the Brazilian Religious Market

The situation in the Brazilian religious marketplace continued until independence arrived for most of the continent. The wars of independence between 1810 and 1825 cracked the door for greater religious freedom. Napoleon's occupation of Portugal and the exile of João VI to Rio de Janeiro, escorted by the British Navy, opened the religious market for Brazil (Dreher 2002: 64–65, 120). Upon their arrival to Brazil in 1808, Dom João decreed that all Brazilian ports would be open to trade with friendly countries (in effect, Great Britain), opening the door to Protestant foreigners. The Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation of 1810 codified this new relationship. The most relevant item for our purposes is Article XII. It stated that British subjects were not to “. . . be annoyed, molested, persecuted or disturbed by cause of their religion, but will have perfect freedom of conscience and ability to attend to and celebrate divine worship in honor of the Almighty God, provided that this takes place in private dwellings. . . .” The treaty goes on to allow the construction of places of worship so long as they do not bear any

outside markings identifying them as such. It also states that British subjects would not be allowed to proselytize to the local population in any form and that they should act “. . . with due respect to the laws, usages, and customs of the country” (Reily 1984: 24–28).⁵²

Thus began Brazil’s experiment with religious freedom and the country’s first wave of Protestantism. However, the emperor’s relationship with the Catholic Church did not change; the *padroado* remained in effect. Nonetheless, the Anglican Church brought its first consular chaplain and built its first chapel in Rio de Janeiro in 1819 (Bastian 1992: 320; Reily 1984: 32–33; Inman 1918: 124).⁵³

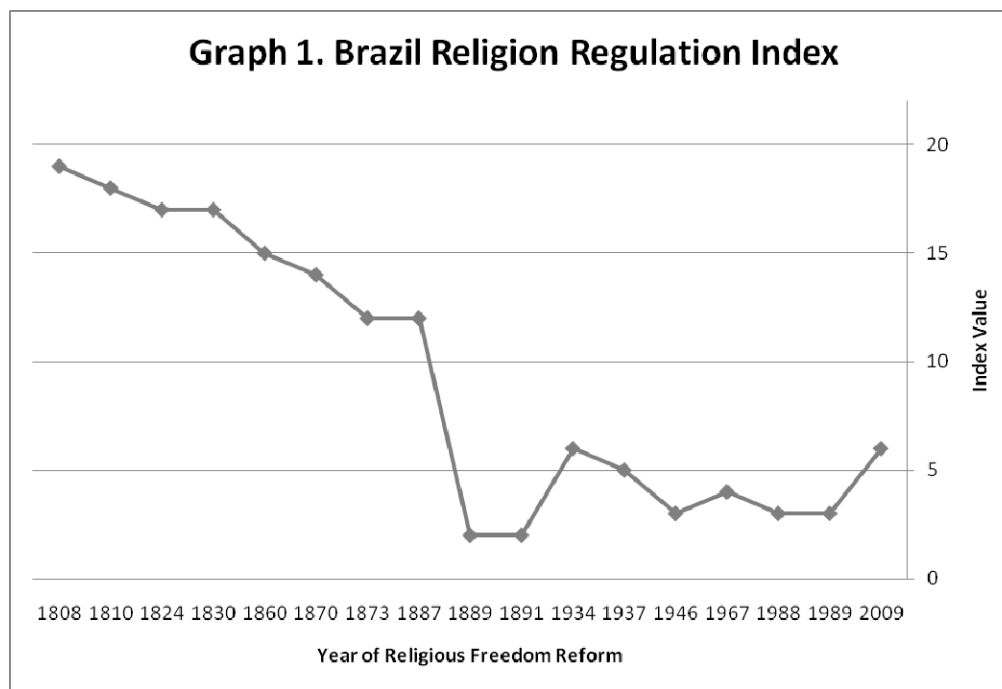
It is important to note, however, that even though there was an opening in the religious market, this did not bring a Protestantism concerned with evangelizing local nonbelievers. Not only would that have been illegal, but the new religious actors were primarily concerned with satisfying the religious needs of subjects that already belonged to a particular religion or denomination. To that extent, Anglican, and later Lutheran, activities in Brazil operated as a chaplaincy, not as a missionary or evangelistic endeavor (although Anglican efforts in Brazil fell under the jurisdiction of the South American Missionary Society) (Reily 1984: 25).

As noted in the Religious Regulation Index for Brazil (Graph 1), the market was almost completely closed. Foreigners, primarily British, could gather and worship in private and receive sacraments from Anglican chaplains. Their religion was more like an annoying oddity for Brazilian people and authorities: something that the British required

52. This would later be modified in the Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1827 (Hertslet 1835: 38).

53. Later in the nineteenth century, Anglicans, under the control of the Protestant Episcopal Church, began evangelistic efforts but they remained effectively a foreign church until its nationalization in 1965.

if there was to be trade with them. Little did they know that it was about to become much more.



Data derived from: Dreher 2002; Reilly 1984; Gill 1999; 1998; Moreno 2002; Brazil Constitutions of 1824, 1891, 1934, 1937, 1946, 1967 and 1988; *Acordo Entre a República Federativa do Brasil e a Santa Sé Relativo ao Estatuto Jurídico da Igreja Católica no Brasil* 2008; *Acordo Entre a República Federativa do Brasil e a Santa Sé Sobre Assistência Religiosa às Forças Armadas* 1989; Hertslet 1835.⁵⁴

In 1822 Dom Pedro refused to resubmit to Portuguese colonial rule and declared Brazil independent. Dom Pedro I became king, and turned his attention to the creation of a new constitution for his kingdom. He wanted to foster greater economic development for his underpopulated country. He sought to create a document that could attract and reassure European workers and investors about the seriousness of his interest in reform. Freedom of religious exercise was one of the more significant features as far as the Prussians and other Europeans were concerned because it would protect their citizens from religious persecution and discrimination. Thus Article 5 of the Constitution of 1824

⁵⁴ I compiled the data for all charts, graphs and tables in this dissertation from the sources listed under each chart, graph and table.

stated: “The Roman Catholic and Apostolic Religion will continue to be the religion of the Empire. All other religions will be permitted as domestic services, or in specially designated dwellings, without any exterior semblance to a temple.” It further stated in Article 179, § 95: “No one shall be persecuted for reason of religion, so long as they respect the State’s religion, and does not offend public morals” (*Constituição Política do Brasil de 1824*). These guarantees made it possible for the German Lutherans to migrate and feel reasonably secure that they would be able to worship in their own language and faith (Bastian 1992: 321).

Arrival of First Protestant Communities

The first German Lutheran Pastor arrived in 1824 together with the first group of Swiss ethnic Germans (Reily 1984: 37). Like Anglicanism, German Lutheranism arrived with foreigners to tend to the need of foreigners; however, their reach would be much greater than that of Anglicans. Between 1824 and 1945 about 300,000 Germans arrived in Brazil—about 60 percent of them Protestants (Dreher 2002: 124). German immigrants and their descendants had a concentrated geographical presence and created a number of Lutheran congregations throughout the south of Brazil. By 1838 there were already five known German congregations in Brazil (Reily 1984: 38), and eight by 1847 (Bastian 1992: 321). They created the *Sínodo Rio-Grandense da Igreja Evangélica Alemã*, the first Brazilian Lutheran Synod, in 1886. This was the first actual Protestant denominational conference in Brazil.

Many other Protestant denominations arrived to Brazil in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the same way. They came as part of the migrant’s religious baggage, especially ethnic Germans, who were the most numerous. Many Germans were

Congregationalists, Adventists, Baptists, Mennonites, and Seventh Day Baptists. Most recently, they have become part of the New Apostolic movement.

However, these transplanted German immigrants faced significant challenges. Their cultural and physical isolation, as well as the limitations on the exercise of their religion, created a sense of separation between them and the rest of Brazilian society. Thus, although they had a system of self-rule in Brazil, they depended on denominational mission efforts in Germany to supply them with the requisite clergy and religious materials. The Prussian—and later German—governments supported this through their Pan-Germanic policies. The advent of World War II would force ethnic Germans to integrate more fully into Brazilian religious life (Dreher 2002: 126; Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 97; Bastian 1992: 322).

Although the Germans were the largest and most significant migrant group as far as Protestantism was concerned, they were not the only one. In 1825 the first Presbyterian Scots arrived (Dreher 2002: 128). In the 1860s, U.S. Southern Baptists arrived with the exiled Confederates after the U.S. Civil War. Time would bring Italians, Armenians, Arabs, Chinese, Norwegians, Swiss, Dutch, Welsh, Koreans, Swedes, and others later in the twentieth century, all of them with a Protestant denomination of their own (see Table 1).

Denomination	Ethnicity	Year
German Lutheran Church	German	1824
Church of England	UK	1817
Southern Baptist Convention	US	1868
Seventh Day Advestist Church	German	1894
Christian Congregation	Italian	1910
Dutch Reformed	Dutch	1911
Seventh Day Baptist Church	German	1913
German Baptist Church	German	1916
Armenian Bretheren	Armenian	1927
Christian Reformed Churhc of Brazil	Hungarian	1932
Menonite Church	German	1930
Menonite Bretheren Churhc	German	1930
New Apostolic Church	German	1930
Free Methodist Church of Brazil	Japanese	1936
Cumberland Presbyterian Church	Japanese	1960
Swiss Evangelical Church	Swiss	1961
Evangelical Holiness Church	Japanese	1961
Taiwanese Presbyterian Church	Chinese	1962
Korean United Presbyterian Church	Korean	1964
Japanese Evangelical Federation of Brazil	Japanese	1967
French Evangelical Church	French	
German Evangelical	German	
Hebrew Christian Alliance	Hebrew	
Norwegian Church	Norwegian	
Swedish Church	Swedish	
Welsh Church	Welsh	
Arab Evangelical Church of Brazil	Arab	
Armenian Evangelical Church	Armenian	
Armenian Congregational Church	Armenian	

Data derived from: Holland 2003; Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Congress on Christian Work in Latin America (CCWLA) 1917b, 1917d; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et. al. 2001; Dreher 2002.

The Japanese are another immigrant group that also contributed to the growth of Protestantism in Brazil. They began migrating to Brazil in the late nineteenth century and became one of the largest migrant groups in the country after Germans and Italians. However, they were not initially Protestant. Japanese missionaries, speaking to them in their own tongue, converted them. Yet, the overall effect was similar to that of German

Protestants from the first wave. They seldom crossed ethnic lines to the broader Portuguese-speaking population.⁵⁵ The Japanese created Presbyterian, Free Methodist, Evangelical Holiness, and other denominations.

Although all of these immigrant groups contributed to the growth of Protestantism in Brazil, they seldom evangelized to Portuguese-speaking Brazilians. As we will discuss later when we examine the case of Panama, these ethnic churches tended to target ethnic groups in foreign languages, following the cultural practices for their particular group.⁵⁶ This outlook changed over time but their overall impact on the growth of Protestantism remained limited because of those limiting factors. As a result, their “foreignness” brought them closer to the older groups from the first wave (see Table 1).

Arrival of Missionary Protestantism

The changes instituted by Dom Pedro I, although insufficient to open the religious market completely, did foster the early arrival of the second wave of Protestantism in Brazil. The first nonethnic denomination, Methodists, arrived in 1836 with the express purpose of proselytizing to Portuguese speakers.⁵⁷ However, this effort was short-lived (Mendoça and Velasques 1990: 40). The first actual Protestant missionary effort, led by Robert Kalley, arrived in 1855. He came with his wife, without denominational support, to bring evangelical Christianity to Brazil. He helped in founding the *Igreja Evangélica Fluminense*, which led to the creation of the Brazilian Congregational Church as a

55. Beach (1900: 85) noted that the Germans and English tended primarily to their respective groups although Protestants in general felt their influence.

56. It is important to note that this does not mean that they did not engage in evangelistic efforts with the Portuguese population. There is documentation of a representative for the Bible Society requesting 200 Portuguese bibles for German Lutherans to distribute among the local population in 1827 (Reily 1984: 42). This occurred despite the specific ban against bible distribution (Dreher 2002: 130).

57. Supposedly, this effort was serious enough to raise the ire of the Catholic Church (Beach 1900: 77).

denomination (Mendoza and Velasques 1990: 34). This first effort opened the door for other Protestant missionaries.

Despite the legal restrictions to Protestant proselytizing, the 1860s saw a flurry of North American missionaries. 1859 saw the arrival of the first Northern Presbyterian missionary who quickly learned Portuguese and conducted his first Portuguese service in 1860. Groups that followed included Southern Baptists,⁵⁸ Southern Presbyterians, Methodists, Northern Baptists, and Plymouth Brethren. They built on the efforts of ethnic Germans to establish and defend their presence. Protestant Germans started their own publications,⁵⁹ built their temples, and, since 1860, married legally (Dreher 2002: 126).

As the Catholic Church continued to weaken, in 1870 the imperial government declared a *mortmain* law, which allowed public officials to expropriate Church lands in disuse. This was a major sticking point for liberals in Brazil and the rest of the continent. The Church was the largest landowner in the continent and many saw its land possessions as an asset that the state should use to further the country's development. Considering that the Church and conservatives bitterly opposed the measure, its application was difficult (Dreher 2002: 126). This, like other measures, was intended to restrain the power of the Church but ended up strengthening the position of the Protestants.

The difference between first and second wave Protestants can be seen in the flurry of activity they engaged in. For Brazil the primary example was the Presbyterians. After holding their first service in Portuguese in 1862, Presbyterians ordained their first

58. It is important to note that although Southern Baptists first came to Brazil to tend to the exiled American Confederate population, they quickly turned to missionary efforts as well. In the nineteenth century, they shared the trait of combining chaplaincy and evangelism with the German Adventists who arrived in 1894 (Schunemann 2003).

59. Although proselytizing was prohibited, in 1830 the Civil Code interpreted the freedom of the press (Article 179 § 4) that it should be extended to all naturalized foreigners, allowing Protestants to communicate and disseminate their ideas (Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 93–94).

Brazilian Pastor, José Manuel da Conceição, a former priest, in 1867. They opened their first seminary in 1867. They founded the first Protestant newspaper in Portuguese, *Imprensa Evangélica*, in 1864. Presbyterians also opened the American College in 1870, which eventually became the prestigious Mckenzie University (Dreher 2002: 128).

During this period, a social conflict raged in the background: positivism was making its way across Latin America and Brazil was no exception. As a system of thought, positivism argued for republican rule, free markets, scientific education, liberation for slaves, and the secularization of the state. In the case of Brazil the freemasons were ardent supporters of positivism and freedom of religion. Thus, they stood with Protestants, supporting their claims for civil marriage, state owned cemeteries, and the freedom to distribute literature.⁶⁰ This relationship contributed to the achievement of those freedoms. However, it would also bring conflict in the future (Cavalcanti 1986: 192; Dreher 2002: 130; Bastian 1992: 324).

Declaration of the Brazilian Republic

Now Protestant missionaries came in force. They opened schools and hospitals, founded papers and fostered literacy through evangelical work and Bible distribution. These efforts fostered a positive view of the Protestants among the Brazilian ruling elite and lent support to the liberal policies implemented after the coup of 1889 (Garrard-Burnett 2000: xix). Until that time, the Catholic Church and its conservative supporters

60. Bastian (1992) presents an extensive discussion of the relationship among Protestants, freemason, and other middle-class intellectuals prior to the Republic. He argues that Protestant growth had nothing to do with the effectiveness of its proselytizing, and had everything to do with the social and modernist relationship Latin American liberals saw among Anglo-Saxon development, positivism, Social Darwinism, and Protestantism. Bastian states that:

The emergence of Protestant congregations and societies during the period of confrontation between Church and state is not evidence of a penetration, an invasion or a supposed conspiracy, as the Catholic conservative press claimed, but corresponds to the urgent demands of ultra-minority radical-liberal circles seeking to expand their bases (325).

still hampered Protestant proselytizing efforts, especially in the cities, where they were most present (Mendoza and Velasques 1990: 43).

With the Republic came a new constitution that embodied the ideas of the positivist ideology of the time (Inman, 1918: 125). On matters related to religious freedom, Article 72§ 3 of the Constitution of 1891 stated: “All individuals and religious groups will be able to exercise their faith publicly and freely. . . .” The Constitution also recognized civil marriages, made cemeteries public, and forbade clergy bound to vows of obedience from holding public office. Also important would be Article 72§ 7, which stated that no religious group or church would receive official subsidies. This action ended the “official” monopoly of the Catholic Church in Brazil (*Constituição da República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil de 1891*).

The official conclusion of the *padroado*, which had operated *de facto* since 1889,⁶¹ actually gave the Catholic Church autonomy from the state for the first time and made it possible for the Church to retain the properties that had not been taken under the 1870 *mortmain* law (MacCaffrey 1910: 377). This gave the Church the necessary freedom to adapt to the new open religious marketplace. The separation of church and state led the Church to pursue two strategies: 1) to continue associating with conservative political forces in the hope of reacquiring the subsidies and privileges lost; or 2) to innovate in pursuit of its evangelistic mission. During the twentieth century, the Church negotiated a course between the two strategies. However, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Church’s main concerns were liberalism and socialism.

61. The military government signed Decree 119A on January 7, 1890, making official the separation of church and state (Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 102).

Protestantism was not yet a significant threat. Pentecostalism, its main competitor, with its spectacular growth, was yet to come.

The arrival of republican rule in Brazil established almost complete religious freedom (see Graph 1). All denominations present in the country took advantage of the new freedoms to spread their activities to previously unevangelized areas of the country. Baptists and Presbyterians made the most of the new freedoms. According to Da Silva Carreiro (2007: 101) this fostered growth from one Presbyterian church in 1862 to 153 Presbyterian and Baptist churches by 1903 (Cavalcanti 2002).

Year of arrival	Organization
1817	British and Foreign Bible Society
1819	Church of England
1824	German Lutherans
1835	Methodist Episcopal Church (not permanent)
1854	American Bible Society
1855	Independent Congregational Church
1859	Presbyterian Church, USA (North)
1861	Basel Missionary Society- among Germans
1869	Presbyterian Church (South)
1870	Southern Baptist Convention
1871	South American Missionary Society
1874	Methodist Episcopal Church (North)
1880	Methodist Episcopal Church (South)
1889	Protestant Episcopal Church
1892	Evangelical Union of South America
1894	Seventh Day Adventists
1900	Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod

Data derived from: Holland 2003; Dreher 2002; Reily 1985.

Republican rule also brought conflict between conservative and liberal forces. It radicalized the middle class and brought a nationalistic fervor even to Protestant congregations. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Presbyterians had the largest and fastest growing Protestant denomination in Brazil. A conflict raged, however, between

foreign missionaries and the native clergy. Since its inception, Presbyterianism had adopted a form of government that combined the episcopacy of the Church of England with the congregationalism of the Puritans. Thus, at the local level each congregation had self-rule, but that church leadership was hierarchically ordained. In other words, individual congregations were autonomous but subject to a system of ordained leadership. In 1865 Presbyterians formed the Presbytery of Rio de Janeiro. Rev. Antônio Pedro de Cerqueira Leite became the first Brazilian to head it in 1881. They reached administrative autonomy in 1888 as the Brazilian Synod, and Rev. Miguel Gonçalves Torres became the first Brazilian to head it in 1891. With nearly eighty congregations throughout the country by 1899, Presbyterians had a sizable organization (Beach 1900: 80).

Beginning the Nationalization of Protestantism in Brazil

During the 1890s as the number of native Presbyterian clergy grew, they wanted a greater say over the denomination and religious education. An objection rose over the membership to freemasonry held by some of the missionaries. A number of locals, led by the prominent Eduardo Carlos Pereira, believed that freemasonry was antithetical to Christianity and that the missionaries should relinquish their positions. The missionaries, who provided the access to resources required for the continuation of evangelistic work, disagreed. This conflict came to a head in 1903 when a number of Presbyterian congregations, led by Pereira, decided to secede from the Presbyterian Church of Brazil (created in 1888) and created the Independent Presbyterian Church of Brazil in 1903. Thus began the nationalization of Protestantism in Brazil (Siepierski 1993) (see Table 3).

Denomination	Year of Arrival	Year of Autonomy
Igreja Presbiteriana do Brasil	1859	1888
Igreja Presbiteriana Independiente do Brasil	1903	1903
Convenção Batista Brasileira	1881	1907
Assembleias de Deus	1911	1930
Igreja Metodista do Brasil	1835/1874	1934
Missão Evangélica Pentecostal do Brasil	1939	1949
Igreja Evangelica da Confissão Luterana no Brasil (German)	1823	1955
Igreja de Deus no Brasil (Cleveland)	1935	1955
Congregação Brasileira des Igreja dos Irmaos Menonitas (German)	1930	1964
Associação das Igrejas Evangelicas Menonitas do Brasil (German)	1930	1964
Associação Evangelica Menonita	1955	1964
Igreja Episcopal do Brasil (UK/Later became missionary under US)	1810	1965
Igreja Cristã Evangélica do Brasil	1895	1968
Igreja de Cristo Pentecostal do Brasil	1937	1978
Convenção Batista Conservadora	1946	1981
Igreja do Nazareno do Brasil	1957	1981
Iglesia Evangelho Cuadrangular	1955	1988
Igreja Cristã Nova Vida /Pentecostal Assemblies Canada	1960	1988
Igreja Evangelica Apostolica do Brasil	1962	1990
Igreja Evangelica Luterana do Brasil (Missouri, German)	1904	2000
Igreja Metodista Livre do Brasil (Japanese)	1936	2003

Data derived from: Holland 2003; Dreher 2002; Reily 1985; and denominational web pages.

This process is critical for understanding the political incorporation of Pentecostals because these early efforts reflect the interest of Brazilian denominational leaders in redefining the relationship between Protestant faith and Brazilian mores. More importantly, their traditional apolitical posture would change. In time, historical denominations under Brazilian rule would become involved in matters of national significance.

Igreja Presbiteriana do Brasil	1859
Igreja Presbiteriana Independente do Brasil (s)	1903
Igreja Presbiteriana Conservadora do Brasil (s)	1940
Igreja Presbiteriana Fundamentalista do Brasil (s)	1956
Igreja Cristã de São Paulo (s)	1942
Igreja Presbiteriana Independente Renovada (s)	1972
2 Combine to create-Igreja Presbiteriana Renovada	1975
Aliança de Igrejas Reformadas (s)	1974
Federação Nacional de Igrejas Presbiterianas (s)	1978
2 Combine to create-Igreja Presbiteriana Unida do Brasil	1978
"s" stands for schism	
*Does not include Asian ethnic churches	
Data derived from: Souza de Matos (n.d.)	

An important factor that also affected the political outlook among the historical denominations was their socioeconomic make up. Historical denominations were usually middle-class and urban. That meant that they were not as apolitical as missionaries wanted them to be. Later expansion into the countryside would attenuate the political tendencies of the urban middle class. This tension would later resurface with Pentecostalism (Galindo 1992:155–64, 269–93).

During the twentieth century more and more denominations became Brazilianized. Some achieved it through the process of autonomy, whereas others obtained it through schisms. Although schisms are common among Protestant sects, this process of fragmentation among historical Protestants did not lead to the massive growth we see today. Table 4 shows how schisms affected Presbyterians in Brazil.

Historical Protestant denominations, although nationalized, still had to contend with the baggage from missionary efforts. The liturgy, structure, hymnology, theology, literacy, educational requirements, and the expectations of supporting mission boards posed a challenge to the nationalization effort. Table 5 illustrates the presence and growth

of historical Protestant missionary societies between 1900 and 1925. Only a denomination with a clear and simple theology and without a bureaucracy would be malleable enough for full nationalization to take effect. This would arrive with Pentecostalism.

Year	Foreign Staff	Native Staff	Societies
1900	50 + wives	80 ministers	13
1916	337	398 (206 ministers)	17
1925	513	713	23

Data derived from: Beach, et. al., 1900; Beach and Fahs 1925; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d.

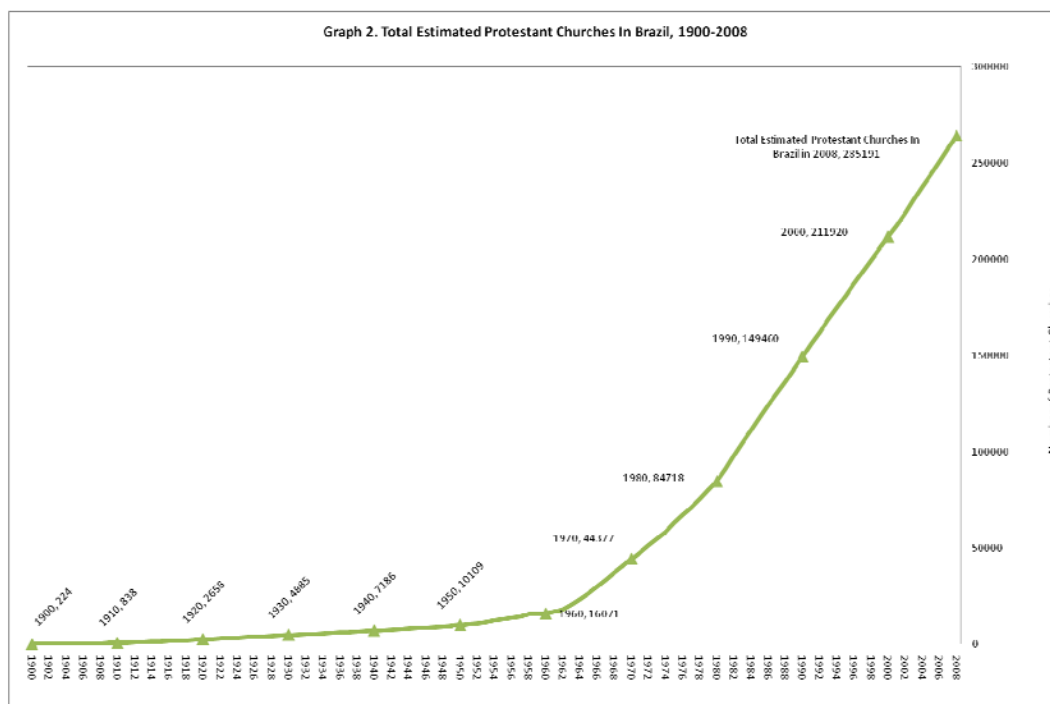
Another factor that leads to the process of nationalization is the creation of Bible institutes and seminaries. The creation of such centers of learning is significant because they provide avenues for nationals to rise in prominence in their particular denominations and eventually assume the leadership. In 1917, seven seminaries had already been established (three of them being fully Brazilian) as well as an unknown number of Bible institutes (Inman, 1918: 148). The creation of such institutes and seminaries also foments the interpretation of the Gospel in accordance with national realities and mores. The local leadership eventually creates a creolized theology. In the case of Brazil one of the first nationally recognized Protestant writers was the Presbyterian Erasmo de Carvalho Braga.⁶² Some of his most significant contributions are that he was one of the key Brazilian representatives to the Panama Congress of 1916 and that he wrote the Portuguese version of the Congress reports (Braga 1916).

62. He graduated from the American College and was ordained in 1898. In 1899 he founded *O Puritano* with Álvaro Reis. In 1916 he represented Brazil at the Congress on Christian Work in Latin America In Panama. He published numerous books on Latin America, evangelism, education, and missions. (Massotti 2007)

Up to this point we have seen the relationship between religious freedom and Protestant growth. The relationship between those two factors is not necessarily proportional but we can see that one could not have occurred without the other (see Graphs 1 and 2), at least prior to 1934. The relationship between religious freedom and Protestant growth will become clearer when we compare Brazil with Puerto Rico, where religious freedom did not arrive until 1898. It is important to note that later curtailments in religious freedom did not lead to a reduction of Protestant adherence. As noted in Graphs 1, 2, and 3, the later era of conflict actually led to a precipitous increase in religious conversions, primarily among Pentecostals. We will revisit this point later.

Of course, there are other factors. Protestantism grew in relation to the methods used for evangelization, the means used for evangelization, the language in which it was conducted, and who conducted it. Thus, the longer evangelization remains in foreign hands, is conducted in a foreign language (or without proper contextualization), is not controlled by locals and/or there are too many barriers to admission, then the longer it will take to bear sufficient local fruit and carry significant momentum. It will be more like a foreign transplant and not culturally appropriate.⁶³

63. See Garrison (2003) for a missiological discussion on the subject.



Data derived from: Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Beach and Fahs 1925; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et. al. 2001; Brierley 1997; Willems 1967; Barret, et. al., 2001; Damboriena 1963; Read et. al. 1969; and denominational Websites.

Pentecostal Arrival in Brazil

The third Protestant wave began with the arrival of three foreigners. One Italian immigrant and two Swedish mariners brought with them a new Protestant religious experience unlike any seen in Brazil at the time. Louis Francescon, an Italian Presbyterian, and Daniel Berg and Gunnar Vingren, two Swedes of Baptist background, had had Pentecostal conversion experiences in the United States before there were any Pentecostal denominations. All three retained links to their original denominations but helped to create their own over time. Moreover, their denominational background had an impact on the denominations that they helped create (Chesnut 1997; Freston 1994a; 1994b; 1995).

Thus, Pentecostalism arrived in Brazil without an official denominational missionary effort. Francescon began the *Congregação Cristã do Brasil* (CCB) in 1910. His first efforts centered on the Italian community in São Paulo. He built on the Presbyterian government model but without recruiting a professional clergy. He implemented a strict separation from the attractions of the world, as well as a strict view on the separation of church and politics, which remains strong among members of the CCB to this day (Freston 1995: 125).

Berg and Vingren arrived in Pará in 1911. They had had a Pentecostal experience in the United States and decided to bring the good news to Brazil. Their early effort led to the creation of the *Assembleia de Deus* (even before the name was incorporated as such in the United States). Due to their Baptist background they adopted a more congregational form of governance, allowing for autonomy at the local level and little coordination at the national level (Freston 1995: 121–23).

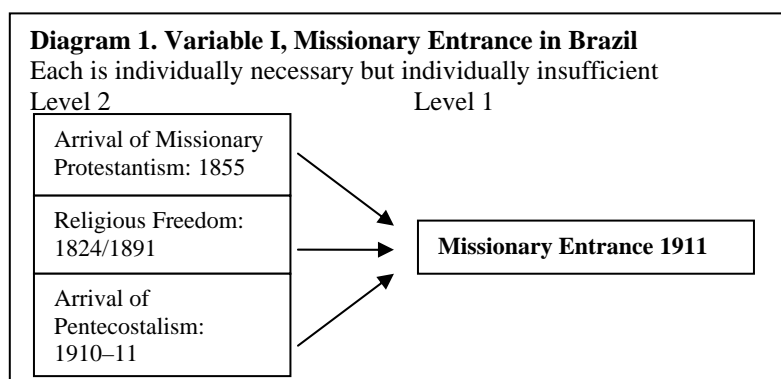
Although foreigners began the efforts of these two denominations, there was little foreign about them. As noted, Francescon created *Congregação Cristã* first for Italian migrants. However, this ethnic exclusivity did not last. Unlike German immigrants, the Italians assimilated quickly and *Congregação Cristã* crossed over to the Portuguese by 1935. Only one foreigner ever became leader of the denomination. It was autonomous and received no outside support. In the case of Berg and Vingren, they moved right in with Portuguese-speaking Brazilians. A few Swedish missionaries did come and the Swedes did remain in charge until 1930, but the *Assembleia de Deus* did not take on any significant foreign attribute that would inhibit it from being easily adopted by Brazilians accustomed to folk Catholic practices. The clarity and newness of Pentecostal theology,

which provided highly sought pneumacentric spiritual goods, made it extremely appealing to the Brazilian lower classes (Chesnut 1997; 2002; Freston 1995: 121; 2001: 12).

Variable I

The arrival of Pentecostalism in 1910–11 marks the completion of the first three conditions that eventually led to the effective incorporation of Pentecostals into politics. The Treaty of 1810 and the constitutions of 1824 and 1891 gradually opened the religious market to Protestants and Protestant proselytizing. Missionary Protestantism arrived in force after 1855 and Pentecostalism arrived in 1910.

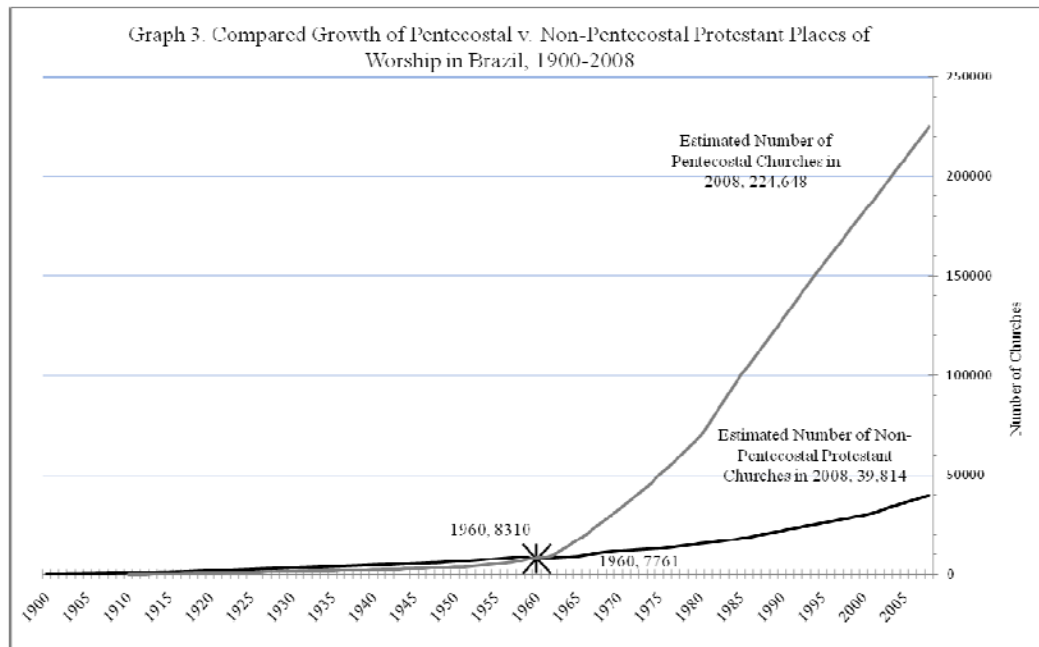
It is important to restate that first wave Protestants do not meet the criteria because they did not cross over to proselytize to Portuguese speakers. Migrant Protestant groups did serve a role in opening the religious market, but Protestantism did not grow in Brazil because of them. As in the case of Panama, it grew in spite of them. Because nineteenth-century data is limited I am unable to track their presence and strength effectively. One point is clear, however: Ethnic churches were considered an oddity that had little bearing on the social life of the country. Nineteenth-century liberals did support and admire them. However, it would be Brazilian Protestants, converted by the second wave, who would really stamp their presence in the country's political life (see Diagram 1).



Development and Growth of Pentecostalism in Brazil

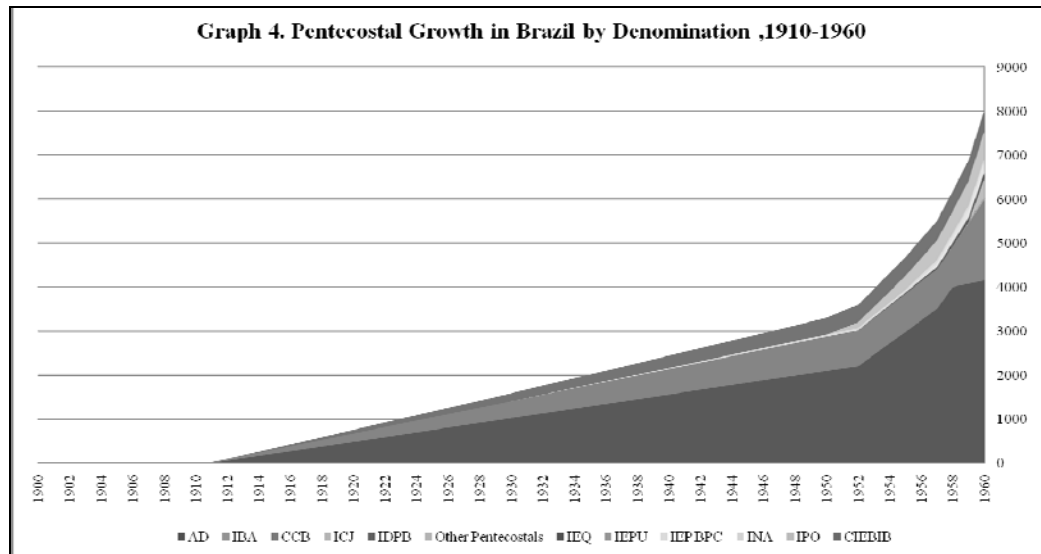
Freston (1995: 120–21) organizes the history of Pentecostalism in Brazil into three waves.⁶⁴ These waves represent not just periods of arrival but a marked difference in patterns of proselytizing, organization, and theological emphasis. For Freston, the first wave relates to Pentecostalism’s origin and initial international expansion. The main representatives for the first wave were the legalistic *Congregação Cristã do Brasil* (CCB) and *Assembleia de Deus* (AD). The second wave was related to the process of urbanization, modernization, nationalism, and mass communications. The main representatives for the second wave were the *Igreja do Evangelho Quadrangular* (IEQ), which focused on faith healing services and large evangelistic events; the *Brasil para Cristo* (BPC), the first Pentecostal denomination founded by a Brazilian (Manoel de Mello, in 1955); and the *Igreja Pentecostal Deus é Amor* (IPDEA), founded by David Miranda in 1962. The third wave occurred during the authoritarian modernization of the country and the “lost decade” of the 1980s. The main representative for the third wave was the *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus* (IURD), founded by Edir Macedo in 1977.

64. Álvarez (1987:93) argues for a classification based on origin and support. He classifies Pentecostal churches as 1) those resulting from immigrations (e.g., the CCB); 2) those that came from foreign missionary endeavors (e.g., the AD); and 3) those derived from indigenous efforts and funds (e.g., the IPBPC).



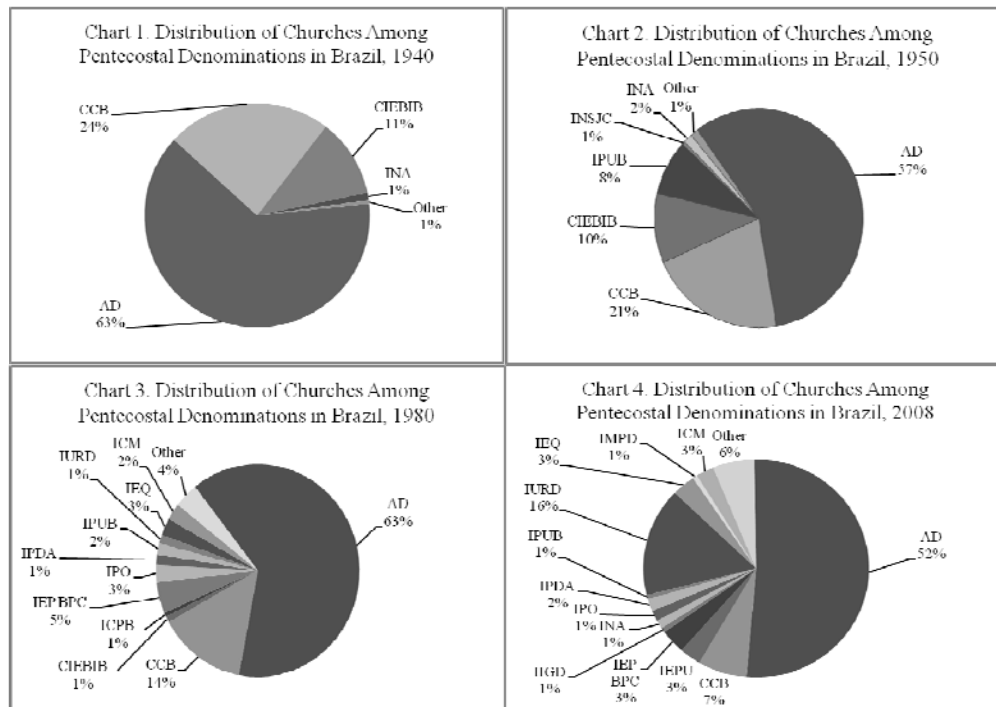
Data derived from: Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Beach and Fahs 1925; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et. al. 2001; Brierley 1997; Willems 1967; Barret, et. al., 2001; Damboriena 1963; Read et. al. 1969; and denominational Websites.

The foundation and impetus for Pentecostal growth was already in place before the arrival of the second wave (Graph 5); however, the arrival of new competitors brought increased concerns over the existing market share distribution and spurred innovation in evangelistic techniques and increased intensity of efforts. Graphs 2 and 3 illustrate this. Of the estimated 10,109 Protestant churches in Brazil in 1950, 3,657 (36%) were Pentecostal. By 1960 Pentecostals had grown to 8,310 churches, or 52 percent of the Protestant church supply, surpassing historical Protestant churches for the first time. In just 50 years Pentecostals created more churches than historical Protestants did in 132 years.



Data derived from: Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Beach and Fahs 1925; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et. al. 2001; Brierley 1997; Willems 1967; Barret, et. al., 2001; Damboriena 1963; Read et. al. 1969; and denominational Websites.

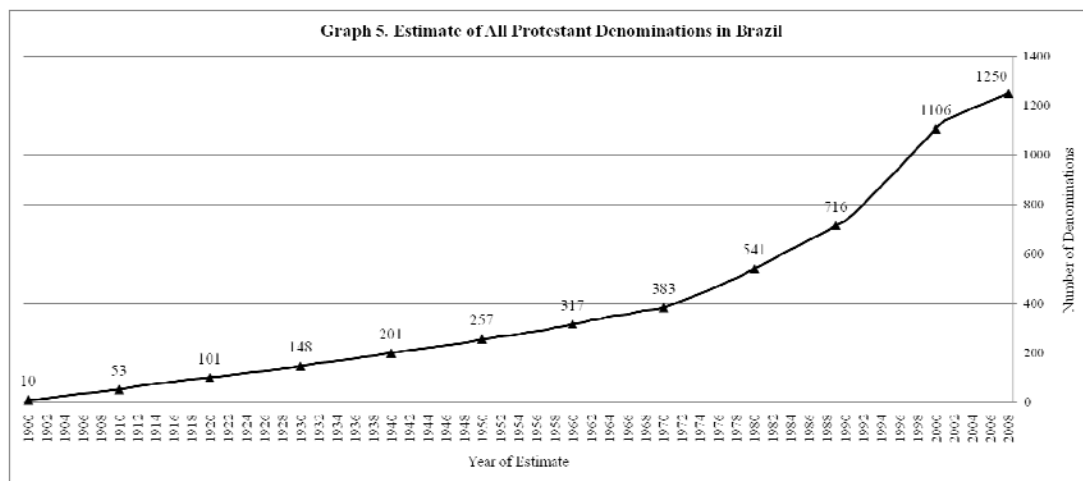
Graph 4 illustrates the Pentecostal growth in congregations by denomination between 1910 and 1960. It shows that the majority of the growth occurred within the AD. This pattern actually continues to this day. However, the AD's overall market share has decreased, whereas the IURD's has increased. Charts 1, 2, 3, and 4 illustrate the overall change in Pentecostal denominations' market share between 1940 and 2008.



Data derived from: Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Beach and Fahs 1925; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et. al. 2001; Brierley 1997; Willems 1967; Barret, et. al., 2001; Damboriena 1963; Read et. al. 1969; and denominational Websites.

It is important to note, however, that although Pentecostalism has grown dramatically in members and numbers of churches, the number of non-Pentecostal Protestant denominations have grown more dramatically. This illustrates a broader picture of Protestant growth (Graph 5). It also helps to point out another phenomenon. It seems that the majority of the growth among non-Pentecostal *evangélicos* has occurred among independent, domestic, charismatic groups. This means that although older denominational structures remain in place or decrease in membership (Barret, et. al., 2001: 135–38), they no longer have the same commanding presence they had earlier in the twentieth century. This increased presence in independent churches and smaller domestic denominations reinforce the aspects of nationalization that I seek to explain because their vast majority is Brazilian (Freston 2001: 11). Because non-Pentecostal Protestants are primarily part of the middle class, this reinforces the point that I cannot

discount non-Pentecostal Protestants in Brazil just because they do not have the numerical majority in adherents. When it comes to the number of denominations, they do have a majority. Furthermore, their smallness and independence makes them more susceptible to Protestant mass media and the politico-religious leadership that attempts to incorporate them to the political process.



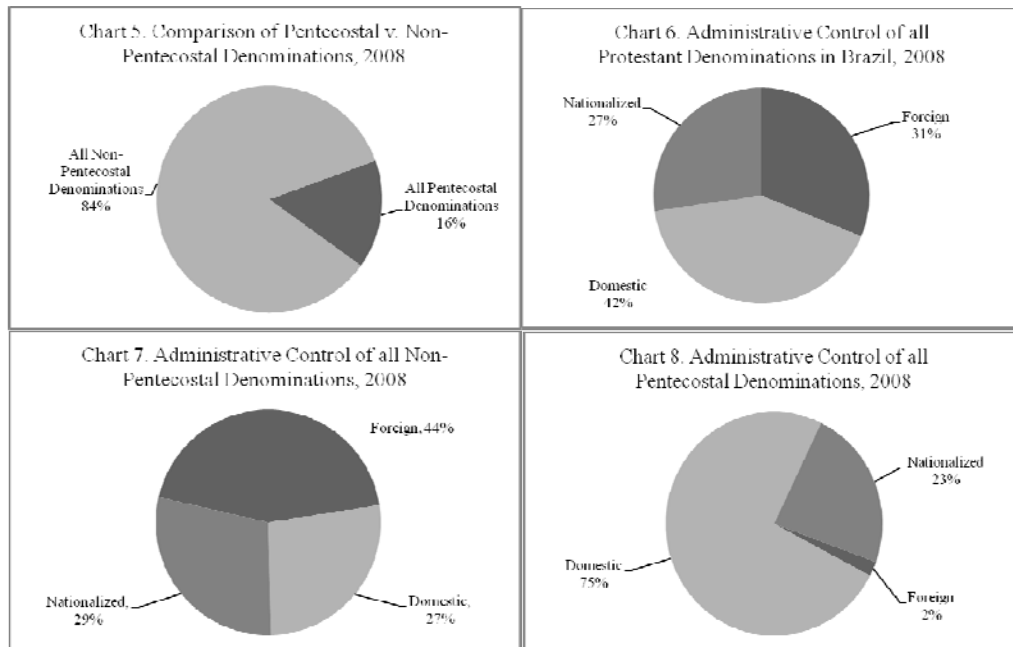
Data derived from: Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Beach and Fahs 1925; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et. al. 2001; Brierley 1997; Willems 1967; Barret, et. al., 2001; Damboriena 1963; Read et. al. 1969; Holland 2003, 2006; and denominational Websites.

Nationalization Process after the arrival of Pentecostalism

The process of nationalization, as noted before, started with the Presbyterians at the turn of the century. Yet, the continued penetration by foreign missionaries and the continuity of foreign enclaves delayed the nationalization process. Nationalization went through stages, similar to Freston's Pentecostal waves. The first push for nationalization occurred after the arrival of republican rule. It reflected the interest of Brazilian Protestants to assume control of their own denominations and their evangelistic efforts. They wanted to adapt their denomination to what they believed represented a Brazilian understanding of Protestantism. The second period occurred during the Great Depression

and Vargas government. It reflected the problems related to funding missionary endeavors during the Great Depression, the coming of age for Pentecostalism, and the rise of populist nationalism during the Vargas government. The third occurred during the period of economic modernization. That stage reflected the entrance of modern evangelistic methods combined with nationalist development efforts that sought to break Brazil's perceived economic dependence from foreign powers and multinational corporations. The last one began during the period of military rule and later democratization. This fourth stage emphasized the entrepreneurial and independent religious aspirations of the new urban lower and middle classes. They created their own denominations within the context of a Brazilian's understanding of their own religious needs and expectations. Moreover, during this period the military viewed with suspicion foreign missionary agencies working among indigenous groups in the Amazon and forced them to leave and/or nationalize their efforts.

