

NEW APPROACHES TO STUDYING
THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN
LATIN AMERICA

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UMBANDA: RELIGION AND POLITICS IN URBAN BRAZIL. By DIANA D. BROWN. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International Research Press, 1986. Pp. 256. \$44.95.)

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND RELIGIONS IN LATIN AMERICA. Edited by THOMAS BRUNEAU, MARY MOONEY, and CHESTER GABRIEL. (Montreal: Centre for Developing-Area Studies, McGill University, 1984. Pp. 279. \$15.00.)

RELIGION AND POLITICAL CONFLICT IN LATIN AMERICA. Edited by DANIEL H. LEVINE. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986. Pp. 266. \$24.95 cloth, \$9.95 paper.)

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND POLITICS IN BRAZIL, 1916-1985. By SCOTT MAINWARING. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986. Pp. 328. \$37.50.)

THE CHURCH AND REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA. By LAURA NUZZI O'SHAUGHNESSY and LUIS H. SERRA. Monographs in International Studies, Latin America Series, no. 11. (Athens: Ohio University Press and Swallow Press, 1986. Pp. 118. \$11.00 paper.)

Twenty-five years ago, the role of the Catholic Church in Latin American politics and society was virtually unexplored in U.S. scholarship. Latin America was considered to be an almost exclusively Catholic region, and no one questioned the assumption that the church exercised great political and economic influence as well as spiritual leadership throughout the region. Indeed, this influence was assumed by many to present the greatest obstacle to developing national cadres of modernizing elites. Because of the hierarchical nature of the institution and its identification with traditional elites, modernization was considered to be a direct threat. The church was viewed as essentially conservative, interested only in preserving its privileged position in the legal and social structures that historically had been the sources of its influence. Yet despite the church's enormous resources and presumed resis-

tance to "progress," many analysts writing at the time optimistically predicted that modernization was inevitable. Modernization, in turn, would relegate the church to its "proper" place in the private sphere, leaving public or political matters to "modern" institutions like political parties or trade unions.

The study of the church has come a long way in twenty years, primarily because of unforeseen changes within the church itself. The dramatic impact of liberation theology, the bishops' conferences at Medellín (1968) and Puebla (1979), and the effects of persecution at the hands of reactionary regimes have been discussed at great length elsewhere.¹ Suffice it to say that developments both within the church and in Latin American politics and economies have forced scholars to re-examine their assumptions concerning the contemporary Catholic Church. Rather than withering and disappearing with the onslaught of modernization, the church has become arguably one of the most vital and significant institutions in a number of Latin American countries. Moreover, the church has undergone a dramatic reorientation (although not uniformly) from being an ally of traditional elites to an institution with a "preferential option for the poor" acting as a "voice for the voiceless." These changes have spawned a plethora of new studies examining the role played by the Catholic Church in Latin America.

Whereas previous studies tended to view the church as a monolithic institution with relatively straightforward and transparent interests, renewed interest in the church has resulted in a wide variety of new approaches, research questions, and interpretations of church activity. The books chosen for this essay reflect three major research foci: the role of Catholic churches at the national level, the impact of the national and international hierarchies on individual faith and local parish life, and the relationship between the Catholic Church and other non-Catholic or "popular" religions or both. These divergent themes revolve around several general theoretical questions that dominate the study of churches and religions in Latin America today. What is the real "influence" exercised by the church, and how can it be measured? What are the true "interests" of the church, and are they complementary or contradictory? How can the models of the institutional church and the so-called popular church be reconciled, both theologically and in practice? Is the phenomenal rise in non-Catholic popular religions in some way related to the changes that have occurred within the Catholic Church over the past several decades?

