

CURRENT COLOMBIANA

- RETORNO DEL LIBERALISMO: ANÁLISIS ECONÓMICO Y POLÍTICO DEL MANDATO CLARO. By HERNANDO AGUDELO VILLA. (Bogotá: Ediciones Tercer Mundo, 1975. Pp. 288.)
- CLEAVAGE SHIFT IN COLOMBIA: ANALYSIS OF THE 1970 ELECTIONS. By JUDITH TALBOT CAMPOS and JOHN F. MCCAMANT. (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1972. Pp. 82. \$2.90.)
- EL HOMBRE Y LA TIERRA EN BOYACÁ: DESARROLLO HISTÓRICO DE UNA SOCIEDAD MINIFUNDISTA. By ORLANDO FALS BORDA. Revised Edition. (Bogotá: Editorial Punta de Lanza, 1973. Pp. 215.)
- PENTECOSTALISM IN COLOMBIA: BAPTISM BY FIRE AND SPIRIT. By CORNELIA BUTLER FLORA. (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1976. Pp. 288. \$13.50.)
- ANÁLISIS HISTÓRICO DEL DESARROLLO POLÍTICO NACIONAL: 1930–1970. By FRANCISCO LEAL BUITRAGO. Tomo 1, *Estudio del comportamiento legislativo en Colombia*. (Bogotá: Ediciones Tercer Mundo, 1973. Pp. 312.)
- EL DESARROLLO SOCIO-ECONÓMICO EN COLOMBIA: ASPECTOS Y PROBLEMAS SELECCIONADOS. By HANS JURGEN PATZ. (Bilbao: Ediciones Deusto, 1968. Pp. 137.)
- VALORES, DESARROLLO E HISTORIA: POPAYÁN, MEDELLÍN, CALI Y EL VALLE DEL CAUCA. Edited by IRVING L. WEBBER and ALFREDO OCAMPO ZAMORANO. (Bogotá: Ediciones Tercer Mundo and División de Ciencias Económicas y Sociales, Universidad del Valle, 1975. Pp. 350.)

This set of recent books offers the reader a panorama of Colombian society and a range of approaches to its understanding. Emphasis is given to politics, social structure, the economy, and cultural values. The approaches vary as to theory and method, none being entirely dependent on a single discipline. Although sociology predominates, the authors' disciplines include political science, economics, and history. One volume has several contributors—and besides Colombian and U.S. authors includes a German Latin Americanist—and three of the works focus on the department of Valle del Cauca. Such variety would hardly seem susceptible to comparison, but the use of two criteria allows us to review these works as a group, and individually: the extent to which each presents new information, and the extent to which theory is deployed and developed. Ideally, both processes—data collection and interpretation—are mutually illuminating. While the criterion of informativeness is relatively straightforward, we should add that it includes assembling previously published data as well as generating new material. The theoretical criterion is considerably more problematic.

We are seeking information on Colombian development—conceived broadly, societal development involves (1) the production of resources, (2) their distribution, and (3) participation in production and distribution decisions. Many

students of society see these processes as sequential but interrelated steps, although some may emphasize one more than others. Agudelo and Patz concentrate on the production of resources in a macroeconomic analysis of the management of Colombia's material wealth. The importance of their work lies in their audience and their arguments, not their information. In comparison, Webber and Ocampo, and three other contributors to their volume involved in the same investigation, stress the improvement of human resources through a change in individual values, which in turn presumably affects processes of production, distribution, and participation. The four remaining authors scrutinize the relationship between the distribution of resources and the participation of various groups in distributive decision-making.

In an updated reissue of his now-classic 1957 work, Fals Borda investigates Colombia's predominant material resource—land. To historical research of great depth into primary and secondary sources he adds analogous contemporary data to provide the reader with a wealth of information about the *minifundio* in Boyacá. With less historical depth but greater national range, Leal analyzes the interplay among the major political parties, and between the legislature and executive as a reflection of class structure. He presents detailed new data on the national legislature from 1930 to 1970. In a short monograph Campos and McCamant concentrate on the presidential election of 1970. National voting data are supplemented with those they collected in Valle before and after the election, to give a rounded picture of this dramatic event. Finally, Flora views Pentecostalism in Valle as one type of social movement related to the prevailing processes of production, distribution, and participation. She generates many types of data to support her conclusion that Pentecostalism is not a social movement without potential for revolutionary change.