It is important to note that the nationalization process did not deter foreign denominations from entering the Brazilian religious market. On the contrary, democratization brought new religious entrepreneurs who sought to compete for a share of the Brazilian market, including new denominations from elsewhere in the Third World. However, despite the increase in evangelistic missionary efforts by foreign denominations, the volume of adherents and churches reflected in these groups is minimal in comparison with well-established local denominations, especially Pentecostals.



Data derived from: Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Beach and Fahs 1925; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et. al. 2001; Brierley 1997; Willems 1967; Barret, et. al., 2001; Damboriena 1963; Read et. al. 1969; and denominational Websites.

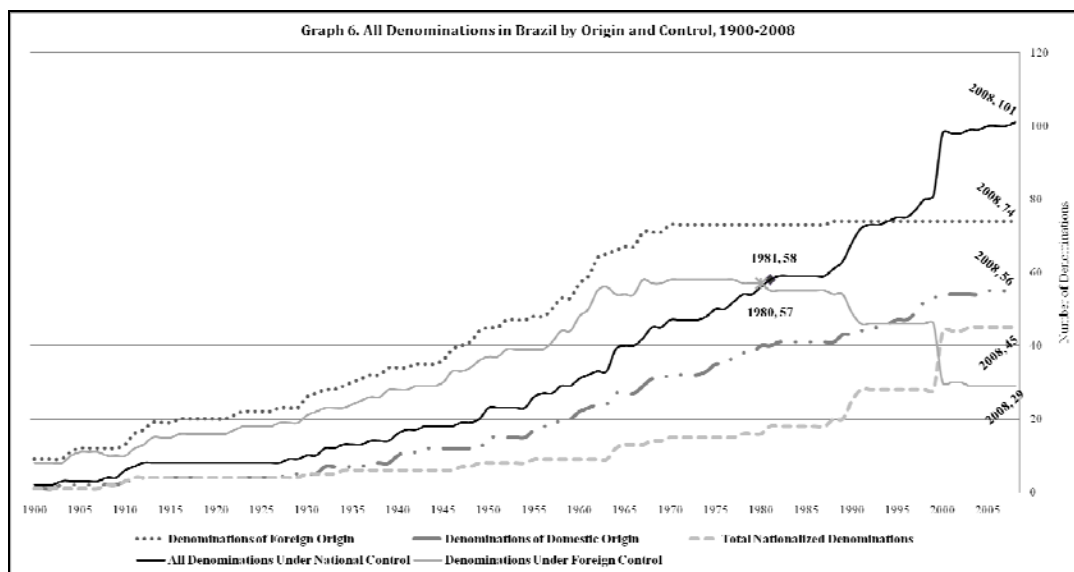
Trends in Nationalization

When I traced the arrival and formation of Protestant denominations in Brazil I noticed several trends. As Graph 5 illustrates, the first noticeable trend is the growth in the number of Protestant denominations over time. This reflects an increase in competition in the religious market. Then I segregated all denominations for which the origin was known according to origin and control into Graph 6.⁶⁵ The second trend shows a growth in denominations of national origin. The third trend shows the steady nationalization of denominations of foreign origin. And, most important to this thesis, the nationalization process in Graph 6 illustrates that denominations under domestic control surpassed those under foreign control in 1981, with denominations under foreign control

65. The data for Graph 6 does not include all denominations that currently exist in Brazil because I could not obtain detailed information on them. However, they are included in Graph 5, which simply counts all denominations.

facing a steady decline. Chart 6 above illustrates where the nationalization process stood in 2008, with a 69 percent of all denominations under national control.

There is also another interesting trend in Charts 7 and 8. Although Chart 6 shows that only 31 percent of all denominations are under foreign control the vast majority of these are non-Pentecostal Protestant. Chart 8 shows that only 2 percent of Pentecostal denominations are under foreign control. However, 44 percent of non-Pentecostal Protestants *are* under foreign control. These numbers combined, with the trend in Graph 3, demonstrate one of the crucial arguments of this thesis: that the Pentecostalism is essential for the growth and nationalization of Protestantism. This process then can bring about the politicization of Protestantism and political incorporation of *evangélicos* under Pentecostal leadership.



Data derived from: Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Beach and Fahs 1925; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et. al. 2001; Brierley 1997; Willems 1967; Barret, et. al., 2001; Damboriena 1963; Read et. al. 1969; Holland 2003, 2006; and denominational Websites.

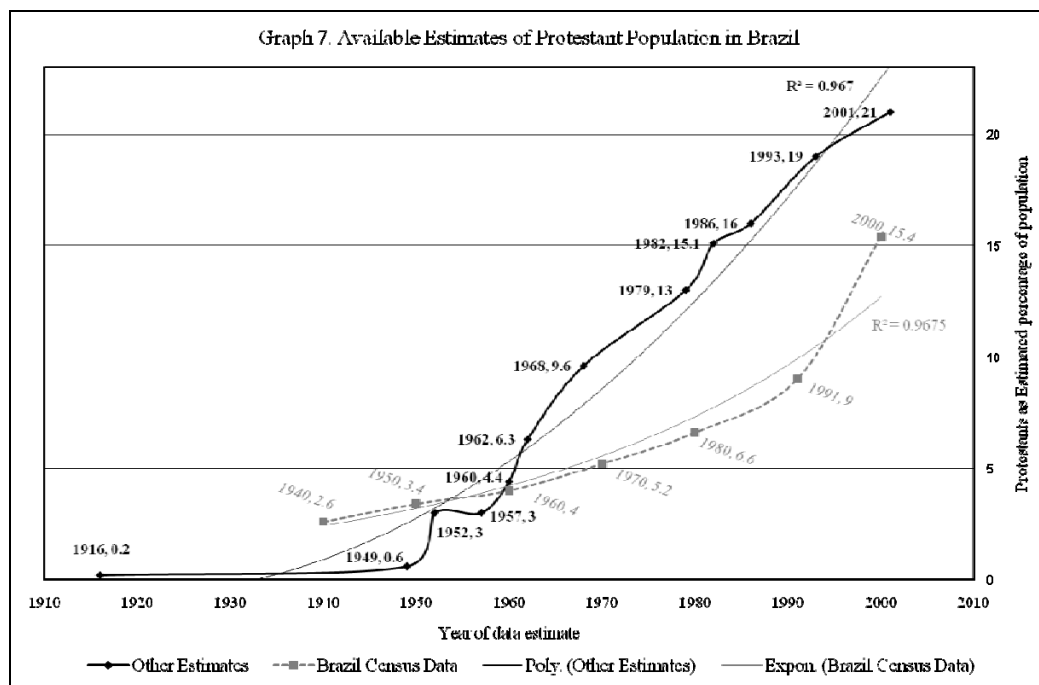
One aspect that remains unaddressed is the impact that foreign enclave churches had on the growth of Protestantism and on the nationalization process. Although the

presence of German and English churches was significant for the entrance of missionary Protestantism and expanding religious freedom, they had little impact in the nationalization process because the size of their presence was only significant during the nineteenth century. By 1900 foreign ethnic churches accounted for only two of the ten denominations present (see Tables 1 and 5). Ethnic German churches did continue to grow but their impact remained limited until they decided to cross over to the Portuguese population. German Adventists and Baptists began this process early in the twentieth century but other German churches continued their ethnic focus until the Vargas government nationalized all schools and mandated all teaching to be in Portuguese (Bender et al., 1987). They did contribute by providing a number of schools, theologians, and some Lutheran political leaders, but their overall numbers did not affect significantly the growth of Protestantism itself. By 1900 their share of congregations accounted for less than 27 percent of all Protestant congregations, and all ethnic congregations probably accounted for less than 45 percent. The proportion of ethnic churches would continue to decline; by 1949 they would account for only 5 percent of all congregations. If the German ethnic churches had remained a significant portion of Protestants in the country, they would have been a detriment to the growth of Protestantism and would have delayed their future political incorporation. This factor will be more critical when we study the case of ethnic enclaves in Panama.

Protestant Affiliation in Brazil

I need to discuss one more criterion that I have set as a requirement for the satisfaction of the nationalization variable. When I originally examined the general data on religious adherence for all of Latin America, it seemed that Pentecostal political entry

occurred after the Protestant portion of the population rose to about 15 percent (Stoll 1990; Martin 1990). For this estimate I used sources that provided data for the whole region (Bingle and Grubb 1949; 1952; 1957; Barret 1982; Barret, et. al., 2001; Coxhill and Grubb 1962; 1968; Johnston 1979; 1988; 1993; Johnston and Mandryck 2001). These estimates, however, differ significantly from the data provided by the Brazilian census (IBGE 2007). The Brazilian census states that *evangélicos* represented only 6.6 percent of the population in 1980. It would perhaps seem reasonable to change the value requirement for this variable, but that would affect the data requirement for Puerto Rico and Panama, and no comparable census data exists for either country. Thus, for the sake of comparable data measurement among cases, I will use the noncensus estimates. That means that Protestants in Brazil reached 15.1 percent of the population around 1982 (see Graph 7).

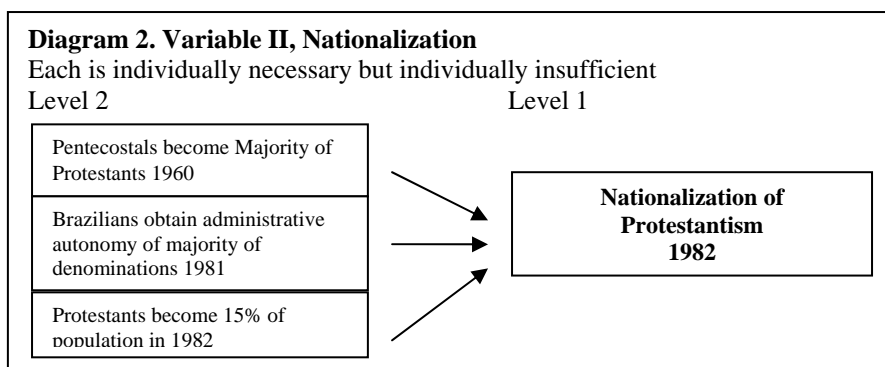


Data derived from: Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; CCWLA 1917d; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et. al. 2001; Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística [IBGE] 2000, 2003, 2006.

Variable II

To summarize, the case of Brazil met the level 1 criteria for Variable 2, “Nationalization of Protestantism,” when the case satisfied the three level 2 criteria. First, Brazilians assumed administrative control of the majority of denominations in 1981. Second, Pentecostals became the majority of all *evangélicos* in 1960. Third, *evangélicos* became 15 percent of the national population in 1982 (see Diagram 2).

The satisfaction of Variable 2 opens the way for Pentecostal entry into politics. Up to this point we have seen how the liberalization of the religious market opened the way for Protestant migration and proselytizing. Those processes paved the way for Pentecostal arrival and expansion later on. Pentecostalism, with its limited foreign influence, adoption of Brazilian forms of worship, almost exclusive use of Portuguese for evangelization, irrational yet appropriate pneumacentrism, and its early use of Brazilian lay leadership, facilitated the nationalization process for all of Protestantism.



Competition and Participation Under Vargas

As we will see in the coming discussion, the 1930s brought renewed religious competition. First, middle-class historical Protestants began participating in the political arena. Second, the rise of highly adaptable Pentecostalism among the lower classes intensified religious competition. Third, the Catholic Church attempted to follow two

strategies to retain its prominence in an increasingly pluralistic society. The Church began its *rapprochement* with the secular state to reclaim its former status, and later aimed to address the perceived concerns of the lower classes.

In the early republic, the political presence of Protestants was limited because of two factors: 1) they were a religious minority with an institutional apolitical stance; and 2) the constitution guaranteed them ample freedoms. The first Protestant incursions into the political realm in Brazil were primarily concerned with evangelical cooperation and the defense of religious freedom. The *Aliança Evangélica* was constituted on July 28, 1903 (Reily 1984: 245). Its primary purpose was to coordinate cooperation in the evangelization of Brazil; however, over time it became a vehicle for the coordination of relations with the state.

During the first republic, the liberalization of the religious market allowed missionary endeavors by foreigners and proselytizing efforts by locals, which helped continue the expansion of the Protestant's share of the market (see Graphs 2–6). Protestantism grew from 10 denominations and 224 churches in 1900 to 169 denominations and 5,783 churches in 1934, when Getúlio Vargas established the neo-Christendom policies with the *Estado Novo*. Protestant religious adherence grew to about 2.6 percent of the population by 1940. This demonstrates that the religious free market spurred the supply of churches and the increase in denominations made more choices available to religious consumers. However, Protestantism still lacked in political clout to counter the influence of the Catholic Church.

The Catholic Church, which under the *padroado* and early republic had remained institutionally weak, was by 1916 more politically significant and better connected under

the leadership of Archbishop Dom Sebastião Leme. Religious liberalization and the new century brought new life to Brazilian Catholicism and Archbishop Leme's policies aimed at "re-Christianizing"—or better, "re-Catholicize"—Brazil. First, the Church received an institutional boost through the Romanization process. The end of the *padroado* brought the Brazilian Church under the direction of Rome, with all the resources available at the Church's disposal. It also allowed for the reinvigoration of religious orders and the importation of foreign clergy. Second, state secularization and Protestant competition fostered the creation of middle-class laity movements such as Catholic Action. Third, the rise of nationalism in the 1930s provided a new opportunity for the Brazilian Church to regain some of its former privileges (Mainwaring 1985: 26–30).

Under the *Estado Novo*, Vargas pursued a new relationship with the Church to strengthen his nationalist credentials.⁶⁶ The Church, as the spiritual embodiment of the Brazilian nation, would return to a position of prominence. Gill (1998: 96) notes that "where the government maintained a significant degree of legitimacy with the popular classes, associating the Church with the state was a reasonably safe strategy." Starting in 1930 and continuing with the new constitution of 1934, the Church regained some former privileges, including preferential tax status, state subsidies for some of its activities, Catholic education in schools, military chaplains paid by the state, civic validity of Catholic marriages, and the prohibition of divorce (Gruman 2005: 105). The Church also fostered the creation of Catholic youth and labor organizations and other right-wing anti-democratic organizations. Some clergy, including the later famous Hélder Câmara,

66. As Klaiber (1998: 3–4) notes, the Church possessed a legitimacy that neither liberals nor *caudillos* possessed because its legitimacy arose from religion, not from the state.

supported even the *Ação Integralista Brasileira*—a Brazilian fascist party (Mainwaring 1985: 26–30; Gill 1998: 96–97; Serbin 1992).

In the beginning, Catholic political action was not specifically carried out by the Church, but by its conservative supporters. Brazil saw its first Catholic party in 1876, created by supporters who saw the political elite as “excessively secularized” and sought to “uphold Catholic interests and impose a Catholic monopoly on education” (Mainwaring and Scully 2003: 31). Later on, after the *Estado Novo* period, Brazil would see another Catholic party in the *Partido Democrata Cristão*, which existed between 1945 and 1964 (Mainwaring and Scully 2003: 34). This party reflected Catholic interests before the Second Vatican Council. It was built on the legacy of the Catholic lay movement *Acción Católica*, aligning itself with conservative forces hostile to communism and Marxism (Mainwaring and Scully 2003: 34–35), and those that challenged the Church’s cultural hegemony in Latin America, primarily Protestantism (Gill 1998: 97). The Brazilian PDC was a center-right party. Thus, until the 1960s the Church primarily pursued policies that influenced the state and the upper and middle classes to protect its prerogatives.

This does not mean that the Church did not engage the lower classes. On the contrary, under Vargas the Church sought to become the social arm of the regime. Catholic charities received funds through the *Conselho Nacional de Serviço Social* for all sorts of social services provided throughout the country.⁶⁷ In exchange for the economic support for the Church, Vargas would obtain the moral and symbolic legitimacy from the

67. This included *asilos* (asylums), schools, hospitals and *santas casas* (Catholic charity hospitals), fraternities, women’s groups, St. Vincent de Paul Societies, orphanages, seminaries for the training of priests, and universities (Serbin 1992: 8).

Church. Because there was no formal agreement addressing these matters directly, this exchange became known as the “moral *concordat*” (Serbin 2000: 146).

Meanwhile, Protestants did not sit still. When Vargas issued a decree in 1930 reinserting Catholic education in public schools, Protestants gathered to discuss the matter in 1931. Their *Manifesto à Nação* (Manifesto to the Nation) sought to dispel the idea that they were “faith mercenaries, allies of foreign missions which sought to steal the nation, [or] traitors”; rather they supported the “unity of the national family, with full freedom of conscience, rule of law, and national order” (Reily 1985: 228). A number of Protestants even actively participated in the *tenente* rebellions in an effort to rein in anti-liberal forces (Bastian 1992: 333).

They also sought ways to nationalize evangelization efforts by forming their own Brazilian organizations, e.g., the *Comissão Brasileira de Cooperação*, founded in 1920 after the Panama Congress. In 1934 this organization would merge with the *Federação das Igrejas Evangélicas* to create the *Confederação Evangélica do Brasil* (CEB) to help better coordinate relations between Protestantism and the state, and to counter Catholic challenges (Souza de Matos n.d.; Freston 1994c: 239). One of the successes of the CEB would be the creation of a Protestant military chaplaincy and the appointment of two Protestant pastors to be deployed with the Brazilian Expeditionary Force sent to Italy in 1944 (Silva Faria n.d.).⁶⁸

68. This token measure acknowledged the presence of Protestants in the Brazilian military. The Brazilian Armed Forces had had a significant corps of Catholic chaplains that had existed since imperial times. In 1950, Brazil formalized the military Catholic Chaplaincy with the Holy See under “Military Vicariate of Brazil” as a bishopric. In 1986 it would be promoted to Military Ordinariate of Brazil with the rank of archbishopric (see the *Acordo Entre a República Federativa do Brasil e a Santa Sé Sobre Assistência Religiosa às Forças Armadas* 1989). The significance of the military chaplaincy lies in the prestige, presence, and resources that it provides. Furthermore, from the Latin American Protestant perspective, a *concordat* that formalizes the military chaplaincy can serve as a Trojan horse for Catholic *fueros*

In the electoral realm, one Methodist minister succeeded in being elected to the constituent assembly of 1934 and later on as a federal deputy for the Socialist Party (Sylvestre 1986: 17). Guaracy Silveira was elected because of fears over the growth of Catholic influence in government (Freston 1993: 72). He remained the sole Protestant in Congress until 1950. According to Freston (1993: 72), between 1950 and 1985 the number of elected Protestants in the federal Congress ranged from eight to fourteen. These were mostly Historical Protestants running independently on their own name; many ran with the support of Protestant voters but without the support of religious institutions (73).

The return to democratic elections in 1946 changed the subsidy equation for the Catholic Church. The authority to distribute those resources moved from the executive to Congress. Now the Church would have to compete openly with other organizations for state funds. The Church had to rely on clientelistic practices and personal contacts for obtaining financial support. Although at first this seemed somewhat disadvantageous to the Church, it was actually beneficial because most politicians wanted to be seen as doing something for their constituents and the Church seemed the most likely candidate to provide services in areas where the state had little or no presence. Thus, the Church continued to function as a mediator between the state and society. Even though Congress did not approve every request made by the Church, the Church still received the lion's share of resources disbursed by the state to service-providing non-state-institutions (Serbin 1992).

(privileges). Today there are ten Protestant and thirty-two Catholic chaplains (see *Serviço de Assistência Religiosa do Exército* [SAREX] 2008a).

New Pentecostal Arrival

Protestants also benefited from democratization. The 1950s brought modernization, urbanization, and internal rural migration. It also brought the second Pentecostal wave with the arrival in 1951 of the *Igreja do Evangelho Quadrangular* (International Church of the Foursquare Gospel) (IEQ) and evangelist Harold Williams. He brought with him an innovative approach to evangelization: the crusade with massive media campaigns. He erected large tents in public places and invited everyone to miraculous healings sessions. At first, he was not going to start a denomination but eventually he had to. The delay in leadership formation made the movement susceptible to leadership splits and defections (Freston 1995: 126).

The most significant split from the IEQ was led by Manoel de Mello. After serving with the AD and ministering in the IEQ, he founded the *Brasil para Cristo* (BPC) in 1955. Following the nationalist import-substitution-model, he adopted, adapted, and superseded the methods brought by the IEQ, leading the BPC to grow very quickly. As noted above, this was the first Pentecostal denomination to be founded by a Brazilian. Then, banking on the support of the BPC's large, concentrated following, Manoel de Mello did something that no other Pentecostal had done: he got the first Pentecostal deputy elected to the Federal Congress in 1962 (and reelected in 1966) (Freston 1994b: 541; 1995: 127).

The Pentecostal Leadership System

The incursion of the BPC had a lot to do with the leadership structure of the organization. De Mello's leadership style was personalistic. He ruled in classic *caudilho*

style.⁶⁹ As the charismatic⁷⁰ leader of an uninstitutionalized religious movement he was able to dictate and carry out policies that he believed would further the interests of his new denomination. This centralization of authority made it possible for De Mello to approach the political establishment directly to appeal for subsidies (e.g., funds for building a cathedral in São Paulo), or make politically expedient decisions (e.g., joining the World Council of Churches) (Freston 1995: 127; 1994b: 541; Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 134).

This form of authority allowed the BPC to grow quickly in part because it reflected more traditional views of organization and authority⁷¹ (although this would later prevent growth in a more modern setting). This contrasted significantly with historical denominations that operated under congregational or Presbyterian governments, which could not relate to the majority of Brazilians. In the 1980s the BPC became more bureaucratic, wresting power from De Mello before his death.

Other Pentecostal denominations also have traditional forms of authority. The AD, although nationally decentralized, operates in patrimonial arrangements at the *ministério* level under *pastores-presidentes*. The term *ministério* refers to a geographically determined mother-church under a senior *pastor-presidente*, which has

69. This charismatic style of leadership was also used by the other denomination established during this period, the *Igreja Pentecostal Deus é Amor* (IPDA), founded by David Miranda; however, it has maintained an otherworldly apolitical stance (Freston 1995: 128).

70. According to Weber (1947: 358–59) charisma is a quality of an individual that “set him apart from ordinary [people],” divine or exemplary qualities that lead that person to be treated as if “endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least . . . exceptional powers and qualities.” Moreover, Weber also noted that “it is the duty of those who have been called to a charismatic mission to recognize its quality and act accordingly.” Roberts (2004: 135) writes that, in the religious context, charismatic leadership will refer to the person “whose authority resides in their very personhood or in their utterly unique relationship with the deity. [Where] what they say does not have to be legitimated or confirmed by some other source.” As a result “the charismatic leader is able to use this power to mobilize followers and to create within them a sense of mission” (134). See the “Theory” section for further discussion.

71. As observed by Da Silva Carreiro in the AD (2007: 226).

authority over many daughter, granddaughter, and great-granddaughter churches. According to Freston (1994b: 540), this form of organization represents an oligarchic and personalistic system of government where all authority is “grouped in lineages around *caudilho*-type *pastores-presidentes*.” This makes the *pastor-presidente* effectively a bishop with great power, much like the old *coroneles* or *patrao* under the first republic. Thus, the main route to the pastorate is a lengthy apprenticeship to one of the *caudilhos*, with a slow ladder of promotion as a means of control in the hands of the *pastores-presidentes*, who often rules for twenty or thirty years (Freston 2001: 11). According to Da Silva Carreiro (2007: 200), this patriarchal⁷² style of administration means that whereas the AD seeks to create new congregations, it

. . . does not pursue the avenue of independence for its congregations. . . . [T]he relationship between mother churches and subordinate firms, called congregations, can . . . last for decades, only becom[ing] delinked by rebelling from their main offices, mostly through schisms. There is a tendency from mother-church leaders to concentrate power, that the larger the number of congregations a church has, the greater the power it will have within the institution. We must also note that the larger the number of congregations an institution possesses also determines the prestige of its *pastor-presidente* next to the other leaders in the country, the state conventions and the [national] *Convenção Geral das Assembléia de Deus do Brasil* (CGADB).

It may seem that the organization of the AD remains static at the *ministério* level.

Although the overall logic of AD *pastores-presidentes* is based on maximizing the

72. According to Weber (1943: 62) this is a system where an individual or group has authority without independent control or an administrative staff.

opening of new churches to enhance their status and power, this also leads to tensions and splits.⁷³ After all, those that opened new churches learned from their mentors that prestige comes from the reproduction of churches. The patrimonial aspect in the AD system of authority, formed through kinship⁷⁴ networks, with its mixing of public and private goods and lack of separation between them, allows the *caudilho* to use them to satisfy the demands of the religious clientele (Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 227–28).

It is interesting to note that those who split from the AD also practiced this system of government. The old system of inherited privileges serves not only to govern the country but also to command religious institutions. This means, according to Da Silva Carreiro (2007: 208), that this patrimonial arrangement gives the AD a congregational government on paper but a hierarchical/episcopal government in practice.⁷⁵ Although the AD remains decentralized at the national level, its concentration of power around the *ministérios* at the state level will later facilitate its political incorporation.

Regarding the system of rule used by the *Congregação Cristã do Brasil* (CCB), it is traditional yet unique. It is traditional in that patriarchalism and kinship are important factors in determining who leads the congregations and the organization. However, its policy against having ordained or professional clergy means that the elders of each congregation are in charge, and that there is no room for ambitious religious entrepreneurs within the church. Finally, the CCB's strong traditional apolitical stance,

73. The most significant split in the AD occurred in 1989 when the *Ministério Madureira* took about one third of all AD churches nationwide (Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 231). The split occurred over a power dispute between the two most significant *pastores-presidentes*: José Wellington, president of *Ministério de Belém*, and Manoel Ferreira, president of *Ministério de Madureira*. After the split, AD Madureira left the *Convenção Geral das Assembléias de Deus no Brasil* (CGADB) and created its own national convention, the *Convenção Nacional das Assembléias de Deus no Brasil* (CONAMAD) (Mariano 1999: 79).

74. This is a system based on familial relations.

75. We will see this pattern repeated in Puerto Rico and Panama.

combined with its rejection of technology for evangelization, make it an unlikely political actor (Freston 1994b: 540–41; 1995: 125).⁷⁶

The other significant denomination whose organization is yet to be discussed, is the *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus* (IURD), which arrived in the third Pentecostal wave. According to several sources (Freston 1995: 129–31; Mariano 1999: 54–57, 63–64; Ruuth 1995: 279–80, 295), the IURD was formed around the charismatic personality of Edir Macedo, its founder. However, unlike the patrimonialism of the AD, the patriarchalism of the CCB, or the personalism and bureaucratic transformation of the BPC, Bispo Macedo transformed the IURD into a disciplined, entrepreneurial, highly centralized and vertical episcopal organization in which he maintains control of the overall direction of the organization. The self-proclaimed bishop (Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 248) recreated the quintessential Latin American religious organization: the Catholic Church. In the beginning he ran the IURD as Manoel de Mello ran the BPC; however, in an effort to make the provision of religious services more efficient he began recruiting well-educated pastors and frequently shifted their assignments according to IURD needs and expectations. As the IURD grew, Macedo named more technocratic bishops to operate the administrative functions of the organization and created a Council of Bishops and a World Bishops Conference to direct the religious side. Today the IURD is a transnational religious organization but it still operates under the charisma of Bispo Edir Macedo (Mariano 1999: 63–64; Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 248–75).

76. In fact, one member of Congress in the 1990s, Francisco Silva, who rose to prominence through his own radio program, claimed to be a member of the CCB, but observers consider this unlikely because the CCB does not support open political participation (Freston 1993: 85; Fonseca 2008: 167).

Under Military Rule

The military coup of 1964 brought significant changes to the political system. Military rule would last until 1985; however, the bureaucratic-authoritarian Brazilian state went through different levels of authoritarianism and repression. Until 1968 party politics continued to some extent. The most significant changes occurred between 1969 and 1974 with increased repression and further restrictions of civil liberties. This was followed by a period of reduced state-society tensions under the *distensão*, followed by the *abertura* which led to redemocratization in 1985.

There were three responses to the military's repression and restriction of human rights. First, there were those that argued for an apolitical stance. This included most Pentecostals and some of the historical Protestant denominations. Second, there were those who argued for supporting the military regime. This included some conservatives within the Catholic and Protestant hierarchies. Third, there were those who opposed the actions of the military regime. This included most progressives within the Catholic clergy, the ecclesial base communities⁷⁷—or EBCs—and progressive historical Protestants, primarily those within the *Confederação Evangélica do Brasil* (CEB).

The state funding of Church activities continued into the military period, albeit at a reduced rate. The logic under the military regime was contrary to that of 1930–64. During the earlier period, “the Church, still closely allied with the government, struggled to maintain its position, and if it was losing ground spiritually because of the growth of Protestantism and other religions, it at least was garnering more cash for its projects” (Serbin 1992: 16).

77. EBCs were small Catholic lay groups that met in people's homes for prayer and discussions of Scriptures. Sometimes they became involved in community issues (Berryman 1997: 11).

However, after 1968, the Church was forced to adopt a different strategy. Segments of its clergy and laity became targets of the regime, it was losing state support, and more followers were defecting to Pentecostalism. The problem became clear: How to maintain dominance over an increasingly competitive religious market with reduced human and material resources?

The Second Vatican Council, and later the Medellín Conference of the Latin American Conference of Bishops (CEPAL), shifted the emphasis of the Catholic Church from being a conservative force that supported elites over all to a progressive one that emphasized a concern over the poor and downtrodden. The 1964 military coup began a process of increased antagonism leading to strained relations and the eventual persecution of progressive personnel within the Church after 1968. As noted by Gill (1998: 96), in an increasingly competitive religious market,

supporting the political elite [of right-wing authoritarian regimes] contradicted episcopal efforts to show a preferential option for the poor. The opportunity costs of supporting an unpopular dictatorship were high and measured in terms of lost credibility for the Church and further parishioner defections to competing denominations.

Because state subsidies had afforded the Brazilian Catholic Church the opportunity to provide services to the lower classes, its hierarchy had been keenly aware of the needs throughout the country. Furthermore, it exposed the clergy to the consequences of their former policies, which were concerned with maintaining their monopoly in the religious market. The Church had in effect surrendered large numbers of rural and migrant urban Catholics to Pentecostalism (Della Cava 1988: 6). Although the

Medellín Conference had raised some concerns among the conservative elements in the Brazilian National Conference of Bishops (CNBB)

the preoccupation over Pentecostal victories was turned . . . to the defense of the Church's "corporate integrity" against the assaults by an illegal regime, and the once bipolarized conference of bishops (CNBB) converged into a single centrist defense of civil liberties and human rights (Della Cava 1988: 6).

Although military rule brought significant stress to the Catholic Church and the historical denominations, it also brought opportunities for new Pentecostal denominations. The most important Brazilian denomination to emerge during this period was the IURD, founded by Edir Macedo. A former Catholic and *umbandista*, he joined *Igreja Nova Vida*, founded by a Canadian missionary from the Canadian Assemblies of God. This church, founded in 1960, had many similarities to the AD, but it did not adhere to the AD's strict external dogmatism, nor the AD's strong disciplinary measures. *Nova Vida* was more amenable to the modern urban setting of Rio de Janeiro. After twelve years, Edir Macedo left to start his own church. Several other members joined him. By 1977, he had created a novel style of Pentecostalism that emphasized divine healing, exorcism, and prosperity. Over time the IURD would become the principal Brazilian religious export with 24/7 hour religious services in over eighty countries. Other similar denominations arose from former *Nova Vida* members that had defected with Macedo, but none would surpass the efficiency, presence, and growth of the IURD.⁷⁸ Also, its precipitous rise under the charismatic leadership of Bispo Macedo would take it to the

78. R. R. Soares founded the *Igreja Internacional da Graça de Deus*; Migule Angelo founded the *Igreja Cristo Vive* (Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 246).

political arena (Da Silva Carreiro 2007: 243–66; Freston 1995: 129; Mariano 1999: 54–57).

Increased religious competition forced the Catholic Church to reconsider its focus. Changes in Rome with the election of John Paul II and the Puebla Conference of CEPAL made possible to return to a more conservative stance vis-à-vis the state and its progressive clergy. With the redistribution of followers in the religious market, the Church proposed a new evangelization strategy, focusing on filling gaps in the provision of spiritual goods that Catholic consumers felt unmet (Della Cava 1988: 22). This turn toward the new evangelization would preoccupy the Catholic Church for the rest of the twentieth century.

The period of military rule was difficult for the members of all denominations. The Catholic Church lost clergy and laity but gained legitimacy as defender of human rights. Historical Protestant denominations lost members and prestige because of their leftist stance. On the other hand, although Pentecostals were mostly part of the working class, their apolitical stance allowed their members to shift their focus to evangelization. According to Freston (1994b: 545), although Protestant denominations had a close relationship with the military regime, that did not lead to an increase in representation nor to their effective incorporation.

It does not mean, however, that Pentecostals did not belong to unions or organize. They did. However, the organizations focused on evangelization as a strategy, gaining defectors from the other competitors, those who sought solace from the difficulties of the period. Thus, Pentecostals did not lose prestige. They gained in size. As someone noted, “while the Church opted for the poor, the poor opted for Pentecostalism” (Pew Forum on

Religion and Public Life 2006). Overall, *evangélicos* in general gained 15 percent of the Brazilian population (shown in Graph 7), and the majority of congregational growth was Pentecostal (as shown in Graphs 3 and 5): the Pentecostals were the clear winners in the religious market prior to redemocratization. This would set the stage for the Pentecostal entry in the Constitutional Convention of 1986.

The Approaching 1986 Constitutional Convention

The period prior to the Constitutional Convention led to increase in Protestant political participation. President José Sarney tried to install confidence in the new democratic regime. He sought to bring legitimacy to the political system by opening a period of consultation with the Brazilian people. Constitutional reform began with the creation of a constitutional study commission and, recognizing the importance and aspirations of *evangélicos* in Brazil, the president appointed Presbyterian Pastor Guilhermino Cunha to the commission (Sylvestre 1986: 28–29). Thus, political elites first began to show an interest in including Protestant actors in the system.

Redemocratization spiked the interest of all sorts of civil society groups in Brazil. We might consider it natural that religious groups would be interested as well. However, when you take into account their historical apolitical stance, then their active involvement should come as a surprise. Historical Protestants had entered politics before but as individuals, not as part of an institutional effort. Other than Manoel de Mello, no prominent *evangélico* had made a sustained effort at bringing Pentecostals into politics. Perhaps the absence of democratic party politics during military rule discouraged such activity. However, the announcement of the constitutional convention got *evangélicos*

moving. In a now famous book, AD journalist Josué Sylvestre argued that “Irmão vota em irmão”—brother votes for brother.

Redemocratization and the opportunity to participate in the design of a new *magna carta* inspired many *evangélicos* to become involved in the political process. However, there were two concerns that spurred the interest of Protestant leaders and their followers. First, *evangélicos* were concerned that the Catholic Church would seize the opportunity to reinstate Catholicism as the official religion of the state and whatever other privileges could be obtained as a result of that status. The second concern related to matters of public morality, primarily the legal definition of marriage (Sylvestre 1986: 32, 42, 48, 61, 98, 102–104).

Evangélicos began to organize by coordinating political strategies. Some historical Protestants did become involved in the process, specially Baptists. They, however, had participated in politics before. The group that is interesting—in terms of this research—is the AD. During the annual convention of the CGADB in 1985, the AD agreed to study how they would participate in the convention’s process (Sylvestre 1986: 28; Freston 1993: 73). It is important to note that the absence of an effective central hierarchy at the national level makes the AD less susceptible to charismatic influence at the national level; however, the patrimonial relations at the *ministério* level do make the AD capable of mobilization at the state level. Thus AD politico-religious entrepreneurs operate at the *ministério* or state convention level, but the efforts play out at the national level. This feature, combined with the Brazilian electoral system, made for a quick and successful entry for the AD via the electoral route.

However, the AD was not the only Pentecostal group interested in entering politics. Edir Macedo also understood the possible potential and decided to bring the IURD in as well. The concentration of authority in the IURD in the person of Bispo Macedo, as well as the concentration of church members in a few southern states, would facilitate their political entry (Oro 2003: 54; Mariano 1999: 63–64).

The Brazilian Electoral System

The electoral system in Brazil has a number of features relevant to this discussion. At the federal level, the president, the senate, and the chamber of deputies are each elected under different rules. The president is elected using a majoritarian two-round system: the president needs absolute majority to be elected, and thus the two front-runners can go for a second round. In the senate, each state can elect three representatives by plurality. In the chamber of deputies, representatives are elected under open-list proportionality rules, where each state gets at least eight seats but no more than seventy. Each state's population determines the level of representation. All deputies are elected in state-wide districts, thus reducing the threshold necessary for getting a candidate elected. Although each voter only gets one vote, and the votes are counted towards the parties' allocation of seats, the open-list feature allows individual candidates within a party list to enhance their chances for filling the party's quota of seats. The low threshold and the open list enhance the possibilities for candidates with a personal constituency to get elected if the numbers are right (Power 2000: 25–28; Nicolau 2007).

In addition to these electoral features, we must also consider the characteristics of the party system. According to Mainwaring (1994: ch. 11), the Brazilian electoral system in the early New Republic was weak, with a tendency toward greater ideological spread

and the creation of personalistic parties. This, according to Mainwaring (1994: 20), makes the Brazilian party system inchoate, one where party organizations are weak, volatility is high, party roots are weak, and individual personalities dominate. He argues that patrimonial and individual interests will dominate. The system is further weakened by the majoritarian presidential election, federalism and open-list rules for the chamber of deputies. Whether these features were clear to Pentecostals in 1986 is uncertain; however, they did take advantage of them over time. Thus, the party system's weaknesses enhanced their chances for political entry and effective incorporation.

The Results of Participating in the Constitutional Convention

In the 1986 constituent assembly elections, Pentecostals made their first political entry effort. In an impressive display, thirty-six *evangélicos* were elected and seventeen of those were Pentecostals (see Table 6). In one fell swoop, they dispelled the notion that Pentecostals do not participate in politics. Of the Pentecostals elected, not just in 1986 but to this day, the majority are related to *pastores-presidentes* or are appointed by them, are clergy or gained prominence through a highly visible ministry (Freston 1993: 76). Some are not, but they are rare exceptions.⁷⁹

79. The most prominent example of an elected Pentecostal who is not part of the concerted corporate effort is Benedita da Silva. She has been a long-time member of the Brazil Workers Party and the AD. She has been deputy, senator, governor, and government minister (Fonseca 2008: 165–66).

Denominations	Number of Parliamentarians			
	1987-1991	1991-1995	1995-1999	1999-2001
AD	13	13	10	10
IURD	1	3	6	16
Baptist Convention	7	5	4	10
Charismatic Baptists	3	0	1	5
Presbyterians	4	1	4	3
IEQ	2	1	1	2
Lutherans	1	2	2	4
Other Historical	4	5	1	3
Other Pentecostal	1	1	1	3
Total	36	31	30	56
Pentecostal Percentage	47	58	60	55

Sources: Fonseca 2008; Freston 1993

Although parties in Brazil were weak at the time, they were still the main avenues for the distribution of clientelistic resources. Once in Congress, *evangélicos* formed their own caucus, the *Bancada Evangélica*.⁸⁰ They could have formed their own parties but it proved easier to run within the extant parties. *Evangélicos* in Panama would end up learning this lesson as well. In Brazil, *evangélicos* in general, and Pentecostals in particular, realized that to achieve their moralizing agenda and obtain the recognition and resources their corporations wanted they needed to stay within the umbrella of the existing parties. On matters related to their common moralistic goals the *Bancada* operated almost in unison. On the other hand, they exercised their own or their parties prerogatives on other matters.

The Constitutional Assembly also gave *evangélicos* the opportunity to argue for a degree of parity with the Catholic Church. In 1987 a group of Pentecostal federal deputies resurrected the nearly defunct CEB (Freston 1994c: 239). They argued that *evangélicos* should receive a third of whatever funds the National Conference of Catholic

80. According to Freston (1993: 76), the political potential of the Protestant caucus grew during the Congress because it was larger as a voting block than all but the two largest parties.

Bishops (CNBB) received via congressional appropriations (Freston 1993: 77). Thus, the CEB became an avenue for the distribution of resources from the state to Pentecostal churches.⁸¹ Some historical denominations repudiated the CEB and eventually a scandal broke regarding payments made in exchange for votes (More on this below.). Although the CEB disappeared after the Constitutional Assembly, it did achieve the corporate goals that Pentecostals wanted to achieve (Freston 1993: 77–79; 1994c: 238–41).

Evangélicos in general, and Pentecostals in particular, were able to claim a number of victories during the Constitutional Assembly. They were able to prevent the reestablishment of Catholicism as the state religion. They were able to maintain existing religious guarantees. They were able to raise the legal definition of marriage as a relationship between a man and a woman to a constitutional level. They were able to keep abortion illegal. They also got two things that held significant symbolic value: the mention of God in the preamble of the Constitution, and the placement of an open bible in the Assembly (Freston 1993: 80; 1994b: 548–49).

In a two-year period (1986–88) Pentecostals achieved some of the elements needed for their incorporation. They had made a decisive entry into the political arena. They were recognized as political actors. They received symbolic parity with the Catholic Church. Finally, they became conduits for the distribution of clientelistic resources. Moreover, Pentecostals did it by raising the fears of Catholic reestablishment. The next election cycle would bring about the definite incorporation of Pentecostals.

81. There was another organization present at the time that had a significant Protestant presence, the National Council of Churches (CONIC). This was the Brazilian arm of the World Council of Churches. Because it promoted ecumenical relations between faiths some of the historical Protestant denominations belonged to it (e.g., Lutheran, Methodist, Episcopal, United Presbyterian, and Christian Reformed). However, the CONIC was not a viable Protestant alternative because it was dominated by the Catholic Church (Freston 1994c: 231).

The CEB, Macedo, and Collor

A series of events after 1988 demonstrate the political incorporation of Pentecostals. First was the political corruption scandal surrounding the CEB. In 1988 the press exposed a number of cases of vote selling during the constituent assembly and trading of votes for federal posts and television channel concessions by members of the *bancada* (Freston 1993: 77). The exposé affected the image of the CEB. Some *evangélicos*, however, denounced it as a persecution campaign.

The CEB scandal prompted other *evangélicos* to create an alternative peak organization that could serve as a voice for Protestants at the national level. The *Associação Evangélica Brasileira* (AEVB) became that alternative. Created in 1991, it emphasized the need to improve the public image of Protestants, battered by the recent corruption scandals. The AEVB, unlike the CEB, promised not to accept any public funding and nor to allow its directors to stand for political election (Freston 1994c: 239).

Although the AEBV would be led by a charismatic Presbyterian minister, in time it would come to the rescue of Edir Macedo. In 1992, Bispo Macedo was placed in preventive detention over accusations of charlatanism, quackery, and fraud. The AEBV, claiming to represent the legitimate interests of the country's Protestants, prepared a "Manifesto to the Nation" where it stated its position in support for religious freedom and denounced Macedo's detention. The prominence of the event attracted the support of a greater spectrum of Protestant denominations, making the AEVB the preeminent voice of Protestantism in Brazil. That claim, however, would bring tensions in the diverse world of Protestantism. Protestants, unlike Catholics, do not have a unifying hierarchy capable

of reconciling internal conflicts. Over time, the largest denominations would take it over or create their own (Freston 1994c: 240–241).

The arrest of Macedo also spurred Pentecostal-only efforts. Although the AEBV had denounced Macedo's preventive detention, it seems to have done so reluctantly. However, as Freston (1993: 90) notes, "the brokers of the new Protestant politics in Brazil are not leaders of nondenominational agencies but controllers of ecclesiastical structures." As a result, the IURD and the AD, because they represented the majority of Pentecostals (who made up nearly 70 percent of all Protestants), sought to create an organization that represented their interests. In 1993, Macedo and Pastor Manoel Ferreira, president of the *Convenção Nacional das Assembléias de Deus*, created the *Conselho de Pastores do Estado de São Paulo*, which eventually became the the *Conselho Nacional de Pastores do Brasil* (CNPB). The Pentecostal goal was to create a Protestant CNBB, to counter the influence of the Catholic Church in the government. In other words, they recreated a CEB under Pentecostal control for the effective representation of Pentecostal interests and direct Pentecostal access to decision making through Congress (Mariano 1999: 75–79).

The second event that marked this period if the IURD purchase of TV Record. In 1989 TV Record was the third largest television network in Brazil. Edir Macedo, who had been involved in media evangelism for some time, took the opportunity to buy the network for US\$45 million. However, he purchased it without the necessary government approval. The purchase brought significant media and political attention to the IURD. It

also coincided with the 1989 presidential election. This was a great opportunity for Pentecostals to show their political potential.⁸²

As Freston (1993: 82) notes, Pentecostal leaders began “fanning the flames of fear.” The main contenders for the 1989 presidential election were Fernando Collor de Mello, a neoliberal, and Luiz Inácio “Lula” da Silva, a socialist. To mobilize Pentecostals, leaders had to aim for two fear factors: communism and the Catholic Church. They achieved this by attaching both to Lula’s *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (PT). The first goal focused on the fear of a communist take-over, leading to the abolition of religious liberty. The second focused on the relationship between the Catholic EBCs and the PT—EBCs had supported workers rights and sponsored labor union meetings during the military dictatorship. From the Pentecostal leaders’ point of view, the relationship between the PT and the CEBs could lead to Catholic reestablishment.⁸³ Manoel Ferreira of the AD went further, and argued that there would be a “Holy Inquisition” conducted by “occult forces” coming from the outside (alluding to the Vatican) and that *evangélicos* had to prevent it (Mariano 1999: 80). The IURD even gave airtime to Collor (Freston 1994b: 558).

This might sound self-contradictory, but the scheme worked. After some hesitance during the first round, other Pentecostals backed Collor de Mello. At first, the AD and IEQ had avoided endorsing anyone but eventually both turned against Lula and endorsed Collor. The IEQ went further by prohibiting their clergy and members from

82. According to Freston (1993: 88), “for Protestant politicians, media and politics are a two-way street: religious radio and television can be a route to public office, and political power can be a route to media entrepreneurship.”

83. It is interesting to note that this prediction has panned out to some extent because the Lula government signed a *concordat* with the Holy See in 2008 and ratified it in 2009. (*Acordo Entre a República Federativa do Brasil e a Santa Sé Relativo ao Estatuto Jurídico da Igreja Católica no Brasil 2008*)

supporting any leftist candidate. Now it was not just the IURD with corporate coordinated voting. Now the hierarchy of the AD, the IEQ, and the BPC also actively supported Collor.

Macedo, by supporting Collor de Mello since the first round, built a relationship with him and sought the new president's support for the approval of his purchase of TV Record (Mariano 1999: 92–93). Collor, considering the influence of Macedo's growing media empire and the votes of the *Bancada Evangélica* in Congress for his legislative agenda, supported approving the purchase. Although Collor would be impeached shortly thereafter, the influence of the IURD and the *Bancada* had been established, and the exchange of clientelistic benefits for political support reaffirmed (Freston 1993: 79–86; 1994b: 556–60).⁸⁴

Variable III

The events of the last seventy years led to the completion of the “Variable III” requirements. The first criterion is that of conflict. As noted in the narrative and Graph 1, the Catholic Church, in its efforts to regain its status and subsidies, increased the sense of fear among *evangélicos*. In 1934 Protestants created the CEB to try to counter the Catholic Threat. That year also brought the first elected Protestant to the Constitutional Convention. This tit-for-tat relationship between *evangélicos* and the Catholic Church would continue into the twenty-first century. It occurred to some extent under military rule, except that during that period the Church moved toward satisfying the demands of the segment of the market most susceptible to Pentecostal marketing: the lower classes. This competition came to a head during the campaigns for the 1986 Constitutional

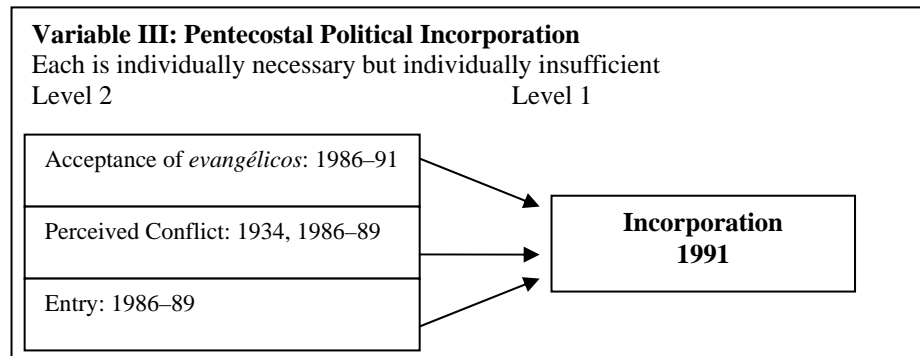
84. The lessons of IURD political actions, especially in their electoral success, have not been lost on other Pentecostal denominations, which have begun to mimic them (Oro 2005: 59–64).

