

## Manufacturing Laborers: The Church of God of Prophecy in Yucatán, Mexico

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### Abstract

Previous studies have explored whether or not a spirit of capitalism is spread by Latin American forms of Protestantism. They, like Weber, have focused on the bourgeois form of capitalist ideology, that of productive investment. Yet capitalism also depends upon the obedient and alienated labor of a large pool of wage laborers who—in a truly competitive capitalist economy—will never earn enough money to invest in their own enterprises. A distinct ideology is necessary to secure their alienated labor. The (Pentecostal) Church of God of Prophecy in Yucatán, Mexico is uniquely suited for manufacturing laborers because it teaches time-discipline, work diligence, obedience to non-kin, and because it dissociates the person from kin and community ties and also the products of his/her labor. The faithful reject this material and social "world," and wait expectantly for the Second Coming and a better life in the world to come. These Pentecostals withdraw from the larger society and are discouraged from collective political and economic action. While some people have viewed Pentecostalism as a form of resistance, a symbolic complaint about the converts' poverty, in Yucatán, it is not an ideology that leads to significant or widespread material action. It may be a sigh of the masses, but it is also an opiate.

### Introduction

Does Latin American Protestantism spread a spirit of capitalism? This is a question that many anthropologists, sociologists, and historians have posed. Inspired by Weber's Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1921[1904-1905]), people have looked to see whether an enterprising spirit is found among Protestant converts. In this paper, I suggest that this body of research—as does Weber's original text—gives exclusive consideration to bourgeois ideology. Capitalism as a system, however, is highly dependent upon a large pool of wage laborers who—if the enterprise is truly competitive—will never earn enough money to invest in their own businesses. Another form of ideology is necessary to motivate them to work for a lifetime of low wages.

The data for this paper derive from fieldwork in a Maya-speaking village in Yucatán, Mexico. In the traditional maize agricultural economy, the economic goals and work habits of the people were in some ways similar to, yet in others very different from, the goals and work habits of industrial capitalism. Economic surpluses were sometimes invested in such capital as cattle and land, but more often were invested in an intense fiesta system which established and maintained large social networks. Over the past fifteen years, however, the village economy has transformed from one based on subsistence agriculture to marked participation in the global capitalist economy through some entrepreneurial activity in the tourist market and extensive wage labor. This wage labor requires new kinds of work discipline, including: time-discipline, obedience to non-kin, work discipline, and alienation of the products of one's labor. The one institution in the village which seriously and effectively teaches this work discipline is the new (Pentecostal) Church of God of Prophecy. This templo manufactures laborers, in that it instills the new work discipline, and enables workers to be content with a lifetime of low wages as they divorce themselves from the material and social "world," and look forward to the "riches of heaven." The paper concludes by suggesting that future considerations of the existence of the spirit of capitalism should consider not only the

ideologies which promote middle-class productive investment, but also the ideologies which promote obedient and acquiescent wage labor.

### Does Latin American Protestantism Promote Capitalism?

In recent years, a group of researchers from different disciplines have written about whether Latin American forms of Protestantism spread a spirit of capitalism (Annis, 1987, Cavalcanti 1995, Garma Navarro 1987, Garrard Burnett 1989, Loreto Mariz 1994, Martin 1990, Muratorio 1980, Willems 1967). This body of work is inspired by Weber's Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1992[1904-1905]). Weber wrote that Protestant sects in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe and America promoted a capitalist economy through sacralizing three types of practice: hard work, asceticism, and productive investment. According to Weber, these early Protestants assured themselves of salvation through building up successful business ventures, proof of their counting among the "elect." These proto-capitalists built up their enterprises through hard work, asceticism (not being allowed to partake of alcohol, dancing, and other "worldly" things), and productive investment, leading eventually to capital accumulation. Weber thus outlines a clear connection between a doctrine of salvation and a mode of production.