Informativeness is related not only to the quantity and quality of data presented but also to its type and method of collection. Of the authors reviewed here, many rely on primary data that they themselves generated; all make use of secondary sources; several engage in historical research; one utilizes oral history; two adopt a case study approach; and some employ sample survey techniques. All of these authors would have to be considered careful observers of the Colombian scene, if not also participants; even those who are not Colombian have spent a substantial amount of time in the country and evince great attachment to its concerns.

In evaluating informativeness, one cannot ignore the criterion of theoretical rigor and development; and here the works vary greatly, although no author attains that elusive goal of working within an explicitly developed conceptual framework, contributing to its further development, and marrying theory and data. To the authors' credit, this shortcoming is due to the paucity of data in the Colombian case and to the still tentative nature of explanation in the social sciences. With that caveat in mind, Leal, Flora and five of the Webber and Ocampo contributors make the most explicit use of theoretical notions in framing their studies. Each work also functions as a case study in the application of theory. What is of great comparative interest to the reader is the fact that each employs a different sociological perspective.

Webber and Ocampo represent the most traditional of these approaches. They rely on a modified version of structural functionalism to explain current Colombian development, taking off from the theory of Florence Kluckhohn about the universal values of all societies (concerning human nature, the relationship of man to nature, time-orientation, modes of action, and social relationships), and the Western versus non-Western ways such questions are answered by individuals.¹ Disclaimers aside, their analysis evidences the bias noted by Portes in a critique of this approach.² With the United States as a model, the impetus of similar development in other nations is assumed to be individuals' acquisition of values such as a future time-orientation, with relatively less attention given to the structural causes and consequences of this process. A related hypothesis—that leading sectors of the society will approximate what is taken to be the U.S. middle-class code of values—is challenged by their contributors' empirical findings.

Flora's work, in comparison, grounded implicitly in an understanding of the structure of social classes in a dependent society like Colombia, applies the structuralism of Frank Young, whose analytical system includes the concepts of system differentiation and the centrality and solidarity of its component parts.³ What is important is not the content of individuals' values, but the growth of a religious movement as one form of lower-class organization, although Flora's analysis cannot determine whether such a movement contributes to the growth of structurally analogous organizations beneficial to the lower class.

The connection between Marxist theory and Leal's topic is not as direct, perhaps because he wished to develop an explanation for the specific political dilemma of the National Front. He sees the strife between Liberals and Conservatives in the 1930s and 1940s, the formation of the bipartisan National Front, and the increasing power of the president over the legislature as a series of conflicts within the upper class and between the upper and lower classes. Basically, when interparty strife encouraged working-class organization, the National Front was formed to defend upper-class interests. However, its bipartisan nature has had two consequences: depoliticization and intraparty factionalization, and greater working-class consciousness. The weakness of the traditional parties then necessitated the assertion of the executive over the legislature, in Leal's view. His vision of the future in Colombia is one of conflict, but not like that of the *violencia*, in which two-party strife in the working class was a reflection of intraclass conflict in the ruling class. Instead, he foresees interclass conflict, encouraged or defused by the military, a vision not too far off the mark, given the events of September 1977, when this review was written.