Assembly and the 1989 presidential election, when Pentecostals fanned the fear of Catholic reestablishment.

The acceptance of *evangélicos* took longer to achieve. However, the military, in view of the antagonism of the Catholic Church, made some approaches to Pentecostals. Nevertheless, it was not until the Sarney government that *evangélicos* in general, and Pentecostals in particular, were courted and accepted as significant political actors. This acceptance became more tangible when the CEB became a conduit for Pentecostal patronage. The most important symbolic act occurred when Collor de Mello made an appearance at the largest AD temple in São Paulo and offered his support for Macedo during his imprisonment. Finally, the approval of the purchase of TV Record by the IURD sealed the relationship. Those events clearly satisfy the requirement of recognition.

The last level 2 variable is “entry.” The first entry attempt occurred in 1960 with Manoel de Mello and the BPC’s first elected candidate. However, this first attempt did not succeed in incorporating the body of Pentecostals. Because military rule limited democratic politics until 1986, we cannot say what would have happened had there been an open political system. However, after considering variables “I” and “II,” I would argue that Pentecostals would not have incorporated because the other conditions were not in place, particularly “nationalization,” which took until 1982 to be completed. This will become apparent when we discuss the cases of Puerto Rico and Panama.

Pentecostals were ready to make a definitive entry in 1986 and did it in force. Since then, Pentecostals have successfully stayed active in politics, with ever-increasing political representation, acting united as a *bancada* on moral concerns but following corporate or individual party concerns on the rest.



Conclusion

Brazil demonstrates an almost ideal case for the corroboration of the hypothesis. Pentecostal political incorporation occurred, but only when the necessary conditions were fulfilled. The case of Brazil demonstrates the significance of each event in the development of the processes that permit the achievement of subsequent events.

A few factors need review. From early on we saw the importance of religious liberty. It is perhaps more important than the arrival of Protestantism per se (we will see the impact of this statement in the case of Puerto Rico). We also saw the importance of missionary Protestantism in spreading the faith because enclave Protestantism does not evangelize, thereby delaying nationalization and incorporation. We also saw the impact of Pentecostalism, and how its growth gave shape to the whole process.

The case also illustrated the impact that competition had in the incorporation process. As the Catholic Church felt threatened, it attempted new neo-Christendom strategies, thereby increasing Protestant fears. Eventually, however, political entry and incorporation came, supported by *caudillo*-like leaders that could overcome the sectarian apolitical qualities of Pentecostalism.

This case demonstrates that Pentecostal political incorporation cannot occur in a vacuum. Certain historical processes that can uphold Pentecostal claims must support the

incorporation effort. The attempts made by the CEB in 1934 and by De Mello in 1960 did not achieve incorporation because the historical conditions were not present. However, once the conditions were present, e.g., in 1986–89, incorporation became possible. After the election of Collor de Mello, Pentecostals became conduits for patronage and achieved a measure of parity with the Catholic Church. Furthermore, as they became more politicized, more Pentecostal denominations became administratively more like the “Church.”

Freston (1993: 100) notes that “Pentecostal politics shows a desire for political power commensurate with their size and also a strategy for increasing church growth. . . . But there is no broader political project.” I agree with this assessment. Pentecostal leadership seeks influence, access, and resources to further their corporate interests. But perhaps they do have a broader project: To become the new “Church.”

Have they achieved parity with the Catholic Church? In some respects they have. Their active membership is greater than that of the Catholic Church, and they have gained in prestige, importance, and the allocation of resources. They have even succeeded in defending constitutional guarantees on religious liberty. However, as the recent signing of the *concordat* in Brazil illustrates, the competition continues.

VII. Puerto Rico

Introduction

The religious history of Puerto Rico is one filled with sudden changes and disruptions. At one point there was little religious freedom or Protestantism; at another time there is considerable freedom and Protestantism is a major religion. At one point Protestantism is mostly run by foreigners—and then it is run by nationals. At one point religion is not part of Puerto Rican politics; at another time, it is. Such as been the history of Protestant evangelization, pentecostalizing, and the nationalization of Protestantism in Puerto Rico.

Unlike Brazil, where Pentecostal political incorporation took approximately 180 years, Puerto Rico's Pentecostal political incorporation was accomplished in less than a century. Although foreign Protestantism had been present in Puerto Rico during the nineteenth century, Protestantism really burst into the public scene only after the U.S. invasion in 1898. This abrupt change would mark the island differently as a mission field when compared to the rest of Latin America, not so different from Cuba⁸⁵ or Panama. In 1898, no one could foresee the outcome of Protestant missionary efforts, but various factors came into play, leading to a relatively quick Pentecostal political incorporation. In this chapter, I will discuss the relationships among these factors and how they led to Pentecostal political incorporation.

Religion in Puerto Rico under Spanish Colonial Rule

The history of Protestantism in Puerto Rico begins in the late sixteenth century, when the Dutch and the English began to chip away at Spanish dominance in the New

85. See Yaremco (2000) for a detailed discussion of Protestant work in Cuba.

World. The Netherlands and England established colonies in the New World, bringing reformed Protestantism with them. In the Caribbean, the English and the Dutch engaged in smuggling and piracy and tried to wrest colonies from the Spanish, leaving English and Dutch Bibles wherever they went. Thus, Puerto Rico saw its first Protestant religious services during English and Dutch occupations of the island, in 1598 and 1625 respectively. As in Brazil, none of these early attempts had a lasting impact.

As in the case of other Spanish colonies, the Catholic Church enjoyed an officially sanctioned monopoly over the provision of religious goods. Under the *patronato*⁸⁶ the Church was in effect a state agency and was therefore subject to royal authorities (Silva Gotay 2005: 16–18). However, as with other colonial authorities it practiced the logic of “*obedezco pero no cumpro*,” I obey but will not comply, when the priests or bishops found it convenient.

Like elsewhere in Spanish America, Puerto Rico had a significant shortage of religious clergy and places of worship. The lack of concern for customer satisfaction, a side-effect of the religious monopoly, reinforced the weakness in the supply of religious goods. Nonetheless, people still had spiritual demands to fulfill. This condition led “the peasants to formulate their own version of Church dogmas and sacraments and produced certain religious practices to face the problems of daily living or dying” (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 37).

Thus, in Puerto Rico, like in Brazil, there was significant contraband in religious goods. Syncretism of African or indigenous beliefs with a folk “cult of the saints” was common, but that did not undermine the Catholic Church’s state-sanctioned monopoly.

86. See Santana Jiménez (1963: 108) for more details on the *patronato* in Puerto Rico.

Allowing syncretism and folk practices to flourish provided the Church with a continued claim of legitimacy. As noted before, practitioners of folk Catholicism still identified themselves as Catholics and took part in Catholic rituals (Martínez Fernández 2002: 12; Zayas 1990; Romberg 2003; Quintero Rivera 1998; Agosto Cintrón 1996: 11).⁸⁷

Nevertheless, the Church was subject to the vagaries and turmoil of Spanish politics. As a quasi-state institution under the *patronato*, it became a target of liberal peninsular governments during the ebbs and flows between liberalism and reactionary movements. In the first half of the nineteenth century there were several events that affected the landscape of religious freedom in Spain, but these seldom had a significant impact on the colonies.⁸⁸ The exception to this rule, which effectively changed the religious landscape in Puerto Rico, was the *Real Cédula de Gracias* (Royal Decree of Graces) of 1815. With the independence of the Spanish colonies on the American mainland, Spain could no longer support the colonial governments in Cuba and Puerto Rico. As a result, King Ferdinand VII granted Cuba and Puerto Rico the right to have commercial ties with countries that were in good standing with Spain, and free land and special privileges to any Spaniard who was willing to relocate and settle in those territories. The *Real Cédula de Gracias* was also intended to bring Europeans of non-Spanish origin to Cuba and Puerto Rico, so that they would invest in the development of these neglected outposts of the empire. All these benefits would be given on the condition

87. Agosto Cintrón (1996: 11) argues that there were two catholicisms in Puerto Rico: one official, orthodox, and institutional (for the urban upper class); another unofficial, heterodox, and popular (primarily for rural lower classes).

88. It should be noted, however, that Article 12 of the Spanish Constitution of 1812, promulgated by the Cadiz *Cortes* during the French occupation, did not recognize freedom of worship and reaffirmed the role of the state in upholding Catholicism (Trías Monje 1980: 34).

that they swore their loyalty to the Crown and allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church (Martínez Fernández 2002: 25).

Cracking the Catholic Religious Monopoly

The *Real Cédula de Gracias* was simply institutionalizing what had already been in place for some time. Its main purpose was to foster commerce and development, and the most important commercial powers in the Caribbean were Great Britain and the United States. As noted in the chapter on Brazil, both countries would demand religious tolerance for their citizens in exchange for trade. This combination of factors cracked the “unity” of the Puerto Rican religious market because in its efforts to foster migration, the Crown made it possible for non-Spaniards with alternative religious practices to enter the island.

Aside from outright migrants, the *Real Cédula de Gracias* also brought a number of “transients” (i.e., visitors from predominantly Protestant countries who were not required to fulfill immigration requirements) that overstayed their authorized visits (Martínez Fernández 2002: 25–26). The influx of people would bring what Martínez Fernández calls “crypto-Protestants” and “pseudo-Catholics”: the former were those who maintained a “low profile while privately adhering to their faith”; the latter were those that “were Protestants at heart but publicly participat[ed] in the sacraments and other ceremonies of the Catholic church” (48). Nevertheless, Catholic authorities watched carefully for the arrival of the Protestant heresy (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 44).⁸⁹

89. This period also brought “kardecism” (i.e., scientific spiritism). Because this was a decentralized movement, however, the Church did not mobilize its resources against it. Eventually spiritism would be absorbed into the gamut of religious folk practices (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 43; Romberg 2003).

The wars of independence on the American mainland, however, also brought an influx of exiled Spanish clergy. They believed that religious purity could be kept through immigration control (Martínez Fernández 2002: 25). Conservatives, including the Church, believed that the influx of non-Catholics would bring demands for freedom of religion, which would usher in demands for freedom of expression and other political freedoms (22). In other words, the reactionary clergy continuously expressed concerns over the threat liberalism, freemasonry, and Protestantism posed to unity in the remaining colonies, the monarchy, and *españolismo* (i.e., the patriotic identification with everything Spanish).

Liberal reforms were coming, however, regardless of what the Church did or did not want, and number of them reached Puerto Rico. There were some liberal reforms in Spain in different liberal periods before the establishment of the Republic in 1868. The first was the liberal period of 1820–3, which occurred under the regency of Maria Cristina (r.1833–40), then another under Baldomero Espartero on behalf of Isabel II in 1841–3, and last one during 1854–56. Each period produced constitutions (1837, 1845, 1854) with some reforms, but few of them applied to the colonies because they were ruled under special rules. (Silva Gotay 2005: 112–30; Trías Monje 1980: 46–47)

Liberals sought to fulfill certain goals during each period, and it was the achievement of these goals that ultimately would dismantle the power structure of the Church: 1) the abolition of the Inquisition; 2) the abolition of Church feudal rights and other *fueros*; 3) the expropriation of Church property under *mortmain* to pay down the national debt; and 5) the abolition of religious orders under the control of Rome (Silva Gotay 2005: 113–117). All of these occurred while maintaining the *patronato* because

the ultimate goal was to weaken the monarchy by weakening the Church while strengthening the state.

These measures had a devastating impact on the Church in the colonies. In Puerto Rico, the secularization of Church property under *mortmain* freed significant amounts of arable land necessary for economic development, but took away rent income from the Church.⁹⁰ The closure of monasteries also affected the Church because the shortage of clergy became more significant. In Puerto Rico, the secularization of Church properties and the removal of religious orders reduced the number of priests on the island from 120 in 1842 to 90 in 1860 (Martínez Fernández 2002: 13).

The short duration of each liberal period, however, followed by a reactionary takeover, brought about a haphazard application of the reforms. Furthermore, the Captains-General in the colonies, with their absolute powers, decided when and how to apply the reforms. Often, it required the replacement of a conservative or reactionary Captains-General with a liberal one to bring about reforms, and even then the reforms were selectively applied, sometimes delayed, and frequently ignored because of political or social conditions. For example, in 1848, during the governorship of Juan Prim in Puerto Rico, many local business leaders wanted to relax or abolish Article 8 of the *Real Cédula de Gracias*, which required immigrants to be Catholic, because they believed that it hampered the much-sought economic development of the island. The governor decreed

90. The process actually began in 1810 when the state stopped collecting the tithes. Later, the state stopped collecting "first fruits" in 1849 and made altar fees illegal in 1861 (Coll y Toste 1899: 382).

a relaxation of the requirement. The decree lasted only a few months, however, because of the threat of filibuster⁹¹ attacks from the United States. (Martínez Fernández 2002: 15)

Meanwhile, commercial relations between Puerto Rico and Protestant powers deepened. The center of most of this activity was Ponce, which was the center of the sugar industry at the time. The industrialization of sugar brought a substantial number of Protestant foreigners to Ponce as investors and laborers. There was also significant labor migration to the island of Vieques, which was sparsely settled, and the sugar industry there required significant migrant labor from the neighboring British and Danish Virgin Islands. (Gutiérrez 1997: 39–40, 47–57; Martínez Fernández 2002: 51–56)

The majority of the foreign Protestant community in Puerto Rico lived in Ponce and Vieques. In addition, there were small pockets of local and foreign Protestants in Naguabo, Fajardo, Humacao, Luquillo, and Aguadilla (Gutiérrez 1997: 27–46) who practiced their faith in violation of the law, which until 1837 could punish apostasy with death.⁹² In the case of Vieques island, the scarcity of clergy there allowed Protestants to practice somewhat openly but unhindered.⁹³

The real problem for Protestantism in Puerto Rico under Spanish rule came at the occurrence of life cycle events: birth, matrimony, and death. The Church was the keeper of public records. As a result, only events officiated by its clergy would be officially recorded. If the children were not baptized, they could not get documents. If a couple did not marry through the Church, it was considered to be living in concubinage. Moreover,

91. Filibusters were military adventurers, e.g., Narciso López, who sought to free Cuba from Spanish rule in order to annex it to the United States. López's attempt was an overseas extension of the ideology of Manifest Destiny. U.S. Southern states strongly supported filibusters because they saw it as a means of adding more slave territories to the Union.

92. See Silva Gotay (2005: 122), in which he cites Art. 227 of the Penal Code of 1822.

93. On the other hand, the lay Protestant leader Johanes Waldemar Zaccheus of Vieques was arrested in 1874 for proselytizing in Naguabo, Fajardo, Humacao, and Luquillo (Martínez Fernández 2002: 112).

children of those not married by the Church were considered illegitimate. Finally, priests would not bury anyone that had not been baptized and/or had not been married through the Church, and the Church controlled access to the cemeteries. Many people were willing to live without Church approval of baptism or marriage, but not receiving a Church burial had harsh repercussions.

As far as the foreigners were concerned, Spain's treaties with Protestant powers demanded that space be made available for the non-Catholic dead, and island governors frequently told the Church to make room available for them (Gutiérrez 1997: 27, 49). This was one area, however, where the Catholic clergy could refuse governmental orders. Dead Protestants ended being buried outside the walls of Catholic cemeteries or in unconsecrated grounds. Although Madrid and the colonial governments demanded that the Church provide such burials, they continued to refuse until the declaration of the Spanish Republic in 1868 (Martínez Fernández 2002: 42–47).

The Glorious Revolution and the First Spanish Republic

In 1868, religious freedom arrived through the overthrow of the monarchy. The Glorious Revolution brought republican rule to Spain and extended constitutional guarantees to the colonies. Article 21 of the Constitution of 1869 guaranteed “foreigners and Spaniards that profess another religion, the public or private exercise of their faith,” although it also “obligated the Spanish nation to maintain the faith and ministers of the Catholic religion” (Trías Monje 1980: 53). Unlike previous reforms, this one was extended to the colonies in 1869, bringing religious freedom to Puerto Rico for the first time.

Once religious freedom was announced, the communities in Ponce and Vieques placed formal requests for the right to open places of worship (Martínez Fernández 2002: 91, 111). Ponce's Protestants held their first service in 1872; Protestants in Vieques would have to wait until 1881 to have a formal place of worship. Both congregations opted to affiliate themselves with Anglicanism because of its closeness, in form and substance, to Roman Catholicism.

That these two congregations could come into existence speaks to the nature of Protestantism in Puerto Rico at the time. It was primarily a chaplaincy effort to attend to the needs of foreigners. Martínez Fernández (2002) notes that there were some Spanish-speaking Protestants in Puerto Rico, and that there was some proselytism going on. The number of Spanish-speaking Protestants, the status of the Church, and the Church's control of life-cycle rituals kept the stigma associated with Protestantism from disappearing. Furthermore, despite the interest of liberals (and others) in Protestantism as an alternative to the state religion, the fact that the Roman Catholic Church retained the support of the social and political hierarchies and the state made Protestantism unattractive. Thus, although the actual power of the Church was weakening, and its clergy kept shrinking, it could appeal to its historical and cultural roles and to its social relationships to maintain its dominance.

Although two Protestant congregations received licenses to operate, their ability to practice their religion openly lasted only until 1875 when the monarchy was reinstated and the republican constitution abolished. Article 2 of the Constitution of 1876, which remained in force until the second Spanish republic, reestablished "the Roman Catholic religion as the religion of the state" (Santana Jiménez 1963: 110). It also

established, however, that “no one in Spanish territory will be molested for their religious beliefs or their particular form of worship, as long as it upholds the respect due to Christian morals . . . however, [it] will not permit public ceremonies or other forms of worship, other than the religion of the state” (111). Thus, only “private worship” would be tolerated (Trías Monje 1980: 69).

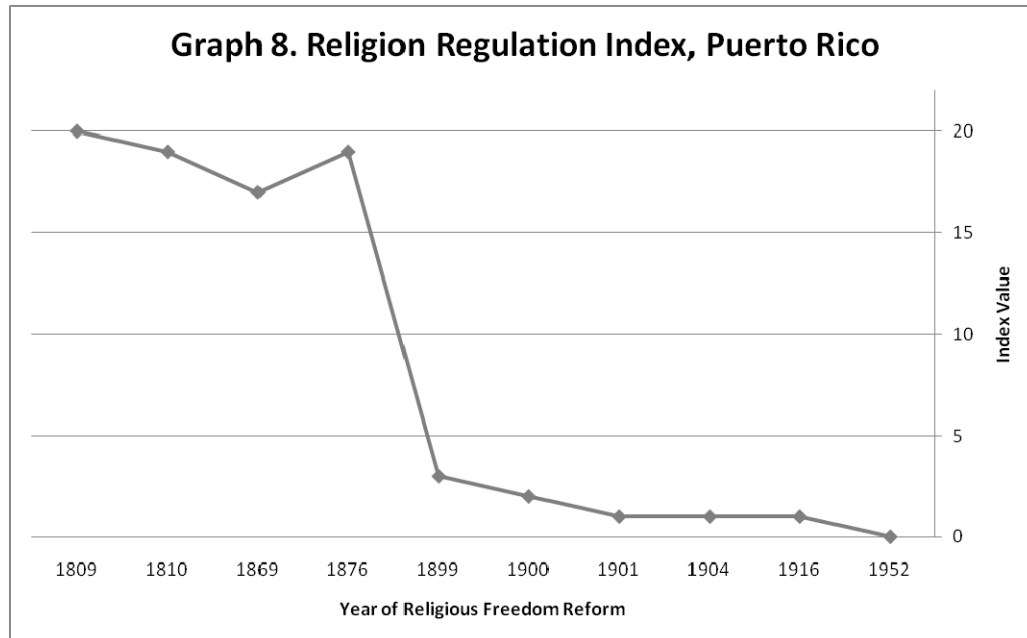
After 1876, Protestant activity remained officially restricted to the existing congregations. They could tend to the spiritual needs of their congregations, including burials. But they were forbidden from tolling bells, opening their front doors, or any other public expressions. Martínez Fernández (2002) points out that the two congregations were treated differently because of their location and social composition;⁹⁴ but they were still considered foreign churches, founded by foreigners to tend to foreigners and their descendants.

Religious Freedom in the Nineteenth Century

Graph 8 illustrates the nature of the religious market under Spanish rule, and the almost complete absence of religious freedom. It also shows the significance of religious freedom in determining the nature of the religious market. The inability of Protestants to worship publicly, to communicate freely, to distribute Bibles, or to open congregations freely; the threat of persecution, and the continued influence of the Catholic Church made for an inhospitable terrain. There were a number of liberal reforms in Puerto Rico as a result of the Autonomy Charter of 1897, but they only provided some additional civil

94. White elites founded a congregation in Ponce—a prominent urban center; people of color founded a congregation in Vieques, which was a colonial backwater.

guarantees, and none pertaining to religion.⁹⁵ This would remain the situation until the U.S. invasion in 1898 when the military government ended the *patronato*.



Data derived from: Coll y Toste 1899; Trías Monje 1980, 1981, 1983, 1994; *Constitución de la Monarquía Española* 1869, 1876; *Constitución del Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico* 1952.

The Invasion of 1898

The Spanish-American War radically changed the religious market in Puerto Rico. A Protestant, liberal, and democratic nation invaded a Catholic, conservative, and monarchical state. The change in regime and its supporting ideology would have an immediate impact on church-state relations. There were significant concerns among all segments of the population. Liberals, masons, Protestants, and members of the lower classes welcomed the end of Spanish autocracy (Silva Gotay 2005: 213), whereas *peninsulares*, conservatives, and the Church feared for their future.

Leaving all other segments of society aside, the invading forces sought to assuage Catholic concerns early on. The invasion of Puerto Rico began on July 25, 1898, through

95. Article 7, Section 2 of the Autonomic Charter actually assigned the Dean of the Cathedral a role in the autonomic government (Santana Jiménez 1963: 111).

the Southern city of Guánica. The military ordinance issued by Brigadier General J.C. Gilmore on July 29, 1898 stated that the “churches and buildings dedicated to religious services, and all schools must be protected” (Santana Jiménez 1963: 115).

Nevertheless, the U.S. government and the military regime sought to dismantle the Spanish state and create a new state and society that emulated U.S. values (Silva Gotay 2005: 213). As a result, Article X of the Treaty of Paris established free religious exercise and ended the state support of the Catholic Church (Santana Jiménez 1963: 113). In a short time, the Catholic Church lost all institutional support as well as its religious monopoly (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 10). Furthermore, General Guy V. Henry’s decrees removed the education system from the Church’s control (thus secularizing it), and added civil matrimony and legalized divorce (Silva Gotay 2005: 213–15; Agosto Cintrón 1996: 51).⁹⁶ These changes were all part of the larger “Americanization” project instituted by the new colonial government.

Arrival of Missionary Protestantism

The end of the Catholic monopoly also brought another abrupt change to the religious market: competition. The arrival of the free exercise of religion, accompanied by greater freedom of expression and assembly, opened the religious field to all proselytizing activity, an area the Catholic Church in Puerto Rico had never dealt with. Furthermore, the removal of the Church from the state, the end of subsidies, the loss of the educational system, and the loss of the monopoly over marriages, baptisms, and burials all served to demoralize an already frail institution. Many Catholic clergy saw the writing in the wall for their way of life and decided to leave (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 51).

96. It should be noted that General Henry put Major John Eaton, an ordained Methodist minister, in charge of education affairs (Cabán 1999: 54).

After the change of sovereignty, the Church lost fifty priests and nineteen Carmelite sisters, who departed with the last Spanish troops, and of the eighty-six parishes on the island, only thirty-four remained staffed (Silva Gotay 2005: 240–41).

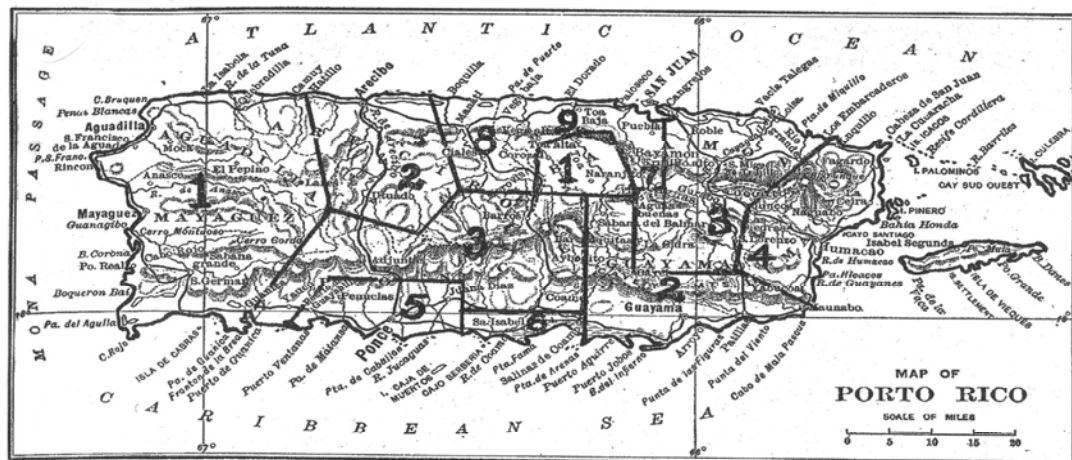
It is important to note that although there was an official separation between the Catholic Church and the state that did not mean that religion would have no role in politics. On the contrary, Protestantism and the Protestant denominations were part of the new imperial enterprise.⁹⁷ By taking part in the educational effort, they took part in the “Americanization” of Puerto Rico. Missionaries, subjects, and colonial authorities understood that Protestantism, with its congregational government and investments in education and healthcare, was an integral part of this new phase of “Manifest Destiny.” Thus, although no Protestant denomination had a lock on the system like the Catholic Church did under Spanish rule, they would have access to the governing circle for some time. And for some time, no U.S. Protestant had qualms about this relationship because they saw those imperial activities as essential for “carrying out the evangelizing and civilizing missions that God gave the United States” (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 58).

The Spanish defeat and the change in sovereignty spurred missionary activity. In 1899 major U.S. Protestant denominations began to arrive in Puerto Rico. Foreseeing intense competition, the executive secretaries of the Northern Presbyterian, American Baptist, Episcopal Methodist, and Congregational mission boards gathered to discuss how best to organize their efforts. According to Rev. C. J. Ryder, of the American Missionary Association,

97. Puerto Rican Education Commissioner Juan B. Huyke called this “spiritual Progress” (Inman 1930: 24).

[at] . . . that remarkable prayer-meeting . . . in New York where nine different organizations were represented. We knelt around the map which he had laid upon the table and prayed that God might help us to enter Porto Rico [*sic*] in such a way that there might never be any missionary hostility of any kind in that island. . . . We laid out our work in the eastern part of the Island taking our share in full recognition of the other denominations (CCWLA 1917b: 324–25).

Rev. Philo W. Drury of the United Brethren further stated that “From the beginning of occupation there has been some understanding with reference to the division of territory, and with the coming of other denominations, later on, at least a tacit understanding quite faithfully adhered to” (CCWLA 1917c: 142). In order to evangelize the island more efficiently, they divided the island into spheres of influence. Later on, the Disciples of Christ, Christian Brethren, Evangelical Lutheran Church, Christian Church, Episcopal Church and the Christian Missionary Alliance were added to the comity agreement. Rev. C. S. Detweiller of the American Baptist Home Mission Society explained the result (as it stood in 1916) of the cooperation efforts: “In Porto Rico [*sic*] aside from the two or three large centers, the territory has been so partitioned among the different denominations that there is but one Protestant Church in each town” (CCWLA 1917b: 232) (See Figure 1).



THE DIVISION OF MISSION FIELDS IN PORTO RICO

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Presbyterian (also San Juan) | 4. Congregational | 7. Lutheran |
| 2. Methodist | 5. United Brethren | 8. Christian Alliance |
| 3. Baptist | 6. Christian Church | 9. Church of Christ |

Figure 1. Division of Puerto Rico by denominational spheres of influence. From McAfee (1915: 577).

The comity agreement served several purposes. It established rules and conditions for reaching the whole island. It divided the labor of evangelization, while making larger cities accessible to all. It also demonstrated unity, however, by avoiding competition and having groups working at cross-purposes (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 60). This point was particularly significant because Protestant missionaries believed that they were facing a Catholic mentality that could not understand sectarian competition. As more denominations arrived to work on the island (see Table 7), missionaries on the island focused on building a united front. As a result, in 1905 they held the “first conference of evangelical workers on the island held with a view to promoting cooperation” (CCWLA 1917c: 142), leading to the creation of the Federation of the Evangelical Churches of Porto Rico [*sic*] in 1908, which was composed of nine of the eleven denominations then at work on the island. In 1916, the federation became the Evangelical Union of Puerto

Rico.⁹⁸ In the eyes of the general secretary of the Panama Congress, Samuel Guy Inman, “Porto Rico [*sic*], thou small, is the one country in all of Latin America which furnishes a laboratory for the working out of the political educational and social relationship of Anglo-Saxons and Latins” (Inman 1916: 13).

Table 7. Arrival of Foreign Missions to Puerto Rico	
Year of arrival	Denomination
1872	Anglican Church, 1899 Protestant Episcopal Church
1899	United Presbyterian Church
1899	American Baptist Convention
1899	Disciples of Christ
1899	Congregational Church
1899	United Brethren in Christ
1900	Evangelical Lutheran Church
1900	United Methodist Church
1901	Christian Missionary Alliance
1901	Seventh Day Adventist
1902	Christian Church
1916	Church of God Pentecostal, affiliated w/Assemblies of God
1926	Church of God of the Prophecy
1931	Foursquare Gospel Church
1944	Church of God (Cleveland)
1944	Church of the Nazarene
1944	Brethren Assemblies (Plymouth Brethren)
1947	Mennonite Church
1952	Wesleyan Church
1955	Fellowship of Grace Brethren Churches
1956	Southern Baptist Convention
1957	Assemblies of God
1958	Conservative Baptist Church
1962	United Pentecostal Church
1962	Salvation Army
1963	Grace Evangelical Fellowship
1965	Church of God (Anderson)
1969	Free Methodist Church
1980	Fundamentalist Baptist Church
1995	Reformed Presbyterian Church
1998	Calvary Chapel
	Latin American Council of the Church of God Pentecostal
	New York Latin American Council in Puerto Rico
	Universal Church of the Kingdom of God
	God is Love
	International Evangelical Church Soldiers of the Cross
	Gospel Fellowship Association
	International Bible Congregational Church
	Missionary Episcopal Church
	Living Valiantly Bible Church
	Berachah Church
	Brotherhood of Charismatic Christian Churches
	Christian Reformed Church

Data derived from: Platt and Holland 2003; Silva Gotay 1997; Moore 1969; Pérez Torres 1997; Saenz 1961; Carver 1972.

98. See Silva Gotay (1997: 111–19) for an expanded discussion.

On Foreign Enclaves

At this point it is important to highlight the foreign element to the Protestantism on the island. Although all of the missions that arrived in Puerto Rico were of foreign origin—until 1916 only two of them were actually founded by Puerto Ricans—only two of them served as a chaplaincy for foreigners: the Anglican/Episcopal Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Church. As in the case of Brazil (and as we shall see, Panama), the Anglican Church made an early presence in order to tend to the needs of British (and later U.S.) subjects. In other words, their focus was more towards chaplaincy than missionary work. Although their primary goal after the invasion was to continue providing services to existing English-speaking communities in Ponce, San Juan, Puerta de Tierra, Santurce, and Vieques, they also began tending to Spanish speakers in other towns (Peterkin 1901; Van Buren 1902). The Lutherans also began their work among Lutheran migrants from St. Thomas, but they quickly started a Hispanic ministry in 1900 in San Juan (Silva Gotay 1997: 123). Not until the arrival of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1956 and the Calvary Chapel in 1998 would other denominations be primarily concerned with serving non-Spanish-speaking communities (Carver 1972: 177).⁹⁹

Thus, despite the foreign origin of the missions, the vast majority of their efforts were directed at spreading the Gospel among Spanish speakers. The twelve denominations that arrived prior to 1903 engaged in a flurry of activity early on. At the time of Congress of Panama in 1916 Protestants in Puerto Rico reported the existence of

99. There was also an English-speaking Union Church in San Juan but it closed in the 1960s.

three schools of theology,¹⁰⁰ five boarding high schools, twenty-two elementary schools, 123 missionaries, 233 native staff, 25 ordained locals, 155 churches, and 12,000 communicants, four newspapers, and three hospitals (CCWLA 1917b: 72; 1917c: 486–87, 506; Silva Gotay 1997: 121–41).¹⁰¹ Seventeen missionary societies working there supported all these efforts (CCWLA 1917b: 363).¹⁰²

The level of missionary activity in Puerto Rico was extraordinary compared to the rest of Latin America. In 1916 only two counties paralleled or surpassed the level of involvement and expense in the whole region: Cuba and Brazil. The former faced a similar process of evangelization and missionary entry and we would expect it to have a similar level of Protestant involvement. The comparison with Brazil, however, can only serve to illustrate the zealotry with which U.S. Protestants sought to fulfill their role in the newly acquired colony.

The Catholic Church after the Invasion

As noted before, the Catholic Church faced a difficult period after the invasion. The religious market was liberalized, the Church lost its subsidies, and most of its clergy left. Furthermore, the Treaty of Paris posed an additional threat to the Church. The Treaty stated that all property belonging to Spain would now become property of the United States (Santana Jiménez 1963: 113).

100. One of them included the Polytechnic Institute in San German, which eventually became the *Universidad Interamericana*, the second largest university in Puerto Rico. Another school of theology became the main Protestant seminary on the island, the *Seminario Evangélico* (McGrath Andino 1998).

101. There had also been several orphanages but they had closed by 1915 (Silva Gotay 1997: 121–41).

102. Education was a significant component of the Americanization project because it would provide long-term ideological support to the U.S. colonial enterprise. Education would be primarily in English and would extol the new values of the regime. As a result, only the teachers that were sufficiently proficient in English could teach. These requirements made it possible for all mission boards, including the newly Americanized Catholic Church, to become involved in the imperial education enterprise (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 51; Silva Gotay 1997; 2005).

The end of the *patronato*, however, contained a hidden blessing for the Church. Like Brazil, disestablishment brought the Romanization of the Church. For the first time Rome would have the power to name the clergy for Puerto Rico and direct the shape of the episcopacy. At the same time, the change in sovereignty also brought Americanization to the Church (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 51). The Church in the United States is significantly different from that in Europe. The European model followed a pattern of close church-state relations with privileges and subsidies. It was associated with national identities and did not have to depend on the flock for its economic survival. Furthermore, the Church was accustomed to the heterodoxy of folk practices. In other words, it operated as a monopoly.¹⁰³ In the United States, the Church was not “the church” in a sociological sense. It was a denomination and it had to compete for adherents like every other denomination. It had to focus on providing the spiritual goods that the flock expected. Otherwise, it would lose its customers and revenue. Thus, in practice the Church in the U.S. was more orthodox than the European Church.¹⁰⁴

Furthermore, in its efforts to fit into the culture of Manifest Destiny and imperial expansion, the Catholic Church became a willing participant in the Americanization policy of the colonial government. Even before the war between the United States and Spain broke out, the U.S. Conference of Bishops, out of concern of being seen as unpatriotic, publicly and actively supported the war and its aims (Silva Gotay 2005: 57–72). As a result, the Catholic Church in the United States had a missionary outlook that was qualitatively different from the European model and had the resources to back it up.

103. In that respect the Catholic Church in Europe was similar to other established churches in the continent, such as the Anglican, Lutheran, and Orthodox churches (see Berger 1967; Haynes 1998: ch. 4; Iannaccone 1991).

104. See Finke and Stark (1992: ch. 4).

The Pope, aware of the coming political changes, decided to act in early 1898. He appointed the Archbishop of New Orleans, Monsignor Placide Louis Chapelle, to act as Apostolic Delegate to the United States. During and immediately after the war Archbishop Chapelle oversaw the transition of the Catholic Church in the newly acquired territories. He would see the transfer of sovereignty in Puerto Rico and transfer the authority of the Catholic Church there from Spain to Rome. His job was to try to protect the properties of the Church during the transition, and oversee the first steps toward the Americanization and Romanization of the Church in those territories (Silva Gotay 2005: 220–21).

As noted before, the Catholic Church in Puerto Rico was in dire condition upon disestablishment. In 1899 the Pope named Monsignor Joseph Blenk as bishop of the new independent province of Puerto Rico. A former aide to Chapelle, he would continue the process Chapelle began. To fulfill that task, Bishop Blenk and his successors would call upon the resources available to U.S. Catholicism to come to the rescue of the Church on the island. Many religious orders and dioceses responded to the call and slowly helped restore the condition of the Church. The Americanization of the Church fostered the creation of Catholic schools staffed with new English-speaking missionary clergy, just like the Protestants were doing.¹⁰⁵ The advantage was that these new Catholic schools, under the complete control of the Church, became viable alternatives to the secularized public system.

It is important to note that although the Catholic Church had lost the personnel and resources available under Spanish rule, it had not lost its prestige. On the contrary,

105. See Beirne (1975) and Buxeda Díaz (1992) for an extended discussions of Americanization in schools.

that prestige increased. Under Spanish rule the Church represented the most autocratic aspects of Spanish conservatism; by shedding the *patronato* and most of the hated Spanish clergy, it became a stronghold for *hispanofilia* and nationalism under U.S. rule. One observer argued the “it [was] clear in Porto Rico [*sic*] that a united Catholicism ha[d] the advantage over a divided Protestantism, and the sectarian divisions [were] an element of weakness in all missionary enterprise” (Mathews 1912: 8). Although I do not believe the Protestant missionary enterprise was weak because of denominational divisions, I agree with Rev. Juan Rodríguez Cepero: “the rapid growth of the evangelical churches has given a new lease of life to Catholicism because of the competition” (CCWLA 1917b: 322). In fact, Baptist missionary A. B. Rudd (1913) would later complain that there was an

. . . attitude of favoritism on the part of the insular government toward the Roman Catholic Church. This has been so marked of late that numbers of protests have been sent in from all parts of the island. The consequent boldness of the Catholics in taking advantages of this unfortunate situation. Not long ago the speaker of the House of Representatives recommended in a public address that the catholic religion be made again the established religion of the island.

If the Catholic Church still had a significant degree of respect and legitimacy, why did so many people opt to join Protestant churches? According to Carver (1972: 8), the denominations that made a significant investment early on (e.g., Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist) saw tremendous growth during the first fifteen years. In other words, they seem to have filled a void left vacant by the Catholic Church. They seem to have provided the spiritual goods that Puerto Rican religious consumers were interested

in. They affected the religious market, but were they what people were looking for? If we had been looking forward to the future in 1916, we might have predicted a different religious landscape. Carver believes that other factors were at play. There was another denomination that arrived early on but that did not have financial backing: the Seventh Day Adventists. They had a slow start (10). But it was the Adventists who surpassed the others in members and congregations.

According to Saenz (1961) and Carver (1972) the denominations that grew best in Puerto Rico during the twentieth century were not the ones with the most subsidies, but those with the least. Rev. C. S. Detweiler, an early and long-term missionary to Puerto Rico, gave an indication for the early growth. He pointed out that “the population was extremely receptive during first decade and everything American including religion was rapidly accepted and adopted” (cited in Carver 1972: 41). Ms. N. Adell Martin, of the Woman’s American Baptist Home Missionary Society, working in Caguas, reported to the Panama Congress how this played out:

I should say that the work in Porto Rico [sic] had been characterized by a quiet and steady growth. There were two special reasons for this condition. The American occupation created a favorable atmosphere for protestant religion, and as the natives accepted quietly and calmly the American government and all that went with it, just so they accepted the “American religion” as it has been presented to them. The first meeting held in Cayey, the year after the American occupation, after preaching, the missionary, a man with years of experience in Mexico and a fluent command of Spanish, asked all who wanted to become Christians to stand up and the whole congregation arose. He asked them to be seated, thinking they

had not understood. He explained that those who wanted to leave their sinful lives and live a life as near like Christ lived as possible to stand, and again all present arose. That wise missionary had his doubts about that house full of people wanting to leave their cook fights, immoralities, etc., and upon quietly investigating in the days that followed, found that the people thought that being a protestant was one of the necessities in becoming an American (Martin 1916).

In other words, there was significant growth early on because the missionaries put significant resources into a concerted effort, which was matched by the people's "tremendous receptivity . . . during the first decade . . . to accept the American culture and the American religion" (Carver 1972: 8).

This does not mean that conversions were not real or sincere. Carver (1972: 59) noted, however, that the growth trend did not continue at the same rate during the second decade of U.S. occupation despite the increase in foreign missionary expenditures. The novelty of Protestantism had worn off; people needed something else.

Like Brazil, foreign missionaries sought to recreate the model with which they were familiar. Their efforts were conducted in towns and buildings that resembled their own or even Catholic temples. They used organs and sang with translated hymnals. Then they asked for individual decisions for Christ. They produced highly educated pastors and newspapers. They created several institutes, and by 1916 they had a well-established seminar. It is surprising they got as far as they did in such an illiterate, rural, and colonial society. They did fill a void in the religious market by producing places of worship and a series of new spiritual goods.

The achievement of a specific goal can help to explain some of their evangelistic approach. From their point of view, “a united Porto Rican [*sic*] Protestantism is the only force that can successfully oppose the Catholic Church and redeem the island” (Mathews 1912: 8). In some respects they recreated the institutional Catholic Church, because, in their desire to open the previously closed religious market, the highly subsidized product they distributed ended up creating an oligopoly of slowly reproducing franchises. And the segment of the market they tended was limited and, after the first few years, what they were offering was no longer new or satisfying.

As missionaries met in Panama in 1916 to discuss the advance of Protestantism in Latin America, a new player, who would upset all denominations, entered the market. As a provider of spiritual goods, it would supply spiritual demands to the largest segment of the market. It would be conducted without subsidies, and without imported instruments or hymnals. It would be the mission of one man “with a mission,” and it would recreate Puerto Rican rural society in the Protestant temple. It would come to satisfy the purported ideals of Protestant missions: self-support, self-rule, and self-reproduction. The player was Puerto Rican Pentecostalism.

Pentecostal Arrival

Pentecostalism arrived in Puerto Rico through the efforts of Juan L. Lugo. A sugar cane worker from Yauco, he had had a Pentecostal religious experience while working in Hawaii. Over time he was “called” to come back to his country of origin to bring the “good news.” The newly formed General Council of the Assemblies of God ordained him in January 1916 to go work in the Puerto Rico (Lugo 1951: 24). Upon arrival on August 30, 1916, he visited Interim Governor Martín Travieso for permission

to start his missionary work (32). He started work in Santurce but later on moved on to Ponce, preaching on street corners and then in a friend's home (37–40).

Even though he lacked formal education, financial support, or a missionary infrastructure, he drew a following. This attracted the attention of other protestant clergy in Ponce. Eventually a Methodist church invited him to preach. His charisma and the “manifestation of the Spirit” were such that on the second night the congregation went *en masse* to the altar. This upset the local Methodist leadership so much that they interrupted the service and asked Lugo to leave. In the words of Lugo, “both preachings awoke a hunger that many hearts had—a hunger that they could not satisfy in their church. As a consequence, many brethren from that church came to visit us and some stayed permanently” (Lugo 1951: 45–46).

This event created an uproar among the Protestant leadership in Ponce. According to Lugo, twenty-four local Protestant ministers convened a meeting with him, Salomón Feliciano (a fellow converted sugar cane worker from Hawaii), and Salomón's wife. The ministers said that Lugo lacked preparation and support for a “lasting work” and that his message was creating “confusion, bringing the gospel to such humble level and agitating believers . . . creating a chaos that later on would be too difficult to fix” (Lugo 1951: 50–51). The ministers offered to give Lugo a paid position and a church elsewhere on the island, and they also offered to send Salomón and his wife as missionaries to Santo Domingo. All three refused the offer.¹⁰⁶

106. Later that night, after their own service, the police cited Lugo, and required them to see the local district attorney, because the ministers had accused them of preaching without a permit and of being a public disturbance. The district attorney, after reviewing Lugo's credentials, advised them to close the doors during the service to avoid making too much noise (Lugo 1951: 51–52).

The encounter illustrates how radically different Pentecostal preaching and worship was from the historical denominations. Indeed it became a great threat, but not to the spreading of the gospel, but to the growth of the other Protestant denominations. By the middle of the 1930s every denomination had lost clergy, followers, and even entire congregations to Pentecostalism. Pentecostalism would eventually surpass all other denominations in the number of places of worship throughout the island.

The Foraker and Jones Acts

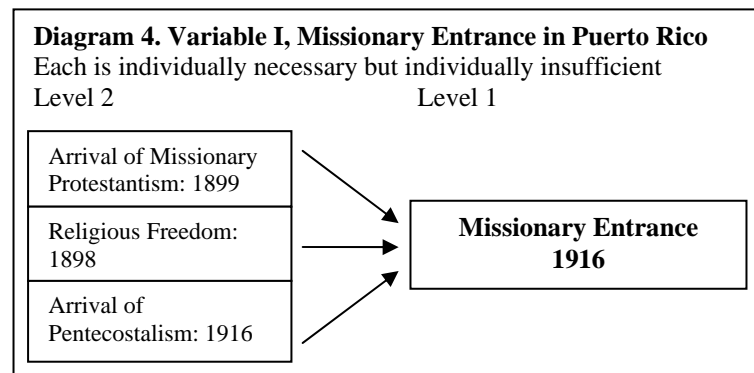
Returning to the issue of religious freedom, there were two more legal reforms that affected religious freedom. The first was the Foraker Act of 1900. It did not expand on the religious freedoms extended by the Treaty of Paris. Section 8 stated, however, that “all laws and ordinances of Puerto Rico, currently in force, will continue, unless they have been altered, amended or modified . . . by military order . . .” (Santana Jiménez 1963: 117). This meant that all ordinances related to divorce, public registry, marriage, church property, secularization of the schools, etc., remained in force. The other reforms were in Article 2 § 18 and 19 of the Jones Act of 1917. In the new bill of rights granted to the island, the Jones Act explicitly forbade the establishment of any religion and any law that limited religious exercise (except polygamy). It also forbade religious tests for government offices. The most controversial was Section 19, which stated that the state “will never assign, apply or donate, directly or indirectly, public money or property for the use, benefit or sustainment of any priest, minister or other religious dignitary . . .” (Trías Monje 1982: 176). This section was later amended in 1921 to include the prohibition of benefits to “any sect, church, denomination, institution, or sectarian association, or religious system” (Santana Jiménez 1963: 121). These measures were

primarily intended to make clear to the Catholic Church that reestablishment was impossible and that it would not obtain any resources from the state. The battles, however, over the relationship between the Church and the new colonial state would continue.

Variable I

The arrival of Pentecostalism in 1916 marks the completion of the first three conditions that eventually lead to the effective incorporation of Pentecostals into politics. Although there was a small opening in 1869, the religious market was not open to Protestant proselytism until 1898. Missionary Protestantism arrived in force in 1899; Pentecostalism arrived in 1916.

It is clear that First Wave Protestants do not meet the criteria because they could not proselytize openly to non-Catholics. Migrant Protestant groups played a part in opening the religious market, but Protestantism did not grow in Puerto Rico because of them. This is a clear case of where the absence of religious freedom curtailed Protestant propagation and growth. In any case, the churches were primarily ethnic enclaves with little bearing on the social life of the country. Nineteenth-century liberals supported and admired them. It would be Puerto Rican Protestants, however, converted by the Second Wave after the invasion, which would really place their mark in the country's political life. (See Diagram 4.)