Those researchers who have investigated the presence of a spirit of capitalism among Protestants in Latin America have typically done so by looking for the presence of those three characteristics of the spirit of capitalism which Weber describes: a work ethic, asceticism, and productive investment. However, this places an undue concentration on bourgeois ideology. That is, productive investment is what bourgeois capitalists do. In order to build their businesses, owners need to work hard and not spend their profits on amusements, but instead reinvest those profits in their businesses. The "Protestant ethic" as described by Weber among early Protestant sects provides just the doctrine of salvation necessary to encourage and sacralize such economic behavior.

However, capitalism—especially industrial capitalism—is also dependent upon a large pool of wage laborers who will never earn enough income to save to invest in their own businesses. This economic status holds true because, if an enterprise is to be truly competitive, it should pay its workers only what they need to survive and to raise children who form the next generation of workers (Marx 1977[1867]:711-724). Profits can then be reinvested by the capitalists into their businesses. What, then, can motivate workers to labor for a lifetime for subsistence wages?

### Ideology for Wage Laborers

Workers can in fact be motivated by bourgeois ideology. Dreams of savings and starting their own businesses can motivate many people to work hard, save, and invest. However, if unchecked, such dreams could lead to worker disillusionment and unrest. In fact, another ideology might be more appropriate—one which motivates obedient work and precludes hopes for economic gain.

In addition to bourgeois ideology, capitalist production also requires a set of ideological premises (perhaps embedded in a set of institutions) which prepare a class of people to be efficient and productive wage laborers. Specifically, the worker needs to have learned the following:

- Time-discipline
- Obedience to non-kin authorities
- Work diligence
- Alienation of the products of labor
- Alienation of the worker

These different concepts are fairly straightforward. Time-discipline means that the worker has to show up to work on time every workday and leave at the same time, taking breaks only when allowed. Obedience to non-kin authorities means a willingness to obey the orders of one's boss. Work diligence means a willingness to work at a high level of productivity throughout the day. Alienation of the products of labor means a willingness to part with the products of one's labor and attach to them no special symbolic significance. Finally, alienation of the worker (in the restricted

sense of the term) implies that the worker's economic goal is that of supporting him- or herself and the nuclear family. The worker does not desire an excess of goods which would extend and maintain large social networks. The relevant unit of production is the individual.

The remainder of this paper shows how the Church of God of Prophecy in Yucatán manufactures laborers. That is, through its discourses and rituals, it prepares its followers for a lifetime of diligent labor for subsistence wages. It prepares workers to show up to work on time, obey orders, work diligently, alienate the products of their labor, and not desire material things for themselves or for establishing wide social networks.

By showing the relationship between religious practice and economic practice, I imply no calculating "evil empire" which fashions religious ideologies and disseminates them so that innocent dupes will do their bidding. That is, I am not promoting a conspiracy theory which would suggest that Pentecostalism is spread by the owners of corporations in order to secure a docile labor force.<sup>1</sup>

I also want to stress here that my conclusions relate to the fieldsite exclusively. Religious discourses and practices are always shifting, and different foci are emphasized even by different leaders within a single religious tradition. Moreover, congregations can co-opt and transform religious discourses to fit with their own conceptions of the good. Therefore, it would be irresponsible to draw conclusions about Pentecostalism in general, or even about these traditions in all of Mexico or all of Yucatán. However, fieldwork and archival research may identify similar patterns in other Pentecostal traditions and in other regions.

#### The Fieldsite

This analysis is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted for a total of fourteen months between 1990 and 1994 in a Maya-speaking village in the municipio of Valladolid in eastern Yucatán, Mexico.<sup>2</sup> Until 1982, the village was exclusively Catholic, although from time to time missionaries of different Protestant faiths had passed through evangelizing. In 1982, some villagers began going to services of the Church of God of Prophecy (Iglesia de Dios de la Profecía) in the nearby town (see Church of God of Prophecy 1980, Crews 1990, Stone 1977). In 1990, the village built its own templo in the village. By 1993, a total of twenty-six adults (or 7% of all those over age fifteen) were baptized in the templo and regularly attended services along with their children.

