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Front page Introduction Theoretical Frame Arguments and Context Place and Resonance

El Pastor del No



Thesis Conflict Studies and Human Rights.

The political role of an evangelical leader in the peace referendum in Cartagena, Colombia.



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Utrecht University, 2017
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Utrecht University

Front page made by Tom Eysink Smeets,
inspired and copied from the Rios de Vida website
that can be accessed on ministeriosdevida.org
inserted picture from the protest found in El Universal (2016).

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Image 1¹: Frequently seen proverb. Translates: If you will talk to me about someone, talk to me about God¹

¹Sources for images can be found as endnotes.

II. Summary

In Cartagena, Colombia, Miguel Arrázola, the pastor of the church called Rios de Vida, campaigned to vote against the peace agreement in the plebiscite that was held on 2nd of October 2016. This political activity interests me, because the Colombian conflict was not fought along religious lines. In this thesis I will therefore try to answer the question: What political role has pastor Miguel Arrázola played in the campaign on the plebiscite about the peace agreement in Cartagena, Colombia?

Research shows that religious leaders have resources available to them, that are unavailable to other actors: religious resources and religious space. Arrázola used these resources, in combination with non-religious resources to create resonance for his campaign.

The arguments the pastor used in his campaign were partly religiously justified. The most important arguments were that the FARC did not face enough punishment, Colombia would face economic disaster, that Santos – the president that negotiated the agreement – was unfit to bring peace and that the agreement promoted unbiblical family values. This argument build on existing sentiments in society because before the plebiscite similar protests had been held against manuals in high schools about gender identity, but can less convincingly be linked to the pastor. All these arguments were also used by Centro Democrático, the political party of ex-president Uribe.

The pastor used his religious space: the church, to promote his ideas, but he performed publicly as well. The organization of Rios de Vida is hierarchical, giving Arrázola much credibility as a speaker in the eyes of his parishioners. The marches Arrázola attended were organized by Centro Democrático, and confronted him with audiences that did not solely consist of parishioners. Some interpreted his public affiliation with Uribe – the ex-president and national leader of the 'No' campaign - positively, but Arrázola was also criticized for mixing religion and politics. The pastor has not engaged in interviews with mass media but prefers to use social media as his outlet, extending his religious space to places where he can speech but does not have to respond.

The impact of the campaign can be evaluated on different levels. In numbers, No won on national level, but 'Yes' won in Cartagena. The pastor has been able to influence negotiation by forming alliances with other conservative pastors that got a seat at the table to renegotiate the peace agreement. Arrázola's name has become more famous, but this may attract as well as repel parishioners. Conservative politicians have successfully mobilized religious leaders to support their cause, which probably will have effects on the presidential elections in 2018. In Cartagena interest in politics remains low, despite the polarizing discourse caused by the plebiscite. Recognizing that in Latin America religion has been an important factor in politics historically, and that Evangelical religion is growing I suggest that future research focuses on the links between mega-churches and politics.

 **Pastor Miguel Arrázola** is nu live.
33 minuten · 



LIVE  93

   83 16 reacties 12 keer gedeeld 1K weergaven

 Leuk  Opmerking plaatsen  Delen

Image 2ⁱⁱ: Maria Arrázola during the Sunday service on Facebook Live

III. Thanks

I have to thank my supervisor Ralph Sprenkels, who helped me to find the case and encouraged me to make my own decisions, but was willing to advise and correct me when needed.

I want to thank my mom and dad, for supporting me and encouraging me to take this trip. I especially value your contributions during your holidays. Without you, this research would not have been possible.

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This research would have been impossible if my different contacts had not freed up time for me and provided me with their knowledge and network. I want to thank everyone sincerely for making this journey possible.

My “Colombian mother” Ingrid, merits a mention for giving me a warm welcome to Colombia and taking me to the demonstration on the first of April.

Finally I owe a thanks to my roomies Helena and Lea, whom willingly sat through my nagging about my own work ethic, unresponsive contacts and brightened my days with stories about Spanish classes and plaza de la Trinidad.

Last mention is for Jenny, I hope we see each other again!



Image 4: Champion News ⁱⁱⁱ



Image 4: Centre for Security Policy^{iv}

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Chapter 1

Introduction to the Politics of a Pastor

On the 2nd of October 2016 the peace agreement drafted by the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) was rejected in a plebiscite by less than half a percentage point (Registradura Nacional 2017)². The agreement provided to demobilize one of the armed groups that has disrupted the country for more than fifty years (Brodinsky 2016a)³. The FARC would be disarmed, transformed into a political party and its members would avoid jail if they confessed to their crimes.

In the months preceding the plebiscite, the country witnessed an intense public debate both online and offline. Juan Manuel Santos Calderón, the current president, was the principal defender of the peace agreement, and ex-president Alvaro Uribe Veléz was the leader of the opposition (The Guardian 2016). Uribe was joined in his opposition by Pastor Miguel Fernando Arrázola Pineda, the leader of the church *Rios de Vida* in Cartagena that was nicknamed *el Pastor del No*: the 'No' Pastor (El Tiempo 2016a).

Arrázola educated his church members on the religious arguments during services, joined the ex-president on stage during manifestations against the peace agreement and presented his ideas on Facebook. Other churches have shown political colors and sided either for or against the peace agreement, but Arrázola stood out as particularly vocal in opposing the agreement (Semana 35 2016b). Also he was aligned with Uribe more clearly than other pastors did. He has used religious ideas to support the arguments that were also used by Centro Democrático, Uribe's political party. Altogether, this resulted in much media attention, both positive and negative.

In this thesis I will answer the question:

What political role has pastor Miguel Arrázola played in the campaign on the plebiscite about the peace agreement in Cartagena, Colombia?

In this introduction I will give a short overview of the political situation in Colombia to introduce the context of the question, elaborate on why it is important to pose this question, introduce what I mean by political role and thereby outline the sub-questions and structure of the thesis, and finally I will explain what methods I have used to gather information and what limitations and biases the research had.

² 49,78% voted in favor and 50,21% of the voters was against

³ Note that when I mention the peace agreement, I refer to the initial version presented on the 24th of August 2017. When I refer to the adapted peace agreement presented on the 12th of November, this will be mentioned explicitly.



Image 6^v: Uribe (left) and Arrázola (right) sharing the stage in the Rios de Vida church.

1.1 Political context

The conflict that disrupted the country since the 1960s was between three major groups: 1) the government, 2) left-wing guerilla groups and 3) right-wing selfdefense groups, paramilitaries and right-wingurban criminal groups (Moreno 2015:170). The peace agreement is the results of negotiations that started in November 2012. It was presented to the public in August 2016. The process was guided by four foreign countries: Cuba and Norway, who served as “guarantor governments” and negotiations took place in these countries, and Chile and Venezuela, who were the “accompanying” governments (Colombia Peace 2017). The negotiations were structured around six topics: 1) rural reform, 2) political reform, 3) the end of the conflict, 4) illicit drugs, 5) justice and reparations, and 6) ratification and implementation. The key negotiating parties were the government and FARC officials, but during the negations different representatives of civil society, victims, and international organizations would be included in the process (Colombia Peace 2017).

Negotiating this peace agreement was an important part of Santos’ campaign before he was re-elected as president in 2014 (Murphy 2014). Before Santos came to power, president Uribe had weakened the FARC using military methods during his two terms. Uribe had also lead the demobilization of paramilitary groups. This had made Uribe very popular nationally, but internationally, Uribe received much critique because he and his officials were accused of collaborating with paramilitary groups. Santos had served under Uribe as the Minister of Defense and Uribe supported Santos’ first run for presidency, but he firmly opposed the second term (Murphy 2014). Uribe’s main criticism of Santos was that FARC leaders should not be able to escape prison time or hold positions in public office. Santos won by a narrow margin. The campaign about the peace agreement in 2016 revitalized the same arguments from the former president against the current president. This led to division in the country, as can be told from the narrow margin in the result from the plebiscite.

1.2 Relevance, epistemology and ontology

The political role of pastor Arrázola during the campaigns about the peace agreement in the plebiscite provides an opportunity to study the political role of a religious leader in opposition to a peace process. Some articles on religious leaders in conflict view religion as either violence instigator or peace facilitator (for example Powers 2010), but case-study oriented research finds that the influence of religious resources in conflict areas is often more complex (for example Carulla 2007). This research will serve to further explore the complexity of the positions of religious leaders in conflict and politics, holding in regard the resources that are not available to non-religious actors.