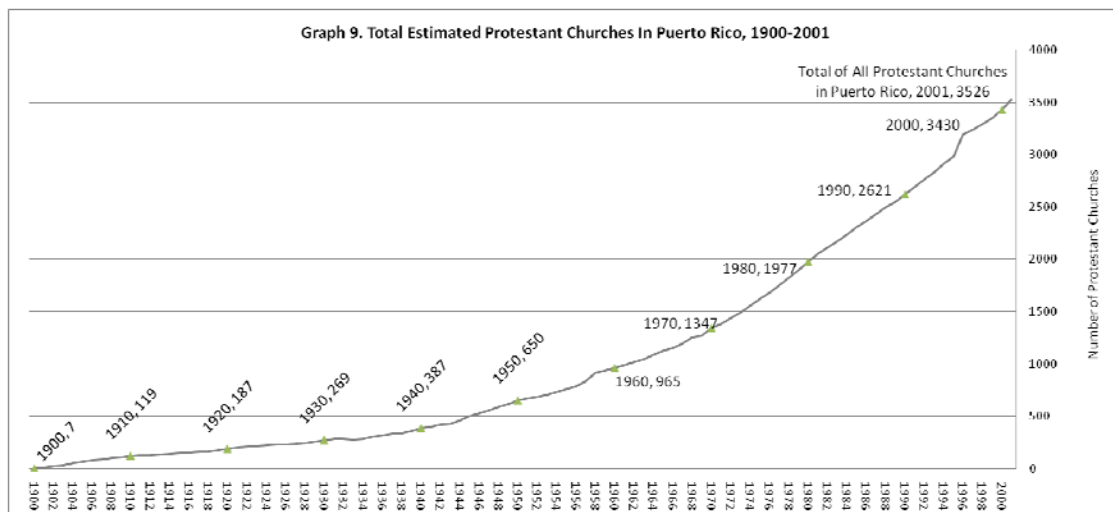


Development and Growth of Pentecostalism in Puerto Rico

The arrival of Pentecostalism in Puerto Rico brought three challenges to the religious field. First, it challenged historical denominations in the church planting model they used. Second, it challenged the Catholic Church by serving those segments of the population least historically served by the Church, but that, unbeknownst to the Church, was the most significant portion of the market. Third, as a national movement, Pentecostalism incorporated popular cultural and social traits into its administrative and worship practices. These characteristics situated Pentecostalism for the provision of familiar spiritual goods for a neglected segment of the market, leading the Pentecostal saturation of the market, as it exists today, and to other denominations' adoption of the Puerto Rican Pentecostal model. These factors set the foundation for the political incorporation of Puerto Rican Pentecostalism.

As Graph 9 illustrates, historical denominations, with the religious freedom that let them proselytize freely, laid the foundation for the growth of Protestantism on the island. Their dedicated mission work would make it possible for the Pentecostalism that followed. Historical Protestant denominations brought a religion associated with progress and modernity. They brought democratic forms of government, modern instruments and

translated hymnals. Moreover, historical Protestants focused their preaching in the cities, often preached through translators, and made significant investments in infrastructure. They focused on literacy and education as vehicles to salvation. Historical Protestantism reproduced the ritual and worship style of the United States, albeit with some modifications. It was liturgical, formal, and strict. It did not allow for spontaneity and encouraged discipline and self-control. Although there is nothing inherently wrong with that approach, it was not well suited for a rural, impoverished, and traditional setting. (Carver 1972: 199; Agosto Cintrón 1996: 108–109).



Data derived from: Silva Gotay 1997; Moore 1969; Pérez Torres 1997; Saenz 1961; Carver 1972; Coleson 2007; Gutiérrez 1992-1998; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Beach and Fahs 1925; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d; Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Barret, et. al., 2001; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et al. 2001; *Federación de las Iglesias Evangélicas en Puerto Rico* 1915; and denominational Websites.

Pentecostalism arrived to Puerto Rico in a familiar suitcase. Carried by a *jíbaro*—a countryside dweller from Puerto Rico—using native language, music, and organization, the new religion brought by Juan Lugo was well suited for the rural religion of Puerto Rico. This was not the rational religion of the cities, historical Protestantism or orthodox Catholicism. It was folk Catholicism.

As noted before, folk Catholicism is the product of a combination of practices. As we saw with Brazil, folk Catholicism is syncretistic. It emphasizes magic, superstition, prophesy, visions, and saint worship, incorporating aspects of spiritism and the African diaspora. It incorporates belief in the supernatural and the role of spirits in daily life. The characteristics of the folk religion make Pentecostalism especially suited as a vehicle for Protestant conversion because it actually strengthens folk religion. Furthermore, the Pentecostal “gifts of the spirit” would outshine the “magic” with which the *jíbaros* were accustomed (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 116–18).

Pentecostalism had other features that made it popular among the *jíbaros*. It deemphasized rituals and literacy, while emphasizing gifts of the spirit as proof of salvation: you did not have to be educated nor literate to “receive” the word of God. It encouraged the adoption of traditional music and other forms of expression: people did not have to surrender their instruments, spontaneity, or emotional expressions.

Pentecostalism gave the *jíbaros* a religion that incorporated many aspects of their belief system and gave them an unmediated relationship with the divine. They only had to renounce “pernicious habits” (Coleson 2007: 301; Agosto Cintrón 1996: 93, 110–11).

Some perceived Pentecostalism as a threat to historical Protestantism; the real threat was to Catholicism. As noted before, the rural population had been historically neglected by the Church (Carver 1972: 159), which had always focused on the elite and the cities. The Church, however, still laid claim to the rural populace, and culturally speaking they were right. The conservatism and nationalism of the countryside identified with the Church. One of these expressions came forward after the invasion in the form of a spiritual renewal movement.

The U.S. invasion brought out several movements. The first was a small armed separatist movement against Spain. The second was generalized violent retribution against landowners. The third was los *Hermanos Cheos*. This movement began in 1902 with two Josés, or *Cheos*, who defined the invasion in spiritual terms. They believed that they could repel the invaders through individual and collective spiritual reform (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 78).¹⁰⁷ The *Cheos* acted as itinerant lay preachers across the countryside, incorporating all the facets of folk Catholicism (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 80). The movement operated in the form of “missions” that deputized new dedicated lay evangelists wherever the *Cheos* went. Later on, a priest would complain that those “missions” looked too much like Pentecostal revivals (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 83).

The institutional Church, now lead by a Bishop Jones, observed the movement with great anxiety. The new hierarchy did not like the peasants conducting their own Catholic evangelization and did not like the nationalist undertones. As a result, the Church would try to incorporate the lay religious movement, just like Southern Black civil rights leaders sought to incorporate the 1960s’s civil rights movement in the United States (Fox Piven and Cloward 1979 [1977]). The institutional Church sought to harness their power and bring it under its control. The Church, however, wanted to place the *Cheos* under the direction of the clergy and deemphasize the role of the lay leaders. The Church eventually took control of the movement after removing its syncretistic and charismatic aspects, and assumed control of forty-three chapels. The Church’s takeover of the *Cheos* castrated the movement, leaving the field open for Pentecostals. (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 83)

107. The *Cheos* reflect some parallels to the *Cristero* rebellion in Mexico, in which peasants and priests fought against the secularizing revolutionary government.

Pentecostalism also affected historical Protestant denominations. By the 1930s Pentecostalism had reached the whole island through a network of lay preachers. They had no foreign funding and few buildings. They preached in the language of the *jíbaro*. People met in homes or open-air spaces. It acted through open manifestations of exorcism and divine healing. As in the rest of Latin America, the movement spread through the evangelism of new converts who brought in their friends and family to partake of the “liberation” that could be had through the baptism of the “Holy Spirit.” Table 8 illustrates the prolific development of Pentecostal denominations in Puerto Rico. (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 104; Carver 1972: 158; Coleson 2007: 205)

Table 8. Pentecostal Denominations in Puerto Rico*	
Year Work Started	Names with Known Changes
1916	Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal, MI
1931	Iglesia del Evangelio Cuadrangular (F)
1932	Iglesia Universal de Jesucristo/Iglesia de Cristo en las Antillas
1933	Iglesia de Cristo (de las Antillas) Misionera, MI/Concilio de Iglesias de Cristo Misionera, MI
1934	Movimiento de los Defensores de la Fe
1938	Iglesia Pentecostal de Jesucristo
1938	Iglesia de Dios, Inc.
1938	Iglesia de Dios de la Profecia (F)
1939	Concilio Cristiano Damasco
1941	Iglesia Evangelica Samaria
1943	Asamblea de Iglesias Cristianas, Concilio
1944	Iglesia de Dios (Mission Board) 1938 (F)
1950	Iglesia Nueva Apostolica
1957	Asambleas de Dios (from Tabernaculos de Dios and IPJ) (F)
1958	Iglesia de la Biblia Abierta
1962	Iglesia Pentecostal Unida (F)
1963	Movimiento Misionero Mundial
1967	Iglesia Fuente de Salvacion Misionera, INC. MI
1982	Concilio Internacional de Iglesias Cristianas Independientes
1982	Iglesia Fuente de Agua Viva
"F" stands for foreign origin	
*Does not include 29 additional Pentecostal denominations for lack of data.	
Data derived from: Platt and Holland 2003; Silva Gotay 1997; Moore 1969; Pérez Torres 1997; Saenz 1961; Carver 1972; Coleson 2007; Cruz Medina 2003; Barret, et. al., 2001; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et al. 2001.	

Pentecostalization of Protestantism in Puerto Rico

Other Protestants saw this as well and wondered if they were missing something. Some congregations would invite the Pentecostal itinerant preachers and that would spark a great controversy. If historical Protestants decided to adopt Pentecostal ways, they could act in one of three ways. First, they could leave their congregations and denominations (many were also forced to leave). If they decided to stay in their congregations, either they could try to change their congregation or they could try to change their whole denomination. The former approach was the most common. The best example of the first route was Juan Francisco Rodríguez, founder of the *Movimiento Defensores de la Fe* (MDDF) and one of the most renowned Pentecostal preachers in Puerto Rico.

Rodríguez had been an ordained minister of the *Alianza Cristiana y Misionera* (ACM) in Ciales. In 1931, Rodríguez invited Dr. Gerald W. Winrod of the non-denominational Defenders of the Faith Movement to Puerto Rico for a series of preachings. The revivals led to such an outpouring of the “spirit” that people wanted to create congregations under his direction. Rodríguez then decided to found the MDDF in 1931, not as a denomination but as a lay movement. Rodríguez, director of the ACM newspaper, *El Fundamentalista*, up to that point had been a very prolific writer, communicator and evangelist. Yet despite his accomplishments, Rodríguez was expelled from the ACM. However, that departure allowed Rodríguez to begin the first evangelistic radio program in the island and to found the second Pentecostal denomination of the island. (Coleson 2007: 266; Montes-Mock 1991: 48–50; Carver 1972: 169)

The second avenue for Pentecostalization sought to incorporate Pentecostal practices to a congregation. By 1931 the Congregational, Christian, and Brethren missionary efforts had merged into a single denomination, the *Iglesia Evangélica Unida de Puerto Rico* (IEU). By 1937 some of the congregations had fallen under Pentecostal influence. In one case a congregation in Yabucoa and its pastor were expelled and were asked to repay the mission board for the cost of the temple for going against the denomination's rules regarding Pentecostal practices (Arturet Meléndez 1965: 163–5).

The third avenue was the Pentecostalization of the whole denomination. In 1933 the *Iglesia Cristiana Dicipulos de Cristo* (IDC) in Bayamón underwent a spiritual revival. Leonardo Castro bought a book that spoke about a revival in Fulton, New York (1857–60), and how it had spread to other places and denominations. From this reading he decided to start some prayer sessions asking for the intercession of the Holy Spirit. Later another hundred people, some from other congregations, joined him. One of the visitors to those prayer sessions was a Pentecostal called Antonio Ruiz who brought them an understanding of the spiritual baptism. The experience of the manifestations of the Holy Spirit was taken by all those present to their home congregations, sparking the famous revival of 1933. The pastor of the Bayamón church, Rev. Vicente Ortiz, who lacked experience in handling spiritual emotionalism, sought advice from Pentecostal pastor Manuel Rivera on the matter. Before long the people of the IDC church in Bayamón were experiencing glossolalia, divine healing, exorcisms, and prophesy. Soon the revival spread across the city and the whole denomination. Even pastors from other denominations and professors from the *Seminario Evangélico* came to observe what was happening. (Cruz Medina 2003: 9–17)

The foreign missionaries in charge of the IDC in Puerto Rico were concerned by these events. They sought to stamp out the flames of the revival. Because the temples had been constructed with mission board resources, they decided to lock the people out of them until they renounced their new practices. The leading missionary, Rev. Morton, told native pastors that the money from the mission board would stop flowing if the unapproved Pentecostal practices, which were uncharacteristic of denominational ones, continued. The local pastors would not yield and decided to aim for self-sufficiency; a number of congregations declared their independence from the board. Two sides emerged: foreigners and Puerto Ricans. Rev. Morton decided to dissolve the denomination's governing board and put himself and the other "continentals" in charge. Eventually the denomination's headquarters decided to send Samuel Guy Inman to break the impasse. (Cruz Medina 2003: 27–33)

The result of Inman's work was the granting of autonomy to the IDC. Although the IDC in Puerto Rico would be free to worship without foreign interference, the damage had been done. After the impasse, many pastors decided to reduce their members' pursuit of the "spirit." This led to the defection of an important segment of the Pentecostalized membership. The two most important defections were those of Leonardo Castro, who joined the MDDF and founded in Bayamon what is today the largest of their temples, and that of Pastora Leo Rosado, who later founded the Pentecostal *Concilio de Iglesias Damasco* (CID). (Cruz Medina 2003: 20, 49)

The Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal and Pentecostal Revivals of the 1930s

Before 1930, the *Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal* was the only Pentecostal denomination on the island. After 1930, many new denominations appeared that had

originated from other denominations, were products of the Winrod/Olazabal revivals, or were associated with foreign denominations.

Schisms in Puerto Rican Pentecostalism were primarily the result of personality conflicts rather than doctrinal issues. One example is the *Iglesia Pentecostal de Jesucristo*, which was the result of a discipline dispute between a local preacher and the IDDPMI. Rev. Felix Rivera Cardona, pastor of a IDDPMI church in Mayagüez, was loved and respected. His son was living “in sin” with a lady. Rivera Cardona decided to keep his son in the congregation, going against the IDDPMI leadership orders. The denominational leadership wanted Rivera Cardona to submit to their discipline. The church split into those that supported him—*felixistas*—and those that opposed him. (Ramos Granell 2005: 63–64; Pérez Torres 1997)

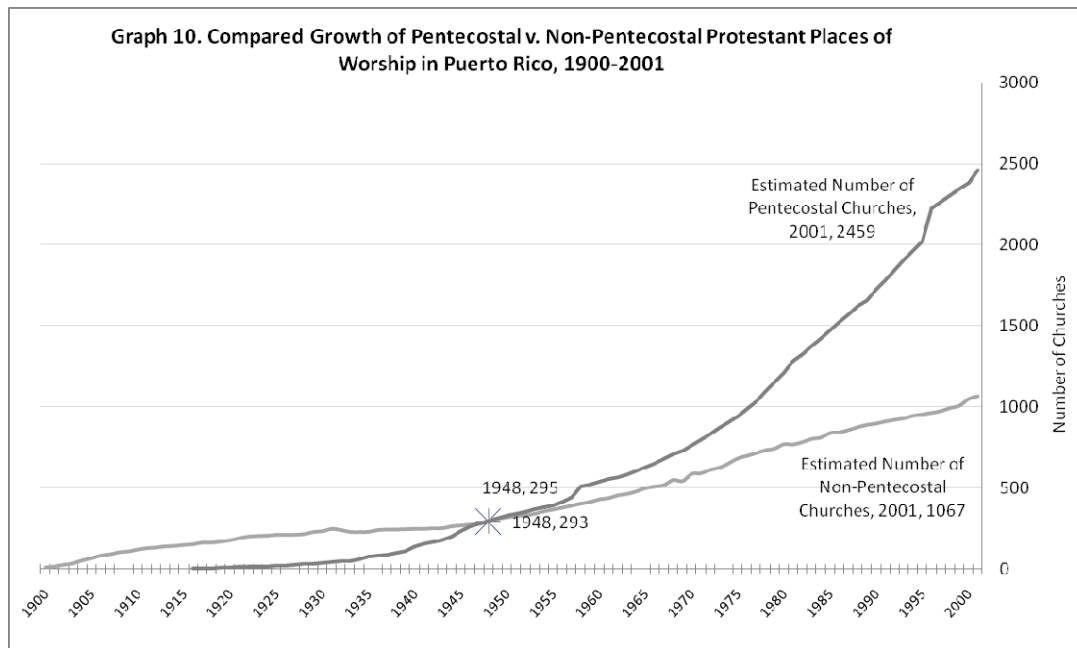
The second source of Pentecostal denominations in Puerto Rico was the arrival of Dr. Winrod, the *Movimiento Defensores de la Fe* (MDDF) created by Juan Francisco Rodríguez, and most significantly, the revivals led by Mexican evangelist Francisco Olazabal in 1934. These events spurred the creation of multiple Pentecostal groups across the island. The MDDF was not a denomination, but an interdenominational effort. Winrod’s visit, however, created such enthusiasm that he agreed to allow it to become a denomination if Rodríguez was left in charge. Rodríguez traveled to the United States to assist MDDF evangelist Olazabal but later brought him to Puerto Rico for a number of tent revival gatherings. Rodríguez, who was already a seasoned preacher and prolific writer, began publishing *El Defensor Hispano* and established a Bible Institute in 1934 to tend to the growing following. The MDDF and the revivals filled a gap that many Protestants felt had been missing in the liturgical Protestantism. The MDDF had lively

charismatic gatherings in public places, with divine healings, and other examples of emotional expression. Furthermore, like the IDDPMI, all the leaders and pastors were Puerto Ricans, they composed their own music, and were completely self-sufficient. They had started about 150 churches by the beginning of World War II, and later exported the MDDF to the United States (Coleson 2007: 267; Pérez Torres 1997).

Originated From	From	Iglesia Pentecostal de Jesucristo IDDPMI
Another Denom.	Other	Movimiento Misionero Mundial Concilio Cristiano Damasco, from IDC Iglesia Fuente de Salvacion Misionera, from IEU and later CICM Iglesia de Cristo en las Antillas/Iglesia Universal de Jesucristo, from CICM
Revival	Winrod	Movimiento Defensores de la Fe
	Olazabal	Concilio Iglesia Cristiana Misionera Assamblea de Iglesias Cristianas
Foreign	Adopted	Assambleas de Dios-Tabernaculo de Dios, IPJ, independent churches Iglesia de Dios (Cleveland/MB)-group from AIC, IDDPMI, independent churches
	Planted	Iglesia del Evangelio Cuadrangular Iglesia de Dios de La Profecía
New National		Iglesia de Dios, Inc. Concilio Internacional de Iglesias Cristianas Independientes
	Data derived from: Moore 1969; Pérez Torres 1997; Carver 1972; Coleson 2007; Ramos Granell 2005	

The third source for Pentecostal denominations was foreign, although the foreign element can be deceptive. In my research I have only found a few denominations that were exclusively the work of foreign Pentecostal missions: *Iglesia del Evangelio Cuadrangular*, *Iglesia de Dios de la Profecía*, *Iglesia Universal del Reino de Dios*, *Iglesia Pentecostal Dios es Amor* and *Iglesia Pentecostal Unida*. Others, such as *Asambleas de Dios* and *Iglesia de Dios* (Mission Board), were not the work of foreigners. They were local independent councils and churches that joined a foreign denomination. They listened to the representatives of a foreign denomination and saw the benefits that could be obtained by joining them. Finally, there are groups like the *Concilio Latinoamericano de la Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal de Nueva York en Puerto Rico*,

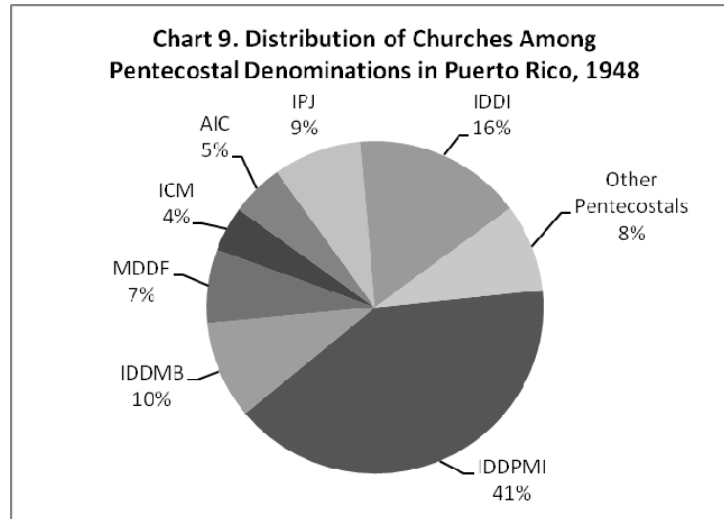
founded by Puerto Rican Pentecostals from Puerto Rico on the U.S. mainland and then brought back via the back-and-forth “air-bus” migration between the United States and Puerto Rico. I do not consider that a “foreign” denomination. Table 9 categorizes some Pentecostal Denominations by origin. (Pérez Torres 1997)



Data derived from: Silva Gotay 1997; Moore 1969; Pérez Torres 1997; Saenz 1961; Carver 1972; Coleson 2007; Gutiérrez 1992-1998; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Beach and Fahs 1925; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d; Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Barret, et. al., 2001; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et al. 2001; *Federación de las Iglesias Evangélicas en Puerto Rico* 1915; and denominational Websites.

This proliferation of primarily homegrown Pentecostal denominations had a significant impact on the religious market. Although historical denominations may have been concerned with the consequences of more denominations and further divisions, it is clear that a greater supply of religious firms met increased demands for more autonomous religious goods. Graph 10 illustrates that it took thirty-two years (i.e., until 1948) for Pentecostalism to surpass historical Protestantism in the number of organized congregations. Most of those belonged to the *Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal (IDDPMI)* (see

Chart 9). Unbeknownst to all *evangélicos*, Pentecostalism was helping to bring about the nationalization of Protestantism in Puerto Rico.



Data derived from: Silva Gotay 1997; Moore 1969; Pérez Torres 1997; Saenz 1961; Carver 1972; Coleson 2007.

Nationalization

Several factors affected the nationalization of Protestantism. The main issue was who controlled the direction of the organizations. The importance of control is significant because control determines the methods of evangelization and worship. If foreigners are in control, then they are likely to use foreign methods. Furthermore, locals wanted to carry out the efforts themselves and to apply local solutions to their goal. Pentecostalism had demonstrated their efficiency through its proliferation. The IDDPMI also showed that locals could be entrusted with the evangelistic effort and the administration of the denomination. Control was important because it would lead to the creolization or *puertorriqueñización* of evangelism, worship, and administration. Administrative autonomy could help achieve the nationalization of Puerto Rican Protestantism.

There were two avenues for autonomy. The first was simple: a local could start his own church movement without foreign strings. The second was more difficult: the locals had to convince the foreigners that they can take over. Pentecostals primarily took the first route, whereas historical Protestants took the second one.

Denomination	Year of Arrival	Year of Autonomy
Iglesia Episcopal Protestante	1868	1964
Iglesia Presbiteriana Unida	1899	1928/1973
Asociación Bautista (North)	1899	1958
Iglesia Discipulos de Cristo	1899	1936/1955
Iglesia Evangélica Luterana	1900	1952
Iglesia Metodista Unida	1900	1941/68/92
Iglesia Evangélica Unida	1899	1931
Iglesia Adventista del Septimo Dia	1901	1947
Iglesia de Dios de la Profecía	1938	
Iglesia de Dios (Mission Board)	1944	1946/1967
Iglesia del Nazareno	1944	1975
Iglesia de los Hermanos	1944	1983
Iglesia Menonita	1947	1955
Iglesia Wesleyana	1952	1963
Convención Bautista (South)	1956	
Iglesia de Dios (Anderson)	1965	1983
Iglesia Presbiteriana Reformada	1995	1995
El Concilio Latinoamericano de la Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal		
Data derived from: Platt and Holland 2003; Silva Gotay 1997; Moore 1969; Pérez Torres 1997; Saenz 1961; Carver 1972; Coleson 2007; Yoder and Schipani 1988; Pérez Rivera 2004; and denominational Websites.		

The autonomy of Historical Protestant denominations began during the Great Depression. The resources available from mother churches were dwindling. In 1928, 80 percent of the leadership was already local (Coleson 2007: 276). Foreigners, however, remained in control of the organizations. The autonomy movement began with the appointment of Ángel Archilla Cabrera as supervisor of the Presbyterian mission in 1928. The creation of the *Iglesia Evangélica Unida* (out of the Congregational, Christian and Brethren missions) followed in 1931. This new local entity would be under the leadership of Florencio Saez (Arturet Meléndez 1965: 130–34). Other historical denominations

would soon follow suit (see Table 10). However, the process of autonomy was not always smooth, and it did not always meet the expectations of the new national leaders.

Furthermore, it was neither fast nor definitive because the denominations remained economically dependent on foreign resources for a long time.

The missionaries and leaders gathered in Panama in 1916 recognized the virtue of local control over Protestantism. They argued for local control not just because it could be more efficient, but also because of nationalist feelings.

[Nationalism] is one appeal that can always be counted on everywhere to bring a sympathetic response. It would seem that the countries in which it has shown itself most strongly in connection with the evangelical Churches are Brazil, Chile, Porto Rico [*sic*] and Mexico. If well trained leaders are gradually developed and put in control, it may fairly be expected that larger advances will be made and that a stronger Church will develop, even though for a time schismatic tendencies might show themselves during the period of immature Church consciousness.

(CCWLA 1917c: 65)

Protestant missionaries were already aware of the need to reach this goal. They viewed this, however, as an ecumenical effort, where the aim was for the creation of a “national” church. In the case of Puerto Rico they stated that there was “. . . a desire to secure eventually a national church to which all the evangelical Christians shall belong is discernible in parts of Latin America. . . . Porto Rico [*sic*] seems to be the leader on this matter” (CCWLA 1917c: 66). Moore (1966) notes that the missionaries saw nationalization as the achievement of the “three selfs”: self-rule, self-financing, and self-propagation. As Silva Gotay (1997) notes, however, this was happening only after the

missionaries, who held the purse strings, determined when the locals could reproduce their imported model.

The efforts began in Puerto Rico in 1905. That year twenty-three missionaries and one Puerto Rican, Ángel Villamil Ortiz, leader of the ACM, gathered to organize the *Federación de Iglesias Evangélicas de Puerto Rico*. Like the *Aliança Evangélica* in Brazil, its primary purpose was evangelistic cooperation. The creation of the federation allowed for the continuance of the comity agreement, the publication of a common newspaper (*Puerto Rico Evangélico*) for all member denominations, and, later, the creation of the *Semimnario Evangélico* (Silva Gotay 1997: 179–82). Although all the denominations were working towards training locals as pastors and leaders, the dominance of foreign missionaries and resources seem to have had a negative impact on those same local leaders and their work (Coleson 2007: 195).

The main problem seems to have been that of foreign control. A number of local pastors had difficulty accepting the role of the missionary, especially after locals had been ordained. During that period there was only one denomination that was not under foreign control: the Christian Missionary Alliance, or *Alianza Cristiana y Misionera* (ACM). Although it had originated in the United States, the ACM came to Puerto Rico through the efforts of Ángel Villamil Ortiz, a former priest who had converted who lived in exile in Venezuela. After the invasion, he started his own missionary endeavor in Barceloneta, Puerto Rico, where he was later joined by another former priest. For many of the locals and missionaries, Villamil Ortiz and the ACM were unique. Some foreign missionaries did not trust the locals to run mission affairs, but they trusted the work of Villamil Ortiz and the ACM. According to Adell Martin (1916),

I only know of one case where the work seems to be flourishing under native direction. The Christian Alliance mission work, very small, seems to be the exception. I have seen several lines of work begun by native directors. They work with great enthusiasm for a short time. Then, alas, the great enterprise is abandoned as not giving results.

Regarding Villamil's work, Martin (1916) stated "I asked one native pastor what he considered the cause, and he replied that he thought it was due to the personality of the two men in charge of the work. They are both educated men and converted priests."

According to Drury (1916),

The Christian Missionary Alliance at the present time is in the hands of Porto Ricans [*sic*], and it seems to be doing well. They are hampered however, and at all events the test has not been of sufficient length of time to be able to come to a positive conclusion. In most cases here, in Porto Rico [*sic*], the work has suffered when the missionaries have withdrawn from certain districts. Almost all the workers have at least some foreign supervision.

For Baptist minister Elpidio de Mier, another former priest, the problem was one of control. He argued that the local clergy "were the only element that worked, that had some sympathies [among locals], and that has conducted whatever little advance there has been in the Christian evangelization" (De Mier 1923: 82). De Mier believed that the inequity in treatment between locals and those sent by the foreign mission boards had "produced . . . general humiliating discontent among the local clergy . . ." (81). To remedy the perceived unequal treatment between local and foreign clergy, De Mier

argued for the creation of a national evangelical church, completely under local control (Coleson 2007: 283–90).

The *Iglesia Evangélica Puertorriqueña* was created in 1917 to counter the control that the foreign mission boards had over the evangelization of Puerto Rico. It was created by Elpidio de Mier, together with Methodist minister Rafael Landrón and Ángel Villamil Ortiz with the ACM (Silva Gotay 1997: 147). The *Iglesia Evangélica Puertorriqueña* was a product of the early realization that something had to be done for the sake of Protestantism on the island. De Mier sought membership for the *Iglesia Evangélica Puertorriqueña* at the meeting of the Evangelical Federation, by then called *Unión Evangélica de Puerto Rico*, but was rejected (De Mier 1923: 109). According to De Mier, the *Unión* was “controlled by foreigners hostile to the native clergy” (109).

The experience of the *Iglesia Evangélica Puertorriqueña* and the expressions of De Mier demonstrate the inherent tension between foreigners and locals over the Protestant mission. It is interesting to note that Juan Lugo considered integrating his new Pentecostal movement into this new church but later rejected the idea (Silva Gotay 1997: 147). Little did he know that the native movement he started would become the backbone for the future incorporation of Pentecostalism and the achievement of the “unity” that historical Protestants had sought to counter the influence of the Catholic Church.

Although the main obstacle to nationalization was control, that did not automatically translate into growth just because the denomination was under local leadership. A quick comparison between the *Alianza Cristiana y Misionera* and the

*Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal*¹⁰⁸ demonstrates the impact of methods of evangelization. The ACM, just like other historical denominations, focused on cities, literacy, buildings, and imported practices. Coleson (2007: 194) speculates that this probably had to do with the fact that the Puerto Ricans in charge of the ACM were former ordained Catholic priests, accustomed to the patterns of the institutional Catholic Church. On the other hand, the IDDPMI identified with the opposite. Both started under Puerto Rican leadership and with similar zeal, but their methods were significantly different and they appealed to different segments of the population.

Denomination	Year							
	1916	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	2000
Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal, MI	2	37	77	135	200	248	386	592
Alianza Cristiana y Misionera	10	15	15	13	16	28	43	59

Data derived from: Christian Missionary Alliance n.d.; Moore 1969; Pérez Torres 1997; Saenz 1961; Carver 1972; Coleson 2007.

In the case of the *Iglesia Cristiana Discípulos de Cristo*, discussed above, autonomy was the main consequence of the upheaval created by the revival of 1933. The revival of 1933 highlights the impact of Pentecostal competition because it led to the creolization and nationalization of Protestantism in Puerto Rico. As noted before, Coleson (2002), Moore (1966), and Silva Gotay (1997) argue that the advent of Pentecostalism fostered the development of a native form of Protestantism. I explained in the previous section how this played out among believers. Agosto Cintrón (1996) and Zayas Micheli (1990) argue that this had to do with the cultural parallels between Pentecostalism and folk Catholicism, even though it was iconoclastic regarding the cult

108. It is important to note that the IDDPMI was led by a foreigner for a short period of time. Frank Finkenbinder, sent by the General Council of the Assemblies of God, arrived in Puerto Rico in 1921 (Lugo 1951: 76). He acted as supervisor from 1922 to 1925 and from 1933 to 1936 (Pérez Torres 1997: 172–73). He was one of a handful of missionaries sent by the AD to support the IDDPMI.

of the saints, spiritism, and *brujería*. Cruz Medina (2003: 78) argues that it had to do with the use of native forms of worship. Thus, autonomy alone cannot lead to nationalizations without Pentecostalism. Only when Pentecostals surpass historical Protestants can they reach nationalization.

Still, it seems to me that local control over denominations is crucial for the nationalization of Protestantism. Local control allows for the development of national evangelization strategies and the integration of local mores into the thinking and theology of denominations. It leads to the development of local leaders and to strengthening of national identities. That way, Protestantism become a relevant force in society and eventually facilitates the process of Pentecostal incorporation. (Cruz Medina 2003: 81)

The significance of local control can be perceived in process of independence for the *Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal*. As noted before, Lugo brought Pentecostalism to Puerto Rico with the support of the newly formed General Council of the Assemblies of God (GCAG). When the IDDPMI was incorporated in 1921, the name was a problem. They could not use the name “asambleas” because it had communist connotations. Thus, they opted for *Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal*.¹⁰⁹ Somehow, the name led the AD to believe that they were dealing with a sovereign church rather than a district of the U.S. Assemblies of God. Meanwhile, the Puerto Rican leadership thought the opposite. Over the years the GCAG had given some financial support and had sent some missionaries to the IDDPMI. The area where they cooperated the most was in missions. The IDDPMI had sent out its first Puerto Rican missionary to the Dominican Republic in 1917 and the GCAG agreed to give credentials and support to the missionaries the IDDPMI sent. Eventually the

109. The controversy over the name was so significant that it almost split the movement (Ramos Torres 1992: 58–59; Lugo 1951: 78–80).

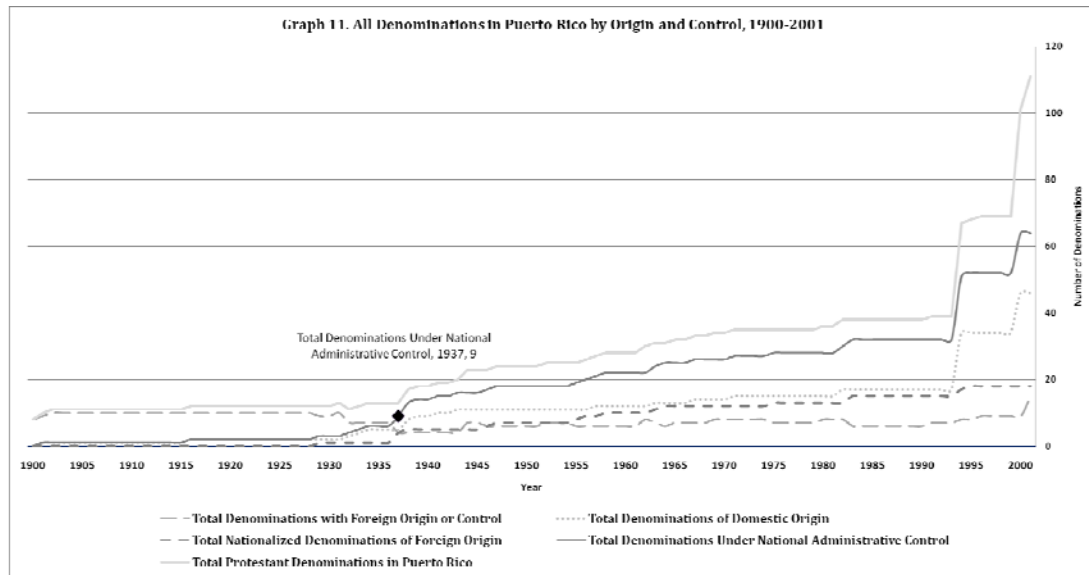
IDDPMI would send missionaries to seven countries and the U.S. mainland. (Ramos Torres 1992: 254–63)

The 1950s was a period of significant modernization and migration in Puerto Rico and many IDDPMI members and workers moved to the northeastern United States. Problems arose, however, when they tried to obtain AG credentials for IDDPMI workers as they migrated to the United States. The previous arrangements had worked because it was conducted through the board of foreign missions. Now, in dealing with councils on the mainland it did not. The problem boiled down to the original perception, that the IDDPMI was a sovereign entity apart from the CGAD, this view was reiterated to the Puerto Rican church in 1947 by the Assemblies of God in the United States. The *Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal* declared its official independence in 1955, adding the *Ministerio Internacional* (International Ministry [MI]) at the end of its name. (Ramos Torres 1992: 264–75; Ramos Granell 2005: 89)

It is important to note, however, that just because the IDDPMI leadership believed that they were an integral part of the GCAD that they acted on their behalf. According the Ramos Torres (1992: 251), an IDDPMI minister himself, “[t]he origin of the organization is native (*patrio*). It is an autochthonous movement in human resources, language and cultural characteristics.” Just like the ACM, they acted independently on the ground, and did not consider themselves subject to a higher authority.

In the case of Puerto Rico, the majority of Protestant denominations were under national control by 1937 (see Graph 11). As noted before, Pentecostals outnumbered historical Protestant churches by 1948. These two denominations complemented each other in the process of reaching greater followers among the population. Now we must

discuss when *evangélicos* reached 15 percent of the population. Those three level 2 variables will help us complete Variable II—nationalization.

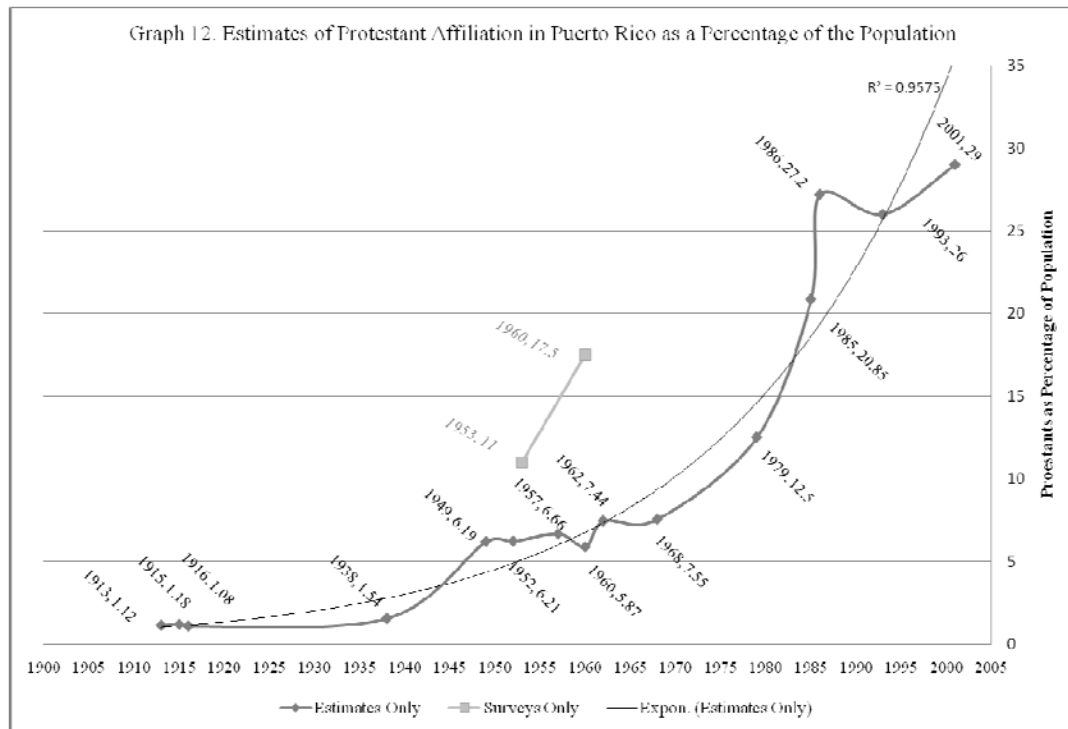


Data derived from: Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Beach and Fahs 1925; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et. al. 2001; Silva Gotay 1997; Moore 1969; Pérez Torres 1997; Saenz 1961; Carver 1972; Coleson 2007; Yoder and Schipani 1988; Pérez Rivera 2004; Barret, et. al., 2001; and denominational Websites.

Protestant Affiliation in Puerto Rico

I need to discuss one more criteria that I have set as a requirement for the satisfaction of the nationalization variable. When I originally observed general data on religious adherence for all Latin America, it seemed that Pentecostal political entry occurred after the Protestant portion of the population rose to about 15 percent (Stoll 1990; Martin 1990). For this estimate I used sources that provided data for the whole region (Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Barret, et. al. 2001; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston and Mandryck 2001; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d). In the case of Puerto Rico I was able to supplement the data with a few more sources (Shoppe 1962; Tumin and Feldman 1961; *Federación de las Iglesias Evangélicas en Puerto Rico* 1915). However, two sources that reflected survey data (Shoppe 1962;

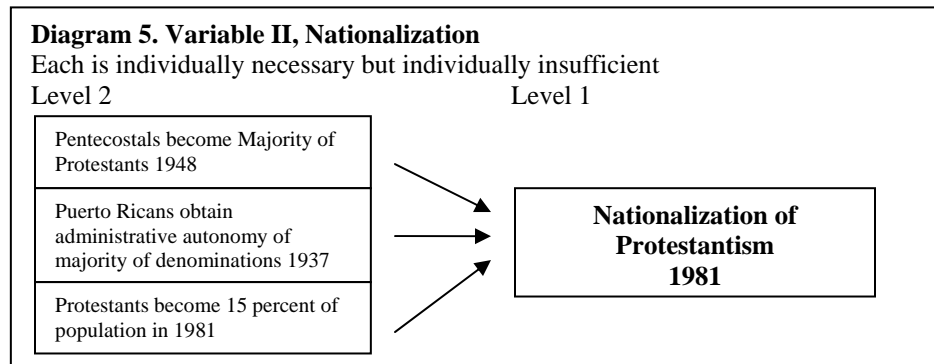
Tumin and Feldman 1961) differed substantially from the rest of the data. As a result, I omitted those two surveys from the population estimate, which shows a more consistent pattern. I have left the survey data on Graph 11 for reference. With an average growth of 1.4 percent between 1979 and 1985, Protestants reached 15 percent of the population in Puerto Rico around 1981. (See Graph 12.)



Data derived from: Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; CCWLA 1917b, 1917d; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et. al. 2001; Barret, et. al., 2001; Shoppe 1962; Tumin and Feldman 1961; and *Federación de las Iglesias Evangélicas en Puerto Rico* 1915.

Variable II

To summarize, Puerto Rico met the level 1 criteria for Variable 2, “Nationalization of Protestantism,” when the case satisfied the three level 2 criteria. First, Puerto Ricans assumed administrative control of the majority of denominations in 1937. Second, Pentecostals became the majority of all *evangélicos* in 1948. Third, *evangélicos* became 15 percent of the national population around 1981. (See Diagram 5.)



The satisfaction of Variable II opens the way for Pentecostal entry into politics. Up to this point we have seen how the liberalization of the religious market opened the way for Protestant proselytism. Those processes paved the way for Pentecostal arrival and later for its expansion. Pentecostalism, with its limited foreign influence, adoption of Puerto Rican forms of worship, exclusive use of Spanish for evangelization, irrational yet appropriate pneumacentrism, and almost exclusive use of Puerto Rican leaders and lay workers, facilitated the nationalization process for all of Protestantism.

Politics and Competition

The change in government in Puerto Rico brought a degree of political openness previously unavailable. Although the colonial government carried on with the goal of Americanization, the influx of foreigners and information spurred a flurry of ideas. The Foraker Act of 1900, by providing the necessary civil guarantees for public expression and permitting elections for municipalities and the Chamber of Deputies, spurred the creation of new parties, labor unions, associations, and religious organizations. All of these would become outlets for the expression of group interests.

The first instance when Protestants became prominent in the political scene was during the 1917 referendum on the prohibition of alcohol. Unlike in the United States where the Temperance movement had had a long history of action and support, this was a

foreign idea in Puerto Rico. The invasion, however, brought it along with Americanization and Protestantism. In 1900 some women from the Women's Christian Temperance Union arrived in Puerto Rico and began their work by organizing the *Liga de Temperancia de Puerto Rico*. As an idea, prohibition never had much appeal; when it was identified as a patriotic duty in support of the United States, however, it gathered great momentum. The issue was brought to referendum during the general election of 1917. The two major parties (*Unión* and *Republicano*) did not publicly support or oppose the measure. The Protestants and the Socialist Party supported the ban. They both saw it as a means of social and spiritual renewal. The measure won by an overwhelming margin, and Protestants were an important part of it, even if they made up a small portion of the population. Although Protestant missionaries usually claimed to have an apolitical stance, it is clear that they could act openly because this was a "moral" issue.¹¹⁰ As Inman (1925: 7) noted, "[i]t was due to the united evangelical efforts that the island of Porto Rico [*sic*] voted by a large majority for prohibition in 1917." Another important point rose during the referendum: a relationship between Protestants and the *Partido Socialista* (Socialist Party).¹¹¹ Regardless of the value of the measure, this event was significant because it marked the first instance of Protestant political participation in Puerto Rico. (Clark 1995; Rosario 1998: 166)

The relationship between Protestants and the *Partido Socialista* was born out a common concern for equality and the effect of capitalist exploitation on the working classes, as expressed in the idea of the *social gospel*, and on their common arrival after

110. It is important to note, however, that the majority of people who expressed themselves on the matter were foreigners living in Puerto Rico (Clark 1995: 96).

111. The Socialist Party of Puerto Rico was the political wing of the *Federación Libre de los Trabajadores*, led by Santiago Iglesias Pantín (Clark 1995: 83).

the invasion. This relationship was formed at the 1915 foundation of the *Partido Socialista* in the Baptist Church of Cayey (Silva Gotay 1997: 340). Protestant churches identified themselves with the interest of their members, many of whom were part of the working class, and a number of pastors from historical Protestants churches were representatives of the *Partido Socialista* at municipal councils (340). According to Silva Gotay (1997: 342), “the general consensus of Protestants in the first thirty years in favor of the poor in the island’s society, one where the rich had been and were Catholic.” This sense of self-political assurance became stronger in the 1930s as foreign missionaries departed the island, giving greater autonomy to local religious leaders.

Part of this politicization was the product of the educational efforts conducted by the missions and the colonial government. The founding of the University of Puerto Rico in 1903 by the state, and the founding of the *Seminario Teológico Portorricence* and *Instituto Politéctino* by Presbyterians in 1906, opened the doors for a new educated class through higher education. Positions began to open to prominent Protestants. The position of commissioner of education would be filled by three protestants starting in 1921: Dr. Juan B. Huyke, Dr. José Gallardo, and Dr. José Padín (Silva Gotay 1997: 203). Eventually one Protestant would rise to prominence in the most important party in Puerto Rico for the next thirty years, the *Partido Popular Democrático* (PPD). Presbyterian labor lawyer and PPD member Hipólito Marcano, president of the *Federación del Trabajo de Puerto Rico* (Puerto Rico Workers Federation), became the first Protestant elected to the Puerto Rican Senate in 1952, serving until 1968 (“Biografía: Hipólito Marcano Ortiz,” n.d.). There were other prominent Protestants such as Domingo Marrero, who became dean of students at the University of Puerto Rico (Coleson 2007: 371).

The new Protestant middle class, educated during the early days of U.S. colonial rule, conducted all of these incursions into the political realm. Although they engaged in many worthwhile endeavors, one of their primary concerns was to protect the religious freedom they had obtained. Newspapers such as the *Defensor Cristiano* and the *Puerto Rico Evangélico*, demonstrated a constant concern for the Catholic Church's attempt to regain some of its former influence (Rosario 1998: 158). Everyone understood that the Church would not be able to regain the relationship it had had with the state prior to the invasion. Furthermore, the liberalization of the religious marketplace dealt a severe blow to its power base among the rural lower class. However, the Church's relationship with the upper class and its historical legacy were enough to remain of concern, especially because of the close relationship that Protestants had kept with the colonial government (Rosario 1998: 160).