Leal's analysis of Colombian politics from 1930 to 1970 (volume one of a study of legislative behavior by the political science department at the Universidad de los Andes) is a two-pronged attempt that does not result in synthesis: in the first part he develops the idea of the national legislature as one of society's centers of political power to guide his reinterpretation of the period; in the second part he analyzes data on the attendance and legislation of the senate and house to illustrate his earlier conclusions. In his conceptualization of the Colombian legislature as a center of political power, Leal sees the executive as its

opponent. Intensifying the dynamics of executive versus legislature is the struggle of political parties within the legislature. The thrust of Leal's analysis derives from this assertion:

El continuismo de los mecanismos tradicionales de representación en los partidos políticos controlados por las fracciones dominantes, frente a la emergencia y eventual mejor organización de los partidos que respaldan los intereses dominados, generalmente se refleja en el parlamento mostrando el desajuste de las relaciones entre las clases sociales, por medio de la dificultad de la organización hegemónica de los grupos en el poder representados en el legislativo. Esta situación incide también en un predominio del ejecutivo sobre el legislativo por la decadencia de los partidos políticos representativos de los intereses dominantes. (P. 27).

Leal starts his interpretation of the period with what he terms the principal disequilibrium—the exclusion from bureaucratic positions, beginning in the 1930s, of the party opposite the president's. Despite his casting forty years of parliamentary interaction and executive aggrandizement into this interpretive mold, Leal's translation of several well-known secondary sources does not quite produce a tour de force. Minus his conceptual gloss, other works, including some of the ones reviewed here, conclude that party dynamics under the National Front strengthened the executive.

Reasons for falling short of his goal include some conceptual confusion. First, in the absence of greater theoretical development at the outset, Leal does not clearly distinguish the groups he discusses (hegemonic interests, social groups, ruling groups, ruling classes, sectors, etc.). Second, there is some discontinuity between levels of analysis—rather than culminating as conclusions, theoretical statements are appended to the narrative as assertions of relationship. Third, this part of the book is most relevant to those already conversant with the events of the period and the main secondary sources. A fourth reason, related to the third, is that frequent deductions and assertions are made for which little or no evidence or documentation is presented. Since sociological theory is being used to analyze historical process, some methodological discussion would be appropriate.

Some of these problems are remedied in the second part of the book. Here, Leal analyzes data he has collected on the functioning of the Colombian legislature, and his findings show its increasing weakness: absenteeism is high and legislation is oriented to specific constituents. From his analysis we gain fascinating glimpses of the intricate workings of the legislature and the parties. For example, it seems that more important laws are passed when fewer legislators are in attendance; since there is greater absenteeism during election years, Leal concludes that the absentees must be those who have to campaign harder and hence are in the opposition—even to legislation favored by the government.

There are some questions about the operationalization of certain concepts and the analysis of the data. The indicators of distributive legislation make sense, but we are not given sufficient information about the criteria for coding.

The issue of correlating measures containing the same variable is not adequately addressed. Without greater previous development of concepts and hypotheses, analyzing correlations between variables falls back on description of particular events or attribution to unmeasured "structural" and "individual" factors. Such description undeniably supplements the first part of the book, but renders statistical analysis less meaningful. The use of correlation when the number of units (years and sessions) is relatively small is also of dubious value. In many instances, scanning Leal's excellent graphs is as informative as his discussion of correlation. Although the author's style renders some paragraphs unnecessarily opaque, we have in *Análisis histórico* an ambitious goal and a valiant effort. Leal's many aperçus into the workings of the system and the legislature make the volume a useful addition to contemporary Colombian research.

In the volume for the Comparative Politics Series of the Sage Professional Papers, *Cleavage Shift in Colombia*, political scientists Campos and McCamant produce a timely report on the campaign and near-victory of Gustavo Rojas Pinilla and his Alianza Nacional Popular (ANAPO) party in the 1970 presidential elections. In addition to official voting data, sample surveys conducted by the senior author among two thousand rural, town, and city residents before the election and among one thousand Cali residents afterward are used to study regional and socioeconomic effects on voting and abstention. By focusing on this particular election, the last under the National Front, the authors are able to provide support for their thesis that, contrary to previous elections in which the Liberal and Conservative vote was multiclass, voting in 1970 was class-based and became increasingly so from the first survey to the second. Documentation of this "cleavage shift" is the purpose of their study. Like Leal they attribute this mobilization to the bankruptcy of the National Front party politics and to ANAPO's role as organized opposition: "The parties in 1970 were, as they had been in the 1940s, loose organizations of local political leaders with real ties neither to the masses nor to the national leadership" (p. 21).