#### Traditional Economy

The traditional<sup>3</sup> economic practices of rural Yucatecans were distinct in many features from those of industrial capitalism. In the maize zone of southeastern Yucatán, milpa agriculture was the primary economic pursuit of men, who supplemented that with hunting, raising bees to sell their honey, and cattle husbandry by a few (see also Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934, Villanueva Mukul 1990). Women contributed to the household economy through growing vegetables in backyard gardens, raising poultry, tending fruit trees, and sometimes making embroidered dresses (huipiles)

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<sup>1</sup> I approach this paper from the economic perspective rather than the religious one. My larger project investigates economic transformations in Yucatán, and corresponding transformations in ideologies of work, self, and community. My intent is not to lambaste Pentecostals; I have also written about Catholic economic ideologies. I feel very strongly that people have a right to choose a system of worship which is most meaningful to them. From a purely political perspective, I am concerned about the undue influence of U.S. companies in Mexico, and I am interested in how they secure a work force and how Mexican workers acquiesce to the low wages paid them, or how they might organize to demand higher wages and better work conditions and eventually control their own companies.

<sup>2</sup> Since the exact location of the village is irrelevant to this analysis, I follow anthropological practice and omit the name to protect the privacy of the people.

<sup>3</sup> By "traditional," I mean specifically patterns developed in the first half of the twentieth century. The colonial and hacienda economies are too complicated to address here.

and hammocks for sale in the nearby town. The economy was largely a subsistence economy;<sup>4</sup> while the individual household engaged with regional and global economies through the sale of products and the purchase of some manufactured goods, it was largely self-sufficient.

#### Diurnal and Catholic Work Rhythms

The work habits and goals of the subsistence economy differed significantly from those of industrial capitalism. The work rhythms followed diurnal and Catholic rhythms, not the rhythms of the clock. Each man was his own boss, and left for the fields when he wanted to, came home when he wanted to, stayed home when sick or for one of the many fiestas throughout the year (and for the next day's hangover). The woman's day was structured around the man's work day: she arose before dawn to prepare his breakfast, and then set to work to complete all of her tasks around the house and yard by the time he arrived home in the evening; his bath water would be ready and his dinner would directly follow.

#### Task-Oriented Work Discipline

Subsistence work employed a distinct kind of work-discipline, also. There is no doubt that agricultural labor is grueling physical labor, and tending house and garden is equally constant and tiring work. Subsistence work is unique, however, in that it is task-oriented. One can take breaks at will along the way to revive oneself with rest, food, and socializing. Then, too, one is not confined to working at one particular task for an unspecified amount of time. If one's back hurts bending over to pick weeds, one can shift to feeding the chickens, mending a dress, or chopping tomatoes until one's back feels good enough to return to the weeds. The work is varied, the order in which one does things is not fixed, and once the chores are finished, so is the work day.

#### Obedience within the Family

In the subsistence economy, the economic unit was the nuclear family which pooled its goods and labors. As such, the only people who one was expected to obey were kin, not outside employers. In the household (then, as today), men and parents-in-law order the wives; parents, grandparents, and aunts and uncles order children; and older siblings order younger siblings. Yet outside of the household, people are expected to obey few others. An independence of spirit is characteristic. Children are allowed to make many decisions for themselves, including whether or not to take medicine and at what age they want to leave school. Children are expected to obey teachers, yet parents are quick to interfere if they think the teacher is too harsh or ineffective. A healthy suspicion of government officials is another expression of this independent thinking. Neither does the priest adopt a dictatorial attitude: he places few demands directly on the people, and his attitude is conciliatory and jovial.

In the subsistence economy, since the household produced most of what it required, only a few goods were alienated for exchange as commodities. These included: a portion of the corn crop, honey, beef by those few cattlemen, and some hammocks and huipiles. Most of what the household produced, however, was consumed directly, and was never alienated for circulation as a commodity.