The Catholic Church had kept busy during the first two decades of the twentieth century trying to retain its properties and regaining its lost clergy. The processes of Romanization and Americanization assisted in these efforts. The Church opened schools and charities to regain its footing and compete with the Protestant advance. As an institution, however, it remained ideologically divided over its identity and its relationship with the colonial government. Bishops and clergy from the United States felt that they had to demonstrate their allegiance by fostering the Americanization process. Meanwhile, the laity and remaining Spanish clergy attacked the government and Protestants in their perceived efforts to decatholicize and dehispanicize the country. Despite the ideological division, the Church continued to regain its strength. It would only be a matter of time until it tried to reassert itself.

Puerto Rican Politics

There are a few characteristics of the Puerto Rican political system that must be discussed before proceeding. Puerto Rico is a Latin American society that remains a dependency of the United States. It has many attributes that culturally define it as a nation, but it is not a state in the sense of sovereignty. It is a colonial society that lives in the continuous dilemma of trying to ensure its cultural survival without affecting its political status. Since the time of Spanish rule, Puerto Rico has been torn between three tendencies: permanent annexation, permanent independence, and autonomy.¹¹²

During the early twentieth-century Puerto Rico lived under direct colonial rule from the United States, but with some measure of autonomy because of there were elective offices in the legislature and the municipalities. Since 1952 Puerto Rico is a self-governing unincorporated territory of the United States with its own elected governor. This means that the island has the ability to rule over the majority of its internal affairs but is subject to the jurisdiction of the U.S. Constitution. This means that it has “implicit sovereignty in its political organization” (Anderson 1998: 16), reflected in its different party system. It is not sovereign, however, because that power has resided with the U.S. Congress since the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1898. According to Anderson (1998: 17) this leaves Puerto Rico with a divided sense of loyalty, “between being a federal dependency and the democratic sovereignty of the people . . . leading to the inevitable ‘politics of status,’ . . . with excessive rhetoric that has little to do with matters of public policy. . . .” In other words, the question of status tints everything in Puerto Rican

112. There are numerous works devoted to the question of the political status of Puerto Rico and its impact on the island’s culture. Pabón (1972), Benítez Nazario (2001), and Morris (1995) discuss the relationship between identity and political culture. Dávila (1997), Barreto (1998), Trías Monje (1999), and Rivera Ortiz and Ramos (2001: ch. 1) examine the impact of colonial status on notions of nationhood.

politics; proponents or opponents of policies label them according to the perceived relationship of the policy to their preferred vision of future political status.

From 1940 to 1968 Puerto Rico had a hegemonic party system, but since then it has had a stable two-party system, primarily defined by its electoral rules. It has one general election every four years where all single-member-districts (SMD) positions are elected through plurality rules (FPTP). The most important offices of the thousands for election are those of the governor and the resident commissioner (the sole representative of Puerto Rico in the U.S. Congress). There are additional seats for the House and Senate, however; each body has a number of at-large seats for a single national district, operating under single-nontransferable-vote rules (SNTV). Finally, each body has some top-off seats in case a single party obtains more than two-thirds of the seats for that body. If needed, those extra seats are allocated to opposition parties depending on the number of seats needed to overcome the two-thirds majority of the majority party and the percentage of the vote they got in each chamber.¹¹³

The combination of single-member-districts and plurality rules may make the Puerto Rican system look similar to the U.S. system, but the appearance of similarity is as far it goes. The Puerto Rican party system is also defined by its political status and Latin American political practices. There are three permanent parties in Puerto Rico, each one representing a political status option: *Partido Popular Democratico* (PPD, seeks to maintain autonomy), *Partido Nuevo Progresista* (PNP, seeks statehood), and *Partido*

113. See Lijphart (1994; 1999) for details on the operation of political parties and the electoral system and the consequences of their interaction.

Independentista Puertorriqueño (PIP, seeks independence).¹¹⁴ The first two have dominated the system since 1968. The PIP has managed to survive despite constant returns below 5 percent, in addition to systematic political persecution and discrimination of the pro-independence sector by local and federal authorities.¹¹⁵ What explains the continued existence of the PIP are the access to SNTV seats, the status option it represents, and the legitimacy that it brings to the system, rather than its general electoral returns. The stability of the party system also means that party labels are meaningful as a frame of reference among the electorate.

The parties also reflect Latin American political practices because their organization encourages the development of clientelistic networks. Parties in Puerto Rico began as cadre parties, later developing as personalist vehicles to power in which party leaders acted as patrons to lower class clients. In the 1930s the PPD argued for a populist model for mobilization under the charismatic leadership of Luís Muñoz Marín (Baldrich 1981). With the slogan of “bread, land and freedom,” the PPD, ruling from 1940 to 1968, embarked on a program of modernization and economic development.¹¹⁶ In the constitutional convention the PPD convened, the institutions adopted fostered the creation of system of one-party-rule. In the winner-take-all system in place, holding general elections every four years helps create a “coat-tail” effect in which the fate of the parties are primarily determined by the fate of the governorship. The governor, just like the president in the United States, has no legislative power except the veto; however, as

114. See Meléndez Vélez (1998a; 1998b; 1993), Bayrón Toro (2000), Anderson (1998), and Anderson and García Passalacqua (1998) for more detailed information on Puerto Rican political parties and elections.

115. This phenomenon is well documented. See Bosque Pérez and Colón Morera (1997) and Comisión de Derechos Civiles (1998).

116. See Weisskoff (1985), Wells (1972), and Deitz (1986; 2003) for additional discussions of the economic modernization of Puerto Rico.

leader of the party that likely holds the majority of mayoralities and both chambers in the legislature, can often govern effectively and be the originator of most of the legislation. As Mainwaring and Shugart (1997: 432) explain, although the executive's constitutional powers are limited, they can only be exercised in reaction to the actions of the legislature. If the executive has a strong hold on his party, he can be a powerful leader. This can actually make the executive proactive and the legislature then reacts to the executive's proposals (Cox and Morgenstern 2001). This is the case of Puerto Rico.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the PPD under Lu s Mu oz Mar n turned the parties into conduits for the distribution of jobs and resources, reflecting Coppedge's (1994:18) notion of partyarchy. In other words, the PPD, and later the PNP, through its effective use of clientelistic networks, became the primary form of effective political organization and mobilization for post-agricultural Puerto Rican society, a practice that still continues (Rivera Ortiz et. al., 1991) and that remains a staple in Latin American politics (O'Donnell 1996).

Electoral rules, partyarchy, clientelism, status, and charismatic leadership are important characteristics of the Puerto Rican political system. They define and delimit the realm of possibilities for those who seek to participate in the political power game in Puerto Rico. If a party wants to survive it must employ populism, charisma, and clientelism to succeed. If it loses, the party must retain its claim on the status question to survive, and keep the promise of future payoffs to its clientele. Third parties have little chance of electoral survival unless they have a stake in the status game. Parties without a clear stake in the status game, clientele, or charismatic leadership do not have a chance and will surely disappear after one or two elections. As we will see in the next section,

117. It is important to note, however, that there have been three instances of divide governments.

the Catholic hierarchy and laity saw this first hand in 1960, and *evangélicos* watched and learned.

The Question of Religious Education in School

As discussed before, after the change of sovereignty the schools were secularized by the military government. The Catholic Church, which had been in charge of the education, protested. Since that time, the Church has sought a return to religious education in public schools. As a remedy, the Church introduced Catholic private schools to Puerto Rico. During that period, the public school system dedicated seventy-five minutes a week of moral education. When this class was discontinued, however, and later divided into courses on civics and ethics, Catholic groups began to demand the reintroduction of religious education in the schools. When Law 106 of 1939, authorized the education of morals in public schools, Education Commissioner Gallardo proposed the reintroduction of religious education. The Church, however, declared that it could not support such a measure because it did not have enough priests to cover all the schools in the system. Thus, the Church passed up a chance to retake the teaching the Catholicism in schools. (Alonso 1998: 23–24)

This issue would reappear several times, sometimes at the behest of Catholic lay groups. Commissioner Gallardo brought forth his plan for religious education again in 1944 and the secretary of the interior almost approved it, and again the proposal aroused the ire of Protestants, freemasons, and others who opposed the idea (Santana Jiménez 1963: 145). In each effort (1945, 1952, 1960) the Catholic hierarchy showed greater interest in supporting the new legislative proposal, and again the *Asociación de Iglesias*

Evangélicas (AIE),¹¹⁸ under the leadership of J. R. Lebrón Velázquez, opposed it (Santana Jiménez 1963: 146). The issue of religious education, together with issues of sterilization and family planning education led to the first attempt at creating a Catholic party in Puerto Rico when the Liberal party announced its desire to become party in the European mold (“Propulsan Fundar...” 1948). Despite the desire of the Catholic laity to enter the political fray with a party, the Church’s leadership desisted from expressing any public support.

The 1940s brought new Catholic leadership to the island. In 1942, Bishop James P. Davis became the Archbishop of San Juan, and in 1946 Bishop James McManus assumed the Bishopric of Ponce. These new leaders would change the tone in church-state relations. Although the Church had been apparently unable to assume the responsibility for religious education in 1944, the new bishops would try to accept the challenge. In the 1950s, as Puerto Rico faced the challenges of modernization, industrialization, migration, and intense religious competition, the Catholic Church would try to reestablish its role as moral guardian of Puerto Rican society. According to Bishop McManus: “Church and state are each independent . . . [and] each should have freedom to act in its own field, but both are subject to the laws of God, and neither should act in any way which would violate those laws” (cited in Alonso 1998: 28).

During the constitutional convention in 1951, the Church expressed its desire to remove the Jones Act’s strict prohibition of disbursing funds to religious entities. The Church was primarily concerned with Catholic charities and its school system and ensuring its access to state funds. Thus the Church moved its influence to try to make

118. The Union had been renamed *Asociación de Iglesias Evangélicas* in 1934.

those changes; however, *evangélicos*, who were part of the PPD power base, took action as well. Hipólito Marcano, president of the *Asociación de Iglesias Evangélicas de Puerto Rico*, represented the Protestant position to the constituent assembly (Santana Jiménez 1963: 155).¹¹⁹ According the Rev. Lebrón Velázquez, “the Catholic Church has commenced its propaganda campaign, to obtain advantages in the composition of the document. . . . we fear that they were scheming some maneuver against the freedom of conscience in Puerto Rico” (Santana Jiménez 1963: 148). In the end, the Church obtained a small compromise: In Article 2 Section 5 of the new constitution states: “Nothing contained in this provision shall prevent the state from furnishing to any child non-educational services established by law for the protection or welfare of children” (*Constitución del Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico de 1952*). This change in the law gave the Church a small victory. On the subject of religious education, however, the Church and its lay supports in the legislature would try one more time to bring the measure into law.

The bill for religious education reappeared in 1957. PIP Representative Feliú Pesquera introduced Bill 84 to allow for one hour, one day a week to facilitate religious instruction outside school premises by bona fide groups to public school children whose parents desired it. After languishing in committee for almost three years, Luís Muñoz Marín publicly opposed the bill and it died in 1960. (Alonso 1998: 38–40)

Partido Acción Católica

At that point the Church leadership, with the blessing of Apostolic Delegate Zanini, decided to act forcefully by proposing the creation of a Catholic party in Puerto

119. The Catholic Church later tried to derail Hipólito Marcano’s bid for the Senate in 1956 but failed (Santana Jiménez 1963: 157).

Rico (Alonso 1998: 42–43; Santana Jiménez 1963: 162). From that point on the bishops, with the help of Monsignor Rafael Grovas, Chancellor of the San Juan Archdiocese, held meetings to muster the support of the clergy and laity for the formation of the *Partido Acción Católica* (PAC) (163).

As I mentioned before, there were two Catholicisms in Puerto Rico, one popular and one institutional. The bishops represented the institutional Church, which was associated with the island's elite; however, the Catholic elite was divided between those who supported a closer relationship with the United States and those that supported independence. The people in the countryside, who practiced folk Catholicism, supported the PPD. Thus, when the bishops placed people's Catholicity on the line they were actually hurting the PIP and the *Partido Estadista Republicano* (PER, predecessor to the PNP), not necessarily the hegemonic party, the PPD.

The Catholic clergy began making public statements, writing newspaper articles, and pastoral letters accusing the PPD and Luís Muñoz Marín of being atheist, anti-Catholic, and pro-independence (Alonso 1998: 38–40). Those were grave accusations in the context of elections at the height of the Cold War. Other clergy across the island began making bolder statements.¹²⁰ Bishop Macmanus stated “We are in favor of the CAP and we want to cooperate in its creation, because it is certain that without this party, the dechristianization of Puerto Rico will increase . . .” (cited in Alonso 1998: 77).

The PAC seemed to be getting significant momentum. In May 22, 1960, 100,000 people gathered in support of creating the PAC (Alonso 1998: 169). The bishop wrote

120. For example, Father Cesar García of Aguada accused Luís Muñoz Marín of being an atheist and held him responsible for having elected Senator Hipólito Marcano, and the priest from Luquillo urged people to burn all non-Catholic bibles (Alonso 1998: 61).

two important pastoral letters. The first one accused the existing political parties of having a government philosophy “devoid of all spiritual conception of man and his destiny” (Santana Jiménez 1963: 165). The second one stated “every Catholic commits a grave error and sins if he votes for the PPD,” and just in case the consequences were not clear the letter further stated that “every Catholic who proselytizes or publicly supports the PPD platform, with its heretic content, not only commits mortal sin, but may also be excommunicated” (Santana Jiménez 1963: 166).

Luís Muñoz Marín and the PPD mounted a massive public relations campaign to refute all the accusations made by the clergy. They hired a lawyer, an expert in canon law, to counter the threat of excommunication. Luís Muñoz Marín wrote to the Pope and the Papal Nuncio to the United States. He visited Cardinal Spellman in New York City. Luís Muñoz Marín even argued that part of the problem was that foreign bishops instead of Puerto Rican nationals were leading the Church.

The die was cast. The 1960 election came and the PAC did not make a dent in the PPD’s returns. Still, the PAC did end up hurting all parties (Bayrón Toro 2000: 229–48). The defection of PIP loyalists to the PAC ended relegating the PIP to the electoral position it retains to this day (Martínez Ramírez 2000: 156). The PER disappeared by 1968, replaced the PNP and its orthodox Catholic leader Luís A. Ferré (Silva Gotay 1988: 174). The PPD lost its hegemony in 1968. The PAC disappeared in 1964 and Puerto Rico got a Puerto Rican Archbishop, Luís Aponte Martínez.¹²¹ The election of 1960 demonstrated to all observers that the Puerto Rican party system only had room for two parties and a small third wheel. When the time came for Pentecostals to enter politics

121. See Aponte Martínez (2005) for details on the life of the first Puerto Rican cardinal.

they would avoid creating a party but rather use the existing parties as platforms for their agenda.

Silva Gotay (1988: 174–74) argues that the project for the Catholic Party in Puerto Rico had been in the works for a long time. As such, it sought a neo-Christendom arrangement that could bring the Church closer to the conditions before the invasion. It failed because it did not have a social base and because the resacralization of the state was no longer possible.

Considering the difficulties associated with the political game, why did the Church risk its prestige? Bishop Mcmanus later reminisced on the matter:

[I]f I had been bishop in a pluralistic society, I might have been less aggressive than I was Puerto Rico. But since the large majority of Puerto Ricans Professed the Catholic religion, it was my feeling that the government which enacted laws or promoted laws contrary to Catholic moral principles was doing a disfavor to the majority of its people and should not go unchallenged (cited in Alonso 1998: 169).

This sounds like the arguments Pentecostals would make in the 1980s and beyond.

The Conflict and Pentecostals

Although the election of 1960 and the PAC did bring *evangélicos* to the fore, the Pentecostal sector had yet to openly participate in the political system. The event that brought them out of the temple and into the political arena was a judicial verdict from Puerto Rico's Supreme Court in 1973 that declared a Pentecostal temple a "public nuisance" because of their noisy services. The IDDPMI temple was located in Old San Juan, near tourist areas and night establishments. Public opinion was divided on the issue;

however, the Catholic Church, the *Concilio Evangélico de Puerto Rico* (CEPR),¹²² and Pentecostal groups supported the claim that the Court's ruling had been unjust. The event united all churches like no other because it could affect them all. Eleuterio Feliciano, president of the IDDPMI, led the efforts to change the Court's disposition through legislation. The controversy led to the approval of a law in April 1973, which excluded churches from existing noise laws but still kept them under the jurisdiction of the Environmental Quality Board. This new arrangement served to create a new permanent advisory liaison between the Board and religious groups. The controversy ended with a massive gathering of 100,000 people in the Capitol of Puerto Rico in support of religious freedom. (Ramos Torres 1992: 303–16)

This event highlighted some crucial points to the Pentecostal leadership. First, they continued to rely on a CEPR composed of and led by a minority of historical Protestants. Second, Pentecostals were the majority of Protestants in Puerto Rico. Third, they had the power of convocation. Fourth, they lacked an umbrella Pentecostal organization that could represent their interests in the political arena and serve as a liaison to the government. Fifth, Pentecostals needed to rethink apoliticism. Evangelical political parties were not the solution because the institutionalized parties were too entrenched.¹²³ All these questions would be addressed with the arrival of Jorge Raschke and *Fraternidad de Pastores Pentecostales* (FRAPE).

122. This was the successor to the *Asociación de Iglesias Evangélicas* (AIE).

123. There were at least two feeble attempts at this: in 1978, the Christian Alternative Movement ("Religious-Oriented Party is Born," 1978); and *Acción Política Evangélica* in 1992 (Rodríguez Carmona 1992: 189).

Raschke and *Clamor a Dios*

Jorge Raschke was an AD pastor who decided to start an annual gathering of *evangélicos* that could serve as a vehicle to bring to the the numerical presence of the *pueblo evangélico* and the issues that they cared for to public and political spheres. This gathering, known as *Clamor a Dios* (Clamor to God) began in 1974, riding the coat tails of the 1973 protest (Baird 1977). *Clamor* gathered at the steps of the Puerto Rican Capitol in symbolic gesture to Raschke's desire for *evangélicos* to enter the halls of power. In a few years the gatherings grew and politicians began to take notice. Then Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo (PNP) was the first political leader to attend the annual gathering (Ghigliotty 1980). Beginning in 1980, candidates for major elective offices began to appear at the meetings. Over time, candidates' presence became *de rigueur* if they wanted to court the *evangélicos'* vote. The recognition of the gathering's importance by Catholic elites became the confirmation that *evangélicos* sought. In Pentecostals eyes, their time had come (Martínez Ramírez 2000: 152).

Raschke's pronouncements became more influential as his legitimacy grew. His television, radio, and crusade ministries traversed Latin America. This ability to reach many and influence decisions provided opportunities for religious *caudillos* who wish to affect the world though their ministry (Montes-Mock 1991: 161). As self-designated spokesman for Pentecostals in Puerto Rico he began expressing his views on moral and political matters. He took clear positions on marriage, homosexuality, drug addiction, and a *mano dura* (strong hand) against crime (Ghigliotty 1983). In the religious realm he accused the Catholic Church of idolatry, denounced any ecumenical cooperation with Catholicism, and even warned people that disasters would follow John Paul II's visit to

Puerto Rico (Ramírez 1984a). He also expressed his views on politics. As a supporter of statehood, Raschke accused the PPD of trying to achieve independence through the back door by seeking greater autonomy (“Raschke Wants Nothing to do with Independence,” 1989). He publicly stated his disdain for the PIP (Ramírez 1984b). Although he antagonized many people, his popular support made him impossible to avoid and political leaders often showed up at his annual gatherings out of fear or respect of his power of convocation. In time, Raschke became the *evangélicos*’ kingmaker.

FRAPE came into being in 1984 during the visit of renowned Argentinean evangelist Luís Palau (Ramos Torres 1992: 311).¹²⁴ Its purpose was to serve as an umbrella organization for Pentecostal councils in the public arena. It became the Pentecostal alternative to the CEPR and to the *Conferencia Episcopal Puertorriqueña* (the Puerto Rican Conference of Catholic Bishops). Although FRAPE by itself would not be able to mobilize Pentecostals, it did become a conduit for the preparation of future Pentecostal religious-political entrepreneurs.¹²⁵

Pentecostal Leadership

Jorge Raschke was part of the new generation of Pentecostals leaders. He would become the quintessential example of the religio-political entrepreneur. One of the things that set him apart from the older Pentecostal evangelists was his embrace of the electronic media.¹²⁶ As an evangelist, he obtained great acclaim inside and outside of Puerto Rico.

124. In 2007 FRAPE claimed to represent 2,300 congregations and 500,000 believers. (Fraternidad Pentecostal de Puerto Rico 2007).

125. The most significant of these were Bishop Ángel Marcial of the IDDMB, who helped Pentecostals maintain parity with the Catholic Church after 2000, and Rev. Wilfredo Estrada Adorno, also of the IDDMB, who rose to prominence during the anti-U. S. Navy rallies between 1999 and 2001. (See Estrada Adorno 2003; Barreto 2002; McCaffrey 2002)

126. See Montes-Mock (1991) for a detailed discussion of Christian broadcasting in Puerto Rico.

Only evangelist Yiye Avila could claim a greater following. As Martínez Ramírez (2000: 150–51) explains

. . . evangelists are ministers but not pastors; they have no churches or congregations at their charge. Evangelists preach in radio and TV and in every church and place they are invited to. Pentecostal evangelists are the elements that unite councils, churches, ministries, pastors of independent churches and adherents. They are charismatic leaders that deliver the religious and social message and grievances that concern Pentecostals overall, regardless of the council or the church they belong to.

Thus, the fact that they are not in charge of a specific congregation does not inhibit their capabilities for political mobilization.

Pentecostal leadership in Puerto Rico evolved similarly to that in Brazil. As noted before, Protestant missionaries came in 1898 and brought and implemented their democratic forms of government. They organized democratically at the congregational level. At the denominational level, however, they often operated like Episcopal organizations because the missionaries had the power to rein-in or expel member congregations and their clergy. As Bastian (1997: 156) notes, “. . . historical Protestant societies served Latin America as laboratories for teaching democratic values and practices.” But that was not the form of social organization that prevailed in Latin American societies.

Although democratic organization in Protestant churches may have been well received, it did not reflect the values and practices of the population. Puerto Rico had the legacy of the *hacienda*, personified political power, and *caudillismo* (Agosto Cintrón

1996: 159). As noted by Bastian (1997: 157), Pentecostalism “reproduces the patriarchic and patrimonial model of the *hacienda*, with the pastor becoming the *patrón* of a religious clientele.” In Puerto Rico, after the invasion and through the period of modernization in the 1950s, the “*jibaro* lost many of the things that had given him security before: personal relationships with the landowner and the foreseer, the land they had in usufruct, for his own needs, the values that had given him guarantees of personal relations with his superiors” (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 96). Furthermore, Pentecostalism fostered the creation of congregations along family and community lines, where members were already relatives, only now building bonds of religious solidarity through the pneumacentric experience (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 105). The traditions of kinship, *compadrazgo*, patronage, and clientelism would now be reproduced within a new hierarchy, with the Pentecostal pastor as the patron (Coleson 2007: 278). There is no significant social separation, however, between a Pentecostal pastor and his followers (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 107), but the pastor may have something they do not. As Bastian (1997: 142) notes,

the Pentecostal leader is not distinguished from the faithful by their educational level, nor by ability, nor form of dress, but by their natural authority, their charisma. It is a type of populist leadership that does not tolerate internal dispute, which causes further multiplication of those movements through schisms provoked by the charisma of new leaders.

Furthermore, a pastor’s reliance of pneumacentric gifts made him capable of exercising greater power over the members of the congregation (Agosto Cintrón 1996: 108). They were the anointed, God-appointed *jerarca* (hierarchy), and there are no dialogues with the

jerarca, only monologues (Coleson 2007: 279). Thus, although Protestantism may be a break with the past, Pentecostalism “reestablishes the corporate method of control, multiplied by hundreds of patron-pastors, that natural bishops of the movement” (Bastian 1997: 147). Thus, success in the traditional setting gave rise to religious *caudillos*.

In Puerto Rico there are numerous examples of religious *caudillos*. As in Brazil, there are *pastores-presidentes* who operate according to this model. This is most common in the smaller Pentecostal *concilios* (e.g., IPJ). Larger denominations have a national structure that combines congregational and episcopal features. The IDD (MB), for example, has a national governing board and an appointed bishop; as in most Pentecostal organizations, however, whatever the leader says becomes the rule. Furthermore, Pentecostal denominations make assignments of ministries at the denominational level and congregations are subject to the discipline of the national council. In denominations that have a weaker national structure, such as the MDDF, the real power lies with the *pastores-presidentes*.

Power dynamics can be best seen where there is a split. When the IPJ decided to leave the AD after a few years, its leadership split along personalist support lines between “rafaelistas” who supported Rafael Torres Rivera and “felixistas” who supported Felix Rivera Cardona (Ramos Granell 2005: 94). In the end the IPJ divided over the issue. This also happened during the early history of the IDDPMI. When Lugo left the denomination some congregations led by his son-in-law left as well.

Although Pentecostalism is decentralized and diverse, the traditional corporatist arrangements and *caudillismo* makes them available for political mobilization. What had kept Pentecostals from actively participating in politics was their traditional apolitical

stance and their minority status. Once Pentecostals overcame those obstacles, they were ready for mobilization. Pentecostal leaders were now available to exchange political support for resources.

Neopentecostalism, Rodolfo Font, and *Fuente de Agua Viva*

The 1970s brought neo-Pentecostalism to Puerto Rico. Like Brazil, we might be able to attribute it to the televangelists from the United States, and doubtless the charismatic movement on the island can be attributed to new missions that arrived from the United States in the 1950s. Those missions, however, were numerically and politically insignificant. Puerto Rican neo-Pentecostalism is home grown, led by Rodolfo Font and *Fuente de Agua Viva*.

Just as in the case of Macedo and the IURD In Brazil, Rodolfo Font was part of a Pentecostal church. Font and his wife were members of the *Concilio de Asambleas de Iglesias Cristianas* (CAIC). In 1975, Rodolfo Font received a “revelation” to start a ministry; eventually it became too large for him to run alone. He sought approval from his denomination to start a church. When the CAIC rejected his request he started his own church and, later, denomination, the *Concilio Misión Cristiana Fuente de Agua Viva*. In 1987 Font and the FAV built what became the largest church building in Puerto Rico. (Torres Vélez 1990: 4–5; Rodríguez Carmona 1992: 62)

As in the case of the IURD, Rodolfo Font preaches prosperity theology combined with other Pentecostal tenets. According to Torres Vélez (1990: 12) the FAV pursues a positive confession of faith; health, because all sickness come from the devil; prosperity, because God wants people to be materially rich and poverty is a curse; and, if you want to be rich you have to work for God, and the greater the offerings you bring the greater your

blessings will be. In a country saturated with Pentecostalism, Font and the FAV were not well received at first. Font was just the tip of the spear, however, for the new theological movement in Puerto Rico. Font's rise in prominence and influence led to the appearance of other neo-Pentecostal groups on the island, rising from among traditional Pentecostal congregations. By 1992, Font obtained recognition from Raschke and *Clamor* and began working together in the political realm.¹²⁷

The Election of Pedro Roselló

Pentecostals leaders had been participating in politics for some time. Until the 1980s the PPD could count on their support. The arrival of Raschke, however, and his efforts at actively and openly incorporating Pentecostalism challenged the older arrangements. Furthermore, Raschke's support for statehood ran counter to the older rural Pentecostal leadership. Raschke was a product of the urban slums, which had been held by the PNP since 1968 (see Ramírez 1977).

According to Martínez Ramírez (2000), three factors led to the rupture between Pentecostals and the PPD. First, there was the policy of *Acercamiento* with Spain, which involved a cultural discourse that exalted the history of Catholic evangelization and the Catholic Church on the island, thereby minimizing the role of Protestantism and resuscitating fears about Catholic reestablishment (157).¹²⁸ Second was the 1991 Referendum on Democratic Rights, which sought from the U.S. Congress that

127. According to Jorge Raschke, he got a lot of criticism for his relationship with Font. ("El Trio Candente de la Radio AM" 2002). However, Raschke deepened the relationship with Font (and also "apostle" Wanda Rolón) by cofounding with him a new Pentecostal political organization in 2001, *Evangélicos Unidos en Acción* (*Evangélicos Unidos en Acción* n.d.).

128. This also saw the reinstatement of Spanish as the official language of Puerto Rico, which is a significant symbolic—and divisive—issue between those who support statehood and those who support independence. As a result, Governor Rafael Hernandez Colón received the *Príncipe de Asturias* prize in Spain, the Spanish equivalent to a Nobel Prize. Governor Pedro Roselló revoked the law in 1993.

“whatever” political status formula (primarily referring to statehood) won in a future referendum in Puerto Rico, it had to guarantee Puerto Rico’s culture, language, identity, and international sports representation (152). The PNP opposed the law, as well as some PPD leaders because they questioned its constitutionality—Puerto Rico could not tell Congress what to do. The final issue was the redefinition of the existing definition of “autonomy” under U.S. rule to an autonomy with greater powers and independence. The measure was defeated, but Raschke and other Pentecostals perceived that the purpose of these policies was to start Puerto Rico toward political independence and the eventual reestablishment of Catholicism.

The last item of concern during the PPD government of 1988–92 was a series of proposals that directly threatened Pentecostals. One was a bill that proposed imposing taxes upon their churches. This was connected to the fact that evangelical churches, in their legal incorporation status, were officially considered private corporations; the law, however, did not apply to the Catholic Church because it was not a private corporation as such. The other measure sought to impose increased requirements and restrictions for the construction and establishment of churches. Neither of the measure survived, but they aroused the ire of *evangélicos*. Worst of all, both measures were supported by the PPD candidate for governor in 1992, Senator Victoria Muñoz. (Martínez Ramírez 2000: 161–2)

Pedro Roselló had opposed all this measures and promised to take Pentecostals into account in the future. Raschke, who vehemently opposed independence and the PPD policies, decided to ally himself with Roselló. This relationship became the avenue for

the final stage of Pentecostal political incorporation. It would lead to the PNP victories of 1992 and 1996.

But the Pentecostal project went beyond electing the PNP. The main Pentecostal concern was about having the respect of the elites and political parity with the Catholic Church. Furthermore, they wanted access to the *Fortaleza* (the gubernatorial mansion) and state resources. They wanted to become the conduits of state resources to the Pentecostal masses. The election of Pedro Roselló would give Pentecostals direct access to the halls of power. As Bastian (1997: 92) notes, “the electoral process facilitates the continuous recreation of clientelistic groups, that seek to negotiate demands and reciprocities with the political forces struggling for power.”

The confrontations of the previous years set the stage. Raschke’s support for statehood and Roselló and his disdain for Victoria Muñoz were apparent (Ross 1992; “Entrelíneas” 1991). Although we can assume that the Pentecostal population is divided among all political parties, it seems clear that the factors mentioned made it possible for Roselló and the PNP to win.

Roselló rewarded Pentecostals with the access and resources they wanted. The new governor instituted a weekly prayer breakfast, which gave them direct access. He proposed and passed a law that transferred government land lots to “non-profit organizations” for a dollar (Rodríguez Burns 1996). He tried to institute a five-minute period for “meditation” in schools. According to Roselló, “an institution so fundamental as is the church should be supported by the government even more than we are doing. The separation of church and state doesn’t mean that the state cannot collaborate with the church” (Walzer 1994).

However, his policies were not directed to the Catholic Church, but to the new “Church.” Most amazing, Roselló, a practicing “Catholic,” began visiting neo-Pentecostal churches, more specifically Rodolfo Font’s and Wanda Rolón’s, two of the most prominent neo-Pentecostal “apostles.” In addition, he gave Raschke the privilege of doing the convocation at his 1996 inauguration. Not even Bispo Macedo had been able to obtain the same privilege from Collor de Mello in 1991. Although the relationship would cool down a bit after 1996, the influence of the Pentecostals had been established, and the exchange of clientelistic benefits for political support would continue and even become stronger in the next decade. (Martínez Ramírez 2000: 164–70)

Variable III

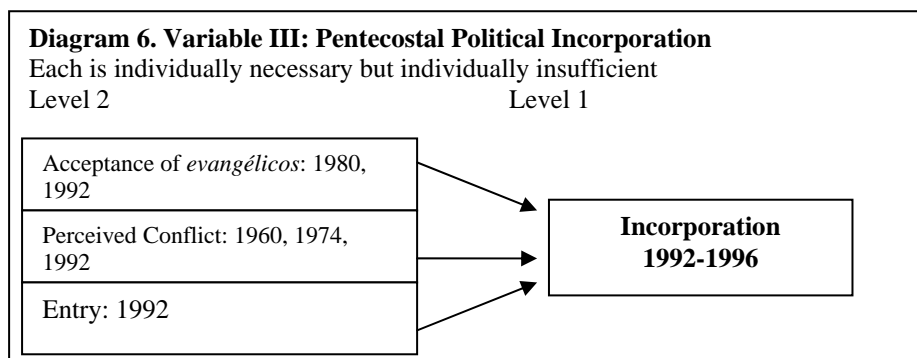
The events of the last forty years led to the completion of the Variable III requirements. The first criterion is “conflict.” The conflict reached three peaks: 1960, 1973, and 1991–2. As noted above, the Catholic Church, in its efforts to create the PAC and regain its foothold in the educational system, increased the sense of fear among *evangélicos*. Later on, it would be lay Catholic elites who in 1973 and 1991–2 would again raise the ire of *evangélicos*, who feared a threat to the free exercise of their religion. Each event led to Protestant action, but the last two moved Pentecostals specifically.

The acceptance of *evangélicos* actually occurred early, but it took a long time for it to sink in among elites. The participation of *evangélicos* in the socialist and PPD parties early in the twentieth century show the readiness with which some Puerto Rican political elites were willing to include them. Perhaps because of their limited numbers, however, or because it had not been Pentecostals, it took longer for others to accept them. It seems that the PNP leadership after 1980 was readier to do this than that of the PPD. This is

significant because Pentecostals' heightened feeling of exclusion from the policy-making process led them to leave aside their old apolitical stance. Roselló realized the Pentecostals' potential and exploited it to his advantage.

The last level 2 variable is "entry." Because Pentecostals in Puerto Rico did not engage in any serious effort to create a political party, I must consider their entry in stages. First was the creation of *Clamor*. Second was the appearance of gubernatorial candidates at the *Clamor* rally from 1980 on. Third was the creation of FRAPE in 1984. It took the conflict of 1991–2, however, to get all Pentecostal leaders out of the closet and into the political arena. Like other events in the incorporation process, it occurred in a jolt. Thus, I consider 1992 as their actual time of entry.

According to Variables I and II, Pentecostals had the conditions to make a definitive entry in 1981. It seems that Pentecostals had two main obstacles to their incorporation. First, the electoral rules made it extremely difficult to create a viable party. Second, they had limited access to PPD elites. It took eleven more years of presence and influence to become incorporated.



Since then, Pentecostals have successfully stayed active in politics. Now it is not just *Clamor* and Raschke that act on behalf of Pentecostals. Other religio-political entrepreneurs such as Obispo Ángel Marcial and Rev. Wilfredo Estrada Adorno, both of

the IDD (MB), have done so as well (Rodríguez Carmona 1992: 84, 56). Pentecostal incorporation has become so successful that even a non-Pentecostal could act with their support. Adventist pastor Anibal Heredia achieved what no other leader had done: Heredia was instrumental in mobilizing *evangélicos* for PNP candidate Luís Fortuño in 2008 and then became part of his cabinet in 2009.

Conclusion

The Puerto Rican case is an ideal case for the corroboration of the hypothesis. Pentecostal political incorporation occurred only when the necessary conditions were fulfilled. The case of Puerto Rico demonstrates the significance of each criteria in the development of the processes that permit the achievement of subsequent events.

A few factors need review. The most important is religious liberty. It is more important than the arrival of Protestantism *per se* because the Protestants that existed before 1898 had a limited existence and there could be no proselytism. We saw the importance of missionary Protestantism in spreading the faith. They arrived to Puerto Rico in force and with the support of the new regime. Enclave Protestantism had no bearing on either nationalization or incorporation. The crucial element here is the arrival of Pentecostalism, and, more importantly, Puerto Ricans led it. That factor by itself meant the Pentecostalism in Puerto Rico was ready for political incorporation sooner than in Brazil, where it took some time for the nationalization of the AD and CCB.

The case also illustrated the impact of competition in the incorporation process. As a weakened Catholic Church attempted new neo-Christendom strategies, it awoke Protestant fears. Later, as lay Catholic elites sought to limit the power and expansion of

Pentecostalism, *evangélicos* rallied like never before. These events helped Pentecostal charismatic leaders overcome the traditional apolitical qualities of Pentecostalism.

As in the case of Brazil, Puerto Rico demonstrates that Pentecostal political incorporation does not occur in a vacuum. The historical processes discussed must support the incorporation effort. Protestant participation in 1917 and 1960 did not achieve incorporation because the historical conditions were not there. Only after the conditions were present in 1981 could incorporation occur. Even then, it took the events of 1992 to bring about the election of Roselló and the final incorporation of Pentecostals. After Roselló's election, Pentecostals became conduits for patronage and achieved parity with the Catholic Church.

Pentecostal leadership seeks influence, access, and resources to further their corporate interests. They want to be part of the decision-making process on subjects that matter to them, and become part of the clientelistic structure that pervades in Puerto Rico's partyarchy. But most importantly, despite having a divided leadership, they see themselves as the new "Church." Pentecostals see this in the preference that Catholic political leaders have by choosing them to project political influence over the religious arena.

VIII. Panama

Introduction to Protestantism in Panama

The history of Protestantism in Panama is in some respects similar to that of Brazil. It's arrival was connected to the foreign workers that came to the Isthmus and the clergy who served them, primarily as a form of chaplaincy; unlike Brazil, however, the presence of foreign Protestant enclaves continued to have a significant influence into the late twentieth century. At its core, the history of Panamanian Protestantism is related to the transisthmian activity and the presence of foreign enclaves associated with the train or canal, waxing and waning with the movement of people. The transitory character of the foreign population became the main obstacle to the growth of Protestantism, its nationalization, and the eventual pursuit of incorporation by Pentecostals.

As noted before, I am attempting to establish the relationship between the historical variables as they evolved over time. The narrative that follows delineates the background needed to understand these relationships.

Protestantism arrived to the Isthmus Panama of 1698 when Scottish Presbyterians attempted to establish a colony on the Caribbean coast near the Darién region. The Scots named it New Caledonia and established friendly relations with the natives, surviving an unsuccessful Spanish attempt to remove the settlement by force. New Caledonia eventually failed, however, not because of the Spanish, but because of death, disease and desperation caused by isolation. The Scots abandoned the colony in 1699, and this early Protestant incursion in Panama did not have a lasting effect (De Muñoz and Muñoz Pinzón 2003).

Panama, like the rest of the continent, fell under the *patronato* in which the Catholic Church enjoyed an officially sanctioned monopoly over the provision of religious goods. The Church was a semi-state agency and did not focus on satisfying customer needs. As elsewhere, the Church enjoyed the privileges associated with the monopoly and the lack of competition. As with Brazil and Puerto Rico, Panama had a severe shortage of religious clergy and places of worship, and the Church focused its resources on the cities and towns maintaining its relationship to the elites (Moreno 1983: 80).

As in the rest of the continent, there was significant contraband in folk practices, but that did not undermine the Catholic Church or its monopoly (Holland 2009). In fact, contraband actually strengthened the Church's hold over cultural legitimacy. The *patronato*, however, did affect the Church's freedom of action. As with Puerto Rico, the Church's role in the Spanish colonial apparatus made it susceptible to political vagaries after the wars of emancipation.

Beginning the Liberalization of the Panamanian Religious Market

The Isthmus of Panama was part of Colombia until the U.S. intervention in 1903. As a result, the religious history of Panama in the nineteenth century is related to that of Colombia, which retained the *patronato* after the war of independence concluded in 1824 (Ureña 1993: 42). Panama's physical isolation, however, and its distinct identity since Spanish colonial times meant that the conditions in the Isthmus were not exactly like those in Colombia.

Unlike Brazil, Protestantism in Panama did not evolve as a result of religious market liberalization, because the church supply remained low for a long time. The

liberalization of the religious market, however, did have a role in establishing religious tolerance as a norm in Panamanian society. Just as in Brazil, the liberalization of the religious market began through a commerce treaty, this one with the United States. In 1824, Colombia signed the “General Convention of Peace, Amity, Navigation, and Commerce between the United States of America and the Republic of Colombia.” Article 11 of that treaty stipulated that

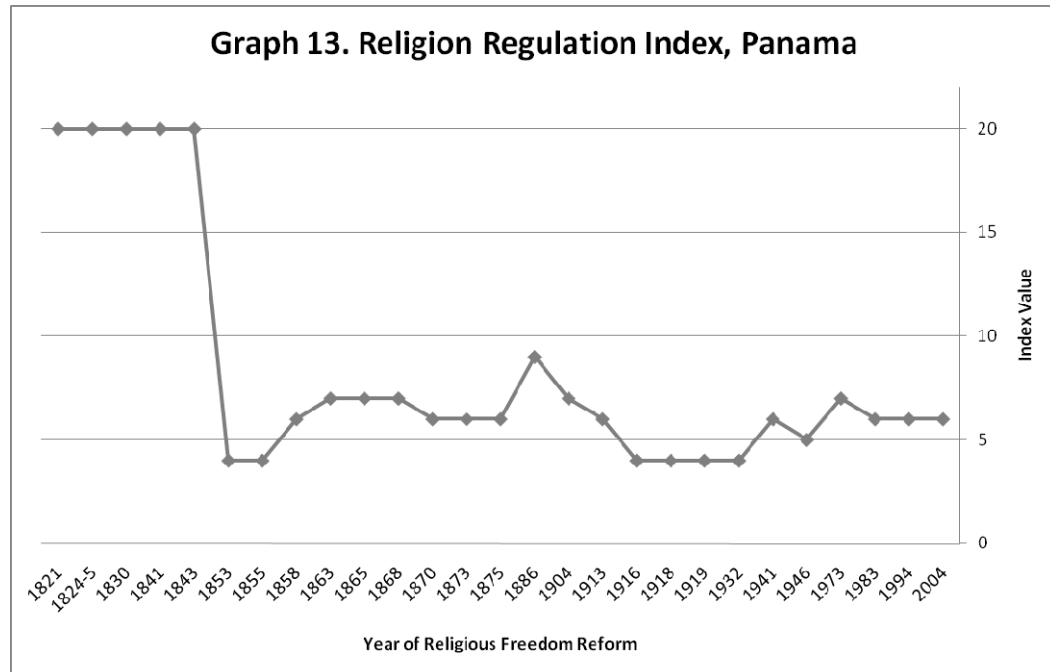
. . . the most perfect and entire security of conscience shall be enjoyed by the citizens of both the contracting parties in the countries subject to the jurisdiction of the one and the other, without their being liable to be disturbed or molested on account of their religious belief, so long as they respect the laws and established usages of the Country. Moreover the bodies of the citizens of one of the contracting parties, who may die in the territories of the other, shall be buried in the usual burying grounds or in other decent and suitable places and shall be protected from violation or disturbance (Winn 1971: 296).

On April 18, 1825, Colombia agreed a similar treaty with Great Britain. Article XII of this treaty provided that British subjects in Colombia were not to

. . . be annoyed, molested, or disturbed in the proper exercise of their religion, provided that this take place in private houses, with the decorum due to divine worship, and with due respect to the laws, usages, and customs of the country (Winn 1971: 298).

Without comparing the consequences of each treaty on matters of international relations, it seems clear that the Colombian government was willing to provide greater religious guarantees for foreign Protestants in their territory. As a result, Colombia’s quest for

open trade with the United States and Great Britain opened the way for religious freedom and later competition (see Graph 13).



Data derived from: Colombia Constitutions of 1821, 1830, 1886, 1853, 1868; Panama Constitutions of 1841, 1865, 1904, 1941, 1945, 1972; Gill 1999; Rubio de la Fuente 1974; Winn 1971; Ureña 1993; Cortes 1973; Osorio Osorio 2000; Atencio and Arcia 1978; Moreno 2002; Restrepo 1885; Luque Alcaide 2005.

These treaties, however, unlike those in Brazil, were not intended to facilitate migration. They existed primarily to provide some protection to Protestant foreign nationals, primarily those residing in Colombia proper or transiting the Isthmus. Regarding the British treaty, we could also say that it was signed because Colombia owed a significant amount of money to Great Britain and the country required yet more money to rebuild after the wars of independence. Nevertheless, some migration did occur. Due to a number of difficulties, English settlers moved with their slaves from the Misquito coast and the island of San Andres to the area of Bocas del Toro, near the border with Costa Rica (Araúz and Pizzurno Gelós 1993: 123–5).

From the 1810s until the construction of the Panama Railroad started in 1855, Bocas del Toro remained the most significant Protestant enclave in Panama. The oldest recorded Protestant congregation in Bocas del Toro gathered in Careening Key under the leadership of “Mother Able,” who tended to a small Afro-Antillean community. The Free Methodist Church of England later sponsored this congregation, providing them their first pastor, Rev. Robert Christie, in 1879 (Veagra 1986:12 ; Holland 1981: 17; Alphonse 1938: 16; 1967: 139). In time, other people from the Caribbean settled in Bocas del Toro, but their numbers were small; the construction of the Panama Railroad changed that. Even so, Bocas del Toro became the cradle for some of the most important Protestant denominations in Panama: Wesleyan Methodists, Baptists, Adventists, and *Movimiento Misionero Mundial*. Furthermore, Bocas del Toro was the birthplace of one of the pioneers of Bible translation in the Western Hemisphere, the Wesleyan Methodist Rev. Ephraim Alphonse (Methodist Church of the Caribbean and the Americas, Panama/Costa Rica District, 1991).¹²⁹ Boca del Toro’s remoteness, however, and its English Antillean heritage relegated its impact on Panamanian Protestantism to obscurity.

Colombo-Panamanian Politics in the Nineteenth Century

Before discussing the growth of Protestantism in Panama after 1855, I will discuss the political background in which it developed. Panama, as an integral part of Colombia, was affected by the constant turmoil of Colombian politics. Colombia, following the death of Simón Bolívar, became a war zone for political factions that sought to centralize or decentralize state power, and where liberal and conservative *caudillos* fought for or against the central government. Constitutions were written and

129. See Alphonse (1938; 1967) for some of firsthand accounts of his work.

superseded with dizzying frequency: Panama had at least fifteen constitutions between 1821 and 1900, some lasting less than a year.

Of all the constitutions and reforms in the nineteenth century, two are worth noting: those of 1853 and 1886. All Colombian and Panamanian constitutions prior to 1853 recognized the Catholic Church as the church of the state and maintained the *patronato*, even if the Church was institutionally weaker. After 1849, however, liberal *caudillos* José Hilario López and Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera assumed control of Colombia and brought in a radical liberal agenda, implementing new constitutions with anti-clerical reforms. They implemented religious freedom, expelled the Jesuits, imposed *mortmain* expropriations, and laicized education, cemeteries, marriage, and the civil registry, and even broke off relations with the Holy See (Bastian 1992: 323; Osorio Osorio 2000: 250; Cortes 1973: 283–5; Ureña 1993: 43). The constitution of 1853 effectively abolished the *patronato* (Luque Alcaide 2005: 25; Osorio Osorio 2000: 245). Meanwhile, Mosquera retained control of the clergy and their appointments (Osorio Osorio 2000: 214), and expelled religious orders that did not submit to the authority of the state (257). In Panama, even the local Assembly took action to expel clergy who did not submit to civilian authority (260–1).¹³⁰

These reforms coincided with the influx of foreigners who came to Panama to build the Panama Railroad and, later, the French Canal. The constitution of 1853 protected the new foreign religious practices and made possible the construction of places of worship for them. Despite the fact that later reforms required them to be “inspected”

130. Restrepo (1885) and Luque Alcaide (2005) provide Catholic critiques of the reforms.

and forbade religious institutions from owning real estate, Protestant communities began to appear in the Isthmus.¹³¹

The period of 1849–85 was one of intense hostility between the Church and the liberal state; the pendulum, however, eventually swung back. In 1885, Rafael Núñez restored Catholic privileges. The conservative *caudillo* implemented a new conservative constitution in 1886 that once again recognized Catholicism as the religion of Colombia and restored many of the privileges the Church had previously held. Núñez even signed a *concordat* with the Vatican in 1887 to formalize relations with the Church. The Catholic restoration, however, did not abolish the freedom of religious worship implemented by López and Mosquera, keeping the door open for further foreign Protestant expansion in Panama (Cortes 1973: 245–6).