Scott Mainwaring's *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil* touches on several of these themes. His primary theoretical disagreement with previous works on Latin American churches is that they employ an excessively institutional approach to the church. By emphasizing such facets as maintaining financial resources or political power,

Mainwaring argues, previous works have undervalued the importance of faith and mission, those characteristics that set the church apart from other social institutions like political parties or trade unions. He advocates instead an approach that recognizes the tension between the non-rational sources of inspiration in religious organizations and their inevitable concern for institutionalized and instrumental practices, roles, and authority patterns. While this approach does not deny that churches have instrumental interests, it can account for those occasions when traditionally conservative religious organizations undergo dramatic transformations that do not appear to be to their immediate benefit: "When an institution's fundamental end is non-rational, it may be willing to sacrifice some interests if it is convinced that it has a calling to do so. A church will renounce financial benefits, prestige, institutional expansion, and other interests if it feels that its religious mission compels it to do so. Forgetting this point is tantamount to eliminating the religious element from the study of the Church" (p. 10). Although Mainwaring never offers any general theoretical explanation for occasions when these kinds of changes may or may not occur across cases, his exploration of this theme in the Brazilian case lays the foundation for future comparative work.

Because of the dramatic changes within the Latin American church in the past several decades, academic as well as media attention has tended to focus almost exclusively on the "progressive" or "popular" wing of the church.² Mainwaring's analysis, too, revolves entirely around the roots and rise of progressivism in the Brazilian Catholic Church since the early part of the twentieth century. What distinguishes his work from others, however, is his success in avoiding historicist or simplistic explanations of the reasons why the Brazilian church has become the most progressive in the region. Most studies of the Latin American Catholic Church since Vatican II note that the combination of new theological conceptions plus the wave of military coups bringing severe and widespread repression propelled some national churches into pioneering new and progressive social policies. Mainwaring discusses these influences on the Brazilian church but also explores the way in which the hierarchy and the local base level of the church interact to affect change in social thought and practice. He argues in several of the later chapters that change resulted not simply from directives from the "top" or pressures from "below" but from an intricate dialectic between the two. Mainwaring's examination of elites as well as grass-roots organizations sets his work apart from the majority of studies that focus almost exclusively on the role of church leaders in institutionalizing change. This focus also lends credence to his thesis that change comes about from a complex interaction among various levels of church hierarchy.

Change is typically thought to occur within the church when the hierarchy perceives that its "interests" are in some way threatened. By implication, then, changes are conceived of as defensive reactions to new conditions, reactions that occur only when church leaders find that previous strategies no longer work. Mainwaring, however, uses historical analyses of the so-called popular church and the Juventude Obrera Católica de Brasil (JOC) as well as a case study of Nova Iguaçu to demonstrate that changes in the Brazilian church occurred neither suddenly nor in direct correspondence with sociopolitical events and developments. Rather, many of the new conceptions of faith and practice were rooted in previous movements. These new conceptions gained ascendancy within the hierarchy when particular bishops responded to a sense of sociopolitical crisis by allowing grass-roots organizations flexibility in coping with the effects of state policies. These bishops became an increasingly progressive and vocal minority in the Brazilian hierarchy, which was in turn reinforced by changes in the church's self-conception throughout Latin America and (until recently, at least) the universal church since Vatican II. The value of Mainwaring's work is his demonstration that change is not attributable to any one relationship—between the church and the state, the society, or a particular group, or between progressives, conservatives, or reformists within the church.

The other Latin American church that has undergone perhaps as dramatic a transformation as the Brazilian church is the Nicaraguan church. In *The Church and Revolution in Nicaragua*, however, Laura O'Shaughnessy and Luis Serra are less interested in explaining the changes in the Nicaraguan church than its continuities. The first essay by O'Shaughnessy reviews post-Medellín Catholic theology and describes the widening rifts between the institutional church, the popular church, and the Sandinista government. O'Shaughnessy's thesis is that the institutional church, led by Archbishop Obando y Bravo and supported by Pope John Paul II, has pursued a deliberately hostile policy toward the Sandinista government for essentially political reasons. One of the reasons offered for the conservative, or even reactionary, church stance toward the revolutionary regime is the ambivalence of contemporary Catholic theology, which legitimizes no single set of sociopolitical or economic priorities. Most of the essay focuses on the issue of class. According to O'Shaughnessy, tensions between the Nicaraguan church hierarchy and the government must be understood in the context of the bishops' continued sympathy for the class interests of former elites, who now constitute the opposition. For example, O'Shaughnessy reduces the assertion that the church must reserve the right to criticize all forms of governance because of its universal mission to all humanity to a ploy of "the upper-middle classes who increasingly (and lamentably) used this tradition for political purposes" (p. 6). O'Shaughnessy also

argues that the church has viewed Sandinismo as a fundamental threat to its power. "On an affective and symbolic level, it [Sandinismo] could challenge Christianity. The church anticipated a struggle for the hearts and minds of the faithful and feared that Sandino could replace Christ as the liberator" (p. 10).