#### Folk Catholicism: Inalienable Goods and Social Networks

In concert with the traditional subsistence economy, the folk Catholicism of Yucatán provided an ideology of inalienability of goods. In fact, corn was called gracia and agriculture was sacralized through different folk Catholic rituals. Although a portion of it was sold on the market, it was the sustenance of the family, and a gift from God, and therefore not easily alienable as a commodity.

Ritual redistribution of food throughout the village in a packed calendar-round of festivities ensured that the products of one's labor were not easily alienable as commodities. Three sets of

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<sup>4</sup> By "subsistence," I mean to indicate that the household was self-sufficient, not that it was not profit-oriented. In fact, the traditional economy was touched with the capitalist spirit in that significant surpluses would be productively invested in the purchase of land and cattle.

rituals required constant savings on the part of households. These included life-cycle rituals, agricultural ceremonies, and village fiestas and gremios. Birth rates were high (typically seven or eight children per family), and the parents had to sponsor baptisms, gender-attribution ceremonies (jets mek'), and first communions for each of their children, and help with weddings for their sons. A few agricultural ceremonies which both showed thanksgiving and petitioned help from God were also orchestrated by farmers throughout the year (see Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934). Fiestas for the patron saint were sponsored by a particular couple each year, but a series of smaller fiestas and gremios were undertaken by other couples, too. All kin and compadres of these fiesta and gremio sponsors were expected to help out with both goods and labors.

Production was high throughout the year in order to meet these different fiesta expenses. In this fiesta economy, money and animals took on a special meaning, not as means to create more money, but as the means with which to hold fiestas. A pig was generally not an alienable commodity; it was not an animal with x number of pounds which could be sold in the market for x number of pesos. A pig was an inalienable good, the main ingredient in the wedding feast; a chicken was an offering for the souls of the deceased who return to visit during the Days of the Dead; a bushel of corn could be roasted and distributed among kin and neighbors during the first fruits ceremonies. The primary products of the household economy were largely inalienable: they nourished and replenished kin and community ties through the ideology and ritual mechanisms provided by folk Catholicism.

#### Wage Work

Since about 1980 in the village, men have gradually abandoned milpa agriculture for other cash-earning pursuits. The primary reason is that the soils in the area have become so very depleted of nutrients that now only corn grows, and in much smaller quantities. The failing Mexican economy, too, pays them increasingly lower prices for their corn—not enough to make it worth their while to sell it. While some men continue to make milpa on the side to provision their families with corn for the daily tortillas, they are turning to wage jobs in the nearby town and in the tourist resorts of Cancún and others on the east coast of Quintana Roo, working as manual laborers and in service. Many young women and men have taken jobs outside of the home at seamstresses in an U.S.-owned maquiladora. In fact, 46% of all men of the younger generation are working at wage jobs (see Table 1). A large number of villagers have taken up entrepreneurial business; the town has turned its underground limestone sinkhole (cenote) into a tourist attraction, and people scramble to relieve the tourists of their pesos and dollars through the sale of handicrafts and food.

Table 1.—Economic Strategies of Men, by Age

Economic Strategy	Age 15-29 (%)	Age 30-44 (%)	Age 45-69 (%)
Milpa Agriculture	21	45	64
Wage Labor	46	33	2
Entrepreneurial Business	14	20	29
Educated Professionalism	15	2	0

Note: Total N = 160 (78 ages 15-29; 40 ages 30-44; 42 ages 45-69). Four men ages 15-29 and two men ages 45-69 are economically dependent.

The entrepreneurs in the tourist industry and their work discipline is the subject of another paper. But what about those villagers who are now working wage jobs? How are these people and their children learning the habits demanded of them in the workplace? That is, how are they learning to show up for work six days a week at the same time, take breaks only when the boss says so and not when tired, work through fiesta days, earn the same wage with little hope of advancement and raises, attach no symbolic value to the products of their labor, and not expect to build social ties through the exchange of goods?