The research addresses public concern about religion by investigating what influence religious leaders can have on conflict. Public concern often concentrates on the links between violence and religion. Far right politicians in Europe claim that Islam is a threat to identity and security (Betz and Johnson 2004:319) and interreligious conflict and terrorist attacks are used as proof for this argument. However, throughout history and present day, many examples of religious institutions and organizations working to achieve peace can be found too (Omar 2012:2). The political, non-violent opposition of pastor Arrázola to the peace agreement indicates that there are more positions for leaders in conflict situations than pro-violence and anti-violence. This research will demonstrate how a religious leaders in political situations can be analyzed.

The research is scientifically relevant because scholars have been stressing the importance of increased research on religious communities in relation to conflict. The “current call for integrating the religious dimension in attempts to resolve conflict is well-founded and needs to be followed up” (Harpviken and Roislien 2008:987). This research answers to that call by investigating a religious leader who campaigned against a peace agreement, however, I do not view the “religious dimension” as a coherent force. Giddens’ (1984) theory of structuration underlines that structure and agency govern social structures together, meaning that people have the capacity to change structures of social life but that the structures also influence what people do. I believe this applies to religion too: religion is one of the structures that defines how people live social life, but people have the agency to change their religion.

Interpreting religion as a non-driving force leads to the use of an interpretative epistemology, meaning that there is no tangible reality, but social constructs and agreements tell people how to understand the world. Rubin, Smilde and Jung specify that religion is a social construct, a way to position one-self vis-à-vis others (2014:12). They emphasize that religious practice is self-conscious and there is an autonomy within religiosity in Latin America: studies should not focus on “preexisting religious beliefs but on beliefs in formation as they are performed in social and political contexts” (ibid:22). The individual should therefore not be studied from a rational perspective, which assumes that outcomes are predictable, but rather from an interpretivist point of view.

Furthermore, this research is approached from an individualist perspective, meaning that individuals have the agency to make their own creative decisions. The individual should

be studied within the context of their situation whilst not reducing agency to this context. This suits the idea that religion and politics can inform each other, but neither should be reduced to one another (ibid:22). The sociologist Edgell (2012:258) urges that “the emerging research agenda must proceed with a fundamentally different understanding of the nature of religious authority and religious identity”. I do so by looking at the pastor’s arguments and realizing that the effect the arguments may vary for each person.

These vantage points lead to the use of qualitative methods. Powers (2010:317) states that “the prevailing secularist paradigm and quantitative analyses of the relationship between religion, conflict, and peace are inadequate.” What methods I use exactly will be addressed in the section 1.4.

1.3 Theoretical framework

1.3.1 Researching religion

When researching religion, it must firstly be clarified how I characterize religion: as a dynamic, local experience of a group of people. I do this using literature that considers how religious groups can influence a peace process, because I do not research any religious activity, but I focus on religious activity in a peace process.

I will understand religious groups as dynamic rather than static. Religion is a group of people sharing a belief and the belief they share can change over time. Omar (2012) explains that this dynamic gives religion the potential to contribute to a peace process. In this situation it is possible that “religious traditions and political ideologies ... challenge and transform ” (Omar 2012:2).

Schirch (2015) points out that religious actors have different resources available than other actors, such as rituals. Because these resources directly engage in people’s bodies, senses and emotions (2015:529), they can transform the worldview, identities and relations of groups of people (ibid:534). Powers (2010:329) confirms that “religion has an ability to reach, educate, inspire and mobilize the masses”. This is what the leaders of religious groups do. Omar (2012:2) calls this “the experience of the sacred”. In this way Schirch and Omar explain how religious leaders may transform or transform before mentioned political ideologies.

Although the religious group shares certain experiences which are created by leaders and followers, there are internal differences. Omar (2012:2) indicates that the chances of religious peace efforts are only likely to be successful when internal pluralities are taken into consideration. Hence, religion should primarily been seen as a group of people that consist of individuals.

Millar points out that local leaders are aware of local customs and that these customs which he calls “localized understandings” to a great extent determine the probability of success in peace making. He illustrates this using an example in Sierra Leone. He shows that “the imported process of truth-telling was inconsistent with ‘local arts of forgetting’ that are central to the creation of a ‘kol at’, or a calmed and peaceful heart. ... He demonstrates that

the rituals consistent with local conceptions of healing and reconciliation and the creation of 'kol at' resulted in positive experiences" (Millar, 2014:510). The knowledge that religious leaders have of their local public enables increases the chances of success in changing political ideologies compared to foreign religious actors.

To conclude, religion is viewed as a dynamic, local experience of a group of individuals.

1.3.2 Analytical framework: social religious mobilization

To answer the question *What political role has pastor Miguel Arrázola played in the campaign on the plebiscite about the peace agreement in Cartagena, Colombia?* I decided to use the conceptual frame as provided by Brown, Deneulin and Devine (2015). I elaborated it using framing theory by Benford and Snow (2000) and I show the relevance using Jevtic's (2017) work. Brown et al identify that religious social mobilization has three core components: "the theological resources, the religious spaces and the wider context" (2015).

I decided to use their concept "religious social mobilization" because their components fit the characterization of religion as a dynamic, local experience of a group of individuals. Furthermore, Brown et al argue that religious social mobilization cannot be interpreted as driven by religion only, but emphasize that the context of mobilization is very important. This was exactly the case in Arrázola's campaign, that built on the campaign that was led by a political party. Their framework provides the tools to analyze the religious aspect of the campaign, whilst not imagining that there is no interaction with the non-religious context.

The religious resources Brown et al discuss are defined as "sacred texts, but also new teachings and interpretations provided by leaders" (ibid:1). This matches the understanding of religion because sacred texts are seen as subject to interpretation, which makes religion dynamic. Jevtic (2017:64) argues the relation between politics and religion can be researched by looking at "1. Notions, explanations, advice, behaviors and constructs of a religious dogma, doctrine, its teaching and practice which is visibly, directly and openly connected with politics. 2. Religious practices which do not have a visible political message, but provoke directly political consequences" Together this leads to the question how dogma, doctrine, teachings and practices were used in Arrázola's political campaign. The first sub-question is therefore: How did Arrázol use religious resources to make his argument?

The second ingredient Brown et al (2015:24) name is literal and figurative 'religious space'. In the literal sense it refers to how churches can provide insulation and protection from different opinions and even repression on the outside. Figuratively, it refers to room for manoeuvre, negotiation and engagement. Figurative religious space can offer "moral authority, social protection or political influence" when the religious leaders create bonds with other actors (ibid:2015:24). Or as Jectiv puts it: "attitudes of participants in political life towards religions and community" are important during research on the relation between religion and politics (2017:64). Brown et al remain unclear on how to research religious space systematically. To research the difference between the religious space, the non-

religious spaces and the corresponding audiences in a systematic manner, I use the concept “frame resonance” introduced by Benford and Snow. The presence of resonance can contribute to what Brown et al call moral authority, social protection or political influence, Benford and Snow use “salience” and “credibility” for similar mechanisms. I use both concepts “space” and “resonance” in the second sub-question: How has the use of (non-)religious space influenced the resonance of Arrázola’s campaign?

Brown et al.’s the third component is context, which they also relate to the former two factors. This will first be addressed in the second chapter, that contextualizes the case, will be addressed by answering the first and second sub-question and will again be addressed in the third sub-question. The third sub-question assesses the results of the mobilization, asking: What was the impact of Arrázola’s campaign? The impact can be interpreted as the effects that his campaign caused. Analyzing the impact of the campaign, cannot be limited to the pastor: impact on context includes how locals have been impacted and the movements that Arrázola was part of.

Before I continue to discuss the structure of the thesis, I will illustrate how the work of Linda Woodhead (2011) will be included in the empirical chapters. From her five conceptualizations of religion, the conceptualizations religion as culture and religion as power strengthen the understanding of religion until here. Her conceptualizations are used in the second chapter and add specific sensitivities to the sub-questions.

Woodhead’s ‘religion as culture’ (2011:123-127) focuses on quantifiable aspects, the values, system of meaning, discourse and ideology used. This aspect of the quantifiable and the values in the religion will be discussed in the second chapter. Although the thesis uses qualitative methods as the primary approach to gather information, data in numbers and identifying what the core belief of Rios de Vida is, is important to grasp to understand the religion of Arrázola.

Woodhead argues that whatever conceptualization of religion is used, religion as power is complementary to it (2011:134). Religion can be seen as a power because it provides capital in this world and “other worldly-compensators”, social capital, the power to define meaning, norms and symbols but also status. It is specifically the ‘other worldly compensators’ that relate to what was before discussed as ‘resources unavailable to other actors’. Woodhead’s concept is not used to form a separate sub-question, but it is considered important throughout the three chapters. The pastor may use his power to convince, his power in the church defines resonance of his frame and finally the impact of the campaign is assessed positively by some interviewees because the pastors power has increased.