Given the assumption that reactionary threats to the church have instigated progressive responses elsewhere, it would have been interesting if O'Shaughnessy had explained more fully why a revolutionary government must necessarily elicit a reactionary response. Do leftist governments and movements always present the challenge of either Christ or the movement? This assertion appears simplistic, especially given the pervasive changes within other Latin American churches and the innovative examples of cooperation with the Sandinista regime by significant sectors of the Nicaraguan church.

The second essay by Luis Serra takes up the role of the church in propagating the ideology of elites. Serra argues that the postrevolutionary stance of the Catholic hierarchy is nothing more than the continuation of the church's traditional role of legitimizing a rigid and closed class system. The essence of Serra's argument is that the church always has been and still is manipulated by pro-imperialist middle and upper classes. Christianity, as understood by these reactionary or even reformist sectors, continues to be nothing but an "opiate" for oppressing the majority.

What is surprising about Serra's essay is not the rather straightforward Marxist critique of the church—Serra has participated in various Sandinista policy initiatives, including the national literacy campaign. What is noteworthy is the lack of attention given to the popular or "parallel" church in Nicaragua or to the grass-roots base Christian communities (CEBs). Serra defends his focus on the upper echelons of the formal hierarchy by asserting that "rank and file Christians have a minimum of influence" in the vertical and hierarchical power structure of the church (p. 88). Far more suggestive, however, is his unsubstantiated statement that the revolutionary Christian sector is rapidly declining in membership and influence at the grass-roots level. Given the amount of attention devoted to this sector in academic and media coverage, it is disappointing that Serra did not elaborate on the relationship between the popular and institutional church in Nicaragua.³ Indeed, the grass-roots movement in Nicaragua has been held up as a model for Christian-leftist cooperation. Serra could have made quite a contribution to the comparative study of the church and to readers' understanding of the possibilities for church participation in Latin American aspirations for greater socioeconomic justice if he had analyzed what he perceives to be the failures of the Nicaraguan Christian revolutionary sector.

This kind of comparative contribution is made by *Religion and Political Conflict in Latin America*, edited by Daniel Levine. The theoretical chapters by Levine, Thomas Kselman, and Charles Reilly on the concept of the poor and the "popular" in today's Latin American church offer thoughtful, probing essays on the debates in the recent literature over these terms. Rather than frame the discussion of the popular church versus the institutional church in terms of two opposing political agendas, as Serra and O'Shaughnessy suggest, the contributors to the Levine collection stress the autonomy of religion and the church as well as their relationship to the political realm. Levine states this central theme of the book well: "All the studies here show that 'religion' (ideas, groups, practices and the like) creates interests of its own and, further, that the values and social bonds arising from religion have independent consequences for politics. Thus the issue is not well seen as 'religion or politics,' nor is it well addressed by current concerns over the 'politicization of religion.' These formulations obscure reality, for the fact is that religion and politics have *always* been related. What is new is not the relationship itself but the specific ideas and organizational forms in which it emerges now" (p. 17). Kselman's essay builds on this theme by tracing the theological roots of the concept of popular religion through the history of Catholicism, showing that much of the current politically charged debate stems from the church's historical ambivalence toward orthodoxy versus toleration for "extra-Catholic" expressions of faith. Reilly's contrasting focus centers on the origins and variations of populism as a political movement. He draws a distinction between traditional statist models in the Latin American context and the Catholic organizational concept of *lo popular*, which is grounded in civil society and contributes to democratization.