The authors are optimistic about the ability of the electoral system to mobilize the working class. There are trends in their data, however, as well as postelectoral history, which suggest qualification of their conclusion. Despite class-based voting in 1970, only 46 percent of the adult population voted for president, and there is a lack of congruence between class position and ideology. The authors found that voters' opinions about the National Front correlated noticeably more closely with their vote than their class position; that is, those who rejected the National Front, regardless of class, were more likely to vote for Rojas.

The authors' findings must also be qualified by the nature of their data and its analysis. Before-and-after comparisons are difficult because the post-election survey was conducted only in Cali, and there, due to the extreme delicacy of the situation after the election, the same people were not reinterviewed. Some tables are not labeled clearly as to the source and nature of the data. In evaluating the relative importance of class versus opinion in the presidential vote, the authors rely on a comparison of two-variable contingency coefficients. Elsewhere, statistics appear sporadically. Additional justification of

the mode of analysis and a theoretical rationale are necessary, but Campos and McCamant have sensitively probed the ANAPO phenomenon of 1970.

With *Retorno del liberalismo*, Hernando Agudelo Villa, former Liberal minister of both Hacienda and Desarrollo and presidential candidate, has written an encomium to the Liberal party, coupled with an insider's criticism of what he sees as creeping neoliberalism and a plea for continued state intervention in the private sector of the economy. Against the backdrop of his party's strong victory in 1974 Agudelo proposes to describe the economic and social programs of this *mandato claro*—their rationale, content, and effects after one year. Agudelo's analysis of the new president's fiscal and monetary policies document his view of Alfonso López' vision of the relationship between private and public sectors in a mixed economy: the private sector is free to produce resources while the state is responsible for the distribution of the product. It is this position Agudelo scores as a developmentalist policy favoring elites.

The author first provides a brief account of the world economic situation and recent Colombian political history, in which he condemns the failure of the National Front, all the while surgically allocating successes to Liberal governments. He then devotes the bulk of his work to government economic policy. Given the seriousness of inflation in 1974, fueled by high coffee prices, López based the policies of his campaign and presidency on an attack on inflation. The bases of his economic program were four: tax reform, monetary policy reducing state control of banking in order to strengthen the capital market, liberalization of foreign trade, and wage and price controls.

Recognizing Colombia's notoriously low production of state revenue, 1974 tax reforms included taxes on liquid assets, capital gains, inheritance, and luxury goods, with a more progressive income tax structure. When discussing the 1974 monetary policy, Agudelo is his most explicit and critical. He sees it requiring medium- and long-term loans to be financed through the capital market, dependent on the decisions of private banks, and eventually permitting the various rates of interest paid by different institutions to fluctuate freely. Such changes contrast with past government encouragement of investment in development projects through the manipulation of credit and interest. Foreign trade was to be liberalized through a reduction in export subsidies and taxes and in import duties on products competing with domestic goods, a policy Agudelo opposes. The less explicit income policy had workers and management, and eventually the government, negotiating and agreeing over noninflationary wages for two-year periods. Initially, however, the new government recognized that a wage increase was necessary to meet cost of living increases. A price policy came much later.

When these financial policies began to take effect, social programs would be instituted to improve the lives of the bottom half of the population. As Agudelo recognizes and generally approves, this policy was redistributive rather than distributive. Agrarian reform, specifically the distribution of rural property to individuals or cooperatives, was shortchanged in favor of providing social services. In 1974 major budget increases were allocated to education and health. In contrast to earlier prourban schemes, an antimetropolitan emphasis was incorpo-

rated in these programs; migration from the countryside was to be discouraged or diverted to smaller towns through industrial and other location decisions.