1.4 Indicators and structure

Now that it is clear how Brown et al’s (2015:23-24) framework relates to other academic works and how it has been used to form sub-question, I will explain how the three sub-questions form the structure of the thesis.

The next chapter is about the context of the case. The chapter starts with an outline of how the Colombian conflict has developed and what latest political developments were important in the plebiscite about the peace agreement. Evangelist churches were seen as an important factor that convinced people to vote against it. To understand where the right-wing affiliations of those evangelical churches originates, I explore the roles of churches in politics in Latin America in the past. The situations of religious leaders in Colombia is slightly different, but I try to place Rios de Vida on the global religious spectrum. In total, this chapter will serve to provide the knowledge to contextualize the study of pastor Arrázola's political role.

The third chapter answers the sub-question: How did Arrázola use religious resources to make his argument? When investigating this, I will be looking at the content of the pastor's arguments. What arguments did he use? How did it relate to the peace agreement and how were religious resources used in the argument? How could these arguments convince someone? How did the arguments relate to the actual peace agreement? In this chapter Arrázola's arguments and their reasoning are examined. I illustrate which arguments make use of religious interpretations and which arguments do not.

The fourth chapter answers the sub-question: How has the use of (non-)religious space influenced the resonance of Arrázola's campaign? To answer this question, stating the locations does not suffice: who are the public in this location, what consequences does being in this place have and why would the message conveyed on a certain stage resonate with a certain public? The chapter thereby does not only address location, but uncovers how this space enables or disables resonance too. Answering these questions also provides an overview of how Arrázola organized his campaign.

In the fifth chapter I address the following sub-question: What was the impact of Arrázola's campaign? I will look at what the outcome was in votes, and what may have influenced turn-out other than Arrázola. I will investigate how religious leaders have adapted the agreement after the plebiscite and look at how Arrázola realized his pastoral and political intentions.

In the final chapter all these questions and answers are reviewed again to draw conclusions and answer the research puzzle. Limitations of the research will be shown and suggestions are made for future research.

1.5 Methodology

Now that it is clear what I looked for when answering the research puzzle, the methodology clarifies how I tried to find the answers. I how I structured interviews, how I found interviewees and other primary resources. Finally I address limits and biases in the research.

In line with the ontological and epistemological vantage points, semi-structured interviews are the used methodology. The literature has been used to structure questions that will provide the starting points for the interviews, but important information may be presented by the interviewee that has not been included in the topic list. This topic has been

included in further interviews to ensure triangulation of data. The list of the interviewees throughout the research project can be found in appendix A and the topic guide in appendix D. To find interviewees, purposive sampling was used. Local contacts were made using my personal and academic network and using their connections from thereon. This was the most efficient method to find willing interviewees in the short time-span of three months.

My first source consists of 22 academics, journalists, NGO-members and other professionals with local knowledge. They were asked to reflect on the religious identity, content of the pastor's arguments, means of distributing his arguments and the consequences and success of the campaign. Also they provided information on the culture in Cartagena and insights in political developments throughout the country.

To confirm this information, I interviewed four Rios de Vida parishioners, but unfortunately it was difficult to find them and when found they were reluctant to be interviewed. I have been able to make field notes of conversations with parishioners and two Rios de Vida parishioners were willing to discuss their experiences on record together. This means I interviewed four parishioners during three interviews. Furthermore, two ex-members of the church whom could provide more useful information. The pastor Miguel Arrázola and other pastors were not available for interviews. The reluctance of members to engage with me illustrates how the church' attitude is adopted by parishioners. This will be explored more in-depth in chapter four.

The information gathered from these interviews was verified using traditional media content that could be found online and using material from the social media accounts of Arrázola and Rios de Vida on YouTube, Facebook and Twitter accounts. This information is, similar to the interviews, not always complete or verifiable. I therefore also rely on observations by the interviewees.

Another limitation was language barriers. The thesis is written in English, which is not my native language, and interviews were conducted in Spanish which also is not my native language. When interviewing a person in the native language of both, some meanings and intentions already get lost as the information has to be interpreted by interviewer and compressed by the interviewed. I have tried my best but cannot guarantee total lack of misinterpretations or that I did not fully comprehend an argument made. My Spanish level was advanced at the start of the research, meaning that I did not use a translator and did all the interviews by myself. Two interviews were transcribed by a local women, due to time restraints and due to the complexity interviews because of sound and accent.

Furthermore, interviewees indicated that Cartagenos and Colombians do not always directly say what they mean. Gustavo Balanta, an interviewee, said: "It is a complicated society ... [you have to] read between the lines. To able to understand this country. Not everything that they say is what they want to say. There are many things that fall in and that they are saying with the silence"⁴. I have tried to follow this advise and made explicit when I

⁴ "Es una sociedad muy compeja. Hay que tener mucha, mucha formacion, mucha agudeza. J:Que es agudeza?G: Si, es agudado, algo que mire, el – lo que - lee entre lineas, leer entre lineas. Entonces para

am reading between the lines. I wish to indicate here that the thesis may include some mistakes in cultural or language translation, therefore I have included the excerpts from interview transcripts in the footnotes.

1.6 Personal bias

I tried to make explicit what assumptions and decisions I made in the research process. There is one more personal assumption, however, requires further explanation. The research focuses on religion in politics, and an often heard argument against religion in politics is that religious people claim themselves to have absolute truth. Although the observation may be correct, I do not agree that this is a reason to be against religious arguments.

A Evangelical girl in Cartagena conceptualized how religion was her way of understanding the world. If the bible is her way of living, her truth, I am willing to accept her view – of course the catch is that she has to accept that I have mine⁵. We may try to convince each other using arguments, but use no force. She may have a religious view of the world and therefore also reason in her political decisions using religion. In her world view this is the only logical way to make decisions. Other religious people may be political without including their religious views.

Often science is in my personal circles promoted as an alternative to religious reasoning, but I believe science is not entitled to make a claim on truth more than religion. Firstly because scientists have often been certain of their world views and been proven wrong later. Secondly because science is a way to discover how the world works but does not provides answers as to the world should best be governed or more existential questions.

poder entender este país. No todo que se dice es lo que se quiere decir. Hay muchas cosas que se cae en y que se están diciendo con el silencio.”

Author’s interview on 11 may 2017 with Gustavo Balanta Castilla, director of a foundation fighting for human rights, former politician and active ‘Yes’ campaigner.

⁵ I wish to clarify my own religious beliefs, so a reader – whatever religion or world view – has an insight as to what my personal bias is that I took along while interviewing and writing this thesis.

When someone asks me if I am religious or believe in God, my first response would be No. That is mainly because I do not attend churches and do not believe in the stereotypical ‘man on a cloud’, ‘organizer of everything’, ‘there is a plan’ idea of God. As far as science provides answers, I take this as my most important way to view the world.

I do find God in the things that go beyond what humans can explain using science, and often these are the especially the existential issues. For me, God is the start and existence of space and time, the relation between body-mind-soul, and even future artificial intelligence may be called God. This relates a bit to conventional religion, which tries to explain what is before and after life, and what is the origin of all things. The word God for me indicates that it is a matter that goes beyond human intellect and that humans have to find comfort in the fact that not everything can be explained or understood.

The term God for me is replaceable, it is the word that is most commonly used for more spiritual ideas, but in my opinion God could also be called yin-yang, the limits of the human mind, or a black box. I find the word God more beautiful to describe the spiritual.

As you may have guessed, I do not identify with any sort of religious institution, but I very much respect the people that find their answers there. My spirituality is very different from many people I met and interviewed in Cartagena, I hope that this thesis and view in no way offends you.

When referring to God in the rest of this thesis, I do not refer to ‘my’ God, but to the more conventional interpretations of God shared by many Cartageneros and other Colombians.

I believe in religious reasoning and in science, cherry picking can be used to back up any political idea. There is more than one way to read the bible or other religious texts. Clearly some of my respondents and the main subject of this thesis, Arrázola, do not agree. They claim there is only one correct and true way to read the bible.

1.7 Conclusion

This research investigates what political role pastor Arrázola played in the campaign against the peace agreement in Cartagena, Colombia. Arrázola used religion in his campaign to mobilize people, to research how he did this, I use a theoretical framework that identifies three key aspects of religious social mobilization: religious resources, sacred space and context. These three elements lead to three sub-questions that guide the structure of this report. First, I describe how the pastor used religion to make his arguments, second, how these arguments resonated among different publics and third, what impact his campaign had. The research has been carried out using a combination of interviews and literature research.

Chapter 2

A context of conflict and growing Evangelism

In this chapter, I use academic research to place the research puzzle in its context. Firstly this chapter introduces the Colombian conflict and explains the most important dynamics in politics concerning the conflict since 2000. Second, the development of religion in Latin America and the surge of Evangelical churches are discussed. Protestantism in Colombia has grown, like in the rest of Latin America. Finally, I turn to pastor Arrázola and his church Rios de Vida. The characterizations of different types of Evangelism are described and I place the church on this religious spectrum.