These chapters are followed by a series of country studies on El Salvador, Nicaragua, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Bolivia. Each contributor examines the extent to which progressive movements have penetrated these individual national hierarchies. Most authors pay special attention to the peculiar challenges faced by national churches and how the hierarchies' perceptions of these challenges have helped shape the varying ways that innovations like base Christian communities are structured and tied to the institutional churches. For example, Levine's explanation of the continuity and theological conservatism in the Colombian church contrasts sharply with both Phillip Berryman's and Michael Dodson's description of church struggles in El Salvador and Nicaragua, which produced a far greater degree of autonomy for the CEBs and progressive clergy. The chapters by Thomas Bruneau and Scott Mainwaring offer new insights into the origins and developments of Brazilian CEBs and the popular movement, although their arguments

and data are more fully elaborated in their other publications.⁴ This observation also applies to Brian Smith's chapter on the Chilean church during the 1970s.⁵

In analyzing the Bolivian church, Susan Rosales Nelson eschews the issue of the institutional church versus popular religion at the national level and examines the popular rites of Holy Week and Carnival in Escoma, a small town in the rural highlands. In this instance, the progressive clergy have condemned these rites for reinforcing "unequal and exploitative relations between social classes and ethnic groups." Nelson finds, however, that the rites of Holy Week and Carnival can "strengthen group solidarity, provide unifying images around which rebellion may crystallize, or indicate potential avenues of innovation" (p. 233). She thus offers a contrasting case of the interaction among progressives, conservatives, the popular sector, and the institutional church within the context of the search for greater social justice and religious relevance in contemporary society.

Although "continuity and change" is one of the most worn clichés in contemporary social science, the contributors' recognition that the church is in many ways both an old and new institution in Latin America is perhaps the greatest strength of *Religion and Political Conflict in Latin America*. As Levine observes, "The genie is out of the bottle . . . [and] the genie is the people . . ." (p. 249). The popular sector of the church, whose class interests are intertwined with its conception of what it means to be a Christian, is a phenomenon that has affected all national churches, all contemporary theological debates, and all levels of the traditional Catholic authority pattern. Calls for further democratization within the church as well as within the larger political arena will continue, and greater autonomy from the institutional church will no doubt continue to challenge theologians to find new understandings of the church's role in contemporary society. But Levine also warns, "In recent years we have become so conditioned to expect change in the church that significant continuities have been overlooked . . . ; one such continuity is the church's own institutionality and particularly the continued attractiveness for many church leaders of notions of Christendom . . ." (p. 249). Theoretical or country studies that reduce the current debates and developments within the Latin American church to a contest between political agendas do justice neither to the men and women who struggle to interpret their faith in a complex world nor to the institution that must find a way to balance orthodoxy and the attempt to speak with specificity to the variety of national contexts.

Beneath every study of church-state or church-society relations lies a fundamental theoretical issue: to what extent does the church exercise any influence over nonchurch (political, social, or economic)

matters? The church, as both an institution and a community of faithful, cannot be understood entirely apart from the world or the context in which it exists. Theological debates, especially those on social doctrine, are not simply arcane discussions of intrachurch issues. Rather, they reflect a continuing attempt to define the relationship between the universal church with its bedrock of immutable truths and a constantly changing world. The church intends to influence the world. How the church wants to influence the world has changed over time, but the institutional church always has claimed the right, as God's representative on earth, to judge the affairs of human beings—individually as well as collectively. Nevertheless, the claim to the authority to judge and by judging to influence, is quite different from the actual power to do so.

The degree to which the Catholic Church influences society, other religions, and even its own followers lies at the heart of the essays collected in *The Catholic Church and Religions in Latin America*, edited by Thomas Bruneau, Mary Mooney, and Chester Gabriel. The overall picture of church influence contrasts sharply with modernization studies that viewed the church as an excessively influential institution inhibiting progress. Where the church might be assumed to exercise its greatest influence (in regimes that give the church greatest privilege), the evidence suggests that the church is weak. For example, Bruneau argues that the Brazilian church, because of its privileged relationship with early-twentieth-century authoritarian regimes, mistook political power (or the ability to protect its institutional interests through its close ties with the state) for religious influence. In this context, *religious influence* means the ability to define orthodoxy for the majority of Brazilians who call themselves Catholic as well as the ability to maintain a high degree of saliency in the lives of Catholic believers. Bruneau argues that the contemporary church's recognition that it lacks influence was the factor that propelled many within the National Bishops' Conference and in various national Catholic organizations to seek new progressive strategies for reaching the people.