Schools are often said to instill the discipline of the workplace, through teaching time-discipline and training people to work independently and not in family groups. My impression is that the village school teaches school discipline with little success. The children are bright and energetic, yet they are much more interested in playing with their friends (building their social networks) than learning for the sake of acquiring independent knowledge.

The Catholic church, too, is not really a teacher of work discipline. The only event for which people have to show up on time is the 4:00 p.m. Thursday mass. The evening rosaries—when they occur—usually start a half-hour late, and attendance is neither demanded nor predictable. The fiestas, too, have a very relaxed schedule; certain tasks need to be done, but helpers and guests filter in and out when they are ready. Parishioners do not demand each other's attendance nor that they pray every day, nor read the Bible, nor go to confession regularly; the iglesia has a relaxed, casual atmosphere. The priest jokes with the people, presents the homily in a warm manner, and only rarely reminds them of the importance of attending mass and completing the sacraments or the horrors of sin.

### Pentecostal Ideology and Discipline

The only institution in the village which seriously and effectively teaches a work discipline in concert with industrial capitalism is the Pentecostal templo. The ideology and discipline learned in templo has direct relevance for how this generation of Pentecostals and their children perform as workers.

### Time-Discipline

The templo teaches time-discipline. The hermanos (as they call themselves) attend templo services every single night. The services begin promptly at 7:00 p.m., and continue for two hours. If an hermano does not attend service, the following day the pastor and the other hermanos will ask in a disapproving tone the reason for the absence. This strict attention to the rhythms of the clock, and the daily periodicity of the service gives the hermanos practice in the time-discipline required in the workplace. The prohibition against alcohol in the templo also ensures that workers will not show up to work with a hangover, and the prohibition against participating in dances and fiestas ensures that workers will not miss workdays for these reasons.

### Obedience

The templo also teaches obedience to non-kin authority figures. This is achieved in two ways: through demanding strict obedience to the pastor and the Bible and through undermining one's trust in oneself through a conviction of sin. The pastor's manner is strict, severe, and fault-finding. The path to heaven is said to be straight and narrow; the number of behaviors which count as sin are numerous, and a single stain of sin will keep a person from entering heaven. The Second Coming is considered imminent, and so it is the pastor's duty, it seems, to constantly remind people of the rules for proper behavior and to keep them poised and ready for the Judgment Day. His sermons are loud and cantankerous, with descriptions of the evils of sin, the punishments of hell, the inherent weakness of humanity, and the imminence of the Second Coming.

The prohibitions of the templo are many: no alcohol, no smoking, no dancing, no fiestas, no bullfights, no television or cinema, no popular music, no personal adornment, no tight or revealing clothing. In addition, there are many other practices which the templo demands of people: that they attend services daily, that they read their Bible daily (or have someone read it out loud to them if they cannot read), and that they give one-tenth of their cash income to the templo in a monthly public collection and counting service. Learning to be a Pentecostal in the village means learning a new set of rules which organize one's life completely.

Finally, the templo teaches obedience to non-kin authority figures by instilling a conviction of sin which weakens the person's trust in him- or herself. In fact, the first of "Twenty-Nine Important Bible Truths," which form the core of doctrine of the Church of God of Prophecy, is that of repentance. Repentance is defined as "both a condition and an act; it is the state of being in Godly sorrow for sins committed and the act of turning from and forsaking those sins" (Melton, ed.

1988:338). The templo service often begins with the recitation by memory of the entire nineteen verses of Psalm 51. The entire Psalm is a confession of sin, a recognition by David of his having been born in a state of sin, and a plaintive plea for forgiveness. The Psalm begins:

Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy lovingkindness: according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions. Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge my transgressions: and my sin is ever before me....Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me. (Ps. 51:1-3,5 Authorized [King James] Version)

Many Bible passages selected for examination, and the theme of many sermons is the inherent weakness of human beings and our natural tendency to sin. Many times during a templo service, people are called to pray for periods of up to half an hour. In these prayer sessions, the people kneel down on the concrete floor, clasp their hands together, stretch outward, and lay their heads upon their hands, prostrate before God. They pray out loud, crying and wailing. While some prayers ask help with personal matters, and all give thanks to God for blessings, the topic which predominates in templo prayer is the confession of sins, the recognition of one's weakness, and the pleading for God's help in avoiding sin and temptation.