Agudelo couches the debate within Liberal party ranks in the following terms:

Esta contradicción en el empleo de medidas ortodoxas de inspiración neo-clásica, como las aplicadas en relación con la moneda y a la vez procedimientos heterodoxas como los adoptados en el campo fiscal, resulta aún más de bulto cuando se analiza el posible resultado final de los programas redistributivos del ingreso frente a los poderosos factores de concentración del mismo ingreso en cuyo control no sólo no se avanzado, sino que se está retrocediendo. (P. 247)

Despite joining the issues for his audience, Agudelo oscillates between the recitation of well-known problems and the idealization of myriad solutions with little note of the translation process. This problem is compounded by the book's mode of presentation—an agglomeration of overly long excerpts from speeches and policy statements, unfortunately incompletely cited. What is of value to readers of this review is knowledge of the existence of the argument.

From a political analysis of economic reforms we proceed to an apolitical analysis of some economic issues. Regional economic policy, the tax system, agrarian reform, the private *corporaciones financieras*, and population growth were issues observed and researched by Hans Jurgen Patz in 1965–66. His summary, in this slim 1968 volume, is not sufficiently detailed for practicing technocrats nor sufficiently theoretical or historical for academics. Patz places great faith in the regional *corporaciones* to stimulate small local industry as well as large foreign-assisted enterprise and to distribute their investments to various regions. In anticipating their progress and the benefits that are to accrue to the nation as a whole, Patz sidesteps the issue that has come increasingly to the fore: internal and international stratification that prevents much trickle-down. Besides non-Colombian administrators new to the field, other readers will be interested to see the way these issues were discussed a decade ago. Patz's style conveys his love for Colombia, but his work is a prime example of the developmentalist approach.

For those readers who are not familiar with the earlier version of *El hombre y la tierra*, this reissue of the core of the book will be welcomed. Other readers will want to see Fals Borda's new introduction to his earlier research. Thanks to his updating, too, we learn once again that, in this case anyway, *plus ça change*. . . . The author is one of the first sociologists in Colombia, and his much-to-be admired work has provided an excellent foundation for future investigation. Fals Borda's forte is ethnography and history, here felicitously combined to analyze the socioecological system represented by people and land in the department of Boyacá. Infinite care has been lavished on participant-observation fieldwork and primary archival research. The resulting data are represented under several classificatory schemes relevant to the agriculture and landholding patterns of Boyacá.

Then, as now, Fals Borda attributes the rise of the *minifundio* to the long-

term division of Indian reserves, the more recent subdivision of haciendas in response to the conflict with sharecroppers and squatters brought about by the agrarian reform of 1936, partible inheritance and population growth, and the exchange of small lots among peasants as a form of savings. In his 1973 introduction the author places the process squarely within the larger capitalist system by labeling it the bourgeoisification of the peasantry, by which he means their adoption of a bourgeois ideology:

Los minifundistas son pequeños empresarios individuales aferrados a pedazos de tierra que les condicionan a lo inmediato y urgente. Viven en condiciones de canibalismo económico impuestas por el sistema. Sus pautas de conducta son las de la sociedad de consumo, la de los ricos e intermediarios de los poblados. De allí que la prudencia ante el cambio, el conservatismo en las costumbres, y la resistencia a la innovación político-económica se tornen en condiciones mínimas de supervivencia. (P. 12)

Castigating the reform carried out by the Instituto Colombiano de la Reforma Agraria (INCORA) as developmentalism, futile, and even repressive, he ironically observes that in Boyacá: "En cuanto a la creación de propietarios . . . más han hecho los campesinos boyacenses solos, sin acudir al INCORA" (p. 19). Against the structural forces in effect Fals Borda has little confidence in the proletarianization of agricultural workers, but instead suggests that those who work the land own and manage it collectively, in an end to private ownership. This proposal represents a radical departure from his support for the *concentraciones parcelarias* promulgated by INCORA after 1961, in favor of peasant rather than state control of the land. But to this end he—and Punta de Lanza—have published this edition.