2.1 The Colombian Conflict

Here I introduce general knowledge of the Colombian conflict. First I explain the origin of conflict and actors involved, next I introduce important developments since 2000, and finally I sketch the current state of the conflict.

The current conflict in Colombia started in the mid 60s, after the conflict known as *La Violencia* in the 50s (Theidon 2009a:6-7). The current armed groups can roughly be divided into three groups: first, the Colombian government, second, right-wing and self-defense groups: Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC), paramilitaries and *bandas criminales* (BACRIM), and third armed parties with left wing ideology: FARC, National Liberation Army (ELN) and smaller groups (BBC 2013). The national government claims to fight to protect their citizens, the FARC claim to fight for their left wing ideology, to combat poverty and equal land rights (FARC 2017). The AUC claim to fight to protect themselves, their communities and land from guerrilla movement (BBC 2013). Both FARC and paramilitaries have been involved in drug trafficking and accused of terrorism (BBC 2013). As a result of the conflict, 220 000 persons have died, and seven million persons have been displaced (Crisis Group 2017a).

In 1991 Colombia got a new constitution replacing the one from 1886, and the country became officially secular (Morales Hoyos 2001:561-2). Protestant congregations could officially be registered and Protestantism boomed (Beltrán 2013), and it boomed too in the rest of Latin America (Somma, Bargstad and Valenzuela 2017:119). The new constitution also included the right to peace.

Liberation theology was an active Catholic movement during the 70s and 80s that aimed to fight for social justice for marginalized communities (Celis 2016:70-72). Catholic priests would focus on their concern for the liberation of the oppressed, poor and other inequalities, defending human rights. As the human rights work grew since the mid 80s, the repression grew along (ibid:75). Although none of the armed parties used religious reasons as the legitimization for their force, religious leaders have often been targets of violence. Not all Catholics subscribed to this new interpretation of their belief, and increasingly

politicization of religion, causing many to convert to Protestantism (Moreno 2015:171). Some of these Protestant groups steered clear of political involvement, others were often more right-wing oriented.

When Uribe was elected as president in 2002, after a campaign focusing on fighting FARC, he intensified the offense against violent groups (Jurna 2016). He doubled budget for defense in four years and 25% more military and policemen were available (Colombia Reports 2017a). In 2003 the AUC (formed in 1997) agreed to demobilize in return for amnesty. Some paramilitary groups are still be active unofficially, others transformed into other paramilitary groups and criminal groups (*bandas criminales*, often shortened to BACRIM). Under his rule kidnappings and murders reduced drastically: more than 40% (Gurney 2015). Meanwhile the economy improved, especially foreign investment and due to these results, Uribe was very popular (Colombia Reports 2017). The constitution was changed to permit him to run for a second term (Colombia Reports 2017).

Uribe was reelected in 2006 and although he lost international popularity he remained succesful nationally. His administration lost popularity because they were accused of *parapolitica*, being involved with violent, maffia and paramilitary organisations (Colombia Reports 2017). End 2008, the scandal about the *Falsos Positivos* erupted in the public arena: soldiers had killed more than a thousand innocent persons and dressed them up as FARC-members to satisfy public needs and promote success (Advocates Sans Frontieres 2014)⁶. Also the paramilitary groups appeared to still be active, and BACRIM continued to cause violence. Furthermore, the number of internally displaced people spiked and there have been multiple cases of violations of human rights. His national popularity however, increased as result of the successful freeing of several kidnapped persons and killing of important FARC leaders (Colombia Reports 2017). When his second term was over, he supported the presidential campaign of his minister of defense, Juan Manuel Santos.

Although Santos was member of the same party as Uribe, he took a different approach to install peace when he was elected president in 2010. He reopened the negotiations with the FARC in September 2012 in Havana, was re-elected in 2014 and presented the final agreement on 24th of August, 2016. The agreement consisted of the following six chapters⁷: 1. Rural reform: access, use, ownership and reserves of land; development program, integral rural reform, 2. Political participation: rights for new political parties, new democratic mechanisms, measurements to improve political participation and vulnerability, 3. End of armed conflict: cease fire, hand-over of arms & stable and sustainable peace, reintegration of FARC members, safety guarantees & fight against criminal organizations, 4. Illegal drugs: substitution of illegal crops, program for prevention of consuming and public health, solution for production and commercialization of drugs, 5. Truth, justice, reparations and non-repetition: truth commissions; justice tribunal, sanctions and reparations; human rights,

⁶ Exact numbers are unknown but the organisation estimates more than thousands civilian lives have been claimed. The killings have started in the 80s and occurred mostly between 2004 and 2008.

⁷ Titles are edited for length and clarity

6. Implementation, verification and endorsement, including an ethnic chapter and the international component.

Despite expectations, the plebiscite to approve the agreement failed. The polls had indicated that 66% of voters would approve the deal, and only a third of voters would reject it (Brodzinsky 2016b). The turnout was low, with only a 37.4% (Registradura Nacional 2017) and the outcome of the plebiscite was a small majority for the 'No'. After the loss, the bilateral ceasefire was extended and negotiations were held with important opposing leaders such as Uribe until the 23th of November, when the new agreement was signed (Semana 35 2016a and the Guardian 2016).

After the plebiscite, the bilateral ceasefire was extended, the agreement renegotiated and passed by congress without another public consultation on the 23th of November (Economist 2017). The negotiations included opposition groups, supportive groups and the FARC (Crisis Group 2017c:5-6). The revised peace agreement would no longer form part of the constitution, revised form and implementation of transitional justice, emphasized handing over of assets and knowledge, and certain intentions of the agreement were clarified (Cosoy 2016 and Brodzinsky 2016c)⁸. Some of the core critiques have however not been addressed. FARC members that confess to their crimes, even war crimes, will have to take part in reparation acts and may be judged to restricted liberty but will still not face time in prison (Cosoy 2016 and WOLA 2016). Also, the agreement will still make FARC a legal political party.

FARC has started demobilization, but the process is currently behind schedule. Demobilization was planned to complete on 31st of may 2017 but due to the distant hideouts of parts of the arsenal the deadline has not been met (Economist 2017). Meanwhile Santos is still in negotiations with ELN, the second biggest left-wing armed group in Colombia (Al Jazeera 2017). The outcome of ELN negotiations faces challenges because of the less hierarchical structure of the organization and stronger affiliation to Marxist ideology (BBC 2017). These negotiations will probably continue into the next presidency in 2018. Santos cannot run again, and with ongoing resistance and protests against the current agreement, these negotiations may become the focus of the next president's campaign.

Van Royen (2016) and Aguirre (2016) note that part of the 'No'-camp victory in the plebiscite about the peace agreement has been attributed to the growing Protestant community. Chestnut (2016) wrote: "In Colombia, the growing Evangelical right was instrumental in defeating the recent plebiscite on the peace agreement between the government and the FARC guerrillas." Currently the majority of Colombians, 87,3% identifies as Catholic and 11,5% is Protestant (Ficha Pais 2017).

⁸ Find the two documents side-by-side here: <https://draftable.com/compare/JjypTOknafBktqvc>

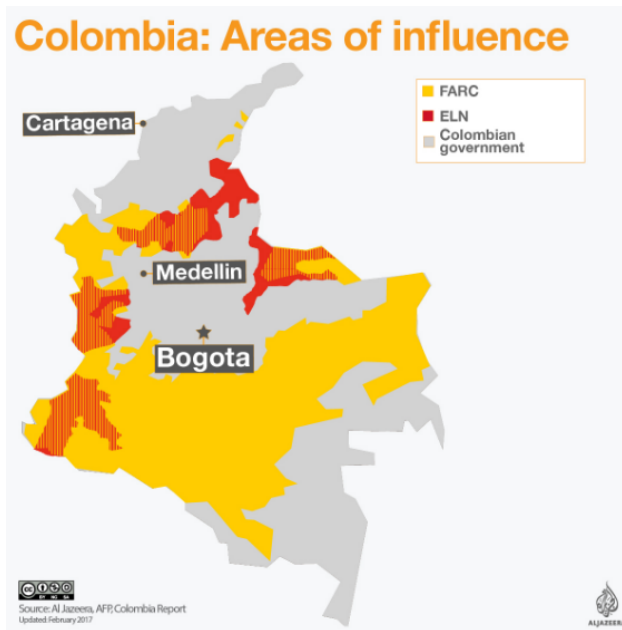


Image 7: Areas of influence of the biggest armed groups: FARC and ELN according to Al Jazeera^{vi}

2.2 Religious and political development

Rubin, Smilde and Yung (2014:22) show that the political dynamics in conflict areas, especially in Latin America cannot be understood without understanding the role of religion. Different Evangelical communities have been linked to the conservative right, not only during the elections but also historically (Padilla 1993:2). To understand the historical link between political and some Protestant communities, the relation between politics and religion in Latin America in general must be understood first.