The impetus for this transformation in Brazil has been the change of regime type from one that favored the church's institutional interests to one that does not rely on the church for legitimation. But the church has not become more progressive simply because of the oppressiveness of the post-1964 Brazilian regime. It is the combination of changing political realities with the hierarchy's recognition of the church's limitations that account for increased progressivism. Bruneau's lead essay, when considered along with his more recent works using survey data to explore the theme of church influence on individual faith, offers elements of a rich theoretical model for analyzing the church, its understanding of its own mission, and the means it uses to effect its mission.⁶

Bruneau's theme of the church's lack of influence is reinforced by Cornelia Butler Flora's survey of fifty-nine Catholics in working-class barrios in Palmira, Colombia. This research was carried out during a much larger study of Colombian Pentecostals, a context that gives Flora an interesting perspective on the question of Catholic influence.⁷ In an area where Pentecostal sects have enjoyed remarkable success largely via the conversion of self-professed Catholics (as is the case throughout many regions of Latin America), it is natural to question how deeply the Catholic population holds its religious beliefs and practices. Flora finds that respondents scored low on virtually the entire range of dimensions of religiosity tapped by the survey. These findings, although based on an admittedly flawed and incomplete survey, raise several extremely suggestive questions. For example, Catholic officials who view Pentecostalism as a threat to the Catholic Church might conclude that the appropriate counterstrategy is not necessarily a move toward greater progressivism to reach the masses but rather greater emphasis on the pastoral functions and orthodox teachings of the church. Indeed, this interpretation is precisely the argument made by the current conservative branch of the Latin American church, who abhor what they consider an overpoliticization of the church and its message. This view has received clear support from the Vatican under Pope John Paul II.⁸

Critics of survey research maintain that inferences about the church's influence and teachings cannot be drawn from statistics on something as subjective as personal faith. Yet besides the standard statistical justifications of the validity of such studies, their obvious value lies in their attempt to test the widespread assumption that the institutional church, whether conservative or progressive, greatly affects the beliefs or behavior of individual believers. This kind of work could raise important questions for researchers, who have tended to concentrate primarily on attitudes and beliefs of church officials or church-state relations rather than on the far more complex relationships between church and society or church and individual. This development could be especially significant for studies analyzing the church's potential role in achieving such desirable sociopolitical goals as (re)democratization, social justice, and equitable distribution policies in Latin America.

Other essays in *The Catholic Church and Religions in Latin America* suggest that in some ways the Catholic Church may enjoy more influence than has commonly been assumed. The chapters by William Carter, Diana Brown, Chester Gabriel, and Gerald Murray on Andean religions, Brazilian Umbanda and Kardecist cults, and Haitian voodoo focus on non-Catholic religions and cults that traditionally have been viewed as means of asserting native or popular religious rites and beliefs over the dominant Catholic ideology. While the authors acknowledge that these religions can preserve local or native community identi-

ties from Catholic ("foreign") cultural and religious imperialism, they also stress the centrality of Catholic symbols, practices, and rites within these religions. Thus while Bruneau and Flora suggest that actual church influence in the lives of individuals is less than the institutional power of the church might have implied, these four authors show that elements of Catholic tradition have affected the range of syncretic religious forms more deeply than was previously believed.