The Webber and Ocampo volume, *Valores, desarrollo e historia*, resulted from collaboration between the University of Florida and the Universidad del Valle from 1966 to 1973, assisted by the Rockefeller Foundation. The first two-thirds of the book contains articles by members of the research team studying Medellín, Popayán, and Cali (the editors themselves, David W. Coombs, J. Selwyn Hollingsworth, Leslie Ellen Straub); the second part is a potpourri consisting of a study of Liberal and Conservative party officers in Cali by Stephen L. Rozman, two historical overviews drawn from secondary sources—one covering four hundred years by James M. Daniel, and the other covering twenty-five years by Doris Eder de Zambrano—and an analysis of the department's art and architecture as an example of *mudéjar* style by Cornelis Ch. Goslinga. While the second part provides additional background for the first, it, or each of its articles, could stand alone. As a whole, the book is not the triangulation on a topic that we seek in an anthology.

Most of the articles in the first part apply Kluckhohn's theory of values, discursively presented by Ocampo. This approach was chosen as a way to get at the "anomaly of different levels of social, economic and industrial development in three cities" (p. 18). Although quite adequately rationalized by the authors (e.g., Webber), the empirical results do not unequivocally support the model or the hypotheses derived from it. A hindrance to a complete evaluation of the

research was the absence of the questionnaire. The central hypothesis derived from applications of Kluckhohn's schema in other countries relates a city's modernization (authors' term) to the value-orientations of its elites and graduating high school senior boys, to wit: Medellín respondents (analyzed by Coombs) were expected to be more modern than those from Cali (Webber and Hollingsworth), who in turn were to be more modern than those from Popayán (Hollingsworth), with Caleños more nearly resembling Medellín residents. Elites and those of higher socioeconomic status are to be more modern than others.

Briefly, according to the strongest measure developed, the elite pattern bears out the hypothesis; that for students does not. Among the student sample, Medellín residents are the least modern, but, generally, students share more modern values than members of the elite. Needless to say, the results are mixed, especially when one adds the fact that lower-middle and lower-class students were often more modern or as modern as upper-class students (although very few genuinely lower-class students graduate from high school). In few cases are the differences significant, substantively or statistically, a result that may be due to a ceiling effect. No one group is very modern (e.g., 29 percent of the Cali elite and 39 percent of its students—p. 20), if we see the U.S. middle-class model (future time-orientation, dominance over nature, doing, and individualism) as approaching 100 percent modernity.

The mixed results lead the authors to conclude that their respondents are in transition from the traditional to the modern. Rather than assuming this endpoint, one might conclude that they have found their own middle way, especially when it is noted that two of the four items that produced the most discrepant results include combining "being" and "becoming" instead of valuing "doing" more highly, and valuing cooperation over individualism. The contributors are aware of the bias of their approach and were probably aware of it when the research was planned, yet, Ocampo's disclaimers notwithstanding, its use does lead them to make unqualified statements that seem inappropriate.

Of the remaining articles, Straub employs the Kluckhohn model in a study of working-class girls in a Cali neighborhood; Rozman documents the decline of party ideological antagonism among the seventy-one Liberal and Conservative party directors he interviewed in Cali, which he feels is demonstrated in recent elections—"Los problemas básicos no se relacionan con la diferencia ideológica tradicional sino con problemas prácticos del momento, especialmente asuntos económicos" (p. 22); Daniel and de Zambrano each provide a quick guide to elite history in the region; and Goslinga describes a painstaking visit to most of the major works of art in Valle, delightful and informative. *Valores, desarrollo e historia* contains a disparate array of articles authored mostly by U.S. researchers—despite the senior editor's gracious acknowledgement of Colombian cooperation. The book becomes a vehicle for the work of this group of Americans in Cali, the results of which are now easily available to Colombians through this publication.