David Levine argues that both the religion and politics should be considered as equally informing choices in one's life, but that "the two should not be separated" (1979:6). Religion and politics are intertwined in Latin America, but neither should be interpreted as defining the other.

2.2.1 Religion in Latin America

Shah (2003) indicates that Protestantism as a growing force around the world, in particular the global South. In this section I explore how Protestantism has grown in Latin America and if it should be seen as a political force, what kind of political force it would be and where this political color originates. In the second section of this section I discuss recent religious development of religion in Colombia and how this may relate to political preferences.

When analyzing the history of religion in Latin American countries, colonization must be mentioned shortly. The colonists had brought Catholic faith with them and Catholicism spread and rooted throughout the continent (Sikkink 1993:413). Most Latin American

countries were liberated at the start of the nineteenth century, but the Catholic church continued to play an important role in societies.

Protestantism, often called Evangelism in Latin America, was first seen in the continent at the end of the nineteenth century and can be seen as a result of the North American missionary work in the continent (Moreno 2015:171). The movement gained followers especially in the upcoming middle classes, and growth came to a halt by the end of the 1940s. This first group are the Baptist churches, Methodists, Mennonites, Presbyterian, Lutheran, and more Protestant groups that find their root in “Historic Protestantism” that originate from the sixteenth century or seventeenth century in England” (ibid:172)⁹. The second wave was independent from North American missionaries and appeared in the first decades of the twentieth century. This wave was strongly fundamentalist and conservative. These first two waves are in Colombia known as “Evangelists” (ibid:172). The third wave of Protestantism on the continent was the Pentecostal wave, this wave can also be traced back to the start of the twentieth century. Most of these congregations have national origins and are self-sustaining and self-governed. Pandilla (1993:2) argues that all these types were considered “an insignificant religious minority” until they started “organizing themselves to elect the candidates of their choice to the highest government positions”. Protestantism had grown due to various reasons, one of which the rise and fall of liberation theology.

2.2.2 Liberation theology and the rise of Protestantism

Levine (1979) indicates how liberation theology came to existence in Latin America as a more politicized branch in the Catholic Church from the sixties on. Stoll explains that the opportunity arose because “many Catholic church workers were dissatisfied with the almost medieval structures they were supposed to administer. But how to modernize was a sharp debate” (Stoll 1990:27). Vatican II changed the structure of the church, changed the Church’s relation to politics and formed the basis of liberation theology¹⁰.

The liberation theologians argued that poverty should no longer be seen as an individual problem but as a structural problem. That meant that some liberation theologians, such as Camilo Torres advocated that “a true Christian was obliged to be political” (Levine 1979:16). This resulted the Catholic Church to be, for example, supportive of indigenous and black social movements at a local level (Wade 1997:115). Liberation theology was a new movement in which Catholic leaders used their religious leadership to call on believers for social and political activism.

⁹ “Protestantismos históricos” por su origen en la reforma Protestante del siglo XVI o en la Inglaterra del siglo XVII.

¹⁰ During the Second Vatican Council and the Second General Conference of Latin America the church changed in two ways. First, it became less traditional and hierarchical and increasingly accepting of change (1979:10). Obedience was valued less, while “shared experience, solidarity and action” were seen as acceptable means to express belief and promote social justice (1979:11). Second, while violence was condemned by the Pope, bishops argued that many kinds of violence, including structural violence exists. Sin was thereby extended from the individual to the institutional and acknowledging the existence of institutional violence “opened the way to justify counter-violence” (Levine 1979:13).

Some Catholics did not accept the Vatican II changes and supported the dictatorships while another group wanted to reform and criticize capitalism. The latter group organized themselves in trade unions, political parties and other organizations, but it remained a “question whether to work within the established order or try to overturn it” (Stoll 1990:28). This question was accompanied by a question about the structure of the church itself, and whether the traditional chain of clerical authority should be kept in tact. Some liberation theologians that wanted to work against the system formed “controversial Christian-Maxists alliances” (Levine 1979:12), such as the Colombian priest Camilo Torres, who joined the ELN in 1966 and died in combat a year later. These type of alliances caused a certain “tension between the popular Church and the institutional Church” (Pandilla 1993:3). In general liberation theology appeared to have support from the pope throughout the 70s and 80s, despite critique from cardinal Ratzinger that became Pope in 2005 until 2013 (Cooper 2015:1964). When Ratzinger became Pope liberation theology was condemned and practicing bishops publicly criticized for it (ibid:1956). Cooper argues that liberation theology stayed alive although its location has shifted to from Brazil to Central America, and its manifestation has altered – liberation theology is not limited to Catholicism anymore and may also be found in non-religious organizations (ibid:1968).

Stoll notes that Protestantism rose in the same period as the rise of liberation theology. Many people left the Catholic church as a reaction to liberation theology. They felt that due to the highly centralized system of the church, it was not possible to join other Catholic congregations and turned to Evangelism (Stoll 1990:xiv). Padilla (1993:3) agrees that Catholics left their church to find a “more participatory environment”. The early converts “enjoyed the possibility of upward mobility” within one generation (Stoll 1990:xv), Miller (2009:284) adds that Evangelical “clergy have little formal theological training”. This meant that new converts could rapidly secure positions that were unavailable to them in the Catholic church.

The growth of Protestantism cannot only be assigned to rejection of the Catholic church, according to Stephen Armet. He identifies three clarifying theories for the growth of Protestantism since the 1960s in Latin America. First, crisis theory argues that the economic crisis and political crisis in the form of armed conflict and repression, contributed to “a sense of insecurity and instability ... [which] stimulated a turn to religion in search of escape from the pressures of daily life” (2003:48). Secondly, adaptation theory argues that “urbanization, bureaucratization, industrialization and secularization” have made societies more complex and broke “community ties, norms and traditional sources of legitimization” (ibid:48). In search for new personal identities and relationships Latin Americans turned to religious alternatives. The third reason to Armet are the reasons that are also indicated by Stoll and Miller. He calls this argument the organization theory and also emphasizes that the choice to leave the Catholic church was positive (“a free space for people to express religious beliefs in popular forms” (ibid:48)) and negative (“Catholic church’s failure to make similar adjustments” (ibid:48)).

2.2.3 The position of Protestants

Similar to the different Catholic orientations, there were different orientations in the growing Protestant groups. Stoll identifies three cross-cutting political orientations that exist among Evangelicals: a group turning their backs to politics, a group wanting to work for reform within the capitalist system and a group calling for radical transformation (in Stoll 1990:5). It was mentioned before that historically, Protestant groups in Latin America have a right-wing orientation (Stoll 1990:xvii), but the first group Stoll identifies has no political orientation at all. Many new Evangelical congregations did not want to be involved in politics at all.

The second group Stoll identifies, is the group that wanted to work with the system to realize change and the third group wants to change the world radically, hence without cooperation with existing structures. Robbins (2004:134-135) points out that pinning down the political culture of a religious group may be more difficult than appears from Stoll's division. Robbins challenges the typification of Evangelicals as having the political impact of contributing to movement towards democratization. He demonstrates that the egalitarian structure may provide a space to engage in new social relations and develop new skills in, but that the hierarchy and authority of the pastor are evident during services and Sunday schools.

Padilla (1993:4) claims that the most important characteristic of the Evangelical congregations is their anti-Catholic attitude. This comes forward in norms that demand personal commitment, participation, individual responsibility and voluntarism, again contributing to a more right-wing oriented world view. Stoll argues that Evangelicals may have a right wing-orientation, but this should not be reduced to the links with American missionaries, or be seen as a one way street in which religious congregations define political orientations: "religious experience, it has a dynamic of its own which can shape political loyalties as well as be shaped by them" (Stoll 1990:xv). American Evangelism and its political agenda influenced Evangelism in the past, but now locals are the leaders of their churches, denominations and alliances (Shah 2003:23). The political agenda is diverse and pluralistic, around the world and within countries (Shah 2003:24). He notes too that the Evangelist communities have often attracted mainly the poor and socially marginalized (ibid:24).

In conclusion, Protestantism has spread throughout Latin America for various reasons. The first appearances find their roots in the missionary work from North Americans in the late eighteenth century, but later forms have more local origins. The rigid structure of the Catholic church, the politization of liberation theology, drew more people to join the Protestant congregations from the 60s on. The Evangelist congregation has abstentionist and more right-wing oriented factions, but the religion should not be interpreted as shaping political views. The origin of the right-wing orientation cannot be pinned down to a certain root, but individualist values may contribute.