#### Work Diligence

The templo also teaches work diligence. As mentioned above, tending field, house, and garden is tiring and constant work. The difference in wage activities versus subsistence activities, however, is that in subsistence activities, one works until the task is done, taking breaks at will along the way to revive oneself with rest, food, and socializing. In wage labor, however, the task is never complete, and so one continues to work diligently throughout the allotted time period.

This work diligence is taught in the templo services. Unlike in Catholicism, in which the rite of confession absolves one of sin, the hermanos are never completely sure during this lifetime if their sins have been forgiven. One may pray and pray for God's forgiveness, but assurance of whether he will forgive or not is not revealed until the Judgment Day. A low-level anxiety thus pervades the hermano's life, causing him to pray ever more fervently and diligently as he watches his sins accumulate.

The format of the templo services also promotes work diligence. The services are intense and unrelenting. From the moment one enters the templo until two hours later, one is engaged in intense prayer, singing, Bible study, and listening to sermons. The hermanos closely monitor each other's behavior in the services, it seems, to make sure that everyone is working just as hard (is just as righteous).

A work ethic is also reinforced through favored templo songs. These include: "Yo Quiero Trabajar [por el Señor]," "Trabaja! Trabaja!" and "Somos Obreros del Señor" (Iglesia de Dios de la Profecía 1987:94,100-102). These songs valorize work through labeling worship as a kind of work.

#### Alienation of Matter

Finally, the templo prepares workers to alienate the products of their labor from themselves, to separate those products from themselves and put them into circulation as commodities, expecting no special social relationships nor higher wages in return. The primary way this is achieved is through the definition of the physical world as inherently evil. The inner heart/soul/mind is distinguished from the physical body which is mere "weak flesh," and which is disciplined through fasting and deprivation. The weak body reflects the evil nature of the larger material world. The things of the world are temptations which keep humans from concentrating on God and cleansing their souls.

A Bible passage which crops up again and again in templo sermons, Bible study, and pamphlets outlines defines the world as inherently evil.

Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes,

and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever (I John 2:15-17 AV).

Another favored Bible passage more explicitly relates the “world” to “riches,” which the good Christian should not desire:

No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? (Matt. 6:24-25 AV).

Finally, in another favored verse, hermanos are reminded that they need to take special care to avoid the “world” and its temptations, for “the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak” (Matt. 26:41 AV). And more, “For to be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace” (Rom. 8:6 AV).

To avoid the inevitable sin associated with the physical world, the hermanos are advised to live as simply as possible. “For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also” (Luke 12:34 AV). And, “For the love of money is the root of all evil” (I Tim. 6:10 AV). They are forbidden to wear jewelry, fine clothing, cosmetics, and fancy hairstyles because these things would distract them from achieving inner holiness. Their houses are plain, without decoration, without electrical appliances.

Because the hermanos are forbidden to desire material things, they are less likely to desire or demand wages above those which would support their family. They can easily alienate the products of their labor, and attach no special symbolic significance to them, except the negative significance of “being of the world.”

Finally, other than simply at a discursive level, templo practices also give hermanos training in dissociating themselves from the physical world. Different templo rituals, including prayer, fasting, and trance, in fact bring about a separation of the mind and body, wherein the mind can do one thing while the body another. This dissociative state allows workers to easily alienate themselves from their labors and avoid boredom, as their thoughts ruminate and their bodies perform their work.

Templo prayer effects a distinct mind-body separation. The body is absolutely disciplined, nearly prostrate on the concrete floor for hours. Despite the bodily pain, the mind must be completely focused and active. Templo prayer is individual and is supposed to come directly from one’s heart as a result of an intense reflective process, not being the repetition of a standardized prayer as in the Catholic service. The repetition of this act several times during the service every single day, and enables people to dissociate their mind from their body and concentrate on one mental activity for long periods of time while ignoring the body.