Cornelia Butler Flora's work, *Pentecostalism in Colombia*, is a model sociological study. Prior to her research, very little of a factual nature was known about Pentecostals in Colombia or Latin America as a whole. Her work will

consequently be of great interest to students of religion in Latin America, as well as to those of working-class social movements in general. Using a variety of research methods, which she conversationally explains in an appendix, the author presents a detailed history of the development of the Pentecostal church in Colombia, which occurred simultaneously with, and in the face of, the anti-Protestant *violencia* perpetrated by Conservatives in the Valle region. Continuing her narrative, she then compares Pentecostalism as a fundamentalist sect with other working-class movements in Colombia and suggests that because of the nature of its development, it can be considered an organizational counterpart to peasant and worker unions, for example, within the generally fragmented Colombian lower class.

The data she collected with the help of Jan Flora are statistically analyzed in four chapters. The author systematically dissects the structural preconditions for lower-class solidarity movements in the *municipios* of the Valle del Cauca department; characteristics that predispose individuals to become Pentecostals within this structural context; the internal structure of the Pentecostal movement; and the consequences of Pentecostal affiliation, some of which, for women in particular, are qualitatively analyzed in a final chapter. Among the structural preconditions the author hypothesizes as important, political pluralism allows for the emergence of both Pentecostalism and opposition voting as working-class social movements. Pentecostalism appeared in areas of Liberal strength, and votes for ANAPO in Conservative *municipios*, illustrating the type of deviance possible within each traditional political ideology. Similar results obtain on the individual level.

The heart of the book examines the internal structure of Pentecostalism as a solidarity movement. Here interrelationships among indicators of Young's concepts of differentiation, centrality, and solidarity are explored in greatest depth. Consequences of Pentecostalism are hypothesized to be community solidarity at the municipal level, while, contrary to what we may have expected, there is little individual predisposition to the modernism of the Protestant ethic. Both these hypotheses are borne out by the author's data, leading her to conclude, somewhat optimistically:

The importance of a religious lower-class solidarity movement, such as Pentecostalism, for social change lies in the effect of the movement on the environment directly, rather than through individual change. Individual Pentecostals are not markedly different from lower-class Catholics as to modern attitudes or behavior. . . . Highly solidary lower-class movements such as the Pentecostal contribute to a certain extent in mobilizing their host communities. . . . Thus, religious movements that are consciously lower-class have a potential of supporting instrumental movements for secular change, even political movements. . . . While they will not lead the revolution, they are not the hindrance to it that many accuse them of being as long as they maintain their lower-class identification. (P. 228).

While Flora's study is clearly informative and her methodology, including

correlation and regression analysis, cannot be faulted, the theoretical import of the work is left hanging. An excellent dissertation, it is an ingenious application of Young's conceptual framework, but is this scheme significantly altered in the process of being applied? The author does not return directly to this point in her conclusion, other than to say that solidarity, or world view, was found to have two major aspects: boundary maintenance and internal cooperation, a conclusion to what seems the weakest portion of the book. Of greater implication for theory are her conclusions that the significance of lower-class solidarity lies in the reactions it prompts from other social systems and, correlatively, that "it is the existence of the movement, rather than the individual adherents, that is the meaningful unit of social change" (p. 231), in refutation of the Weberian thesis of the Protestant ethic. Can't we assume, however, that the author was convinced of this eminently social phenomenon before she began her study? Though glancing off the ideal marriage of theory and data, her convincing demonstration of the existence and constitution of the social is a contribution, for there are many practicing *social* scientists of Colombia and other societies who remain caught in the fallacy of the individual.

In this group of books there are such diverse perspectives—disciplinary, theoretical, and political—it is sometimes hard to believe their authors are analyzing the same society at approximately the same time. Such diversity is valuable because we get a complete picture, not so much of the evanescent recent past but of the range of approaches and the way they allow us to approximate informativeness and theoretical rigor.

SHIRLEY HARKESS
University of Kansas

NOTES

1. Florence R. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodbeck, *Variations in Value Orientations* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1961).
2. Alejandro Portes, "The Study of Development," *LARR* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1976):213–21.
3. Frank W. Young, "Reactive Subsystems," *American Sociological Review* 35 (Apr. 1970):297–307.