Once again, the common theme running through these chapters is the rejection of simplistic assertions regarding the instrumentality of any set of religious beliefs. The evidence consistently demonstrates that the relationship between religious institutions and individual belief is far more complex than either the idea that individuals merely "use" religion to achieve particular sociopolitical or economic ends or the notion that religious institutions necessarily serve conservative or anti-progressive political ends. The former implies a kind of religious marketplace in which rational, self-interested individuals consciously choose among religions on the basis of their instrumental value. For example, Brown and Gabriel both show that while Umbandan and Kardecist practices aim at achieving instrumental goals that orthodox Catholicism ignores (such as good health, improved marital or family relations, and even jobs or financial help), it is impossible to understand the belief structures of Umbanda or Kardecism without acknowledging the importance of the Catholic tradition to their followers. Murray's chapter on Haitian voodoo presents a far more complex thesis than the notion that religions necessarily serve as tools of domination. On the one hand, the Christian or Catholic elements of Haitian voodoo that define the major rites of passage can be explained as expressions of elite domination, stemming from both colonial times and the requirements of the modern Haitian state. On the other hand, Murray also shows that a different subset of rites (including healing and domestic rites) can only be understood as a symbolic means of rejecting the dominant culture and ideology of domestic and imperialist elites.

The question of religion's potential as a tool of elite domination or a vehicle for expressing local or class autonomy is also the central theme of Diana Brown's *Umbanda: Religion and Politics in Urban Brazil*. The degree to which the middle classes have "cleansed" many of the original African symbols from the religious rites and infused the theological structure with bourgeois values suggests that Umbanda has been largely appropriated by the dominant culture. Brown's research shows that what may have originated as an "autonomous grass roots religion . . . became the target of middle sector cooptive efforts to implant hierarchical control and to mobilize practitioners in the service of electoral politics in support of non-egalitarian, often authoritarian po-

litical goals" (p. 222). Specifically, Brown argues that it was during the Vargas period, when the middle classes organized around a nationalist and anti-Communist agenda in reaction to pressure from the lower classes, that Umbanda began to lose its autonomous character and to reflect the ideological needs of the middle sectors. Not only did middle-class involvement in Umbanda leave a distinct mark on the theological character of the religion, but the emergence of religious *chefes* as brokers within the larger clientelist political network indicates the degree to which Umbanda entered the "mainstream" of Brazilian society.

Studies such as those of Brown, Bruneau, Mooney, and Gabriel are valuable in bringing to light interesting information about the understudied non-Catholic or nonorthodox religions of Latin America. They also highlight the need in studying Latin American religions (be they Catholic or non-Catholic) to test standard assumptions about the role of faith in society and politics as well as the relationship among individuals, religious institutions, and politics. It is now clear, several decades after the publication of many of the early modernization studies, that neither religious faith nor religious institutions are waning. Religion continues to play an extremely complex role in Latin American societies, integrating individuals into dominant social and ideological structures but also providing individuals with an outlet for the assertion of self or class. Some religious institutions continue to act as legitimators of the status quo while others seek actively to transform their structures into vehicles for change. Both functions can be identified within single religious institutions according to region, level of hierarchy, or personal authority of individual leaders. Underlying it all, individuals continue to believe in the transcendental, nonrational power of the spiritual regardless of issues of class, political agenda, or state policy.

Books like those reviewed here also raise a fundamental question for the Catholic Church in Latin America. Despite the church's efforts since Vatican II and Medellín to increase its presence and deepen its ties with the masses, the recent growth of relatively new religions such as Umbanda indicates that the Catholic Church has not been entirely successful. Perhaps more telling is the astonishing growth of Pentecostal sects, given that Pentecostalism demands exclusive loyalty while Umbandists can be Catholics as well. In both cases, however, these religions have often experienced greatest growth in precisely those areas where the Catholic Church has redirected so many of its resources—among the poor and the lower middle classes. In fact, sometimes this growth occurs in the same neighborhoods that enjoy a vital network of CEBs and progressive Catholic leadership. Paradoxically, these sectors typically support (either actively or tacitly) particularly nondemocratic,

even repressive movements and regimes—the very regime types most closely associated with traditional Catholic political activity and most courageously denounced by contemporary Catholics.