The Panama Railroad and the French Canal

The discovery of gold in California in 1849 sparked a large movement of people who sought to make their fortunes in the New World. Because the Isthmus of Panama was the shortest overland route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it became a popular destination for the Forty-niners as well as those who sought to profit from them. In 1848 a group of investors from the United States approached the Colombian government with a proposal for a transisthmian railroad in Panama. With Colombian approval, work on the railway began in 1850, and the Panama Railroad was completed in May 1855. The construction created a large demand for labor. Unfortunately, the human cost seemed immense to the people of the time: many foreign workers, especially European and

131. According to Osorio Osorio (2000: 267, 277), the inspection of cults was required by law between 1862 and 1867; in Panama, however, only the Christ by the Sea Episcopal Church was inspected. The inspection of cults was given constitutional status in Article 23 of the *Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos de Colombia de 1863*.

Chinese, died from tropical diseases.¹³² The most resilient workers seemed to be those that came from the Caribbean, especially Cartagena in Colombia or from the French and English Antilles (Araúz and Pizzurno Gelós 1993: 103).

Although the building of the Panama Railroad brought prosperity to the Isthmus, it also brought significant turmoil. The influx of foreigners brought an increase in banditry and clashes between locals and passengers. The train and ensuing conflicts allowed the United States to invoke Article 35 of the 1846 Mallarino-Bidlack Treaty, which gave the United States the right to intervene militarily in Panama to ensure isthmian security and neutrality. Beginning with the first U.S. military intervention in 1854, Panama began its love-hate relationship with the United States and its presence in the Isthmus.

The second event that marked nineteenth-century Panamanian history, as far as migration was concerned, was French effort to build a sea-level canal. The effort began in 1881 and continued until 1889 when the French Universal Canal Company collapsed financially. There were many reasons for the French failure but the most significant were the high death toll, the difficulty of the terrain, and the mistaken belief that the best plan was a sea-level canal.

Nevertheless, the French efforts had a significant impact on the Panamanian religious landscape. The large influx of foreign labor, primarily from the West Indies, brought an increased demand for Protestant religious services and an increased supply of Protestant religious services and congregations. According to Conniff (1985: 3), the building of the Panama Railroad brought 5,000 West Indians to Panama; the French canal

132. Cohen (1971) offers an extended discussion on the situation of Chinese labor.

effort brought 50,000 more, and the majority were Protestant. More significant, the financial failure of the French Canal did not lead to the repatriation of West Indian workers. Some went back to their homelands on their own but the majority stayed in the Isthmus.

First Wave Protestantism in Panama

The arrival of a large number of foreign Protestants affected Panama's religious landscape. Their arrival was not intended for development, permanent migration or to "Whiten" the population. Protestants came to build the railroad or the canal and then they were supposed to go home. Yet, many, primarily West Indians, stayed. Foreign Protestant missionary societies began to believe that it was their duty to tend to their displaced compatriots and in time would direct their efforts to them; these efforts, however, operated primarily as chaplaincies.

A few Protestant congregations were established during the building of the railroad. First was the Seaman's Friend Chapel, opened by the American Bible Society's Rev. H. D. Wheeler in Colon (then known as Aspinwall) in 1854 (Episcopal Church in the USA n.d.). The first permanent Protestant church in Panama was Christ Church by the Sea, also in Aspinwall, which was organized in 1854. It was later constructed in stone in 1864 ("Social Life of the Zone" 1913) by the Panama Railroad Company, at the cost of US\$75,000 (National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Department of Missions, 1927: 6; Episcopal Church in the USA n.d.). The Panama Railroad Company constructed Christ Church primarily to serve the U.S. community living there; in time,

however, it was opened to West Indians.¹³³ This period also saw the formation of the first Protestant community in Panama City. Founded in 1851 on the island of Taboga, the congregation in Panama City formed officially in 1853, meeting at the lecture hall of the The Star Herald Publishing Company (Cortes 1973: 125; Holland 2009).¹³⁴ Both congregations fell under the purview of the Episcopal and later Anglican churches as they changed their jurisdiction over the Isthmus in the nineteenth century.

Protestant presence in Panama continued increasing. In time, increased migration, which led to a larger foreign Protestant population in the Isthmus, spurred greater missionary interest in Panama. Table 12, which lists the known Protestant missionary efforts in nineteenth-century Panama, illustrates the how the Protestant missionary presence increased as the foreign worker population increased. The Episcopal Church noted that

By 1882 . . . over 15000 Jamaicans and other West Indians, largely members of the Church of England were employed there . . . almost without any spiritual ministrations whatever. . . . The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel immediately appropriated £200 for a chaplain on the Isthmus. . . . Within twelve months after their coming, Mr. Kerr and his helper had established a chain of eight [mission] stations from Colon to Panama (National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church 1927: 9).

133. When the White American population declined after the bulk of the fortune hunters went on to California, the Church became more widely used by non-Whites. A foreign observer noted, "Services . . . have not been characterized by any enthusiasm on the part of parishioners, the indiscriminate commingling of white people, negroes and South American Indians in the place preventing a desirable harmony." This concern for racial "comingling" would become an important factor in future development of Protestantism in Panama ("Aspinwall" 1874).

134. This congregation was recognized as a "Protestant society" by the government of Gen. Mosquera in 1868. It would become the core of St. Paul's Church in Panama City, established in 1903 (Cortes 1973: 419).

This first wave also followed the West Indian workers of the United Fruit Company to Bocas del Toro, where the Jamaican Baptist Union founded their first church, the Beautiful Zion Baptist Church, in 1892 (Ureña 1993: 74–75; *Convención Bautista de Panamá* 1992). As Aguilar (1998: 57) notes, “[b]aptist pioneers arrived in 1866 . . . with help from England, responding to the spiritual needs of migrants.” The Adventists also followed English-speaking West Indians to Bocas del Toro from the Bay Islands in British Honduras (Flores 1986: 17). In 1882, Wesleyan Methodists began their work among West Indians in Panama City (Anderson 1985: 7). Yet, none of these evangelistic efforts was aimed at the Spanish-speaking majority, but was focused on English speakers. This pattern continued well into the twentieth century, leading to the labeling of Protestantism as a foreign religion for foreigners. Moreover, the strong racial component related to the U.S. canal effort would further identify Protestantism with Black West Indians and White Americans, not with *mestizo* Panamanians (O’Reggio 2006: 146).

Table 12. Arrival of Foreign Missions to Panama in the 19th Century	
Year of arrival	Organization
1853/1855	Episcopal Church in the USA
1854	American Bible society
1866/1879	Jamaican Baptist Union
1876/1906	Methodist Episcopal
1879	Methodist Free Church of England
1882	Jamaican Wesleyan Methodists
1883	Anglican Church (took over Episcopal work)
1890/1903	Seventh Day Adventists
The first date reflects the first effort while the latter one reflects when it became permanent.	
Data derived from: Holland 2009; Veagra 1986; Cortes 1973; Ureña 1993; Flores 1986; Jiménez Castillo 1984; Mason 1916; Moreno 1983.	

Panamanian Independence and U.S. Intervention

Geopolitical conditions in the Caribbean at the end of the nineteenth century set the stage for Panamanian independence and the U.S. canal effort. First, the French canal

failure in 1889 left the field open for an alternate contender to finish the job, e.g., Germany, Great Britain, or the United States. Second, the Spanish-American War of 1898 gave the United States its first overseas territories and created a strategic the need for an interoceanic canal. Third, to ensure its predominant position in the Caribbean, the United States and Great Britain signed the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901, in which Great Britain conceded the right to build an interoceanic canal in the Central American isthmus wherever and whenever conditions allowed. Fourth, the repeated need for U.S. military interventions in Panama, culminating with the settling of the War of the Thousand Days between liberals and conservatives onboard a U.S. warship in 1902, convinced the United States government that it needed to assume control of Panama and complete the canal started by the French. Fifth, the Colombian rejection of the Hay-Herran Treaty of 1903, in which the United States offered to buy the French canal, convinced many that Colombia was an obstacle to U.S. geopolitical ambitions. Sixth, the Panamanians' desire to be rid of Colombian intransigence and to finally obtain political independence pushed them to collude with U.S. authorities. Finally, Colombian military weakness facilitated U.S. threats and maneuvering, whereas Panamanian political weakness facilitated the signing of an unfavorable treaty. All these elements combined to bring about the separation of Panama from Colombia in 1903 and the signing of the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty, which led to the construction of the Panama Canal between 1904 and 1914.¹³⁵

The Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty granted significant concessions to the United States for building the canal. The Treaty granted a ten-mile-wide strip of land between

135. There is an extensive bibliography on the subject of the separation of Panama and the creation of the Canal. See McCullough (1977), LaFeber (1989), Díaz Espino (2001), and Ealy (1971).

Panama City and Colon, cutting Panama in two, and the right to import the necessary labor to construct the canal. Most significantly, it granted the United States the right to rule over the canal territory as “if it were sovereign” in perpetuity. The Treaty also allowed the United States to station troops in the new Canal Zone to defend it. Although Panama clearly stood to gain from the building of the canal, from the beginning there was a sense of resentment over the treaty drafting process and the overwhelming presence of U.S. power and influence in Panama (Isthmian Canal Convention of 1903).

Three factors influenced the religious marketplace created by Panamanian independence and the U.S. canal. First, Panama drafted a new constitution, followed by other reforms, which further liberalized the religious marketplace. Second, canal construction brought an immense foreign labor force to Panama. Third, Panama received a significant foreign missionary force.

The first of these conditions, liberalization, brought to Panama conditions similar to those in Puerto Rico after the U.S. invasion in 1898. The third condition, if combined with the first, might have brought an outcome similar to the first decade of Protestant evangelization in Puerto Rico if it had been applied similarly in Panama. The importation of a large foreign labor force, primarily English speaking, to build, maintain, and defend the canal, however, precluded missionary Protestantism from having an impact on the Panamanian population. What could have been a second Protestant wave, like the ones in Puerto Rico and Brazil that led to the foundation of native Protestantism and eventual nationalization, actually delayed the process of political incorporation because it reinforced the first immigrant Protestant wave.

Panamanian Legal Reforms after 1904

In 1904, following independence, Panama drafted a new constitution that set it apart from its Colombian past. The new constitution did not recognize Catholicism as the religion of the state nor did it recognize the *concordat* of 1887. Moreover, Article 26 affirmed freedom of worship and profession of faith as long as it did not violate “Christian morals”; Article 26 did, however, recognize Catholicism as the religion of the majority of Panamanians (*Constitución de la República de Panamá de 1904*). The new constitution was just the beginning, however. Panama went on to laicize education and cemeteries and make divorce legal (Rubio de la Fuente 1974–75: 100), and, in 1914, declared all religious matrimonies invalid and required that civil matrimonies occur before religious ones (Atencio y Arcia 1978: 4; Ureña 1993: 26). In 1913, the state reduced aid to asylums (Atencio y Arcia 1978: 16), and, in 1918, declared monument churches state property (Rubio de la Fuente 1974–75: 185–6).¹³⁶ It is interesting to note that the 1904 constitution stated that Panama would assist the Catholic Church by funding the creation of a seminary for training local clergy, and funding missions to indigenous tribes (*Constitución de la República de Panamá de 1904*). By 1916, however, the provision for funding missions to indigenous tribes would no longer be exclusive to the Catholic Church but would be open to Protestants missions as well (Rubio de la Fuente 1974–75: 170; Aguilar 1998: 71).

As Graph 12 illustrates, these reforms significantly reduced the Church’s value in the religious regulation index, opening the field for Protestant proselytizing. As in the

136. Over time, this became a significant subsidy to the Catholic Church because it no longer had to maintain many of its churches, although it could still occupy and use them for religious services. This benefit was not available to Protestant churches until much later when the Christ Church and the Wesley Church were included as historical churches.

cases of Brazil and Puerto Rico, there was no actual demand for religious change or transformation. Liberal elites simply believed that religious freedom was a prerequisite for modern statehood and that religious exclusivism was an obstacle to trade and development. What the reforms provided was a liberalized religious market, which allowed for an increased supply in religious service providers. The former quasi-monopoly was now open to competition.

Enter Protestant Missions

The year 1905 was a watershed for Protestantism in Panama. The year marked the entrance of a significant number of Protestants and Protestant missionaries to Panama. As Mead (1948: 95–96) notes “[t]he Americans brought religious freedom with their steam shovels: they threw the door wide open to any American church that might want to rush into the zone and build a sanctuary or a mission,” and many came. As work began on the U.S. canal, the Isthmian Canal Commission (ICC) appointed ministers to oversee hospitals in Ancón and Colón and to visit sick camps along the work line. Over time, as the work force grew and families began accompanying workers, the ICC “authorized the construction or remodeling of suitable buildings for purposes of public worship” (“Social Life of the Zone” 1909). The ICC took an active part in promoting religious work in the Canal Zone by supplying buildings, leasing land lots, construction materials at cost, allowing religious meetings in ICC club houses, and paying for chaplains and furnishing them with quarters in the Zone (“Religious Work in the Canal Zone” 1908). Even President Theodore Roosevelt supported religious work by the Young Men’s Christian Association in the Canal Zone (Panama Canal Societies 1947: 27).

There were two reasons for the ICC's active participation in religious affairs in the Canal Zone. First, as a quasi-military organization (the ICC was part of the U.S. Department of War, the predecessor to the present-day Department of The Army), the ICC felt the need to provide religious care for its large English-speaking labor force, which was largely unavailable in Panama City or Colón. This included visiting the sick and tending to last rites and funerals throughout the Canal Zone. Second, it was widely believed that the availability of religious activities within the Canal Zone would provide alternative outlets for the labor force that otherwise would go to the bars and brothels of the terminal cities for "entertainment" (Inman 1917: 1). As stated by the ICC, "[i]t has been the policy of the Commission from the beginning to encourage church work, because it is considered a strong influence in making for the stability of the work force" (Canal Zone Churches 1910). Concerning its support of religious work in the Canal Zone, the ICC reported to the U.S. Congress in 1906 that

[t]he commission is strongly convinced that in a work of this kind to be performed in an environment entirely different from that which ordinarily prevails in the community from which the American employees come, the government must lend its support to the creation of a substitute for the salutary restraints of home, family, and public opinion of the community from which its employees are freed. To this end eight buildings belonging to the commission have been assigned for church purposes, and, when they shall have been completed, schoolhouses will be available on Sundays for the holding of religious services (ICC 1906: 8–9).

The ICC's most significant impact on Protestantism was its support for paid clergy and its construction of churches. By 1910 the ICC owned twenty-six of thirty-nine

churches in the Canal Zone, of which seven were Catholic, and all but two were constructed on government land. Canal Zone Governor George W. Goethals had authorized the leasing of lots to churches for a nominal value, making possible the building of temples across the Zone (“Building Lots for Churches” 1914). The ICC also affected religious work in Panama by hiring newly arrived clergy to work for them, and tend to the needs of the work force. According to Conniff (1985: 38) Presidents Taft and Roosevelt supported offering salaries to priests and ministers to prevent “dissipation and dissolute habits” among workers in the Canal. This was confirmed by Samuel Guy Inman, executive secretary of the American Section of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, who went to Panama to survey the location for Congress on Christian Cooperation in Latin America, who noticed that “[t]he terrible dens of vice in Panama and Colon . . . [were] largely patronized by Americans . . .” (Inman, 1917: 1). Thus, the ICC saw the expense as justified. Table 13 illustrates the number of ICC paid chaplains through the years of Canal construction (“Church Work on the Isthmus” 1907; “Religious Work in the Canal Zone” 1908; “Catholic Churches in the Canal Zone” 1910; “Canal Zone Churches” 1910; “Commission Chaplains” 1913). The relationship between Protestant clergy and the Canal workforce, however, was not a new phenomenon. The predecessors to the ICC—the Panama Railroad Company and the French Canal Company—had also had chaplains in their payroll and maintained ownership of the Christ Church in Colon until the United States reinitiated canal work (“Anglican Church on Isthmus” 1908).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Catholic</u>
1907	8	2
1908	9	4
1910	12	3
1913	1	1

Data derived from: *The Canal Record* 1907-13.

This flurry of religious activity in the Canal Zone expressed itself in other areas as well. It fostered the creation of the Isthmian Ministers Association in 1907 “. . . for discussion of work and to arrange cooperative plans” (“Religious Work in the Canal Zone” 1908). The increase in Protestant presence also promoted the creation of the first Protestant religious paper in the zone (“Religious Work in the Canal Zone” 1908), and led to the creation of many private Protestant schools among West Indians across the Zone and in the terminal cities (Conniff 1985: 18). The optimism was significant and the expectations were high. In the view of the Episcopal Church, “[e]ventually it [Panama] will also be a great ecclesiastical center from which the church will carry on the continent-wide work” (Episcopal Church in the USA n.d.).

The level of Protestant presence could have served as a spearhead for spreading Protestantism throughout the country, and, to a small extent, it did. The majority of efforts, however, focused on the transient English-speaking population around the Canal Zone. Foreign missionaries, unfamiliar with Panamanian climate and customs, found the offers of housing, salary, buildings, and ready audiences too hard to pass up. Rev. Mr. Hendrick put it clearly that they arrived

. . . [n]ot with any idea of proselyting, but to minister strictly to members of that [Anglican] church . . . [to that end]. The privilege to continue our work in these buildings at these places was conceded to us by the new Panama Canal Company,

while we were willing . . . [we] did not find it possible to make any contribution toward its maintenance. The Panama Railroad Company . . . allowed us the free and exclusive use of Christ Church, Colon, and supplied a furnished residence for the clergyman . . . treated as a chaplain of the company in its official capacity, and was granted a monthly sum . . . (“Anglican Church on Isthmus” 1908).

Although this reflects the view of Anglicans, it also applies to all the denominations working in the Canal Zone. If they were staff chaplains, they were “under the authority of the [hospital] superintendent” (“Canal Zone Churches” 1910). Furthermore, their places of worship were opened, closed, or moved in accordance with ICC needs and the progress of canal construction because they belonged to the ICC and/or were built in government land (“Church Work” 1912).

Although Protestant missionaries believed that they were evangelizing, they were in fact preaching to an audience that was already nominally Protestant. Thus, the ICC title—“chaplains”—was appropriate for the religious workers that arrived in Panama after 1905. In other words, the subsidies co-opted whatever meaningful missionary activity could have occurred in Panama during the Canal’s construction. It is interesting to note that the siren call of Panama continued even after the ICC eliminated paid chaplain positions because unpaid “honorary chaplains” were still entitled to the privileges of “gold roll” employees (see below) and could retain their quarters in the Zone (“Commission Chaplains” 1913).

In addition, interdenominational efforts hampered evangelization. In a free market, competition leads to the improvement of products and marketing by focusing on the customer. If there is a monopoly or oligopoly, service delivery suffers because

customer input is not of great concern. A liberalized religious market operates in a similar fashion. Although cooperation may be the “Christian” thing to do for foreign missionaries in the field, other than engaging in an effective division of labor, “cooperation” will actually hamper their efforts because there is little incentive to exalt the value of any one religious product or to spread through competition. From Mead’s (1948: 95–96) perspective,

[i]t is to the credit of Protestantism that several churches did not rush in but instead put their heads together and decided to have one strong church in place of many weak ones. Out of that very Christian decision has come one of the finest union churches in the whole mission field.

Mead and Inman lauded the cooperative interdenominational efforts of Congregationalists, Disciples, Dutch and German Reformed, Lutherans, Methodists, Presbyterians, United Brethren, Northern Baptists, and Episcopalians under the aegis of the Canal Zone Union Church (Inman 1917: 12; Mead 1948: 97). As students of Protestant growth in Latin America, they did not notice that product distinction and competition served evangelization better. In fact, Inman (1917: 15) actually considered it “regrettable” that the Southern Baptist Convention had decided to open their own church in Ancon instead of joining the Union Church. Time would actually justify Southern Baptists because they, not the Union Church, would survive the U.S. absence in the Canal Zone and grow to become the second largest non-Pentecostal Protestant denomination (after the Adventists) in Panama. If there is ecumenical cooperation in evangelization, religious consumers will have difficulty differentiating among religious firms because they will sound the same. Perhaps Protestant missionaries in Panama did focus on their

customers; the customers, however, were the numerous and nominally Protestant foreign Anglophone minority, not the untouched Spanish-speaking majority.

The Canal Zone Labor Policies and Their Impact

The construction of the Panama Canal brought a large foreign labor force into the country. Like its predecessors, the Panama Railroad and French Canal, the U.S. Canal brought people from all over the world for this endeavor. Canal managers preferred an English-speaking labor force for Canal construction. Thus, the majority of the labor force came from the British West Indies. This “third country” labor system became a “sticking point” in U.S.-Panama relations, as well as in relations between workers (Conniff 1985: 5).

According to the ICC census of 1912, there were 71,682 people in the Canal Zone (“Canal Zone Census” 1912), compared to a total Panamanian population outside the Canal Zone of 336,742 (*República de Panamá, Dirección General de Estadística* 1917: 3). In the ICC census 41,174 were actual employees and 1,236 were military personnel; approximately 89 percent of the total Canal Zone population were non-Panamanians. Out of the total number of people under the jurisdiction of or working for the ICC, 38,425 were Black, 20,063 were White, and 11,636 mixed. Of those designated “Black,” approximately 80 percent came from the British West Indies; Americans accounted for 59 percent of all Whites; and Panamanians accounted for 65 percent of those designated “mixed” (“Canal Zone Census” 1912).¹³⁷

Managing such a large and diverse labor force required some sort of order and standardization. Following extant modes of social relations in the United States, the ICC

137. Jaén Suárez (1998: 544–6) gives a detailed count of the Canal Zone workforce during the French and U.S. periods.

implemented segregationist policies in the Canal Zone. It implemented two pay scales, “gold” (for U.S. Whites) and “silver” (for Blacks and others). The terms relate to the medium of payment for workers’ wages: gold or silver. The consequence, however, was the implementation of Jim Crow in the Canal Zone, in which White Americans were given higher wages and better benefits than other workers, most notably Black West Indians. This applied to clubhouses, housing, hospitals, jobs, education for children, and even churches. Moreover, because West Indian silver workers were neither U.S. nor Panamanian citizens they had no one to complain to. The ICC went as far as to hire supervisors from the U.S. South because “southerners knew how to deal with the Negroes best” (O’Reggio 2006: 8, 60; Conniff 1985: 5; Newton 2004: 147; Biesanz and Biesanz 1955: 77, 84).

This racialization of social and labor relations within the Canal Zone had an adverse long-term impact on race relations in Panama. The Zone had an institutionalized and rigid caste system enforce through wages, housing, medical services, commissary privileges, citizenship requirements, police, courts, and jails (Bryce-Laporte 1976: 70; Biesanz and Biesanz 1955: 77, 79). Racial policies were locked in with labor policies that remained in the books until the 1950s but their influence remained until at least 1979 when the Canal Zone officially ceased to exist (Conniff 1985: 7–8). Yet, despite these policies, Black West Indians continued to work in the Canal Zone.

At first, Panamanians had an ambivalent attitude towards West Indians. They saw West Indians as a necessary inconvenience, an English-speaking subservient force that would leave once the Canal was completed. When the construction work ended, however, many West Indians did not go back to their home islands. Instead, because they were no

longer ICC employees they could no longer live in the Canal Zone, so they moved into Panama. From this point on Panamanians began to see West Indians as undesirable foreign competitors who were unwilling to assimilate (Conniff 1985: 4; Biesanz and Biesanz 1955: 84).

The presence of so many West Indians in Panama became a source of contention. According to Conniff (1985: 3), about 100,000 West Indians settled in Panama during the various construction periods. Thus, they became a painful reminder of U.S. dominance and Panamanian impotence. As a result, the West Indian presence, combined with U.S. military interventions, gave rise to a strong sense of Panamanian nationalism. Several significant leaders, movements, and parties rose in Panama during this period. The most significant was the formation of *Acción Comunal* in 1923, a middle-class nationalist movement led by Arnulfo Arias, which gave rise to *panameñismo*, or Panamanian nationalism. This was followed by the renters' strike of 1925, in which a large number of West Indian renters protested a sudden and exorbitant rent increase imposed by their Panamanian landlords, leading to a Panamanian threat of deporting them *en masse*. There was a coup in 1931 led by Arias and *Acción Comunal*. The period culminated with the election of Arias to the presidency in 1940 and the proclamation of a new constitution in 1941, which denied Panamanian citizenship to West Indians and their descendants (O'Reggio 2006: 6–8; Conniff 1985: 4; Biesanz and Biesanz 1955: 84, 95, 102; Araúz and Pizzurno Gelós 1996; Robinson 1999).

West Indians were in a difficult position. They faced discrimination in the Canal Zone and resentment in Panama. Because they decided to stay, West Indians “banded together and created a defensive subculture” (Conniff 1985: 4). They formed institutions,

such as schools and churches, to maintain their ethnic, linguistic, and religious identities (Inman 1917: 18; Conniff 1985: 10). There were 160 officially listed private schools, staffed with teachers and missionaries brought from Jamaica, reinforcing their difference and Britishness (Conniff 1985: 18; Inman 1917: 18–19). Furthermore, West Indian reliance on English as their economic advantage over Panamanians brought them closer to their U.S. employers, even to the extent of adopting some of their values, which raised the ire of Panamanians (Biesanz and Biesanz 1955: 9, 84; O'Reggio 2006: 6).

Panamanians believed that there were only two options for the West Indian population. They could be deported or become assimilated. Over time, as more West Indians became native-born, Spanish-speaking Panamanians, views changed. After World War II, the Panamanian government rescinded the legal restrictions on West Indians and Panamanians and West Indians began to work together to change labor laws in the Canal Zone (Conniff 1985: 6; Biesanz and Biesanz 1955: 84).

The Impact of Canal Segregation on Religion

West Indians

The Canal Zone's racial segregation practices and policies were played out in the religious field, with grim consequences for the spread of Protestantism in Panama. As noted previously, religious workers followed Canal workers from their lands, primarily Jamaica, Barbados, and the United States. Some saw themselves as missionaries, some did not. Nevertheless, because their concern was to care for a population that was already nominally Protestant, they were in fact chaplains. Of course, they preached to nonbelievers as well, but their main function was to tend to foreigners using a foreign

language with foreign traditions. Like the Germans in Brazil, they sought to maintain the faith and practices of their home countries.

The West Indians' concern for their Protestant religion began in the nineteenth century. In 1883 Anglicans established regular services for West Indians (in "high church" fashion, unlike American Episcopalians, who used "low church" rituals) in Colón and maintained mission chapels in construction towns. At the time, there was no distinction between races. Racial distinctions arrived with the U.S. canal. Because the majority of Anglicans/Episcopalians in the Canal Zone were Black (about 34,000), there were thirteen churches for Blacks and five for Whites ("Anglican Church on Isthmus" 1908). Later on, Methodists, Wesleyan Methodists, Baptists, and National Baptists, mostly from Jamaica, arrived to tend to the needs of this community (Conniff 1985: 18). Many of the early Jamaican Protestant efforts were a great source of pride for Jamaicans because, as avid church-goers, they emphasized self-sufficiency (Newton 2004: 115). Newer denominations also began tending to West Indians, such as the Salvation Army ("The Salvation Army" 1909). According to Inman (1917: 24), in 1916 West Indians had forty-four churches from thirteen denominations dedicated to them.

West Indians had a strong relationship with their churches. As noted in Table 14, nine of the thirteen Protestant denominations that existed before the arrival of Pentecostals in 1928 tended to them. As a besieged ethnic group, their churches became places of solace and refuge. As the lower caste in the Canal Zone, churches gave West Indians access to literacy, respectability, exclusivity, and prestige, which was otherwise unavailable in the Zone or Panama (Newton 2004: 147, 153; Biesanz and Biesanz 1955: 315–20, 377; Butler 1964: 32). This was most notable in the difference between Anglican

and Episcopal practices, where British formality and custom prevailed in Anglican West Indian congregations (Bryce-Laporte 1976: 76; Biesanz and Biesanz 1955: 269). These practices also travelled to Panama, wherever displaced West Indians moved (Cortes 1973: 393). In 2009, St. Paul's still held Anglican "high" church services for West Indians in Panama, whereas St. Luke's held Episcopal "low" church services for others, in the former Canal Zone, about five blocks away.

As centers for education and social life, West Indian churches had a significant role in shaping West Indian public opinion (Inman 1917: 19). Churches were also attractive to West Indians because they provided the only public service in the Canal Zone that was not under the control of the Zone government (Bryce-Laporte 1976: 75). Moreover, Churches provided West Indians a place to continue Jamaican and British notions of authority, literacy, status and respectability (Biesanz and Biesanz 1955: 315–320; Butler 1964: 32). West Indians prided themselves in adhering to traditional Jamaican family practices and Protestant sobriety, in contrast to Panamanian practices regarding marital fidelity and alcohol use (Bryce-Laporte 1976: 76; Biesanz and Biesanz 1955: 321; Henriques 1949).

Of course, the adherence to traditional British customs became weaker with every new generation (Biesanz and Biesanz 1955: 85), and every new generation was more Panamanian than the previous one. Newer generations wanted to become more integrated but religion and language were barriers to communication (Newton 2004: 146). Some believed that West Indian religious practices were "not exportable" to Panama because they came from a group that was "culturally rejected" (Cortes 1973: 393). Thus, in the view of many, assimilation meant abandoning their language and culture, and converting

to Catholicism (Conniff 1985: 4). Although many West Indians did convert to Catholicism, some believed that to adopt Panamanian moral customs or Catholic practices would lead to lower moral standards (Biesanz and Biesanz 1955: 321). When the Canal Zone ceased to exist in 1979, English-only churches began to disappear, and by the final U.S. pull out in 1999 few remained. Although most West Indian churches now use Spanish, in 2009 some English churches, with their old, peculiar practices, remained within denominations of West Indian origin.

As Table 14 illustrates, West Indian influence in Panamanian Protestantism was overwhelming. Before the arrival of Pentecostalism in 1928 and continuing into the 1960s, West Indians had the most churches, the most denominations, and the most adherents. Although West Indian missionaries did care about their work, their almost exclusive evangelization within the same ethnic group limited the possibility of growth.

Denomination	Ethnicity	Year of arrival	Year of Ethnic Crossover
Episcopal Church in the USA	US/White, West Indian	1853-1883, 1907	1978
Anglican Church	West Indian	1883-1907	n/a
Jamaican Baptist Union	West Indian	1879-1908	n/a
Methodist Free Church of England	West Indian	1879-1913	n/a
Jamaican Wesleyan Methodists	West Indian	1882	1982
Seventh Day Adventists	West Indian	1903	1921
Salvation Army	West Indian	1904	1978
Christian Missions, Barbados	West Indian	1905	1978
Methodist Episcopal	US/White, Hispanic Panamanian	1906	n/a
Southern Baptist Convention	US/White	1908	1943
Church of God (Anderson, IN)	US/White	1906	1944
National Baptist Convention	West Indian	1909	1978
Union Church	US/White	1914	1999
Plymouth Brethren	US/White	1918	1978
International Church of the Foursquare Gospel	Hispanic Panamanian	1928	n/a
Church of God (Cleveland, TN)	Hispanic Panamanian	1935	(to White) 1941
Evangelical Lutheran Church	US/White	1942	1978
Central American Mission	Hispanic Panamanian	1944	n/a
Church of Christ	Hispanic Panamanian	1945	n/a
Church of God of the Prophecy	Hispanic Panamanian	1946	n/a
Int'l Evangelical Church Soldiers of the Cross	Hispanic Panamanian	1950	n/a
New Tribes Missions	Indigenous	1952	n/a
Gospel Missionary Union	Hispanic Panamanian	1952	n/a
Church of the Nazarene	US/White	1953	1961
Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal, MI	Hispanic Panamanian	1956	n/a
Mennonite Church	Indigenous	1958	

Notes: Dates separated by a dash represent a period of presence followed by turnover to another denomination. Separation by a comma means interruption followed by a return period. Ethnicities separated by a comma means that the denomination served more than one group simultaneously. In the last column "n/a" means not applicable.

Data derived from: Holland 1981, 2001, 2009, n.d.; Butler 1964; *Iglesia de Dios, Evangelio Completo*, n.d.; Read et al. 1969; Moreno 1983; Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Johnston 1979, 1993; Barret 2001; Johnston et. al. 2001; *The Canal Record* 1907-1916; Inman 1914, 1917; and denominational Websites.

Whites

Religious work among Whites was similar to that among West Indians. U.S. missionaries may have called their work “missions” but there was little missionary work beyond the Anglophone community. Nevertheless, religious work among Whites took root and grew. It began as “Christian Leagues” held by ICC chaplains, first in ICC clubhouses and then through interdenominational Union churches across the Canal Zone (Rolofson 1950: 70–71).

Although the Union Church was the most significant group among White Americans, they received religious services from other denominations as well (see Table

14). First was the Episcopal Church, which began work during the 1850s, returning in 1905, and Episcopalians clearly saw themselves as conducting chaplaincy work. Second was the Southern Baptist Convention, which began work among Whites in 1905, and saw their work primarily as evangelistic. Southern Baptists were criticized for constructing their own temple in Ancon in 1908, unlike the other denominations that contributed to the Union Church (Inman 1917: 14). Southern Baptists were also criticized for opening churches for West Indians, and for taking control of work conducted by the Jamaican Baptist Union in 1908 (25). It is interesting to note that the Southern Baptists' determination to remain separate from the Union effort and to diversify their work actually ensured their survival in the long run. Over time, most Baptist work conducted in Panama would fall under the direction of their direct descendant, the *Convención Bautista de Panamá* (Panama Baptist Convention), which was formed in 1955 (*Convención Bautista de Panamá* 1992).

White churches in the Canal Zone also practiced the ICC's segregationist policies. In the words of the ICC's first chief engineer, John Stevens, he did "not regard it as practicable . . . to use the same church for both blacks and whites . . . the color line should be drawn" (Conniff 1985: 38). Thus, although there no social class distinction in Canal Zone churches, there was strict separation along racial lines, a fact that was omitted from the Union Church's own history (Rolofson 1950). Although American Whites were a minority in the Canal Zone, their "gold role" status afforded them many privileges and some of the highest salaries in the country. Thus, Union work in Panama after 1914 was completely self-sustaining, with one missionary and four pastors (Inman, 1917: 13). The impact of the racial line was so strong that as late as the 1980s, the Union congregation in

Balboa still would not hire a Black pastor (McConkey 1993: 123). Ironically, the Balboa Union Church is now, in 2009, shepherded by a Black West Indian.

Although it may seem easy to lump Canal Zone White churches with West Indian churches in terms of traits, there was one major difference that set the White churches apart: their transient nature. Inman (1917: 6) noted the problem early on: “The temporary character of employment and residence on the zone is also unfavorable to the development of any deep interest in the local community.” Just like work performed by chaplains in military bases, their work was temporary. As McConkey (1993: xvii) reminisced,

The Union Church of the Canal Zone was an expatriate community . . . founded, guided, supported and populated by persons who were away from their own country. It was in every sense an exile community . . . all Zonians were temporary.

Thus, they saw themselves as foreigners, holding on to pieces of “Americana.” They sought to recreate in the tropics everything that the middle-class in the United States should have. The Union Church was not even incorporated in Panama but in the United States, courtesy of an act of Congress, and was the only church to ever do so (Canal Zone Government 1943: 151). They were governed by rules patterned after congregational rules in the United States and were staffed by clergy from the United States. Because of their transient nature, Inman (1917: 15) believed that there should have been no more missionary resources spent on White U.S. citizens as a group. As Edwards (2007: 30) observed, “the Canal Zone churches only looked inward.”

At their peak in the 1950s, the Union Church had seven congregations in the Canal Zone, and White residents in the canal had nine of twenty-six denominations in Panama tending to them (see Table 14). Although rules on segregation were abolished in the 1950s, the old practices died hard. With the abolition of the Canal Zone and final departure of the United States from Panama, White segregated religious life has in effect disappeared.¹³⁸

Hispanic Panamanians

Despite the frenzy of religious and missionary activity that followed the canal work in 1905, Panamanians were an afterthought. The religious workers who came to Panama before 1928 felt the siren's call of the Canal Zone with its pay, privileges, and English-speaking population. Only one religious worker took on the task of reaching Spanish speakers, Rev. C. W. Ports of the Methodist Episcopal Mission (Inman 1917: 37). Ports surveyed Panama in 1904 and, with the permission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, returned in 1906 to commence work among Panamanians. Ports and his wife had been missionaries in Peru and were familiar with the language and culture. What Inman (1916: 9) would call the "only . . . evangelical missionary to preach the gospel in their own tongue to its 400,000 inhabitants," Ports helped to open the Sea Wall Church in 1908 in Panama City, across from the Presidential Palace. It remained the sole Protestant church with Spanish services in the Republic of Panama until 1921, and the only one in Panama City until 1928 (Beach 1916: 21).

138. There are three of the former White only churches left in the former Canal Zone but they left the old Zonian model long ago. First is Balboa, already discussed. Next, the Gamboa Union Church, which survived by becoming charismatic and tending to the local indigenous population (see at Gamboa Union Church, n.d.). Lastly, the Curundu Protestant Church, now called Crossroads Bible Church, which decided to reach out to the international community in Panama City as well as Panamanians by holding bilingual services (see at Crossroads Bible Church, n.d.).

Methodist Episcopal work, however, was not limited to evangelizing Spanish speakers. They also preached to Anglophone Whites and Blacks, first in the Canal Zone but later at the Sea Wall Church as well. Later, they opened a church in Guachapalí solely dedicated to West Indians. Rev. Ports was also one of the paid ICC chaplains. The Methodist Episcopalians also created an English private school, known as Panama College, which later on became the *Instituto Panamericano*, one of the most prestigious private schools in Panama.

Protestant work among Panamanians was slow. Ports (n.d.: 11) noted that after ten years of work they had only 150 members. Inman (1917: 38) noticed early on that the Methodist Episcopalian work was spread too thin, and that it should focus on Spanish work. Methodist Episcopalians would eventually open a few more congregations. One opened in the far western city of David with the financial assistance of the Union Church, but progress was slow (Inman 1917: 38). Ports (n.d.: 10) argued that the “pioneer work” had already been done, and that

[a]mong the Spanish there must be a slow implanting of new ideas for old, education, a teaching of new modes of life, correcting the error. You cannot go to a Spaniard and ask him to become a Christian. He is a Christian already he says. He must be shown that there are two kinds of Christianity, and led to use his reason a good deal more than his emotions; by demonstration he must be led to choose the better way (11).

Moreover, Ports stated,

It might have been possible for the Methodist Episcopal Church to have placed a missionary in every town in the whole republic, and so satisfied a supposed need.

But there would have been but little greater numerical results. It all would have depended on a slow growth (11).

The analysis in this work, however, refutes his statement. A greater supply of religious providers would have increased demand. In fact, in 1921 the Catholic Church considered the Methodist Episcopal Church the greatest threat to its religious monopoly precisely because they preached to Panamanians (Cortes 1973: 428).

Despite having all of Panama as its missionary field, the Methodist Episcopal Church was not well suited for the task. According to Butler (1964: 45), the Methodist Episcopal Church, despite receiving two new Latin American workers (Eduardo Zapata from Mexico and Armando Bustamante from Cuba) had grown to only three churches and 239 members in eighteen years. Butler attributes the lack of growth in the Spanish ministry to three reasons. First, the ministry to U.S. citizens had priority (43). Second, the lack of growth in the Spanish ministry was due to the “unexamined thesis of Panama Methodism” that “churches are planted by the inauguration of school work” (47). Finally, the meager growth of Panamanian Methodism was due to the absence of a “master plan . . . concerning the need to give precedence to the multiplication of churches” (1964: 48). In other words, work among Panamanians was secondary to all other work.

Early Ethnic Crossover Work

Panama remained an open field for Protestant religious work. As Table 14 illustrates, other denominations began to preach among Spanish speakers, but efforts remained scarce among historical Protestants. It is important, however, to note a handful of efforts.

In 1921, the Seventh Day Adventists made their first incursion into Spanish Panama. They had arrived to Panama in the nineteenth century following the West Indian community. Their largest efforts had been on Bocas del Toro, where there was a sizable concentration of Anglophones. When they crossed over into Chiriquí province, they began using Spanish in their services (*Unión Panameña Adventista del Séptimo Día Rosa de Sarón*, n.d.). Thus, Adventists became the first historical Protestant group to successfully crossover into Spanish evangelization. Moreover, Adventists conducted the third Protestant effort, after Alphonse and Miss Coppe, to reach out to one of the indigenous groups in 1930s (Butler 1964: 118).

In 1935, the Union Church decided to commence work in Panama's interior. From the Canal Zone it seemed that "Panama awaits silently . . . practically untouched by the good news. . . . Panama, whose indifference and opposition may mean hostility such as we have encountered" (Pearson 1935: 81). The Union Church recruited José Ávila, a former colonel in the Mexican Army, to go to Chitré and open a church there (8).

Another example of ethnic crossover work is worth noting, even though it was not aimed at Spanish speakers. In 1913, the Jamaican Synod of Methodist Churches appointed Rev. Mortimer C. Surgeon to take over the work that Free Methodists had done in Bocas del Toro in the nineteenth century because they could no longer maintain it (Alphonse 1938: 16; 1967: 28). As part of his efforts, Rev. Surgeon began visiting the Valiente peninsula across the Bay of Colón in Bocas in 1913. This territory belonged to an indigenous tribe known for their ferocious resistance to foreign intrusion; they did not feel threatened by Surgeon, however, because he was West Indian, not Spanish, Colombian, or Panamanian. Surgeon made a passionate argument to the Synod, stating

that “there isn’t a matter of greater importance before this synod that the evangelization of the Valiente Indians,” and the Synod put up the money for the Valiente mission (Alphonse 1938: 29). Surgeon already had a man in mind, a young convert from Careening Key, Ephraim Alphonse. With this appointment in 1917, Surgeon changed Valiente history (54). Alphonse not only evangelized among the Valiente for about thirty years, but also brought education in English, Spanish, and the Guaymí/Ngobe language, made the first written version of Guaymí/Ngobe, and translated portions of the Bible into Guaymí/Ngobe (Alphonse 1967: 9). In time Alphonse would be recognized by the American Bible Society, the Panamanian government, the Smithsonian Institution, and Wycliffe Bible Translators as a pioneer in Bible translation.

One more ethnic crossover is worth mentioning, specifically, the early efforts of a British independent missionary who brought Protestantism to the Kuna Indians in the Caribbean coast of Panama. Miss Anne Coppe was invited on two occasions by two different Kuna chiefs to open a school among the Kuna. Although she was not able to stay permanently in the islands due to a violent conflict which erupted between the Kunas and the Panamanian government, she was able to sponsor some Kuna boys to go to school in Panama City. One of them, Lonnie Iglesias, eventually went to seminary in the United States and helped to translate the Bible into Kuna (CCWLA 1917b: 204; Dunn 1955; Solomon 1970: ch. 4; Howe 1990). Ms. Coppe’s early effort led to the eventual organization of many evangelical churches among the San Blas Kuna under the auspices of the Panama Baptist Convention.

Ms. Coppe’s actions also contributed to breaking the official Catholic Church’s monopoly on indigenous missions. Article 25 of the 1904 Constitution, required the

government to sponsor religious “missions to the indigenous tribes” and required the state to fund the Catholic Church to conduct such missions (*Constitución de la República de Panamá de 1904*). Ms Coppe’s desire to evangelize among the Kuna took her to an audience with Panamanian President Belisario Porras who supported her efforts, much to the dismay of the Jesuit missionary among the Kuna, Father Gassó (Howe 1990). Eventually, both, Gassó and Coppe, had to leave because of the conflict between the Kuna and the Panamanian government. Still, Ms. Coppe’s early efforts are visible in the large number of Protestant churches among the Kuna today (Solomon 1970: ch. 4).

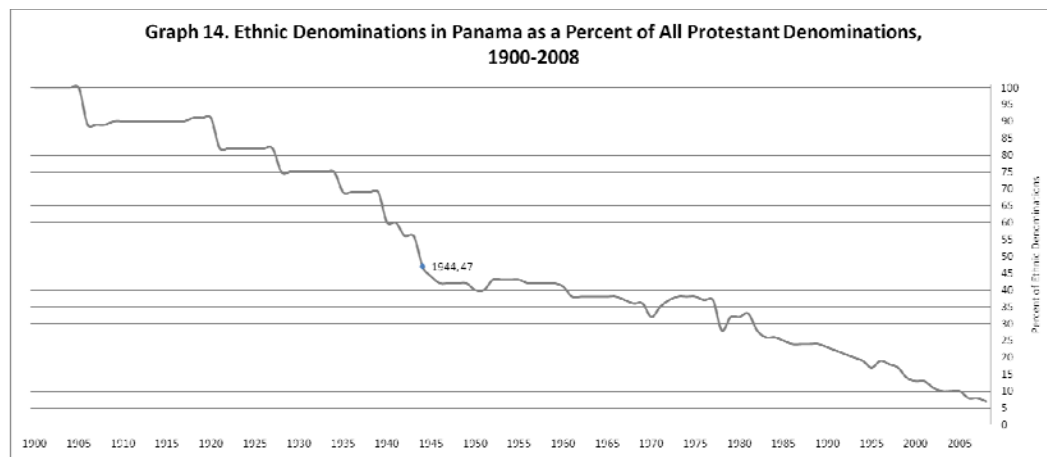
In such an ethnically fragmented society as Panama, any work conducted across ethnic and linguistic lines is significant. For example, in the early 1900s the American Bible distributed Bibles among Spanish, English, Chinese, and Hindi speakers and even among Jews. For the purpose of this work, however, I am primarily concerned with the majority population. For good or ill, the vast majority of Panamanians remained untouched by a gospel that spoke to them in their language and culture and that was geographically accessible. It would be the arrival of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel in 1928 that would change Protestantism in Panama from a foreign oddity to a Panamanian religion.

Impact of the Canal Zone Ethnic Enclave on the Panamanian Religious Market

Although these early evangelistic efforts were laudable, they speak volumes on the nature of Protestantism in Panama. The majority of Protestant resources and personnel sent to Panama prior to 1928 were spent on the extant Protestant community. Table 14 illustrates the ethnic emphasis of most denominations before 1940. Graph 13 illustrates the ethnic concentration of denominational work in Panama between 1900 and

2008. I have designated a denomination as “ethnic” as long as it remains exclusively within a group other than the majority population.

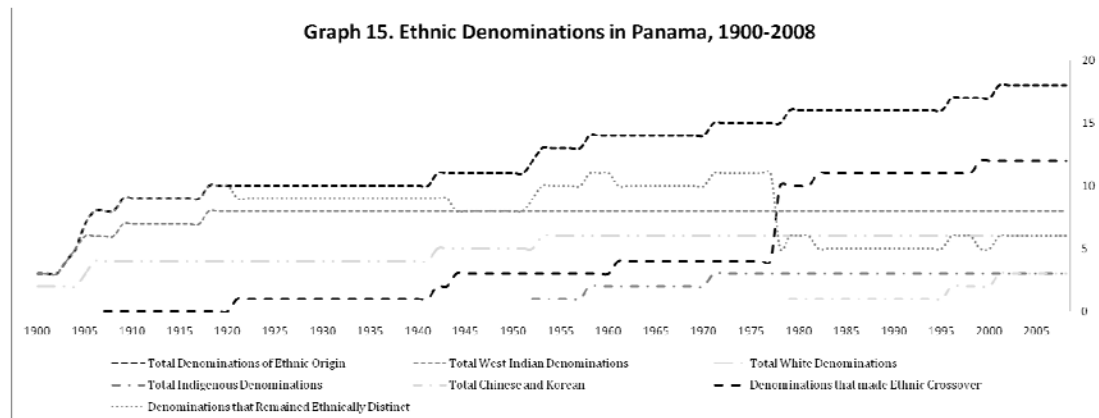
Panama is a fragmented, multiethnic society. Thus, from a missionary point of view, evangelistic work will always be fragmented, and not all work can be conducted among the majority population because doing so will neglect minority groups. In Panama, however, it was the opposite. Minority work was the focus of most efforts, turning Protestantism into a religion of ethnic minorities. From Graph 14, one can see that Protestantism in Panama remained a religion for foreigners, at least in terms of the number of denominations, until 1944, when the majority of denominations had crossed over and finally had Spanish-language ministries.