2.2.4 Recent religious development in Colombia

Colombian development was religiously mostly in line with the developments in Latin America described above. Although liberation theology was not as important in Colombia as it was in other Latin American countries (Celis 2016:73), many progressive priests in Colombia were expelled or left the Catholic church voluntarily in the 70s after confrontations with bishops and state authorities (Armet 2003:52). Armet notes that Evangelism got national exposure in Colombia in the 60s from a radio show that emphasized the importance of the “integration of social action and personal transformation” (2003:51). Thereby this exposure combined liberation theologian ideas, but from a more Evangelist perspective.

Protestantism has expanded rapidly in Colombia from the 1960s until now. In 2003 Armet wrote that Protestantism was at a low rate (three percent of the population) compared to other Latin American countries (twelve per cent). Despite this relatively low Protestantism in the early 00s, Protestantism had grown fast. Becerra estimates that in 1950 the country had seventy thousand Protestants, a number that had grown to 1.5 million in the nineties, and further to five million Protestants in 2005 on a population of forty-five million inhabitants (2013:106). Adriaan Alsema writes that in 2016 82 per cent of the Colombians are religious, and clearly not all Catholics.

Until 1991 Colombia was officially a Catholic country and other religions were not free to register (Becerra 2013:106). In 1991 the national constitution changed and allowed other religious congregations to register. Padilla (1993:2) wrote that Evangelicals used to have a “minority complex ... survival itself was a challenge enough” but this changed as they had increasing political success in Latin America: an Evangelical party was established in Venezuela in 1978, thirty three Evangelical representatives were elected in the National Assembly of Brazil in 1986 and two Evangelical leaders were elected to National Assembly in Colombia in 1990.

Beltrán wrote in 2012 about the religious and political developments in Colombia using quantitative and qualitative methods. He notes that the pluralization of religion has affected the political arena (2012:293). Political affiliation is weak in Colombia, only 40% of the respondents to the survey indicated to feel affiliated or sympathy towards a certain party (ibid:294). Political participation is similarly weak in Colombia and also indicates the weakness of the political parties. Religion can have an influence on political participation and affiliation. Twenty one percent of the respondents indicated to never or almost never vote (ibid:298), but 55,3% indicated to always vote (ibid:299), Protestants did not divert from this average much.

Protestants do not sympathize or affiliate much more or less with political parties than most other religious groups (Adventists, atheists, Jehova’s witnesses, belief in God: but does not go to church, agnostics and Catholics) at 42,2%. The Protestants mostly affiliate with *Partido de U* (44,7%), followed by *Partido Verde* (19.8%) and 4,8% supports MIRA – while the other groups did not (second highest score was among Catholics, of which 0,1% of the respondents indicated to support MIRA) (Beltran 2012:296).

Votes influenced by religious leaders are most often found in the lower socioeconomic strata and among people with lower education (Beltran 2012:301-302). Politicians offer pastors privileges or favors ranging from positions with the state to personal computers to funds to build places of worship.

The place of Evangelical religion in relation to politics and conflict in Colombia has been investigated through case studies too. Carulla (2007) investigated the support Pentecostal churches provided for internally displaced persons. She untangles the churches provide a new identity, to replace the lost identity that was often very tied to local connections had history. The Pentecostal congregations provide a source of social solidarity, social control and a feeling of participation in the construction of their own future (2007:40). Theidon (2009) writes about Evangelical churches that similarly provided psycho-social support, but in this case for the demobilized FARC members. Thus, Evangelical churches have helped people affected by conflict but this does not define their political position.

2.3 Rios de Vida on the evangelical spectrum

In this chapter I have seen how Protestant or Evangelical faith has grown and how it has diverse political meanings. In this paragraph I will further investigate what the type of religion Rios de Vida is. I present the ways in which different evangelical groups have been described by scholars and place Rios de Vida on that spectrum.

2.3.1 Evangelism: the characterizations

Shah (2003) uses the labels Evangelism and Protestant interchangeably because in Latin America the label Protestant is often replaced by the term 'Evangelist' (ibid:23). He describes the conviction of Evangelists to be that "Christianity in general and the Bible in particular are too important to be left to the experts" (ibid:22). In the Bible are God's words, and those words are to be interpreted literally. This paves the way for Evangelism as "not magisterial or establishment Protestantism but grassroots, populist and non-establishment Protestantism" (ibid:22). He (ibid:22) concludes that there are "highly Biblicist, populist, conversionist, and supernaturalist forms" of Protestantism, of which in general Pentecostal communities are more supernaturalist.

Freston (1998:38) distinguishes Pentecostals from other religions in Latin America "by their emphasis on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, such as speaking in tongues, healings, prophecies and exorcisms." Stoll defines Pentecostals as "ecstatic forms of Protestantism defined in terms of special gifts bestowed by the Holy Spirit" and concludes that "whereas only a minority of North American missionaries are Pentecostal, most Latin American Evangelicals are" (1990:4).

Yong (2017) argues the difference between the Pentecostal and the Evangelical is sometimes blurred, but "Pentecostalism is deeply Evangelical in its pietistic, Holiness, and Evangelistic/missionary spirituality." Pentecostals, similar to Shah's description, embrace new revelations and "clergy have little formal theological training. Instead, they are schooled

in the biblical narratives of personal transformation and find empirical verification for their beliefs in self-transcending experiences where God intervenes in their life” (Miller 2009:284).

Miller has done world-wide research on Pentecostalism, and he wishes to nuance the three major stereotypes of Pentecostalism. First, “large majorities of Pentecostals say that they have experienced or witnessed divine healing in some form” but “while Pentecostals believe in the Holy Spirit, worship services are not always populated with people being slain in the spirit, speaking in tongues, prophesying, or having their crutches thrown away by faith-healers” (2009:278). Speaking in tongues is also not present in all Pentecostal communities, but he claims it is true that “many Pentecostal churches devote one night a week to deliverance, or what is popularly called exorcism. Demons are named and called out of people, often to the accompaniment of discordant music and ritualised procedures” (ibid:284).

Second, although “Pentecostalism was born among the poor, and much of its amazing initial growth was because it connected with the needs of impoverished people, including those with animistic religious backgrounds,” (Miller 2009:278) this does not mean it is restricted to the lower socio-economic classes. “Pentecostalism is attracting – indeed, one might say that it is creating or ‘growing’ – a new class of more affluent and educated members” (ibid:284).

Thirdly, Miller challenges the idea the “Pentecostals are so heavenly-minded that they are no earthly good”, he indicates that increasingly “Pentecostals say that religious groups should express their views on day-to-day social and political questions ... This defies the stereotype that Pentecostals ... are preoccupied with ecstatic forms of worship and supernatural healing as compensation for their economic deprivation” (Miller 2009:275). What most clearly comes forward in his story is that teachings and experience of Pentecostalism are very dependent on the context.

What Miller describes, should according to Robbins be called neo-Pentecostalism or neo-charismatic movements. He argues that classical Pentecostal groups speak in tongues, but neo-charismatic movements “drop the requirement ... and moderate the ascetic moralism ... some even allowing members to drink wine or wear jewelry” (2009:121).

Robbins argues that these neo-charismatic movements were origins of doctrinal innovations, and were at the root of prosperity gospel or *teología de prosperidad*. This *teología de prosperidad* focused on “physical health and material success on earth” (2004:122). Garrard-Burnett wrote about *teología de prosperidad*: “followers of the faith tend to learn certain skills through ‘deliverance’ that have enormous practical value in any context – they often learn in the churches about money management, self-restraint (in terms of sobriety and sexual behavior, if not in consumption), and personal responsibility, since the churches also teach the Biblical precept, “to whom much has been given, of him much will be required” (Luke 12:48)”

Katharine Attanasi (2012) makes a comprehensive distinction between the groups discussed. She (2012:2) argues that there has been a renewal of Pentecostalism faith, “spirit-filled communities,” throughout the world and these new movements can be subdivided into: classical Pentecostalism, the charismatic movement and neo-Pentecostalism. The first are the stereotypes discussed by Miller, that for example speak in tongues. The second group, charismatics, share many characteristics with the classics but are not part of Pentecostal denominations. The third group, neo-Pentecostals are independent churches and more often spread prosperity theology. Mega-churches are also part of this last group.

To conclude there are many different types of Evangelical groups, and although certain categories overlap there are some distinctions that can be made.