Trance is the ultimate expression of the mind-body separation. Trance is induced in revival meetings which hermanos attend in town about once every other month. In these multi-hour meetings, the body is subjected to an overwhelming set of stimuli, leading, for a certain few, to a trance in which the Holy Spirit descends. Gospel music is played at incredible volumes, bodies sway back and forth to the music, the body moves up and down from kneeling and praying to standing and singing to sitting and listening to testimonies of conversions and faith-healing. People often fast before these revival meetings to cleanse their bodies and discipline their souls. The stimulation wins over, and a few people will begin rocking back and forth or dancing uncontrollably as their minds leave them and they go into trance. While none of the hermanos in the village have experienced glossolalia, they have witnessed it at these revival meetings. In an indirect way, the mind-body split forged through templo rituals might also enable workers to more easily alienate themselves from their labor. As their bodies perform physical tasks automatically, they may go into a dissociative state and remove their mind from any drudgery of their work.

#### Alienation of the Worshipper

Finally, the most significant difference in economic practice between hermanos and folk Catholics is that the former no longer require large surpluses for the round of fiestas. Whereas in



the fiesta economy, goods exchanged in ritual establish and maintain large social networks of extended family, compadres, and fellow villagers, the hermanos withdraw completely from the fiesta economy. They withdraw first of all because fiestas are either 1) Catholic or 2) secular, and in both cases the occasion of sinful dancing and drinking.

Moreover, the social networks which fiesta participation engenders simply are not desirable for an hermano. The social world is also demonized as part of that evil “world.” The “world” is full of people who merely try to tempt you from the “straight and narrow path.” Hermanos are warned that they will be rejected by the larger society as they reject the things of it, but that they should rejoice in this: “Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man’s sake” (Luke 6:22 AV). And also, hermanos are to turn away from those who reject their teaching: “And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear you, when ye depart thence, shake off the dust under your feet for a testimony against them” (Mark 6:11 AV).

Table 2.--Religion by Locality

Locality	Total N, population age 5 and over	Catholic (%)	Protestant or Evangelical (%)	Jewish, Other, None, or Not Specified (%)
Mexico	70,562,202	90.0	4.9	5.1
Yucatán	1,188,433	85.8	9.3	4.9
Valladolid	36,697	88.4	6.7	4.9

Source: INEGI 1992.

Finally, the hermanos are in fact separated from other villagers. They do not select compadres, and are therefore more isolated. While fiestas are the major arena of socializing in the village, since the hermanos do not attend, they miss these opportunities to forge relationships with others. Finally, they are expected to evangelize, and in their evangelization to directly confront the Catholics by telling them the evils of their behavior, including wearing jewelry, dancing, and drinking. The Catholics in general resist such proselytizing, and the hermanos earn their name as hermanos separados. They are shunned by the village at large, and their lives, like Christian in Pilgrim’s Progress, are characterized by lonely struggle (see also Fortuny Loret de Mola 1982, 1984, 1994; Goodman 1982[1974]:277; Santana Rivas 1984:353).

One might ask, but don’t the hermanos derive a sense of community from their templo community? This may be the case in other parts of Latin America. However, the number of hermanos in the village and surrounding region is so small—only 6.7% of the people in the municipio of Valladolid are evangelicals (see Table 2), and those of different denominations. And because the village Catholics are so protective of homogeneity within their community, on a daily basis, the hermanos face more alienation than they do community. Hermanos place no great demands for higher wages because, unlike their Catholic counterparts, they neither have nor want large social networks to maintain through the fiesta system. Their economic obligations are to their spouses, parents, children, and God only.

#### Economic and Political Acquiescence

Some researchers have written that Protestantism in Latin America is a form of resistance to the political and economic status quo (Bastian 1982, Garrard-Burnett 1993). Pentecostalism, especially, is a sigh of the oppressed, a complaint of the poor against their situation of poverty as they wait for a better life in the world to come. Indeed, they are promised: “There is no man that hath left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God’s sake, Who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting” (Luke 18:29-30 AV).