Data derived from: Holland 1981, 2001, 2009, n.d.; Butler 1964; Iglesia de Dios, Evangelio Completo, n.d.; Read et al. 1969; Moreno 1983; Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Beach and Fahs 1925; Barret, et. al., 2001; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et al. 2001; *Canal Record* 1907–16; and denominational reports and Websites.

Graph 14 also illustrates the continued significance of ethnic churches in Panamanian Protestantism. Graph 15 illustrates the distribution of ethnic denominations over time and the groups they represent. Graph 15 also shows the total of those that made the crossover into Spanish. I do not argue that other ethnic groups should not be evangelized; rather, in terms of political incorporation, ethnic fragmentation remains an

obstacle to communication and organization, and will probably remain so as long as there are denominations that tend to minority ethnic groups exclusively. Only to the extent that they aim for the majority group can they become part of national political life.



Data derived from: Holland 1981, 2001, 2009, n.d.; Butler 1964; *Iglesia de Dios, Evangelio Completo*, n.d.; Read et.al. 1969; Moreno 1983; Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Johnston 1979, 1993; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Beach and Fahs 1925; Barret, et. al., 2001; Johnston et al. 2001; *Canal Record* 1907–16; and denominational reports and Websites.

Despite the large Protestant presence in the Canal Zone, only a handful of religious workers, who had arrived in Panama before 1928, were truly transcultural missionaries. Only the Methodist Episcopal Church had attempted to breach the Spanish religious market. Their efforts, however, bore such little fruit that in 1945 the Methodist mission board secretary in Panama commented that “planting the church in Panama is still in its first stages” (Butler 1964: 52). In 2008 they still only had fifteen congregations. The reasons for their limited growth are similar to those associated with other historical churches in Puerto Rico and elsewhere. The Methodist Episcopal Church suffered from over dependence on foreign funding, foreign clergy, foreign practices and foreign direction. It suffered from the vagaries of the foreign missions board priorities, having to send its prospective national clergy to study abroad, over reliance on foreign modes of worship and a heavy administrative structure (“Nuestra Herencia Metodista” n.d.; *Iglesia Metodista de Panamá* n.d.).

Did all this mean that the second Protestant wave had arrived in Panama?

Officially, it did. The efforts, however, only made a dent in the Panamanian religious market. Mosquera opened the market and independence widened it, yet almost nothing happened to the supply of religious products nor was there an increased incursion of religious firms. Foreigners arrived, and that helped solidify the Protestant presence, but there was little change in the offer of religious goods among the Hispanic population of Panama. The tens of thousands of Protestants that had been present in Panama since the 1820s had only reached a few hundred Spanish-speaking individuals. Protestantism required effective transcultural missionaries to breach this cultural gap. They arrived in 1928.

Pentecostal Arrival

Protestantism breached the transcultural gap into the Hispanic Panamanian population with the arrival of Foursquare Gospel missionaries Arthur and Edith Edwards. They immediately noticed the ethnic division in Panama and dedicated themselves to reach the Spanish-speaking population (Edwards 2006: 28–29). The Edwards began preaching in Panama City but later moved to a small town along the train line called Frijoles. There, after a few miraculous healings, the movement began to spread. The Edwards, who baptized new believers immediately after conversion (35), encouraged new converts to witness to others about their newfound faith (Butler 1964: 61). According to Edwards (2006: 61),

[p]rayer services were conducted so that people could receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit and were taught to be loyal followers of the Lord . . . they would take two or three new converts with them to go to the small villages to conduct

services. This gave the new Christians a chance to conduct the singing, give their testimonies y begin preaching the word. [Arthur Edwards] always made people participate, giving them the freedom to minister. That was how he trained new leaders in the work.

People from Colón and Panama City came to Frijoles to hear the Edwards preach (Edwards 2006: 38). House churches soon sprang up all over Panama. For example, one of the new converts, Harmodio Palacio, who wanted to travel to Colombia to witness to his family, spread the gospel in several towns along his trip, including some converts among the Chocó Indians in Darién (ch. 7). The Foursquare Gospel had five dedicated churches by 1929 (53), and had churches in all the provinces of the Republic by 1936 (74). They also opened their first biblical institute in 1937 (75).

The Foursquare Pentecostal missionaries took Panama by storm. Soon the *Iglesia del Evangelio Cuadrangular* (IEC; their nickname was “los aleluyas”) became synonymous with popular Protestantism all over Panama. I argue that, despite the Methodists’ efforts, it was the IEC that breached the transcultural gap to Spanish-speaking Panamanians. Furthermore, as in the cases of Brazil and Puerto Rico, Pentecostal evangelistic methods were better suited for the traditional Panamanian setting. The power of pneumacentric practices had an effect in Panama similar to that in Puerto Rico and Brazil.

Variable I

The IEC opened the door for Protestantism in Hispanic Panama. Within a few years, several other Pentecostal denominations arrived from the United States and Puerto

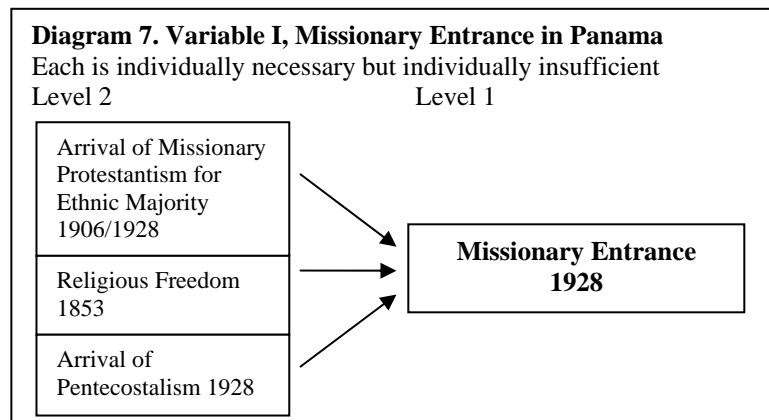
Rico, and the increased competition, brought yet other Protestant groups who saw Hispanic Panama as a field. Table 14 illustrates the significant increase in missionary activity among Hispanic Panamanians. Graph 14 shows that by 1944 there were more denominations working among Spanish-speaking Panamanians than among other minorities. Yet, growth would be slow among all those working among Panamanians.

Although it is not readily apparent, historical Protestants' preference for minority groups associated with the Canal Zone enclave prevented Panama from having the necessary foundation for its acceptance as a national religion. IEC Pentecostalism in Panama had to serve three functions: 1) It had to breach the cultural divide; 2) it had to make Protestantism known across the nation; and 3) it had to evangelize.

The absence of second wave Protestantism can be seen in the absence of significant national Protestant leaders, Protestant publications in Spanish, Protestant seminaries or institutes, and the absence of national para-church organizations. These were found only within the Canal Zone and were intended only for the people associated with the Zone. When it came to training, Protestant clergy had to go to Jamaica, the United States, Costa Rica, or Puerto Rico.

Had second wave historical Protestant groups in Panama acted as they did elsewhere in Latin America, Pentecostalism would have simply built upon the work of previous Protestant waves, as was the case in Brazil and Puerto Rico. But there was no clear second Protestant wave in Panama. The first began in the 1820s, like in Brazil, but it had little evangelistic impact on the majority population. Nevertheless, we must recognize the impact that first wave Protestantism had on religious liberty because its presence ensured the future protection of religious freedom (see Graph 13).

Diagram 7 provides a graphic description of the relationship between the level 2 variables and the completion of the level 1 variable. Despite the delay of the second Protestant wave, I argue that missionary entrance occurred in 1928. The entrance of the IEC worked as both missionary and Pentecostal arrivals.

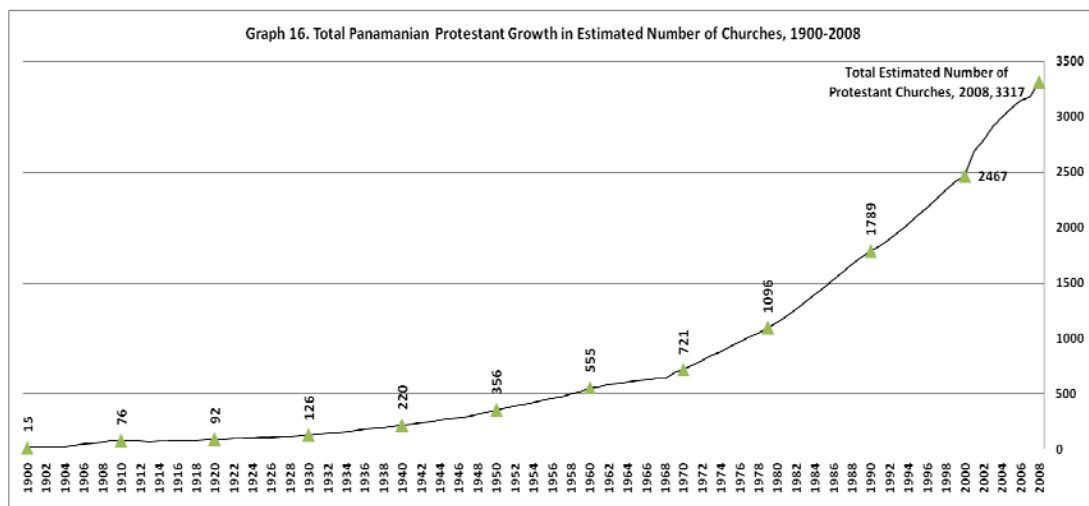


The previous discussion illustrated the impact of the Canal Zone enclave on the development of Protestantism in Panama. I believe that the size of the enclave and its racial antagonism had a pervasive impact on the development of a culturally appropriate Protestantism with national character and leadership. Protestant missionaries' focus on the enclave and related groups delayed or prevented the future processes necessary for Pentecostal political incorporation. From the data I gathered, I deduce that the second Protestant wave did not take off in Panama until 1928, when it arrived simultaneously with the third wave. Thus, all future processes hinge on that date. The discussion that follows will demonstrate the long-term impact of the enclave and the delayed second wave, combined with the third wave, in the nationalization and politicization processes.

Protestant and Pentecostal Growth

Despite the absence of a significant Protestant second wave effort in Panama, the legacy of the first wave could be seen across the Panama-Colon axis. Although many of

these churches operated under the umbrella of the Canal Zone, that applied primarily to White churches. Most West Indian churches were in the Republic of Panama because most Black workers could not live in the Zone. Then there is also the West Indian enclave in Bocas. The IEC could build on their legacy, as far as legal religious freedom was concerned. Graph 16 illustrates the overall Protestant growth in Panama, including the Canal Zone.



Data derived from: Holland 1981, 2001, 2009, n.d.; Butler 1964; *Iglesia de Dios, Evangelio Completo*, n.d.; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Beach and Fahs 1925; Barret, et. al., 2001; Read et al. 1969; Moreno 1983; Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et al. 2001; *Canal Record* 1907–16; denominational reports and Websites.

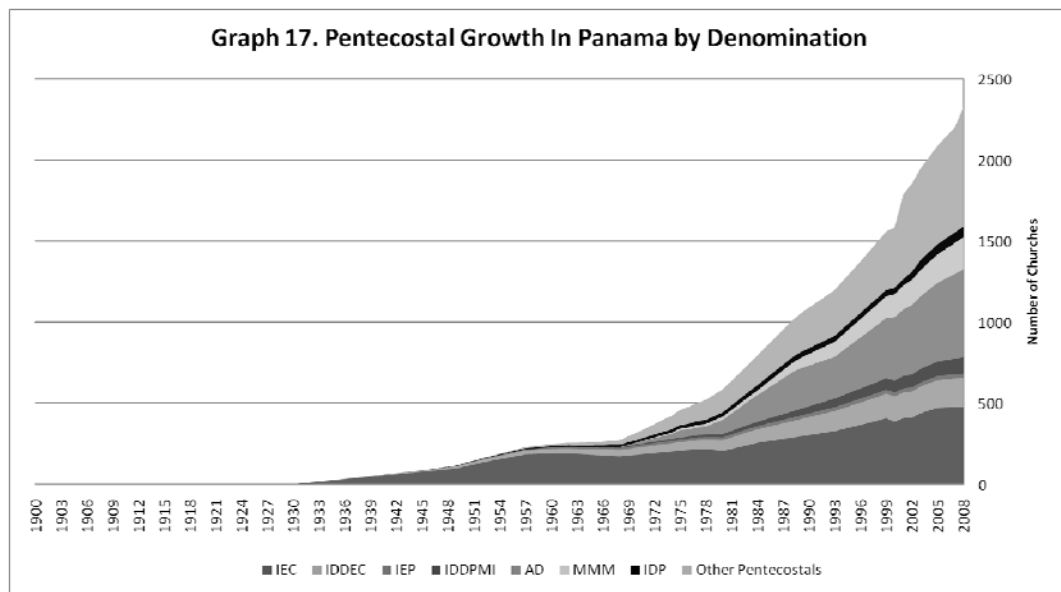
After the establishment of the IEC other Pentecostal denominations appeared. The majority were foreign denominations. The most significant of these are *Iglesia de Dios, Evangelio Completo*, (IDDEC [Church of God, Cleveland]), *Iglesia de Dios de la Profecía* (IDP [Church of God of Prophecy]), *Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal*, *Movimiento Internacional*, (IDDMI), *Asambleas de Dios* (AD [Assemblies of God]) and *Movimiento Misionero Mundial* (MMM). Some domestic denominations developed as well, primarily splits from the IEC, such as *Iglesia Evangélica Nueva Vida* (IENV) and *Iglesia*

Evangélica Doctrinal de El Pilon (IEDP). Graph 17 and Chart 13 show that the majority of Pentecostal denominations are more recent.

I believe Panamanian Pentecostalism can be divided into three stages. The first began with the arrival of the IEC, which occupied the majority of the Pentecostal field with little competition until 1967. Intense nationalist confrontation between the United States and Panama and their related ethnic groups marks this period. Pentecostal growth during this period occurred primarily in the countryside and along the Canal. New converts spread Pentecostalism along patrimonial kinship networks.

The second Pentecostal stage began in 1967 with the arrival of the AD and continued during the period of military rule until 1990. Economic and social transformation, modernization and urbanization mark this period. It was also a time of restricted freedoms and military rule by a left-leaning regime. Pentecostalism grew during this period primarily in the cities. Pentecostalism spread through crusades and large advertised campaigns. This period also gave rise to charismatic religious *caudillos*.

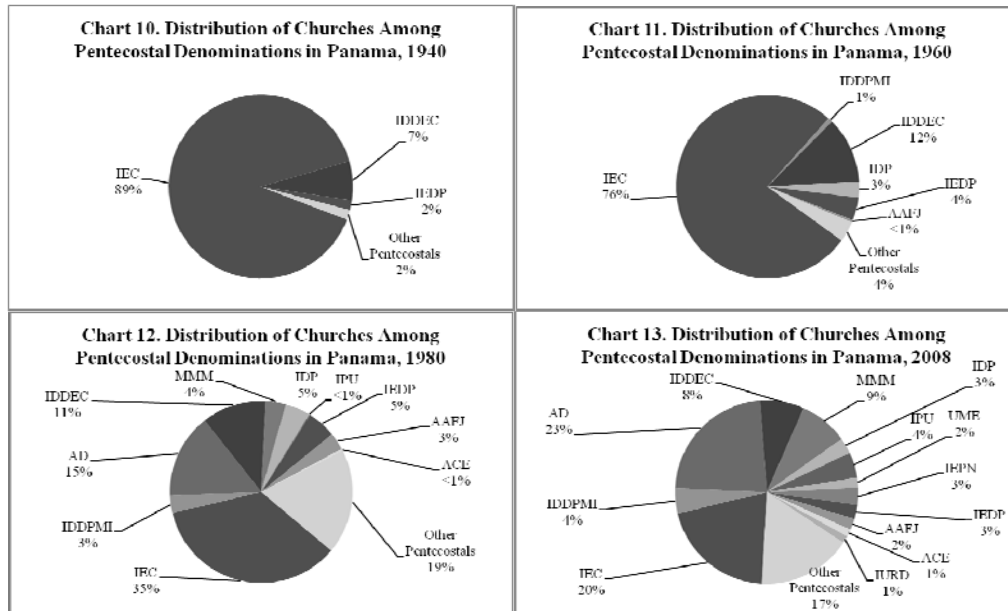
The third Pentecostal stage began after 1990. The period began with the overthrow of Gen. Manuel A. Noriega and the conclusion of military rule. Open and democratic elections mark the period, together with intense change towards a service economy without U.S. military presence. The arrival of numerous foreign and domestic denominations occurs during this period, with some of them following the neo-Pentecostal theology, including the *Iglesia Universal del Reino de Dios* (IURD).



Data derived from: Holland 1981, 2001, 2009, n.d.; Butler 1964; *Iglesia de Dios, Evangelio Completo*, n.d.; Read et al. 1969; Moreno 1983; Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et al. 2001; Barret, et. al., 2001; and denominational Websites.

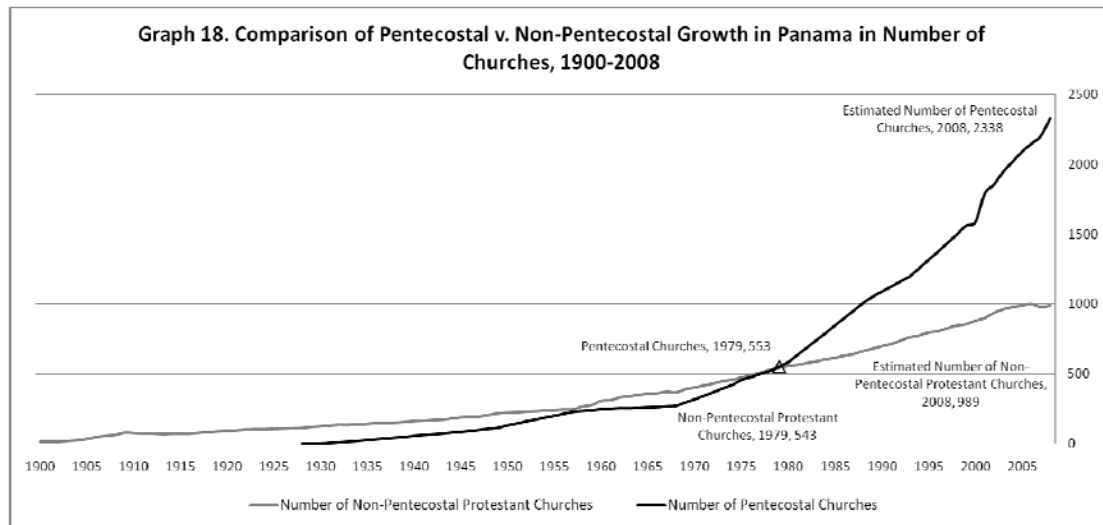
That means that the Protestant field changed significantly after 1928.

Protestantism in Panama evolved slowly from historical denominations tending almost exclusively to foreign enclaves, to an increasingly expansive and competitive faith among the Panamanian majority. In this new market, denominations of the first and second Pentecostal stages dominate the field (Charts 10–13). As in Puerto Rico and Brazil, the religious firm that opens the door for Pentecostalism has a significant advantage. In Panama, however, the IECs share of the market shrank significantly with the third stage's increased competition (Chart 13). As the AD in Brazil and the IDDPMI in Puerto Rico, the IEC continued to grow, widening and solidifying its presence throughout the market. That way, the IEC wedged open the field making it easier for more denominations to get in. Thus, competition grew over time.



Data derived from: Holland 1981, 2001, 2009, n.d.; Butler 1964; *Iglesia de Dios, Evangelio Completo*, n.d.; Read et al. 1969; Moreno 1983; Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et al. 2001; Barret, et. al., 2001; and denominational Websites.

The increase in religious supply and competition in Panama did not translate into immediate growth. Because the second wave did not really take place in Panama until the arrival of the IEC, Pentecostalism took longer to establish Protestantism as a legitimate national religion. Moreover, Pentecostalism’s late arrival in comparison to Brazil and Puerto Rico dilated the nationalization process even further. As Graph 18 illustrates, Panamanian Pentecostals took until 1979 to surpass non-Pentecostal Protestants in their number of churches. When compared to Puerto Rico’s date of 1948 and Brazil’s of 1960 I expect that all other variables also will take longer to fulfill.



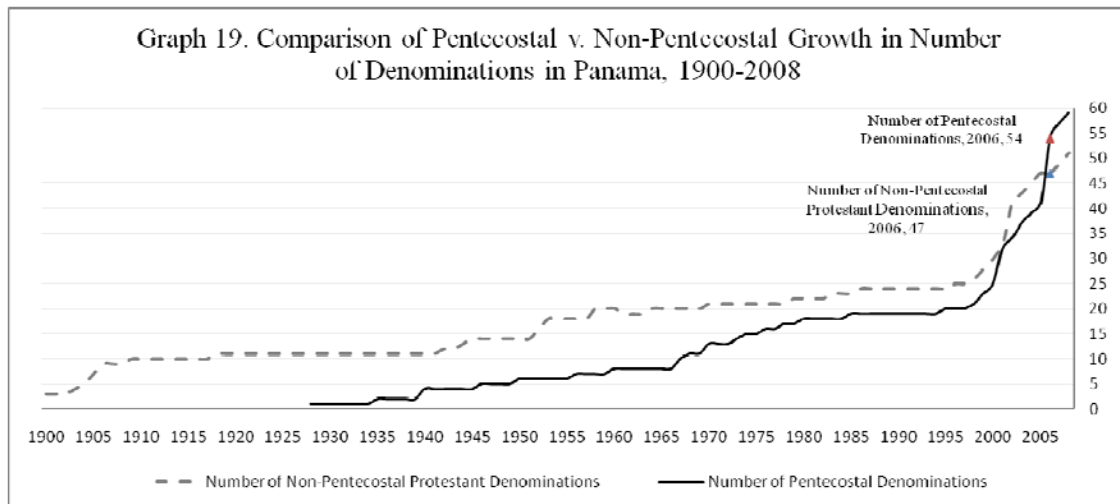
Data derived from: Holland 1981, 2001, 2009, n.d.; Butler 1964; *Iglesia de Dios, Evangelio Completo*, n.d.; Read et al. 1969; Moreno 1983; Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Johnston 1979, 1993; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Beach and Fahs 1925; Barret, et. al., 2001; Johnston et al. 2001; *Canal Record* 1907–16; denominational reports and Websites.

Another important aspect of the third Pentecostal stage is the appearance of smaller domestic denominations. This is significant because the proliferation of domestic denominations assists the nationalization process, and was an important factor in Brazil and Puerto Rico. In Panama, domestic Pentecostal denominations represent a small segment of the market but they do provide a base for the development of a Panamanian gospel as well as for the nationalization process. As their number grew in the 1990s they became more significant because they became assets for political mobilization (see Graph 19). These last two issues are discussed at length in the next section.

As noted previously, other non-Pentecostal Protestant groups began arriving after 1940. Most of these groups focused on Spanish-speakers but some of them focused on indigenous groups. Although these new non-Pentecostal Protestant groups did not garner sufficient support to overcome the Pentecostal onslaught, they did strengthen the presence of non-Pentecostal Protestantism in Panama.

As part of the new and more varied religious market, these new *evangélicos* seemed to be primarily non-Pentecostal charismatic groups. These new churches, although not requiring a complete cultural change like older historical denominations, reflected the values of modernity with their urban proselytism. In some respects, they were doing the work that the second Protestant wave never did because of the first wave's pre-1944 ethnic focus (see Graph 14). Second wave Protestants brought, among other things, evangelicalism, democratic forms of government, education, and literacy. Furthermore, although some focused on indigenous groups, the new non-Pentecostal denominations seemed to reach for the new middle classes as well.¹³⁹ Some of these new denominations even came from places in Latin America where Protestantism had taken a stronger hold, e.g., Brazil, Guatemala, Mexico, Colombia, and Puerto Rico. Although the number of denominations is not one of the essential criteria for the political incorporation of Pentecostals, we should note the late arrival of non-Pentecostal Protestants because they account for the effects of the second Protestant wave that never took place (see Graph 19).

139. Ravensbergen (2008) discusses the subject of middle-class conversion to Protestantism in Panama.



Data derived from: Holland 1981, 2001, 2009, n.d.; Butler 1964; *Iglesia de Dios, Evangelio Completo*, n.d.; Read et al. 1969; Moreno 1983; Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Johnston 1979, 1993; Beach, et. al., 1900, 1905; Beach and Fahs 1925; Barret, et. al., 2001; Johnston et al. 2001; *Canal Record* 1907-16; denominational reports and Websites.

Because non-Pentecostal Protestants are primarily part of the middle class, it reinforces the point that we cannot discount non-Pentecostal Protestants in Panama simply because they did not have a numerical majority in churches. As part of the middle class, they had greater access to decision-making. When it comes to the number of denominations, they had a majority until recently (see Graph 19). Moreover, their smallness and independence made them more susceptible to Protestant mass media and a politico-religious leadership that attempted to incorporate them to the political process.

Nationalization

Nationalization, as may be recalled, is a necessary condition for the political incorporation of Pentecostals. Nationalization occurs when 1) the majority of Protestant denominations are under national control and tend to the majority ethnic group; 2) Pentecostals become the majority of all Protestants; and 3) *evangélicos* reach 15 percent of the population. The combination of these factors makes the nationalization of Protestantism effective and political incorporation possible.

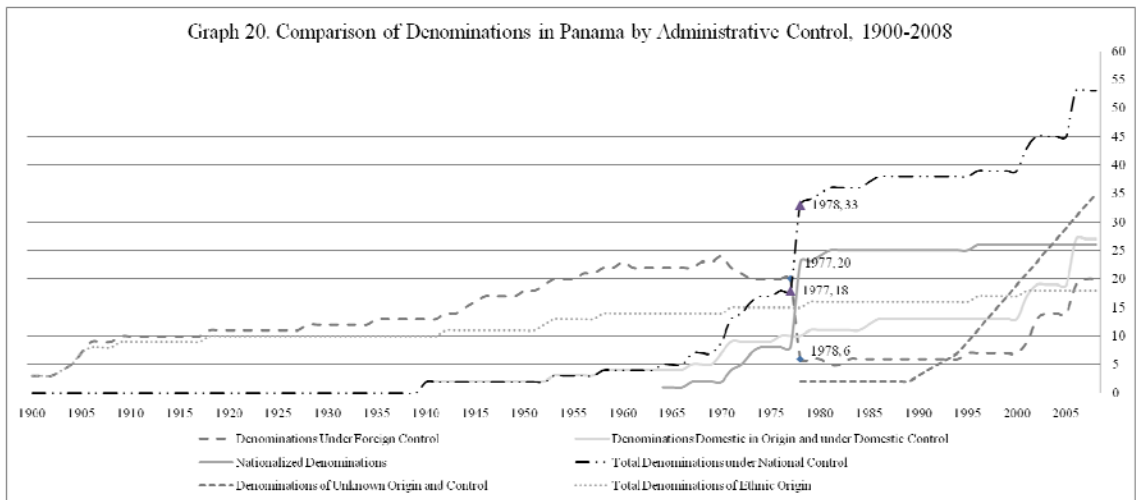
The data discussed so far illustrates several trends in Panamanian Protestantism. Graph 16 shows the steady growth in Protestant congregations throughout Panama, especially after 1968. Graphs 18 and 19 illustrate the growth in the number of Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal Protestant congregations and denominations, respectively, over time. These reflect a significant increase in the number of Protestant firms competing in the religious market, which seems to prefer the Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal product to the non-Pentecostal Protestant product. The data seems clear that Pentecostal Protestantism surpassed non-Pentecostal Protestantism in congregations in 1979 and in denominations in 2006.

Nationalization also requires that a majority of denominations be under national control and tending to the ethnic majority. Graph 14 shows that the majority of Protestant denominations were tending to Hispanic Panamanians by 1944. Domestic control, however, took longer to achieve. Graph 19 shows all denominations compared by origin and control. The first thing to note is the significance of foreign control over Protestant denominations, which continued until the 1970s. This contrasts with the small number of domestic denominations, which began to grow in the 1960s. Only a handful of foreign denominations bothered to turn over control of their denominations before 1978. Following the pre-1978 pattern, we can assume that domestic denominations could have overcome the foreign majority in the early 1980s, but the number of foreign denominations under foreign control would have remained high. Another path, however, evolved.

Although we can also assume that control eventually would have been turned over to Panamanian leadership, it was the legal requirements that changed the Protestant

religious landscape in Panama. The first legal challenge to foreign control was Article 41 of the 1972 Constitution, which required the leadership of all religious groups in Panama to be Panamanians by birth (*Constitución de la República de Panamá de 1972*). This applied to all groups in the Republic of Panama; as noted previously, however, many Protestant groups were based in the Canal Zone, and were therefore outside of Panamanian jurisdiction, although they may also have had congregations in Panama. With the signing of the Panama Canal Treaties in 1977, conditions changed. The new treaties required all religious groups to be legally incorporated in the Republic of Panama, which would make them subject to the Panamanian Constitution of 1972. Although I was unable to obtain exact dates for a number of groups regarding administrative control, I noticed that they named Panamanian leadership during this period. Because the Canal Zone ceased to exist in 1979, it seems reasonable to assume that there were leadership changes between 1978 and 1979. It seems that all but a few denominations nationalized during this period (see Graph 20). This legal requirement was later rescinded, but I believe that it had an immediate impact on the Protestant community because it forced the hand of reluctant foreign Protestant denominations into delegating power to a national leadership.¹⁴⁰ Thus Protestantism became a Panamanian religion after this period.

140. As noted in the beginning of this work, this nationalization applied only to the administrative process. Panamanian historical Protestantism would continue to depend on foreign resources for its operation. Some of the oldest and newest denominations continue to depend on foreign resources and missionaries for their routine operations.

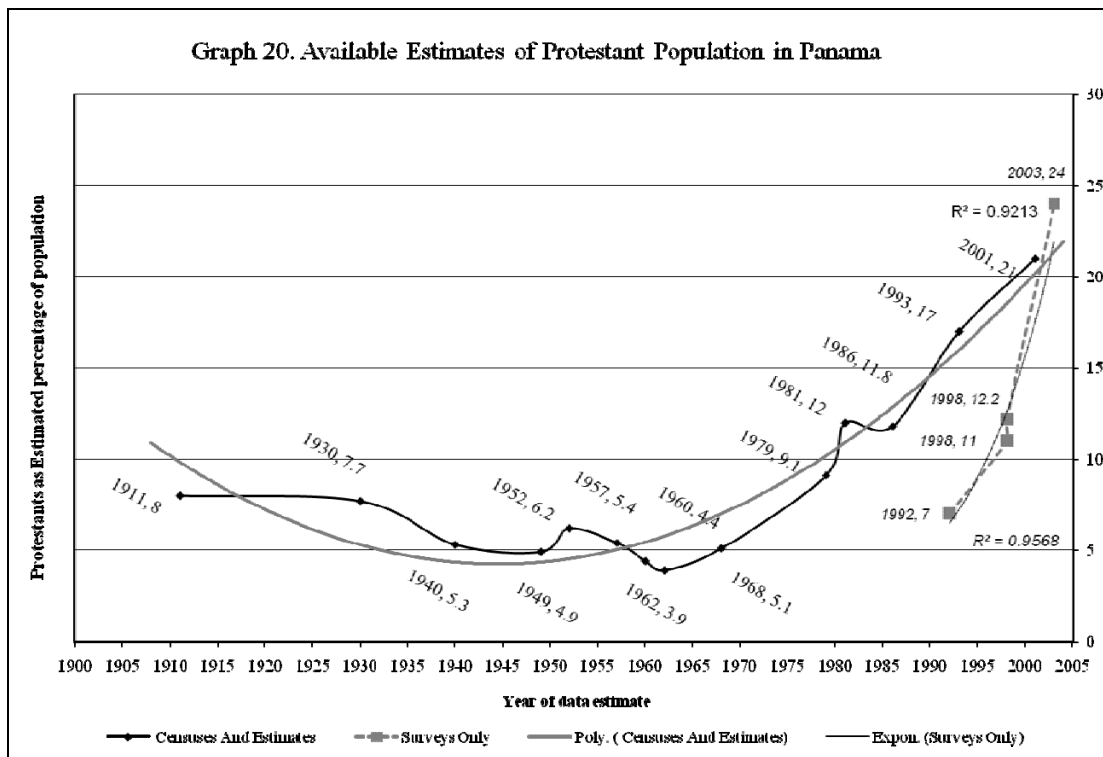


Data derived from: Holland 1981, 2001, 2009, n.d.; Butler 1964; *Iglesia de Dios, Evangelio Completo*, n.d.; Read et al. 1969; Moreno 1983; Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Johnston 1979, 1993; Johnston et al. 2001; *Canal Record* 1907–16; denominational reports and Websites.

There is one more aspect that explains the delay in the assumption of national leadership, and it has to do with the education and training of pastors. Although this is not a crucial variable, the impact of this factor was felt in Panama. Denominations that tend to foreigners often obtain their clergy from the country of origin, or if a local member joins the ministry, the local hierarchy send him abroad for training as well. Thus, there is little interest in building Bible institutes unless they are for the local majority. The first permanent Bible institute in Panama was founded by the IEC in 1937, followed by the Baptist Seminary and *Instituto Biblico Maná* in 1954 (World Council of Churches 1962: 59). Their prolonged absence delayed the other factors that make incorporation possible.

Yet, to consider Protestantism truly nationalized we must consider how many Protestants there are in Panama. As with Brazil and Puerto Rico, I relied on variety of sources for adherence statistics. For Panama, I relied on the estimates cited for Brazil and Puerto Rico, censuses, and surveys. Panama conducted censuses in 1911, 1930, and 1940 in which the government asked about religious affiliation, but the question has not been

asked since. There were a few private—and one government—surveys in the 1990s and 2000s in which this question was asked as well. Because of the significant difference between surveys and the censuses and estimates, I have plotted them separately. Graph 21 shows that Protestants reached the 15 percent mark in 1990 or 2000 (depending on the source). Because I have relied on the estimates for Puerto Rico and Brazil, for the sake of continuity I do so here as well. Thus, Protestantism reached 15 percent of the Panamanian population in 1990.

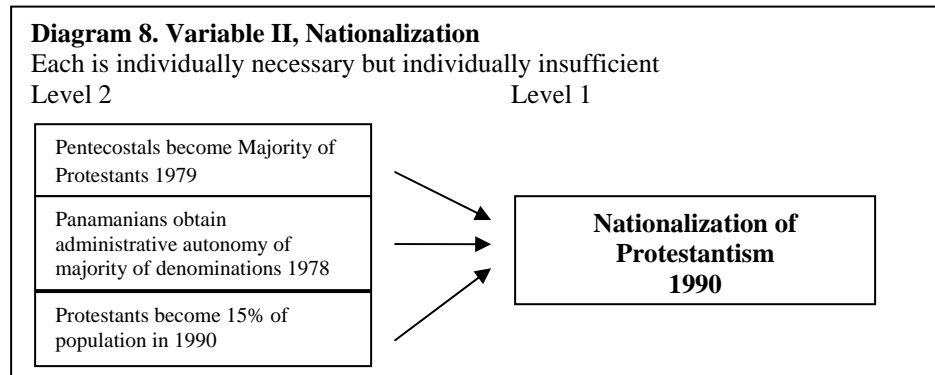


Data derived from: Bingle and Grubb 1949, 1952, 1957; Barret 1982; Coxhill and Grubb 1962, 1968; Johnston 1979; 1993; Johnston and Mandryck 2001; República de Panamá, Dirección General de Estadística, 1917; República de Panamá, Oficina del Censo, 1943-45; República de Panamá, Dirección General de Estadística, 1917; República de Panamá, Contraloría General de la República, Dirección de Estadística y Censo, 1999; CID-Gallup 1992, 1996, 2003.

Variable II

To summarize, Panama met the level 1 criteria for Variable II, “Nationalization of Protestantism,” when the case satisfied the three level 2 criteria. First, Panamanians assumed administrative control of the majority of denominations in 1978. Second,

Pentecostals became the majority of all *evangélicos* in 1979. Third, *evangélicos* became 15 percent of the national population in 1990 (see Diagram 8).



Satisfying these criteria, however, does not equal political incorporation. It only opens the door for Pentecostal entry. Protestantism in Panama still had to contend with its image as a religion of foreigners and the Canal Zone (which was still physically present with U.S. military bases until 1999). I described how the liberalization of the religious market opened the way for Protestant proselytism; I demonstrated, however, how the other level 2 criteria for Variable I were poised to delay the achievement of nationalization. Yet, unforeseen legal requirements in the 1970s forced a process that otherwise would have taken much longer. Furthermore, the arrival of the AD accelerated Pentecostal growth, which in turn spurred the growth of all Protestantism in Panama. Thus, the increase in Protestant supply combined with the nationalization of leadership helped remove the foreign influence and fostered the adoption of Panamanian forms of worship. Nevertheless, those factors delayed the nationalization of Protestantism in Panama, which had occurred more quickly in Puerto Rico and Brazil.

The Catholic Church

One of the necessary conditions for Pentecostal political incorporation is conflict. In twentieth-century Panama, there were two sources of conflict, the Catholic Church and the state. In this section, I will discuss the role and development of the twentieth-century Catholic Church in Panama, the government's neo-Christendom effort, and the Christian Democratic Party.

In Puerto Rico and Brazil, the Catholic Church had to move from a condition of state dependence in the nineteenth century to one of autonomy in the twentieth century. In Panama, however, the state monopoly had been abolished earlier than in Puerto Rico or Brazil. Because the Panamanian Church was still part of Colombia, it suffered from the vagaries of Colombian church-state relations, most significantly during the liberal disestablishment of López and Mosquera and later during the *rapprochement* under Núñez. In 1903, the Panamanian bishopric fell under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Cartagena (Muschett Ibarra 1992: 69).

As in the rest of Latin America, the Panamanian Church suffered severe losses during liberal governments. Because of Panama's peripheral status in New Granada, however, it did not go through a Romanization process until much later in the twentieth century. The nineteenth-century Panamanian Catholic Church remained weak, underfunded, and understaffed. Moreover, it was a Church primarily staffed by foreigners amid a population with significant liberal tendencies (Opazo Bernales 1988:29; Jaén Suárez 1998: 409–14).

The Panamanian Church faced an uncertain twentieth century. It began with the appointment of the Colombian Francisco Javier Junguito as Bishop of the Panama

Dioceses. Independence in 1903 gave Junguito and the Church the opportunity to play a role in the new state. Although Junguito failed, despite his lobbying efforts, to retain the all privileges the Church had had under Colombian rule, he did manage to retain a few. First, Catholicism was recognized as the religion of the majority of Panamanians (although not the religion of the state). Second, he obtained funding for founding a seminary and for Indian missions.¹⁴¹ Third, the Church retained its role of official record keeper for life events, e.g., births, deaths, and marriages. Finally, Junguito obtained the approval for religious education in public schools through a presidential decree (Osorio Osorio 2000: 489, 509).

Even with these privileges, the Church was unable to regain the personnel and property lost during the Mosquera years. Yet, the French Canal effort in the nineteenth century had brought several French Catholic priests from Martinique and Guadeloupe, which in turn became a new lifeline for the Panamanian Church (Conniff 1985: 18). This was repeated to a greater extent in the twentieth century during the building of the U.S. Canal. As with the Protestants, the ICC subsidized Roman Catholicism in the Canal Zone (see Table 13). The Zone also helped strengthen the Panamanian Catholic Church by welcoming new religious orders funded from the United States that, although meant primarily meant to tend to Catholics in the Zone, increased the number of clergy in the country (Inman 1917: 15). According to Inman (37), the Church in Panama, which still fell under the jurisdiction of Cartagena, had seventy-seven priests for the whole Republic.

141. The best documented instance of government support of Catholic Indian missions was the case of Jesuit Father Gassó among the Kuna (Solomon 1970: 56–57; CCWLA 1917b: 204).

Moreover, despite the government subsidy for a seminary, by 1917 the Catholic Church still lacked one and thus it had no place to train local aspirants to the ministry.¹⁴²

As liberals rose to power in 1912, the Church's influence began to languish. After 1916, the Church lost its funding and control over life-cycle events when a national public registry was created (Muschett Ibarra 1992: 70). The Church also had little influence on the conduct of the Protestant Congress on Christian Work in Latin America, which was held in Panama in 1916.¹⁴³ Bishop Junguito, however, promised to excommunicate anyone who visited the Congress of the "children of Satan" ("El Congreso de Panamá" 1916). It was clear that the Church's power had diminished, yet it held on to old habits.

The Church did not focus on tending to the spiritual needs of the flock. In the countryside priests lived in the world of folk Catholicism, patron festivals, and ritual sacraments, regardless of events in the city (Opazo Bernales 1988:30). Meanwhile, the focus of the ecclesiastical hierarchy consisted of maintaining whatever privileges remained (29). One factor that had helped strengthen the Churches of Puerto Rico and Brazil at a time when their power was at a nadir was Romanization.

The Romanization of the Panamanian Catholic Church began in 1925. Its first Archbishop was Guillermo Rojas y Arrieta, a Costa Rican. His focus was the formation of lay support groups and building more churches (Muschett Ibarra 1992: 71).

Archbishop Rojas y Arrieta's term concluded, however, without ordaining a single priest or opening the seminary (Opazo Bernales 1988: 29). The Church had to do more to

142. According to Inman (1917: 37), government funds were rescinded in 1916 when the government found out that there was no seminary.

143. In fact, it seems that U.S. Catholics were more concerned about the Congress than Panamanian Catholics (*Guerrilla Missionary Congress* 1916).

become stronger as an institution capable of competing with its main rival, Pentecostalism.

The Panamanian Church finally saw its main competitor in the new religious market. As noted before, the Catholic Church saw Methodism as a threat. The Catholic Church in Panama, however, had yet to see a truly competitive religious firm. The Foursquare Gospel missionaries and their recent converts were effective entrepreneurs. The “aleluyas” were so effective in their evangelistic enterprise and in using their pneumacentric “gifts” that at least three parish priests, who were later expelled from the Catholic Church, converted to Pentecostalism (Edwards 2006: 40–41, 80). Although Pentecostal competition weakened the Catholic monopoly, it also forced the Church to adapt to the new market.

The 1930s saw a significant increase in nationalist political activism. The political expression of the nationalist movement was *Acción Comunal*, under the leadership of the brothers Harmodio and Arnulfo Arias. Their *panameñismo* included support for Catholicism as an institution associated with the Panamanian nation, and they sought to create a neo-Christendom regime. With this in mind, Arnulfo Arias enshrined in Article 38 of the Panamanian Constitution of 1941: “the Catholic religion will be taught in public schools” (*Constitución de la República de Panamá de 1941*). Arias was a populist leader well known for his racial bias and his disdain for West Indians and the Chinese (Robinson 1999). As a result, his 1941 constitution denied citizenship to West Indians and Asians (Articles 11–23) (*Constitución de la República de Panamá de 1941*). To complete his defense against what he saw as a foreign threat, Arnulfo attempted to close

down all Protestant churches in Panama, although this was later reversed by the Panamanian Supreme Court (Edwards 2007: 125–6).

Nevertheless, Arias's actions did not change the weakened status of the Church as an institution, which continued until the appointment of Msgr. Francis Beckmann as Archbishop in 1945. He sought to revitalize the Church through a combination of efforts. First, he successfully lobbied to retain the Church's tax-exempt status in 1946. Second, he strengthened the hierarchy by creating four new bishoprics. Third, he called for the First Congress for Catholic Youth to energize native vocations and lay support for the Church and its doctrines, which led to the creation of the Christian Democratic Party. Finally, he reopened the seminary that had been closed since Mosquera's liberal reforms (Muschett Ibarra 1992: 71–72).

The founding of the Christian Democratic Party, or *Partido Demócrata Cristiano* (PDC), in Panama was a direct result of Church efforts at teaching Catholic doctrines to the educated youth of the middle class. Evolving from an ideological movement in 1956, the PDC became a political party in 1960. It sought to become an ideological alternative to the personalist parties of the day (Goldrich 1966: 71; Mainwaring and Scully 2003: 81). The PDC participated in the elections of 1964 and 1968, where it got a cabinet position in coalition with the elected president Arnulfo Arias. After the 1968 coup political parties were banned and the PDC would be unable to participate in politics for some time. Eventually, the PDC reappeared with the return of party politics after 1980. The PDC would rise to prominence during the elections of 1989.

Beckman's reforms were significant considering the condition of the Church prior to his arrival, but one major issue remained: the appointment of national leadership. This

problem was resolved upon Beckman's death in 1963. Beckman was the last foreign Archbishop of Panama. The Church now became more Panamanian with the election in 1964 of the first Panamanian Archbishop, Msgr. Tomás Alberto Clavel.

From this point on the Catholic Church changed its stance from conservative support for the social and political status quo towards more social and political progressive activism. Although Archbishop Clavel's tenure was short (1964–69), under his leadership, the Church entered the political arena. He took a strong stance against the tampering with the election of 1968 and against the military coup of that same year (Moreno 1983: 82).

Monsignor Clavel's early departure opened the door for the man that would define the tone for Church and state relations for the next twenty-five years. Archbishop Marcos Gregorio McGrath was by most measures a progressive and active supporter of human rights. He supported a pilot ecclesial base community (EBC) experiment in the shantytown of San Miguelito (near Panama City), which became a model for ECBs all over Latin America (Smith 1991: 106–7; Priestley 1986: 36–45; Mahon and Davis 2007).

As with the Catholic Church in Brazil, the Panamanian Church had a difficult and ambivalent relationship with the military. On the one hand, Archbishop McGrath supported the progressive populist efforts of Gen. Omar Torrijos Herrera, but, on the other hand, condemned him for the lack of political participation and openness. At the same time that Archbishop McGrath supported the nationalist agenda for the return of the

Panama Canal, he also opposed human right abuses by the military (Ropp 1972: 62; Muschett Ibarra 1992: 76–78; Opazo Bernales 1988: 27).¹⁴⁴

The military also had a paradoxical relationship with the Church. Although Torrijos and others supported the Church's progressive initiatives in the countryside and shantytowns, it disapproved of the priests' public pronouncements, which challenged military authority. In one well-known instance, this led to the killing of a Colombian priest in Veraguas (Priestley 1986: 45–46). It also led to the insertion of Article 41 into the constitution of 1972, which required that "All dignitaries of the Catholic Church in Panama, such as Bishops, General Vicars, Episcopal Vicars, Apostolic Administrators and Prelates, must be Panamanian citizens by birth . . ." (*Constitución Política de la República de Panamá de 1972*). Eventually the military rescinded this article, but it illustrates the condition of the relationship (Moreno 1983: 82).

This ambivalence would end with the death of Gen. Torrijos and the rise of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega. Noriega was less concerned with the populist reformist agenda of Torrijos. Although Panama lived under the guise of democratic elections and civilian leadership, Noriega held the strings. Over time he built relationships with international criminal syndicates and turned Panama into a way station for all sorts of criminal activities, but primarily drug trafficking. Noriega's reliance on drug money for the survival of his regime insulated him from civilian claims for democratization (Ropp 1992). McGrath and the Church, although seeking to remain independent, became supporters of the civic alliance that sought democratic reforms. The new PDC also became part of the democratization movement (Muschett Ibarra 1992: 76–78).

144. There is an extensive bibliography on the military period in Panama. See Ropp (1972, 1982, 1992), Priestley (1986), and Guevara Mann (1996).