2.3.2 Rios de Vida

According to their website, Rios de Vida was founded in 1998 by Pastor Miguel and his wife Paula Arrázola. They both studied bible studies in the United States in Oklahoma, where they received the title of theologians. On their website they claim to have more than 15.000 members of which 2.500 leaders. This estimate seems accurate to me if I included non-active members. Their five services on Sunday are well attended and could on a regular week attract about 500 people, leading to a minimum total of 2’500 listeners every weekend, not counting the online viewers. The church also has one service every Friday, called *Viernes de milagros*, Friday of miracles, which attracts a crowd of about 500 people too. A member of the church told me that only goes on Fridays, because the Sunday services are intended more for people that have already started families. See image 8 and appendix B for estimations of the crowds¹¹. Their main focus is “to establish families on the firm fundament of the word of God, so you can reach the maximal potential in every area of your life with an excellent spirit,”¹² in short: with emphasis on family values and the word of God for your own benefit.

Almost all respondents described Rios de Vida with the terms as a *Christiana*¹³¹⁴, Evangelical¹⁵ or charismatic¹⁶. The church is considered modern and is considered a hype

¹¹ Author’s fieldnotes on 21 may during attendance of service in Rios de Vida, see apeendix B.. Estimate confirmed by Semana 35 (2016d)

¹² Establecer familias sobre el firme fundamento de la Palabra de Dios, para así alcanzar su máximo potencial en cada área de sus vidas con espíritu de excelencia.

¹³ In Colombia Christiano does not mean christian, it means Protestant. I will therefore use the word Christiano throughout the thesis.

¹⁴ Author’s interviews with: Claudia Ayola Escallón, Daniel Florez Muñoz, Edison Lucio Torres, Ernesto Taborda Herrera, Gustavo Balanta Castilla, Anonymous on 27th of may, Javier Bustillo Pertuz, Jorge Quiroz, Leidy Laura, Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta, and Anonymous on 15 June. See appendix A.

¹⁵ Author’s interviews with Daniel Florez Muñoz, Edison Lucio Torres, Ernesto Taborda Herrera, Gloria Bonilla Vélez, Anonymous on 27th of may, Irina Junieles Acosta, Javier Bustillo Pertuz, Jorge Quiroz, Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta. See appendix A.

¹⁶ Author’s interview on 25 April 2017 with Gloria Bonilla Vélez, professor gender studies at Universidad Cartagena and ‘Yes’ supporter.

or fashion trend by some¹⁷. When I asked my respondents whether they considered the church to be Pentecostal. Reactions were mixed, sometimes confused.

Jorge Quiroz, an Evangelical pastor, had a strong opinion on the issue:

The doctrinal part has an important role [for the Evangelical churches]. And where do you [find doctrine]? In the bible! ... It puts the rules on the table for that organization. What happens in the church of Rios de Vida, they do not have anything like this ... There is what the pastor tells ... I will be frank with you. Many churches think that Rios de Vida is a sect. That is has nothing to do with Christianismo, meanwhile they call themselves Christianos. The two fundamental reasons [that they are not]: the pastors do what [inaudible], what they want. They say, it is before God. Before the word of the bible. His word is more important than the bible. [later in the interview] Julia: [Rios de Vida] they themselves Christiano and Evangelico Jorge: But they are Pentecostal. Neo-Pentecostal. The new Pentecostalism. Exaggerated Pentecostalism.¹⁸

A bit before the last part of the quote he explained that Pentecostalism is a form of Christiano belief, but that it is more emotional and physical. The pastor demonstrated this by clapping and dancing in his chair: this is what they do, ridiculing it a bit.

The interview shows that some look down on Rios de Vida and Pentecostalism. On Pentecostals for being too emotional and physical, which is not rational or biblical – the way Quiroz’s speech indicates that religion should be. He is also critical of Rios de Vida for being Pentecostal, but mostly for using *teologia de prosperidad*.

The anonymous woman of Rios de Vida that I interviewed, told me she was unsure what religion Rios de Vida is and whether it is Pentecostal¹⁹. She called her leader but still was not sure. She explained they believe in God, Jesus and the Holy Spirit. When her co-workers argued that it is the same for Catholics, she was confused²⁰.

Apparently the name of the exact religion does not matter much to Arrázola and his believers. What matters more, is how faith is practiced. I have visited the church twice and this has given me a rich insight and information on the practice of the church. To understand

¹⁷ Author’s interview on 31 may 2017 with Jorge Quiroz, evangelical pastor and active ‘Yes’ campaigner.

¹⁸ “La parte doctrinal tiene un papel importante [para las iglesias Evangelicas]. En que se vas a? En la biblia! ... Envía de los reglamentos en la mesa de ese organizacion. Que pasa con la iglesia de Rios de Vida, ellos no tienen nada de eso. ... Hay que el pastor manda. ... Te voy a ser franco. Muchas iglesias peinsan que Rios de Vida es una secta. Que no tiene nada que ver con el Christianismo, aunque ellos se hacen llamar Christianos. Las dos razones fundamentales: los pastores hacen lo que [inaudible], lo que quieren. Dicen lo que es aun encima por Dios. Por encima por el palabra de la biblia. Su palabra es mas importante que la biblia.” Julia: “[Rios de vida] se llama Christiana y Evangelico” Jorge: “Pero es Pentecostal. Neo-Pentecostal. El Pentecostalismo nuevo. Pentecostalismo exagerado.” Author’s interview on 31 may 2017 with Jorge Quiroz, evangelical pastor and active ‘Yes’ campaigner.

¹⁹ Author’s interview on 15 June 2017 with an anonymous member of Rios de Vida that voted ‘Yes’ in the plebiscite.

²⁰ Author’s interview on 15 June 2017 with an anonymous member of Rios de Vida

why I found it an entertaining experience, read the description of one of the services I attended in appendix B.

The service is attractive, modern and rich. There is a countdown before the service starts, an intense light show, their own Rios de Vida band that plays music that whips up the crowd, texts of songs are projected to ensure newcomers singalong and they have video clips to illustrate growth of the church. A friend of mine even told me that he is sometimes jealous of Rios de Vida because they hire famous Evangelical bands. The people dance and sing along during every service (though not everybody is always equally enthusiastic) but everyone does so when we are, many times, asked to raise our hands into the air.

The pastor compliments this physical, emotional atmosphere. He makes jokes, speaks in the local accent -which is at points inaudible to me – and walks around the stage confidently. Bonilla described it like this: “How he moves his hands, the eyes, the look, the head, it is all very corporal, with much emotion”²¹. An ex-member of the church described the form even as aggressive and violent²². His jokes are indeed often at the cost of others- during the service I attended he made fun of the Catholic church, but he is known to have made racist remarks and threatened a journalist during one of his preaches. The church has a focus on the pastor. Wilson Castañeda describes it likes this: “The church Rios de Vida does not have a doctrine ... They are person-centered churches. Miguel is the figure that convenes, the figure that congregates, and that means that the church is not an end, but it is a means. ... Miguel is doctrine for Rios de Vida. Rios de Vida is Miguel.”²³.

The church has no strict rules on how to live life. In the service where I was present, there was an explanation on family values and how family is one of the most important things in life, but there is no special rules like a dress code or prohibition to drink alcohol²⁴. Rios de Vida is not dogmatic, as other Evangelical churches can sometimes be²⁵. In those

²¹ “Como él mueve sus manos, sus ojos, la mirada, la cabeza, todo es muy corporal, con mucho emocion.” Author’s interview on 25 April 2017 with Gloria Bonilla Vélez

²² Author’s interview on 27 may 2017 with anonymous ex-member of Rios de Vida that voted ‘No’ in the plebiscite. He views this as a current development, that started when ties with Centro Democrático became stronger.

²³ “Lo que pasa es que otra característica que tiene las iglesias Christianas en America Latina, estamos allí, es que son iglesias que no nacieron en torno de una doctrina sino en torno en una persona. ... La iglesia Rios de Vida no tiene una doctrina, claro si los ellos preguntas si ellos tienen una doctrina [responden] que es las sacradas inscripturas pero en la practica si tu te haces la pregunta que hace que llego la gente de Rios de Vida? la respuesta es Miguel. Es decir son iglesias personalistas. Miguel es la figura que convoca, es miguel la figura que congrega, y eso significa que la iglesia no es un fin sino es un medio. Miguel entendiendo esto, Miguel ha empezado capitalizar. Entonces, claro, finalmente Miguel capitaliza el proceso y ... Miguel es doctrina para Rios de Vida. Rios de Vida es Miguel. Author’s interview on 13 may 2017 with Wilson Castañeda Castro, director of NGO Caribe Affirmativo for LGBT rights and active ‘Yes’ campaigner.

²⁴ Another Evangelical friend told me that Evangelical is in this sense “better” than Catholicism, for them religion is – sometimes stupid – rituals, whereas for Evangelicals religion is a relation between the believer and God.