However, the word “resistance” must be used with caution. In fact, Fortuny Loret de Mola, the premiere researcher of Protestant traditions in Yucatán, warns that the “subversión” of Protestant groups in Yucatán is a peculiar kind of subversion. She writes:

Solamente lo hacen en el sentido estrictamente fundamentalista hacia o desde dentro, separándose del 'mundo' que para ellos equivale al pecado, pero sin cuestionar el poder económico y político inserto en ese mundo exterior del que ellos disienten" (Fortuny Loret de Mola 1984:366).

Indeed, we must distinguish between resistance which merely expresses discontent, and resistance which can lead to widespread social and economic change.

In the Church of God of Prophecy in Yucatán, templo doctrine and practice does not lead to economic and political change. Economically and politically, the hermanos are separatists. They do not go to town meetings; and since their voices are not respected in the village, they would have no effect, anyhow. They vote in state and national elections, but like most villagers, they vote PRI status quo. Economically, they do not participate in any of the cooperatives, either the tourist cooperative or the women's handicraft cooperatives, which might bring them a higher income. The few hermanas who do sell huipiles sell their crafts on the outskirts of the town rather than the town square, presumably to avoid the reproachful glances of their fellow villagers, but thereby significantly restrict their income. None of the men are entrepreneurs; they are either milperos or wage laborers, and the poorest among them. The sole hermano who used to hold a professional job (as an accountant in town) has quit his job and serves as a pastor-in-training in the village, supporting himself and his family with a percentage of the tithe money. True, the family may experience a better standard of living as they save money previously spent on alcohol and fiestas (see also Bowen 1996), but the hermanos do not then invest this savings in developing their own businesses (see also Muratorio 1980), nor do they demand higher wages at their jobs, nor do they participate in collective efforts to change the larger society.

The hermanos do not place store in the "things of this world," knowing that "the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night" (I Thess. 5:2 AV), indeed, trusting that "the Lord is at hand" (Phil. 4:5 AV). Their thoughts and hopes are not in this material and social world. They avoid entanglements with it, and they keep their desires simple. This Pentecostal religion, while it may indeed be attractive to the poor because it promises deliverance from that poverty in another world, does not lead to change within the larger society and economy on this earth. Yes, it may be a sigh of the masses, but it is also their opiate. Placing their trust in the Kingdom of Heaven, the hermanos bide their short time on this earth patiently, as obedient, long-suffering laborers. Armed with skills in time-discipline, obedience to non-kin, work diligence, and alienation from goods and other humans, they are perfectly suited as wage laborers.

Calling this tradition "resistance" would be to consider only the ideological and not the practical aspects of the religious trend. Yes, Pentecostal worship may be an expression of resistance against one's poverty, yet the actions that these Pentecostals take are ones of acquiescence rather than resistance. They acquiesce to the status quo, and indeed their passivity and obedience actually fuel the growth of industrial capitalism in these countries. Delivered from want for things of this world, they are perfectly alienated—alienated from the products of their labor and from others. They are the perfect wage laborers, laying the basis for the growth of capitalist industry in Yucatán.

When we consider the question of whether Protestant traditions in Latin America instill a spirit of capitalism, we need to consider two sets of people in the mode of production: both owners and workers. As has been documented, certain Protestant forms may instill an entrepreneurial spirit which will fuel productive investment on the part of owners of capital. But another ideology is needed to ensure the productive and alienated labor of an even larger pool of workers. The Church of God of Prophecy in Yucatán, and indeed, probably other Pentecostal traditions, manufactures these laborers. It instills in them time-discipline, obedience to non-kin, work diligence, and a freedom from higher wages. Thus prepared, they are ready and able to perform a lifetime of labor for minimal wages. Their businesses reap higher profits, and in Latin America, both the spirit and the presence of capitalism grow.

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