The Church, the PDC, and the political opposition clashed with Noriega and the military during the elections of 1989. During this period, the Church took a clear stance vis-à-vis Noriega, successfully claiming the banner of representing the Panamanian people. In the political arena the PDC also stood in the opposition coalition. During the election of 1989, the PDC was the only party to post election observers throughout the Republic, who in turn provided the Church with copies of the actual results at every poll station. Thus, when Noriega annulled the elections the Church and the PDC could refute Noriega's claims by stating who really won (Gandásegui 1998: 199–201).

The events that followed the election of 1989, combined with Noriega's criminal activities, served as justification for the U.S. invasion of 1989. Regardless of the actual reasons for the invasion, it brought a new period of democratic politics to Panama. For the first time Panama would conduct electoral politics without a military and without foreign intervention.

As in Brazil, the role of the Church in the redemocratization process was recognized as critical. The Church was at the zenith of its political prestige and influence. Although the PDC did not fare well after 1991, the Church retained its role of mediator. In 1994 the Church called for the *Compromiso Ético Electoral de Santa María la Antigua* (Ethical Electoral Compromise of *Santa María la Antigua*) to assist in the fledgling democratic process. In the pact, all signatories promised to adhere to ethical and fair electoral practices for the elections. The Church, as mediator, could make public denunciations of any pact violation by the signatories. The *Compromiso* was later extended to the 1999 elections (Quintero Pineda 2000; Scranton 2000: 112).

The role the Church played during military rule, the invasion, and the transition to democracy gave Catholicism high status among all Panamanians, perhaps more so than in Brazil. Protestantism had been gaining ground in adherents, and it is likely, as elsewhere in Latin America, that there were more people attending Protestant temples than Catholic mass on any given Sunday. In terms of prestige and recognition, however, Protestants had yet to achieve parity with the Church.

Panamanian Politics

Politics in Panama bears a number of similarities with political life in Puerto Rico and Brazil. Historically, politics was a contest between elites in which the state was “patrimony of the few” (Biesanz and Biesanz 1955: 139). It had a number of personalist parties run by political *caudillos* who mobilized their clientele through the promise of spoils (139, 144). The system was also patrimonial because goods and services were dispensed based on connections, and jobs and resources were distributed primarily to supporters and *caciques* (local party bosses) (145–6, 151). Politicians and parties had platforms and programs but Panamanians understood that the real platform was “if we win we will take care of our own” (144).

Although the contours of the system and the method of dispensing goods and services have changed over time, old practices remain. There are modern national catch-all parties, but many parties today are still personality driven. There is a wide array of elected offices at every level of government, but gaining the nomination to run for office still depends on connections. The large bureaucracy ensures that goods and services are distributed throughout the country, but the manner and quantity in which they are dispensed depends on connections and resources.

Panamanian politics can be divided in three periods: before, during, and after military rule. Before 1968 politics in Panama was an elite game played among the oligarchy. Elections were frequently rigged and there was never a peaceful turnover from one party to another until 1964. Before 1936 the U.S. military intervened between factions and determined government transitions. After 1936, the Panamanian Police (later the National Guard) became the final arbiter. After the 1968 coup, the Panamanian military settled in for a long period of rule. In 1980, parties became legal again and elections began; those elections, however, were subject to military veto, first by Torrijos and later by Noriega. Democratic politics began in Panama after the removal of Noriega in 1989.¹⁴⁵

Panamanian Electoral and Party Systems

Panama has a large number of elected offices across the country. The president and mayors are elected under plurality rules; provincial governors are appointed. For the legislature, Panama has a mixed system for electing seventy-eight legislators to the unicameral Assembly.¹⁴⁶ There, twenty-seven of forty-one districts are single member districts (SMD) and elected through plurality rules. The other fifty-one seats, representing thirteen districts, are elected through open-list proportionality rules (open-list PR).¹⁴⁷

145. Some published works deal with the different periods of Panamanian politics. See Gandásegui (1998) for a broad overview, Biesanz and Biesanz (1955) cover the pre-military period, Ropp (1982) and Priestley (1986) discuss the Torrijos period, Scranton (1991) the Noriega period, Guevara Mann (1996) covers the whole period of military rule, and Pérez (2000a; 2000b) the post-invasion period.

146. The number of seats in the legislature has changed from sixty-seven in 1989 to seventy-eight in 2004 due to population growth and the creation of new electoral districts. See Singer (2005).

147. Seats in the multimember Assembly are filled using quotient, half quotient, and residue (LR Hare) rules (Jones 1995). As Singer (2005: 533–2) describes, “The initial quotient is the total number of valid votes divided by the number of seats assigned to the district. After the first round of seats are allocated according to the quotient, a second round is held to allocate seats to parties that obtained half the quotient. Any remaining seats are then assigned on the basis of the largest remainder.” There are no upper tier seats to allocate to make up for disproportionality created by the SMDs. See Lijphart (1994) for further explanation on the operation of electoral rules and their consequences.

The combination of electoral rules in the Panamanian electoral system leads in two directions. First, the plurality election of the president leads to a two-party system. Second, the rules for the legislature lead towards a multiparty arrangement with moderate disproportionality and a moderate tendency towards manufactured majorities. This leads to effectively eight parties in the largest district and two in the smallest. This means that Panama behaves like a multiparty system; the coattail effect of the presidential election, however, forces parties to form preelectoral coalitions, primarily among the largest parties. The parties then must adjust the coalitions after elections to reach a ruling majority in the unicameral legislature.

There is one more point on electoral rules that is relevant to this analysis. The Panamanian Electoral Code requires 4 percent of the national vote or one elected seat for parties to remain officially registered.¹⁴⁸ The electorate, however, realizing the bipolar nature of the Panamanian presidential system, have increasingly avoided voting for small parties. This can be seen in the persistent decrease in the total number of parties after each election. After the 1994 elections nine out of fifteen parties kept the franchise, in 1999 only five out of thirteen kept it, in 2004 five out of six, and in 2009 six of seven.¹⁴⁹ This means that Panamanians are rejecting the continued fragmentation of the political system by supporting bigger parties, thus allowing for the long-term establishment of party labels.

Historically the two largest parties in Panama were the *Partido Revolucionario Democrático* (PRD) and the *Partido Arnulfista* (PA). They trace their roots to a period

148. This minimum threshold requirement had been 5 percent until 2003 (*República de Panamá, Tribunal Electoral*, 2003).

149. All Panamanian electoral data is available at Panama's Electoral Tribunal Web site (*República de Panamá, Tribunal Electoral* n.d., 2004, 2009).

before the official establishment of democracy in 1990. Gen. Torrijos founded the PRD in 1979 to bring political legitimacy to the military government of the time. The party ran with Torrijos's "social democratic" platform. The PRD is the largest and best organized party in Panama today. The PRD ruled until 1989 and was reelected in 1994 and 2004. The PA traces its roots to the Community Action movement of 1925, and was founded by Arnulfo Arias (hence *Arnulfista*, and its "ideology," *Arnulfismo*). The party ran candidates from 1936 on, with Arnulfo Arias winning the presidency four times—and he was overthrown three times and was prevented from taking office after the fourth election. He was a true Latin American populist *caudillo* in the same line of José Figueres, Luís Muñoz Marín, Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, or Juan Domingo Perón. He died in 1984 but his successors continued to support his views by electing his widow in 1999. The PA ruled in coalition in 1989 and in its own right in 1999. The people's poor perception of the PA's performance in 1999–2004, however, led to its defeat in 2004 and the rise of a third alternative in 2009, the *Cambio Democrático* (CD), which now rules in a coalition Government (Ropp 1982; Pérez 2000b; Singer 2005; Robinson 1999; Guevara Mann 1996).

Although the two major parties in Panamanian politics have been present for a long time, it is difficult to claim that the party system is fully institutionalized. Mainwaring and Scully (1995: Introduction) recommend a number of criteria for determining party system institutionalization; because that is not the subject of this work, however, I will not focus on measuring those criteria.¹⁵⁰ It is sufficient to argue that in

150. Mainwaring and Scully (1995: Introduction) determine institutionalization by evaluating electoral volatility, the established party roots in society, by determining if citizens see if parties and politics are the means for determining who governs, and the solidity of parties as institutions. According to Pérez (2000b:

Panama, a small unitary presidential republic with concurrent elections for the executive and the legislature, functions in government like a two-party system: the PRD-led coalition and the opposition coalition¹⁵¹ (Pérez 2000b).

The Presidency and Legislature as Institutions

The two most important institutions in Panamanian politics are the presidency and the national Assembly. Before the coup of 1968, Biesanz and Biesanz (1955: 141) argued that “in practice the president is usually omnipotent,” and, furthermore, “[t]he unicameral legislature is almost always a rubber stamp of the president’s wishes, most of its members being concerned chiefly with seeing that they get their share of the government pork barrel.” Today, both institutions are supposed to be equal but in reality they are not. The presidency has proactive and reactive powers that give the president significant latitude and freedom of action vis-à-vis the legislature.¹⁵² Moreover, the limited expertise and resources at the disposal of the legislature lead to the delegation of legislative initiatives by default to the president, making the legislature reactive to executive initiatives.¹⁵³ In addition, the president has control over the disbursement of the *partidas circuitales*, a form of earmarks that are spent at the discretion of legislators within their districts, and thus an important means for building political clienteles. Moreover, low reelection rates for members of the Assembly makes legislators focus more on the short-term maximization of their corporate prerogatives than their lasting law-making legacy.

125–132), Panama had a high 39 percent volatility, meaning that the electorate had not yet identified with the system, where there was a lack of attachment to specific parties (except to the PRD), the heavy influence of personalism in numerous parties and the lack of clear political programs amongst them.

151. Jones and Mainwaring (2001) offer additional criteria and observations on the subject of party systems in small unitary presidential systems in Latin America.

152. Mainwaring and Shugart (1997: Introduction, Conclusion) provide an extensive discussion on the subject of presidential powers vis-à-vis legislatures in Latin America.

153. Cox and Morgenstern (2001) have an extensive discussion on the often “reactive” nature of Latin American legislatures.

Finally, if the president's party controls the legislature, the Panamanian president dominates the legislative process. These features translate into executive dominance in the Panamanian system (Pérez 2000a, 2000b; Guevara Mann 1998).

Two additional features related the legislature are worth mentioning: *revocatoria de mandato* (recall) and rules for the formation of *fracciones parlamentarias* or *bancadas* (caucuses). First, Article 151 of the Constitution gives the power of recalling legislators to the party, allowing it to remove an elected legislator from office if he or she does not submit to party discipline (*Constitución Política de la República de Panamá* 2004). If the legislator is removed, the party retains the seat. This measure is significant because it undercuts legislators' independence from party leadership. Second, Article 221 of the *Reglamento Orgánico del Régimen Interno de la Asamblea*, allows for the creation of a caucus with four or more members; the same article, however, forbids legislators from belonging to more than one caucus. Again, this rule, by preventing the formalization of interparty groups in the legislature, prevents the formation smaller, interest-based groups. Both of these rules strengthen the role of parties in the legislature and limit the possibilities of independent action by individual legislators.

Protestants in Panamanian Politics before 2003

The foreign nature of Panamanian Protestantism prevented it from taking an early interest in national political matters. Furthermore, it had the difficulty overcoming the traditional Protestant apolitical stance. There were a few instances, however, where *evangélicos* took a more public role. They appeared on the political radar in reaction to threats to their religious freedom, in 1941 when Arnulfo Arias ordered Protestant churches closed. At the time, Protestants reacted by appealing to the Supreme Court

(Edwards 2007: 125–126). This was also the case when the Rev. Alcides Lozano made an impassioned appeal for the removal of the clause in Article 34 of the 1972 Panamanian Constitution that gave Catholic education in schools constitutional status (Lozano 1972).

Eventually, the *evangélicos*'s decided to present themselves publicly and provide representation for their interests outside of the Canal Zone. The first national para-church organization was the *Alianza Evangélica de Panamá* (AEP), founded in 1963. The main purpose of the AEP, like the *Aliança Evangélica* in Brazil, the *Federación de Iglesias Evangélicas de Puerto Rico*, and the Isthmian Ministers Association, was to become a conduit for cooperative efforts across Protestant denominations. Moreover, Article 3 of the AEP charter stated that the AEP sought to “[r]epresent the churches, denominations and institutions that constitute it, whenever requested, before public entities and public opinion, particularly in defense of rights related with freedom of conscience and Christian action” (*Alianza Evangélica de Panamá* n.d.). The *Alianza Evangélica de Panamá*, however, was primarily composed of foreign denominations under foreign control. Only the IEC, with José Silva, was represented by Panamanian Hispanic leadership, and he was elected president (perhaps everyone in the *Alianza* understood that the IEC was the largest denomination in Panama at the time). Rev. Ephraim Alfonse, also Panamanian by birth, was also present but did not run for office. Perhaps Alphonse understood the need for a nonminority Panamanian to be the face of the organization (*Comité Pro-Alianza Evangélica de Panamá* 1963).

Things changed after the military rose to power in 1968. The Catholic Church expressed ambivalence toward military rule, especially after the death of Father Gallegos, and the military felt the same ambivalence toward the Church. The military began

courting the *evangélicos*, who had fewer qualms about supporting them. In 1970 Manuel A. Ruiz, a Pentecostal, was appointed to head DIGIDECOM (Agency for Community Development). This was an institution created by the military to organize support for the regime at the community level and replace the existing power structures, which were linked to traditional political groups (Ropp 1986: 91).¹⁵⁴ DIGIDECOM began work in San Miguelito where the Catholic Church ran their pilot EBC (see above) with the express purpose of establishing military control over the efforts there (93). It is interesting that the military placed an *evangélico* in charge (*Tabernáculo de la Fé* n.d.).

The 1990s saw the first clear attempt by *evangélicos* to enter the political realm via a political party. The party, *Misión de Unidad Nacional* (MUN), was formed on August 31, 1993 under the leadership of AD Pastor David Guerra (Morelos 1994a; Murillo Muñoz 1994). The party argued for “the need to strengthen the family and protect children and youth” (Freston 2004: 142). As a small and new party in an inchoate party system, MUN looked for ways to make a mark with the public and the political class. One of the key features of the Panamanian system at the time was the making and breaking of coalitions before elections; the practice, however, gave parties a negative image. MUN sought to make a coalition, but the coalition dissolved early on, however, damaging its public image (Soto 1994; Álvarez Cedeño 1994b). This was followed by an internal division, capped by an *en masse* resignation of members, deteriorating MUN’s image even further (Otero 1994; Murillo Muñoz 1994). In the months preceding the 1994 election, MUN, despite claiming to be a party of “new men, truly new,” acquired the

154. This was similar to an experiment conducted in Peru by the military regime there under SINAMOS (see Stepan 1978). This should not be surprising because Gen. Torrijos fashioned many of his programs and his ideology from Gen. Velázquez in Peru.

image of the old parties with their traditional practices, and was labeled as the “party of wolves in sheep’s skin” (Morelos 1994b). The MUN performed poorly in the election. It did not gain a single seat and because it got less than 5 percent of the national vote, it lost the franchise (Álvarez Cedeño 1994a). The MUN did not reappear after the election.

Although this was the first Pentecostal attempt to enter the political arena, I do not believe that the stage had been set for it. First, the Pentecostals had not reached sufficient prominence to claim the support of *evangélicos* in Panama. Second, although the party had been officially registered, the MUN did not obtain recognition from prominent Catholic national political leaders. Third, MUN failed to garner evangelical support. Fifth, they were tarnished by acting like traditional political parties. Finally, there was no follow-up to this effort. The MUN simply vanished after May 1994. Thus, I do not consider this an example of Pentecostal political entry.

Manuel Ruiz

Rev. Manuel A. Ruiz is one of the two most prominent *evangélicos* in Panama today. Ruiz’s relationship with politics began with his appointment to DIGIDECOM. After 1970 he had other appointments, including that of Panamanian Ambassador to Bolivia. In 1979 Ruiz, an ordained minister in the IDDEC, left the government to become more involved in his ministry. In 1980 Ruiz, with support from the military, opened the second largest Pentecostal temple in Panama. From his *Tabernaculo de la Fe* he began a ministry for the indigenous peoples of Panama (1985), a radio station, a television program (1987), a soup kitchen that feeds 2,500 children a day, and other ministries (*Tabernáculo de la Fé* n.d.).

Ruiz has also taken other steps in the political realm. In 1985 he co-founded the *Confederación Evangélica de Panamá* (CONEPA) (*Tabernáculo de la Fé* n.d.). This was presented as a Pentecostal alternative to the ecumenism efforts conducted between older Protestant denominations and the *Conferencia Episcopal de Panamá* (the Catholic Episcopal Conference of Panamanian Bishops), which eventually led to the creation of the *Comité Ecuménico de Panamá*.¹⁵⁵ CONEPA did not want the leaders of a few thousand Protestants to speak for the hundreds of thousands of Pentecostals. Noriega, recognizing the Pentecostals' rising importance, courted their support (Arias Calderón 2004). Ruiz even tried to organize *Clamor* in Panama (1990–1) similar to that conducted by Jorge Raschke in Puerto Rico (Ureña 1993: 74).

As *pastor-presidente* of the second largest church in Panama (estimated 3,000 members), with the status of a bishop within the IDDEC, Ruiz has significant presence and prestige among Pentecostals in Panama. In 2004 he tried to enter electoral politics. He ran as a candidate for the legislature under the banner of the MOLINERA party, in one of the largest the multimember districts in the country (Arias Calderón 2004). To everyone's surprise, he lost (Alfaro 2004), but one of his associate pastors, Raul Patterson, was elected as a *suplente* (substitute) for another representative from the *Solidaridad* party, and was reelected in 2009 as *suplente* for the same seat with the same representative but under the CD party.

There is another aspect of Manuel Ruiz that merits discussion. Although Ruiz has always been a Pentecostal associated with the Church of God (Cleveland, TN), his

155. The *Comité Ecuménico* includes *Iglesia Evangelica Metodista*, *Iglesia Metodista del Caribe y las Americas*, the Episcopal Church, the Catholic Church, the Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches in Panama, the Lutheran Church, and one Baptist congregation. (*Consejo Mundial de Iglesias* n.d.)

preaching emphasizes prosperity. Although I have not engaged in a content analysis of his preaching, during my stay in Panama in 2009 I was able to listen to several of his radio programs and in one instance attended a service at the *Tabernáculo de la Fe*.¹⁵⁶ During the visit to the temple I saw people constantly approaching the preachers who were present and putting money in their pockets. I also saw people depositing offerings in a glass box during the preaching. The frequency of people's visit to the glass offering box seems to correlate with the intensity of their apparent agreement with the preaching. Both activities occurred aside from the regular offering collection. One last feature is also significant. Rev. Ruiz has adopted the term "apostle," which in Latin America has become synonymous with prominent preachers who espouse prosperity theology.

Edwin Álvarez

Another Pentecostal that has risen to prominence in Panama is Rev. Edwin Álvarez. He was an atheist law student who had a religious conversion in his early twenties (Bilbao 2006). He joined the AD during the tent campaigns in the 1970s. In 1980 he joined an AD evangelistic crusade conducted by a U.S. missionary, who left Álvarez in charge of the *obra* after his departure (Ureña 1993: 92). The *obra* was formalized as an AD ministry in 1982. In 1984 Álvarez held his first crusade and by 1988 he had a congregation of about 2,000 (Ureña 1993: 93). One significant factor that led to the rapid growth of his ministry was the use of radio (Bilbao 2006). Over time, the ministry grew and since 2000 it occupies the largest Pentecostal temple in the country with capacity of 5,000 people (*Comunidad Apostólica Hosanna* n.d.).

156. His services are now Webcasted at <<http://www.sopladios.net>>.

Álvarez's *Ministerio Apostólico Hosanna* (Hosanna Apostolic Ministry) has become the behemoth of Panamanian Protestantism. It is a large complex, located next to a major thoroughfare, and encompasses a free clinic, television and radio studios, a university, a Bible institute, a school, the main temple, and administrative offices. The *Ministerio Apostólico Hosanna* has an episcopal organization centered on *Apóstol* Álvarez as general pastor and president of the *Ministerio Hosanna Internacional* (Hosanna International Ministry). Below him, there is a bishop, followed by four presbyters with regional responsibilities in Panama, specifically, tending to the ministry's seventy churches. Eight elders, who run daily church affairs, follow them. All of them are ordained AD ministers (*Comunidad Apostólica Hosanna* n.d.).

The *Ministerio Apostólico Hosanna* claims a membership of 17,000. This membership is maintained through *redes de crecimiento* (cell groups). These are hundreds of small Bible study groups that meet weekly in people's homes throughout the Republic. The cells are administered by supervisors, coordinators, and more pastors. The church holds services twice a day, almost every day of the week, in its large main temple (*Comunidad Apostólica Hosanna* n.d.).

Although Edwin Álvarez is an AD ordained Pastor, his preaching clearly represents the prosperity message of other modern neo-Pentecostals. Because I could not find any content analysis study of his preachings, I have to rely on the material I observed on his television programs. In those Álvarez made significant emphasis on prosperity. On Web pages associated with his ministry, the most prominent announcements are for the *Festival de la Abundancia* (Festival of Abundance). These are campaigns that emphasize that there is a season for planting and another for harvesting. During the televised portion

of the campaigns, telephone numbers are provided, each associated with a different monetary value, where people can call according to the size of the “seed” they wish to plant. These campaigns are conducted a few times a year. I can also discern the prosperity message through some of prominent guest speakers who come to Hosanna, such as “apostles” Otoniel Font and Wanda Rolón, both from Puerto Rico (*Hosanna Visión* n.d.; *Comunidad Apostólica Hosanna* n.d.).

Although prosperity is not the only message that Álvarez preaches, it has become a significant element in his messages. It is important to note that Álvarez remains an AD minister and his ministry still belongs to the *Concilio General de las Asambleas de Dios*. Thus, he is still considered by many a *bona fide* Pentecostal. His continued stress on giving money, however, and the rapid growth of his ministry, raises many eyebrows among Catholic and non-Pentecostal Protestant Panamanians.

The growth in the prominence and significance of Álvarez and his ministry has also been felt in the political realm. As Rev. Ruiz, Álvarez lamented that “half a million evangelical Christians in Panama had so little representation in the political class and none in the national assembly” (Chery 2003). As a result, he made an arrangement with his cousin, who was head of the MOLIRENA party in 2003 (Pérez 2003). In this arrangement, Álvarez was able to get a young leader in his church, Vladimir Herrera, who coordinated cell groups in San Miguelito, to run for the Assembly under MOLIRENA (Redacción 2004a). Herrera had tried to join several parties but all rejected him because of his religion (Redacción 2004a). Herrera stated that the arrangement with MOLIRENA afforded him freedom to act according to his religious conscience without having to adhere to party discipline rules (Redacción 2004a).

The Elections of 2004

Pentecostals in Panama made a definitive entry to the political arena when preparing for the elections of 2004. Álvarez began by asking *evangélicos* to close ranks in the upcoming elections by voting in favor of Christian candidates with “good testimony” (Chery 2003). To raise their profile, Álvarez and Ruiz convened a public forum, *Encuentro Nacional por la Fe y la Esperanza*, between Pentecostals, the Catholic Church, and political parties. Its purpose was that “[t]he churches in Panama . . . may have the additional opportunity of sending a message that may promote the strengthening of moral values, public and private, social justice and the public good” (Arias Calderón 2003). Álvarez also held two rallies to pray for the elections and allow the candidates to address the Protestant audience. Then he proceeded to anoint the Catholic presidential candidates who were present (“Ungidos” 2004; Ritter 2004). Each of these well-orchestrated events served to demonstrate that Pentecostals had the power of convocation, that they wish to have parity with the Catholic Church, that they meant to enter the political arena in a concerted fashion, and that they could not be ignored.

There were a number of *evangélicos* running for public office in 2004. Some were elected and some were not. The most significant loss was for Rev. Manuel Ruiz. The elected were Yasmima Guillén (*Solidaridad*), Rev. Agustín Escudé (PRD), and Vladimir Herrera (MOLIRENA) (Vargas et al., 2004). This is the clearest sign of Pentecostal political entry in Panama.

Pentecostal Politics after the Elections of 2004

The first order of business for the newly elected Pentecostal legislators was to try forming a *Bancada Evangélica* (Protestant Caucus). The rules, however, made it difficult.

First, they needed a fourth person to start a caucus, which was not difficult because there were a few members in the Assembly who were friendly to the Pentecostals.

Nevertheless, even if they could get other supporters, party discipline and the power of recall prevented them from forming a caucus. From then on, whatever they wanted to achieve in the legislature would have to be achieved through the existing party structures.

The only *evangélico* with significant freedom of action was Vladimir Herrera.

Pentecostals wanted to place their symbolic stamp in the legislature. Their first effort was to try to change the internal rules of the Assembly to allow beginning every legislative session with a prayer. The next day, in support of this first public Pentecostal political act in the legislature, Rev. Ruiz called on a massive gathering for “exorcising the evil spirits” from the new legislative session (Alfaro 2004; Aparicio 2004). The measure did not pass but it served to show Pentecostal determination. Their actions, however, also served to mobilize non-Pentecostal Protestants who perceived the significance of the Pentecostals’ actions.

There were three other subjects that brought Pentecostals and *evangélicos* to the forefront: the proclamation of the “month of the Bible” and a sexual education bill. The first measure was somewhat contentious because Panama has sizable Muslim, Jewish, Hindu, and Baha’i communities. Protestants engaged in a large demonstration in order to secure the passage of the measure (Aparicio 2005). After a year, a deal was reached whereby the Assembly declared September the month of the “Sacred Scriptures” (*República de Panamá, Asamblea Nacional, 2007*). This was Herrera’s first legislative victory. The second measure addressed sexual education. It generated great controversy because it considered bringing sexual education to schools, including the discussion of

sexual orientation. The *Alianza Evangélica* opposed the measure as proposed and Vladimir Herrera became an integral part of the amendment process. After significant amendments the law was approved with the inclusion of an advisory board, which included individuals from the *Alianza Evangélica*, the Ecumenical Council, and the Catholic *Conferencia Episcopal (República de Panamá, Asamblea Nacional 2008)*.

It is interesting to note that in these laws the Protestant and Catholic churches did not disagree in substance, and they cooperated to make the laws more amenable to the perception of their institutional interests. On the subject of sexual education both argued that parents should have a greater role in the education of children, rather than the public schools. Both also agree that “gender perspectives” have no place in the law. On the proposal for the “month of the Bible” the Catholic Church proposed calling it the “month of Sacred Scriptures” in order to be more in tune with its ecumenism policies. There was one law, however, that brought a significant amount of conflict between both groups: the treaty over military chaplaincy.

Ordinariato Castrense (military chaplaincy) is a form of *concordat* signed between the Holy See and states that want to have a bishopric dedicated specifically for their militaries. Many Catholic countries and some Protestant Countries have such agreements with the Holy See. All these treaties have a few features in common. First, Catholic chaplains fall under the jurisdiction of the Vatican as well as the state of origin. Second, the state pays the salary of the chaplains, not the Church (“Convenio” 2005; *República de Panamá, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores 2005*).

From the Panamanian perspective, the *Ordinariato Castrense* brought several problems. First, Panama has no military and thus many saw no need for a “military”

chaplaincy (Guevara Mann 2005). The pursuit of this treaty by Panamanian authorities raised many specters of the past and a cross-section of the population saw it as suspect and dangerous. It also raised the memories of how Noriega used his power to control the military chaplaincy during his rule (Gamboa Arosemena 2005; Muschett Ibarra 1992: 118). Second, the creation of a Catholic military bishopric would have constituted a direct state subsidy and sponsorship for the Catholic religion through tax dollars (Sucre Serrano 2005; De Obaldía de Díaz 2005). Panamanian Protestant denominations of all kinds directly opposed the treaty.

Because the *Ordinariato Castrense* was an international treaty, it required the ratification of the Assembly. It was there that Protestants would aim to stop it. The *Alianza Evangélica* wrote numerous letters (*Alianza Evangélica de Panamá* 2007a, 2007b, 2008). Protestants in the Assembly fought it; Álvarez, Ruiz, and other leaders lobbied as well. The crowning moment for the opposition, however, came during a special session of the Assembly. The leaders of the *Alianza Evangélica*, some of the most important Pentecostal leaders in Panama, were allowed to address the body. Rev. Manuel Ruiz made an impassioned speech in which he compared the difference in treatment that the Treaty would create to the hated “gold roll” and “silver roll” of the former Canal Zone (Ruiz 2007). After that speech, the Treaty was dead. Rev. Ruiz’s effective use of images of discrimination and nationalism from the past prevented ratification.

The legislative battles fought in the Assembly provided the necessary perception of threat required to mobilize *evangélicos*. Each of the subjects discussed were an important part of the Protestant ideological repertoire. The most significant one, however, was unequal treatment vis-à-vis the Catholic Church. No other subject is more significant

among Pentecostals, especially among its leadership. Although all the other cultural subjects are significant, none of them equals the perception of unequal treatment. I believe that the debate and defeat of the *Ordinariato* catalyzed *evangélicos* to act *en masse* for the first time in Panama. This served as the conflict that could precipitate incorporation.

The independence of Vladimir Herrera was a significant factor in the approval or disapproval of each measure. During his tenure, however, MOLIRENA got new leadership, which was unwilling to continue honoring the previous arrangement with Herrera and Álvarez. As a result, Herrera became an independent for the 2009 election. Furthermore, Ruiz expected that the “silent force will come out with candidates for office in May of 2009” (Quintero De León 2008). Herrera, the most prominent *evangélico* in the Assembly, tried making direct appeals to the electorate (Cerrud 2009). His efforts failed, however, and so did for all other *evangélicos* attempting the same.

Variable III

The event of the last twenty years in Panama lead me to believe that Pentecostalism has not completed the requirements of Variable III and therefore is not incorporated. The first criterion is that of conflict. After the satisfaction of Variable II in 1990, I can only find one period that could qualify as a conflict that could lead to mobilization. That was after 2005, during the debate for the *Ordinariato Castrense* and other issues. As noted in the narrative, the interest in the Treaty heightened the sense of inequality and frustration among *evangélicos*. I found no other event that could have heightened the perception of conflict among Pentecostals.

The acknowledgement of *evangélicos* began in the 1970s, but it took a long time to sink in among elites. The military's courting of Pentecostals could be considered as part of the acceptance. I am reluctant, however, to consider it as such. It is more likely that acceptance arrived during the period preceding the 2004 election, where deals were made with MOLIRENA. Only then traditional Catholic elites began to take interest in Pentecostals and began attending subsequent events.

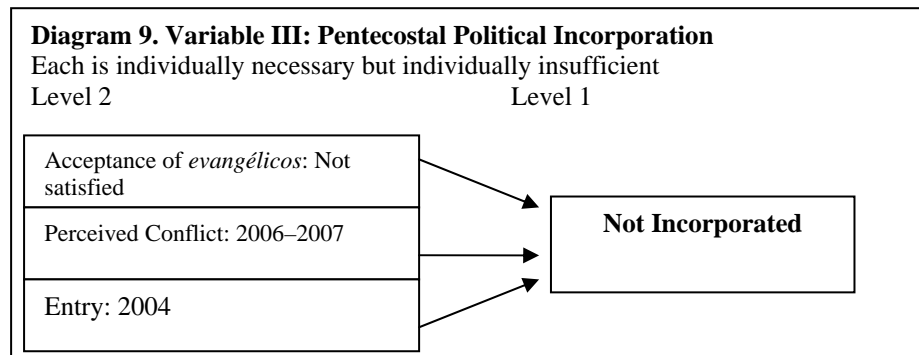
I do not believe, however, if Pentecostals have reached a level of equal status with the Catholic Church. I believe that the Assembly responded positively to the Pentecostals' plea to not ratify the *Ordinariato* for a combination of reasons, but I do not believe that they are seen as equals yet. On the subject of patronage, I did not find the evidence necessary to satisfy this requirement.

The last level 2 variable is "entry." Although the MUN entered the political scene in 1994, I do not consider that the actual Pentecostal entry. There was no legacy, no leadership, no recognition, and no patronage. I consider entry to have occurred during the 2003–4 election period. At that time, two prominent Pentecostals used their positions to try to establish a Pentecostal presence in the Assembly and three were elected. One of them, Vladimir Herrera, became their standard bearer. This was the first time that Pentecostals reached the halls of power. Moreover, there were a number of electoral victories.

According to Variables I and II, Pentecostals had the conditions to make a definitive entry after 1990. I believe, however, that the artificial nationalization of Protestantism made that premature. Pentecostals still had to overcome their foreign legacy, their minority status, the absence of Protestants among the elites, and the

traditional Pentecostal apolitical stance. It took until 2004 for the stigma to lift. Yet the process is not complete. Panama has just begun the process of political incorporation.

Thus, I do not believe that Variable III has been satisfied.



Conclusion

The Panamanian case of nonincorporation corroborates the hypothesis. The significance of the ethnic enclave delayed the process of incorporation. It shows that Pentecostal political incorporation can occur only when the necessary conditions are fulfilled. Panama demonstrates the significance of each criteria in the development of the processes that permit the achievement of subsequent events.

Religious liberty and first-wave Protestantism had been present in Panama since the nineteenth century; the absence of second-wave Protestantism, however, prevented future developments. Protestantism's emphasis on the foreign population and the continuation of the enclave until 1979 delayed the development of Panamanian Protestantism. Protestantism remained a foreign religion run for and by foreigners until the Canal Zone ceased to exist.

The burden of Panamanianizing Protestantism fell on Pentecostalism. From the beginning, Pentecostalism had to carry the burden of second- and third-wave

Protestantism among the Panamanian majority. All other processes were consequently delayed.

In 1973 a Catholic observer noted that he believed Protestants were competing with the Church. In his view, Protestants sought parity in treatment from the state, “with an eye for equality in privileges” because, at bottom, they “disputed the privileges that the Roman Church ha[d], protected by the state . . .” (Cortes 1973: 398, 401). Although there were few Protestants at the time, he believed that the true aspiration of Protestants was to obtain the “same privileges from the state” (401). Then he posed the question, “what force does Protestantism have to claim those privileges?” (401). Although his perception of Protestantism in 1973 was premature, I believe that as time changed the nature of Panamanian Protestantism his concern did come to fruition.

Pentecostal leadership seeks influence, access, and resources to further their corporate interests. They want to be part of the decision-making process on those subjects that matter to them, and become part of the clientelistic structure that pervades in Panama. They also want to be recognized as co-equals to the Catholic Church. They are not there yet but their time may come.

Part III: Conclusion

IX. Conclusion

Goal: Incorporation

Over the last thirty years, Pentecostals have entered the political realm throughout Latin America. They have argued that *evangélicos* need to enter the political arena to make their voices heard. Pentecostals have argued that it was time to show that *evangélicos* had “come of age” and could now participate in the political arena. They arrived with a moralizing agenda and with the desire to secure their religious liberties. Their implicit goals, however, were to gain recognition from Catholic elites, to participate in the decision making process, and to gain access to government resources. Only then can Pentecostals feel they have reached a level of public and political equality vis-à-vis the Catholic Church.

To achieve those goals, Pentecostals have generally tried three routes. In some countries, Pentecostals have created political parties. In others, they have joined existing parties. In yet others, they have acted as pressure groups. Regardless of the country, these were merely strategic vehicles used to achieve the ultimate goal of incorporation. The important question is not what route they have chosen but if the goal has been achieved.

The possibility of incorporation depends on a series of factors. This study argues that three historical processes contribute to the permanent and effective incorporation of Pentecostals into politics: (1) the time and method of entrance of missionary Protestantism, (2) the nationalization of Protestantism, and (3) the Pentecostal political incorporation.

I believe that historical conditions and their interaction are intrinsic to the process, regardless of the wishes of religio-political entrepreneurs. I hypothesized that an entrepreneur's attempts will fail if the proper historical conditions are not present. These conditions forge a path for the rise of Pentecostal politics, allowing the Pentecostal leadership to make an effective move for incorporation. Thus, a Pentecostal failure to incorporate would be the result of the absence of one or more of these conditions. In this study, I have attempted to demonstrate how these long-term historical conditions facilitated the incorporation of Pentecostals in Puerto Rico and Brazil and prevented it in Panama. Table 15 illustrates the results of this study by case and historical variable.

Congruencies and Incongruences

I believe that the data presented in the three cases corroborates the hypothesis. The congruence demonstrates that only in countries where historical conditions are present will a religio-political entrepreneur's efforts lead to incorporation. The data gathered and analyzed in the case chapters illustrates the impact of historical factors on political incorporation. Each of the variables can have a long-term impact on the effort to incorporate Pentecostals into the political system (see Table 15).

Country	Variable I				Variable II			Variable III				
	Missionary Entrance	Religious Liberty	Pentecostal Entrance	Variable Satisfied	Pentecostal Majority	Administrative Autonomy	Protestant 15 percent	Variable Satisfied	Acceptance of <i>Evangélicos</i>	Perception of Conflict	Pentecostal Entry	Variable Satisfied
Brazil	1855	1824/1891	1910-1	1911	1960	1981	1982	1982	1986-91	1986-89	1986-89	1991
Puerto Rico	1899	1898	1916	1916	1948	1937	1981	1981	1980-96	1960/1973/1992	1992	1992-96
Panama	1906/1928	1853	1928	1928	1979	1978	1990	1990	No	2006-7	2003-4	No

*Dates separated by a slash represent separate events. Dates separated by a dash represent time periods.

Puerto Rico and Brazil demonstrate similar outcomes despite significant social, historical, and political differences. That both countries experienced first, second, and

third wave Protestants gave momentum to efforts of proselytizing. Both also had an early Pentecostal majority that led to similar nationalization periods. Also, in both countries *evangélicos* were able to convey images of conflict to their followers, which facilitated acceptance and incorporation. Most importantly, Brazil and Puerto Rico had religio-political leaders who proved capable of organizing the diverse mass of the *pueblo evangélico* in support of their agenda. Pentecostals in Brazil and Puerto Rico overcame Pentecostals' traditional apolitical stance, entered the political fray, were accepted, and became incorporated.

In the case of Panama, there were congruencies with Brazil and Puerto Rico among the social and historical factors, but not enough to allow political incorporation for Pentecostals. Brazil and Panama had significant foreign enclaves, but Panama's enclave had a detrimental effect in the incorporation process. In addition, the Panamanian and Brazilian militaries made overtures to *evangélicos* but neither gave them the acceptance that *evangélicos* sought.

Another similarity between Brazil and Panama was the earlier process of religious market deregulation, but it led to different outcomes. Brazil's gradual opening attracted foreign missionaries dedicated to the majority population, whereas Panama's sudden opening did not. I also expected to find records of a significant increase in missionary activity in Panama and Brazil after their respective markets opened completely, but this turned out not to be the case. Although new missionaries did come to Brazil, many Protestant missionaries were already in country. The reforms simply made it easier for them to proselytize. It took until the early twentieth century for the number of foreign missionaries to increase substantially. In the case of Panama, the opening of the religious

market made it possible for foreigners to open their churches, but no missionaries came specifically to reach Spanish-speaking Panamanians.

There are also some similarities between Panama and Puerto Rico. They had similar periods of missionary entry following a U.S. military intervention. Missionaries to both countries, however, focused their efforts differently, taking Protestantism in different directions.

There were also two significant differences in the case of Panama. First, there was the significance, proximity, and longevity of the Canal Zone. Its size and relative wealth, as well as the primacy of English made it too attractive for foreign missionaries to pass. Second was the almost total absence of second-wave Protestantism. Although these two issues have been discussed at length in this study, I would like to highlight one point. The presence of the Canal Zone, with its large foreign Protestant population, is the reason why there was no second Protestant wave in Panama. The absence of Pentecostal political incorporation hinges almost completely on this. Thus, the case illustrates the long-term impact of the historical variable.

A comparison of the results also illustrates four points of interest. First, religious liberty seems essential for effective Protestant proselytism and Pentecostal growth. The Puerto Rican case illustrates this point. Before 1898, any Protestant proselytizing efforts faced stiff resistance from the state and the Church. Only a radical change in the state's will to enforce the religious monopoly changed market rules. Brazil and Colombia had a more gradual approach, but ruling elites chose not to enforce the rules under the *patronato* because they sought to weaken the Church. Eventually Brazil and Colombia dissolved the *patronato*—but only after they had enacted piecemeal reforms.

I could have logically assumed that Protestantism would arrive sooner and grow faster in those places where religious liberty arrived first; that depended, however, on the kind of Protestant effort that followed the legal reforms. Early religious liberty translated into greater religious freedom for ethno-religious minorities. First-wave Protestants benefited from these gains but they also strengthened religious liberty. And thus, I see the importance of the first wave, which paved the way for the second and third Protestant waves (see Table 16).

Country	First Wave	Second Wave	Third Wave
Brazil	1817	1855	1910–1
Puerto Rico	1815/1868	1898	1916
Panama	1815/1854–1905	1906/28	1928

Dates separated by a slash represent separate events.
Dates separated by a dash represent time periods.

Nevertheless, the Puerto Rican case illustrates two points. First, Protestants need significant religious freedom to grow. Second, just because religious freedom arrives later does not mean that Protestantism should take longer to grow. A coordinated and determined Protestant effort in Puerto Rico overcame the island's growth lag in comparison to other mission fields. It should also be noted that the national character of Pentecostalism accelerated the process even further. As a result, although the second Protestant wave arrived later in Puerto Rico than in Brazil, Pentecostalism incorporated at about the same time as in Brazil, where the second wave had arrived in 1855.

On the other hand, there is no guarantee that the second wave will arrive sooner just because there exists a deregulated religious market. This is the second point uncovered by the contrasting qualities of Brazil, Puerto Rico, and Panama. First-wave Protestants had lived in Panama since about 1815 and had had significant religious liberty since 1853; the majority population, however, remained effectively ignored by most missionary forces until 1928. The delayed appearance of second-wave Protestantism delayed all subsequent processes related to the political incorporation of Pentecostals. Furthermore, in Panama, the association of Protestantism with the Canal Zone added a stigma to the religion. I believe there is a similar relationship between Brazil and Protestant Germans and between Panama and the Canal Zone. I believe that Protestantism in Panama did not grow because of Canal Zone Protestants' efforts but in spite of them.

I believe that the process of Protestant nationalization in Panama would have been delayed much longer had it not been for the political dissolution of the Canal Zone and the legal requirements for the nationalization of Protestant leadership. As in the case of Puerto Rico and religious freedom, a legal change made a significant difference in the characteristics of the religious market. Still, the absence of a second Protestant wave prevented Panama from having the necessary foundation among the middle and upper classes that could lead to its acceptance among the elites. The absence of the second wave prevented Panama from developing Protestant newspapers, colleges, hospitals, and other institutions from where middle-class Protestants could rise to the elite. The only second-wave institution in Panama is the *Instituto Panamericano*, and although it has had a

significant impact on Panamanian education, it is difficult to say what influence it has had in creating favorable national opinion towards Protestantism among the elite.

The third point concerns the delayed Pentecostal political entrance in Puerto Rico. Considering how quickly Pentecostalism overcame Historical Protestants and Protestantism became nationalized I would have expected a quicker path to incorporation. Although there were political adventures in 1960, 1973–4, and 1980, there was no effective entry until much later. We can document the growth in Pentecostal political prominence and recognition, but there was no definitive entry. It was not until the conflicts of 1992–6 that Pentecostals definitely entered the political arena and were accepted by the Puerto Rican political leadership. I believe that the delay in Puerto Rican Pentecostals' entry had to do with the prevailing institutional arrangement of single-member-district plurality rules for elections and the island's strong two-party system (see Table 17).

Country	Electoral System	Party System	Entry Choice
Brazil	PR Open List	Less Institutionalized Multiparty	Existing Parties
Puerto Rico	SMD-FPTP	Institutionalized 2 PS	Pressure Group
Panama	MM Parallel (SMD-FPTP & PR Open List)	Less Institutionalized Multiparty	New & Existing Parties

Although the Puerto Rican institutional arrangement delayed incorporation it did not prevent it. The institutional arrangement required better coordination among Pentecostals and made them wait for a significant conflict that could galvanize support. Pentecostals also had to wait for a Catholic leader that was willing to risk his or her

reputation for Pentecostals. This is where the significance of the Variable II criteria becomes clear. Although Puerto Rican Pentecostals had met certain criteria for incorporation by 1980, Puerto Rican elites were not ready to accept them fully. The conditions for their acceptance were not in place until 1992. The real obstacle was elite acceptance, not the institutional arrangement.

By contrast, the institutional arrangements in Panama and Brazil made it simpler to enter the political arena. In Brazil, *evangélicos* opted to join existing parties because the proportional open-list rules could give them the opportunity to organize corporate voting at the state level. This strategy worked well for Brazilian Protestantism because it was better organized at the state level. They would eventually become better organized at the national level and achieve incorporation in 1991.

In the case of Panama, the weak party system in 1994 presented an opportunity for entry; the conditions for political entry, however, were not present. Panamanian Protestantism was still too weak, young, and unorganized. As a result, the MUN effort failed.

Panamanian Pentecostals learned the lesson of 1994. In 2003–4, they tried to enter the electoral fray through existing political parties. Furthermore, by that time the Panamanian party system had become more institutionalized, with fewer parties competing in elections. Still, although the absence of conflict prevented the election of a prominent pastor, other *evangélicos* were elected.

Despite some political victories, Panamanian Pentecostals remain unincorporated. Their electoral victories were short lived; their legislative presence lasted one five-year cycle. The Pentecostal leadership remains engaged but they have yet to achieve

acceptance. This is the fourth point: Pentecostals in Panama have yet to receive the hallmarks of acceptance—recognition, resources, and parity with the Catholic Church.

Country	Public Recognition	Patronage	Parity with Catholic Church
Brazil	1986	1986–91	1986
Puerto Rico	1980–96	1996	1992
Panama	2003–?		2006–?

Dates separated by a slash represent separate events.
Dates separated by a dash represent time periods.

The elements of acceptance need not be in a specific order but all must be present. All three countries have had *evangélicos* publicly recognized by the national political leadership. In Panama, one could argue that Torrijos was the first one to do so, but the dismantling of the military regime and the absence of the other conditions make it impossible to consider this event as satisfying the criterion. As with Brazil and Puerto Rico, some sort of ongoing political process must follow the public recognition. In Brazil, it was the Constitutional Assembly. In Puerto Rico, it was the annual gatherings of *Clamor* attended by Catholic politicians.

I argue that recognition in Panama began when MOLIRENA organized the first public debate under the auspices of Álvarez and Ruiz, which was followed by the electoral period, the election of 2004 and all the ensuing public marches. Every subsequent mass gathering held by Álvarez has had Catholic politicians in attendance.

Panama falls short, however, on the other two criteria. I saw no substantive evidence concerning the issue of patronage. I do not believe that Pentecostal leaders have become conduits for resources yet. Thus, this element remains unfulfilled. Finally, the

issue of parity with the Catholic Church remains unfulfilled as well. The debate over the *Ordinariato Castrense* began raising the prospects for parity, but when one considers the preferential treatment (e.g., subsidies) the Catholic Church receives vis-à-vis Protestants, as well as the Church's public role as a political mediator, one can see that *evangélicos* still have a long way to go.

Conclusion

I have tried to demonstrate that a set of historical conditions determine the viability of Pentecostal political incorporation in Latin America. I have compared the cases of Puerto Rico, Brazil, and Panama to draw lessons from their experience. I examined the similarities and differences between cases to highlight the significance of the long-term historical processes that aid or hinder Pentecostal political incorporation.

Incorporation is a form of interest group politics that seeks to gain access to decision making. It is a process that Pentecostals pursue in order to obtain parity with the Catholic Church. It has relied on Pentecostal religio-political entrepreneurs who vie in the political arena to advance their understanding of Pentecostals' and *evangélicos*' interests. In Brazil and Puerto Rico, it occurred only when religio-political entrepreneurs made sustained, long-term efforts to mobilize *evangélicos* as a group. They succeeded in doing so only when the historical conditions were in place to make it so. Conversely, the different conditions in Panama have prevented it. It does not mean that Pentecostals will never become incorporated in Panama. It is likely to happen; it will only happen, however, when all the conditions are met.

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