Historically, Catholic officials have tended to dismiss the existence and growth of other sects or religions as symptomatic of either the chronic shortage of religious personnel in most Latin American churches or the simplicity of the lower classes resulting from lack of education or poor grasp of Catholic orthodoxy.⁹ Progressives within the church, in contrast, have tended to argue that the church “loses” the poor because it lacks a message and an organizational structure that addresses the sociopolitical and economic realities of the masses. This reasoning underlies the recent innovations within the Latin American church. But as Brown and others have demonstrated, the growth of non-Catholic or non-orthodox religions cannot be explained away by the ignorance or naiveté of the converts. Nor can it apparently be explained by the persistence of a nonresponsive, nonprogressive Catholic hierarchy.

At issue here is one of the fundamental assumptions discernible in virtually all the current literature on the Catholic Church: that progressive churches are necessarily stronger and more influential, socially and spiritually, than the traditional “conservative” or “apolitical” church. This assumption is grounded in the analytical tendency to reduce individual faith and church policy to a mere interest-maximizing rationality. Individuals are assumed to join churches that deliver the appropriate class or ideological message. Religious institutions are assumed to cater to those sectors that best serve their “interests.” The study by Mainwaring and the collection edited by Levine are therefore especially valuable in moving away from these ideas and exploring the tensions between the church as an institution with instrumental interests and the church as the embodiment of collective faith. The difficulties and debates that continue to divide national hierarchies belie the notion that churches have only a single set of interests, much less that they can act on it in theological concert. The increase in studies of non-Catholic sects, cults, and religions also highlight the inadequacy of exclusively rationalist conceptions of individual faith or church behavior. Greater awareness of the large variety of religious institutions, with their differing relationships to the dominant culture, should help students of religion in Latin America avoid the kinds of generalizations typical of the modernization studies or overly partisan works of the past.

NOTES

1. See, for example, *Puebla and Beyond*, edited by John Eagleson and Phillip Scharper (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1980); *Theology in the Americas*, edited by Sergio Torres and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1976); and *Churches and Politics in Latin America*, edited by Daniel Levine (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1980).
2. For the best recent look at the progressive movement in the Latin American church, see *The Progressive Church in Latin America*, edited by Scott Mainwaring and Alexander Wilde (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989).
3. For other works that discuss this relationship, see Michael Dodson and Tommie Sue Montgomery, "The Churches in the Nicaraguan Revolution," in *Nicaragua in Revolution*, edited by Thomas W. Walker (New York: Praeger, 1982), 161–80; Phillip Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion: Christians in the Central American Revolutions* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1984); and Margaret E. Crahan, *The Church and Revolution: Cuba and Nicaragua* (Bundoorah, Australia: Institute of Latin American Studies, La Trobe University, 1988).
4. See Thomas Bruneau, *The Church in Brazil: The Politics of Brazil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982); Thomas Bruneau, "Church and Politics in Brazil: The Genesis of Change," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 17, pt. 2 (Nov. 1985); Scott Mainwaring, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916–1985* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1986); Scott Mainwaring, "The Catholic Church, Popular Education, and Political Change in Brazil," *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 26 (Feb. 1984):97–124; and Scott Mainwaring and Eduardo Viola, "New Social Movements, Political Culture, and Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980's," *Telos* 61 (Fall 1984):17–52.
5. See Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile: Challenges to Modern Catholicism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).
6. In addition to Bruneau's *The Church in Brazil: The Politics of Religion*, see Thomas Bruneau and W. E. Hewitt, "Patterns of Church Influence in Brazil," paper presented at the meetings of the Latin American Studies Association in New Orleans, 17–19 Mar. 1988.
7. Cornelia Butler Flora, *Pentecostalism in Colombia: Baptism by Fire and Spirit* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1976).
8. The most visible proponent of this view in the Vatican is Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. For an excellent study of the theological underpinnings of Ratzinger's thought, see Aidan Nichols, *The Theology of Joseph Ratzinger* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T. and T. Clark, 1988).
9. A good example of this explanation is Carmen Galilea, *Los Pentecostales y la Iglesia Católica hoy día en Chile* (Santiago: Centro Bellarmino, 1984).