²⁵ Author’s interview on 23 may 2017 with Marian Mercado, evangelical ‘Yes’ voter and degree in social communication.

churches you are not allowed to wear make up or pants, but in Rios de Vida and Marian Mercado's church that is not the case²⁶.

Both services were also full of promises, the pastors would say "this month will be your month" "wealth will come to you" "your life is like a movie, God has everything planned out" "if you face challenges today, you will be rewarded tomorrow." This is typical for Evangelical churches, as can be seen in the description of Evangelical churches before.

Much of the attraction towards Rios de Vida can be traced back to these characteristics. Being part of Rios de Vida is fashionable, the pastor is fun, and he promises a better life will arrive soon.

One of the first issues many respondents wanted to talk about in an interview about Rios de Vida was *el diezmo* and the economic situation of pastor Arrázola. Many of the interviewees viewed the economical organization in the church as inappropriate and taking advantage of the parishioners. In the church parishioners are asked to donate 10% of their income this is called *el diezmo*. Although it is common in many Evangelical churches, the form and amount in Rios de Vida is considered extreme²⁷. Also, parishioners are asked to contribute to other projects and donate extra money throughout the service and in *Casas de Vida*. When I was in the church, indeed envelopes were handed out twice to make a donation to the construction of the new church and also for donations in general. Money could be donated in the envelope, but payment with phones or cards is possible too²⁸. The church has received a considerable amount of critique on this practice, even though it is common in most evangelical churches.

The believers give *diezmo* to be closer to God, secure a bright future and become richer in the future. Valentina Mora and Solange Torres, parishioners of Rios de Vida, confirmed they give money to be close to God: "The bible is clear when it says that we love God and we have to show this with money"²⁹. The ex-member of the church has a different opinion on the habit now that he left: "They ask [too] much. ... A person is better and more spiritual and he [gives] the church the money he has. They [parishioners] believe if a person has more money, it is because he is in a better [relationship] with God. ... So they [pastors] make the people look at the money and supposedly they believe in money and they will be richer"³⁰.

²⁶Author's interview on 23 May 2017 with Marian Mercado

²⁷Author's interviews with: Gloria Bonilla Vélez and Edison Lucio Torres, see appendix A

²⁸Don't be fooled: envelopes insinuate anonymity but on the Rios de Vida envelopes people write their names – I have not investigated what happens with the names.

²⁹La biblia es claro cuando dice que a Dios se le adora y se debe mostrarlo con dinero. - Author's double interview on 31 May 2017 with Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta, law students at Universidad Cartagena, believers and leaders in Rios de Vida, neither approved the peace agreement.

³⁰Si ellos piden mucho. ... La persona es mas buena y es mas espiritual y el sube y haciende en la iglesia el dinero que tenga. Ellos creen si una persona tiene mas plata es porque esta mejor con Dios. ... Entonces ellos ponen a la gente ver la plata por supuestamente creen mas en plata y ellos van a ser mas rico. Author's interview on 27 May 2017 with anonymous ex-member of Rios de Vida that voted 'No' in the plebiscite.

This is what others have called *teología de prosperidad*. Edison Lucio explained that when you do not bring the money you are asked to, God will punish you³¹.

Lucio wrote an article about how much money the pastor raises and what his salary is. His estimate was that the church raises \$200 million each month, roughly 56'000 euros. The pastors salary would be \$30 million pesos each month, roughly 9'000 euros, and Lucio Torres critiques the pastor for presenting officially how much money the church raises and not clarifying what happens to the rest of the money³². He is concerned that the money collected by Rios de Vida is not spend to improve the church' facilitations, but ends in the pockets of the Arrázola family. Meanwhile Arrázola claims that the church is spending the money on the social services and building a new temple³³. Lucio concludes: "He is multimillionaire."³⁴



Image 8^{vii}: Author's screenshot of service on 23th of July 2017 on Facebook Live³⁵

³¹ Dios te castigara - Author's interview on 12 may 2017 with Edison Lucio Torres, journalist, threatened by Arrázola and active 'Yes' campaigner.

³² For the entire article see: <https://laotracara.co/destacados/el-roscograma-del-pastor-Arrázola-recibe-200-millones/>

³³ This is indeed happening, the church has already bought a piece of land and a model is displayed near the entrance of the current place of worship. During both services that I visited a short time was spend explaining that people still need to donate to buy the materials to build the new church. A Rios de Vida member proudly explained to me that their new church would be so much bigger and they would be owners of a big terrain to hold all kinds of services and events

³⁴ Es multimilionario. Author's interview on 12 may 2017 with Edison Lucio Torres.

³⁵ Image 8 shows the current space that is used for services on fridays and sundays. It can fit 1000+ people. In this picture, we already count about 140 people (fourty on the balcony and hundred in the crowd) and it does not show the whole room, and there may be people further away that are invisible.

Rios de Vida is a monolithic, Jesus-centered faith that uses the bible as their primary source. They are not Catholic and do not affiliate with confessional Protestantism such as Presbyterian, Church of England, Mennonite, Jehova's Witnesses, etc. In the Colombia, Latin American context, this means they fall under the umbrella of Protestantism, also called Evangelism. The congregation is not the stereotypical, older type of Pentecostalism. Although the parishioners believe in the Holy Spirit and there is some attention for miracles, people do not speak in tongues, the pastors are formally trained and the parishioners are asked to be engaged in political life on earth. The focus on the here-and-now shows in the political expressions made by the pastor, but also in the focus of the parishioners on becoming wealthy in this life. The focus on offers and wealth concludes my analysis that the church should be considered neo-Pentecostal.

2.4 Conclusion

The Colombian conflict is complex and subject to many different dynamics. Politically, the struggle between Santos and Uribe illustrates how political alliances may be formed but also quickly fall apart. Since the 1960s the Latin American continent has seen much religious change, starting with liberation theology but currently showing in the growing Evangelical communities. Churches were not allowed to register in Colombia until the new constitution from 1991 and Evangelism has boomed in the country since due to various reasons. Rios de Vida is one of those churches and according to my analysis can be characterized as a neo-Pentecostal church.

Chapter 3

Unholy president, *Castrochavismo* and other reasons to vote against the peace agreement

In this chapter I tackle the question: How did Arrázola use religious resources to make his argument? The aim of the chapter is to uncover the content of the argument, not judge the validity of the argument. The arguments that are used by the pastor do not attack all content of the peace agreement.

The first argument often mentioned by interviewees refers to the impunity of FARC members. This argument was linked to interpretations of the bible, because God would be described as a punishing God rather than a loving God.

Second, *castrochavismo* was used as an argument. It indicates that Colombia faces an economic crisis by accepting the peace agreement, because communists will gain power. This argument was used by Arrázola in his social media accounts, and interviewees often indicated the importance of this idea. It is not linked to biblical texts.

The third argument considers the context of the peace deal: it should not have been negotiated by Santos. As fervent opposition of the current president, the campaign against the peace agreement includes a clip in which the president is named the Antichrist.

The argument that had the largest impact according to various interviewees was the argument *ideología de género*. It remains unclear whether this argument was really used often by Arrázola. In the online content research, this argument was not the most important in Arrázola's campaign, but it has links to the conservative, homophobic ideology expressed in the church. Thus, it has been implied by the church that this was another valid argument to vote against the agreement.

Also, fear for God and the consequences of voting 'Yes' serves as an argument compelling parishioners to vote 'No'.

In this chapter I will discuss how arguments may have impacted parishioners, but I wish to emphasize here that this does not mean *all* parishioners indeed voted 'No'. I have spoken to a parishioner that voted 'Yes' and many interviewees were quick to point out to me that not all members of Rios de Vida voted – due to various reasons – and not all that voted, voted 'No'. That said, this chapter explains how religious argument and non-religious arguments are used by Arrázola to convince his public.

3.1 Impunidad

Impunidad means impunity. This argument considers the punishment of FARC members and justice for victims insufficient. With the hashtag #SinJusticiaNoHayPaz – without Justice, there is no peace, Arrázola publicly displays this sentiment on Facebook and Twitter (see image 9). In his speech during a protest on the first of April 2016 he said: "Justice is a divine

right ... this is a divine moment that we raise against the poverty, the careless, the injustice [of the peace agreement]”³⁶. This was an important argument for Arrázola and his followers alike.

The narrative in this argument focuses on a different God than I had knowledge of before. My personal knowledge of Christian teachings are about love, forgiveness and ‘turning the other cheek.’ The narrative of Arrázola does not fit this description at all. Raul Paniagua explained:

*Often people search a God that stands for something. There are people that want a generous god, or a benevolent God other want a punishing God. A God that demands, that reproaches, 'Yes'. In that search they can find an Evangelical pastor.*³⁷

Miriam, a social communication graduate and Evangelist parishioner, agrees with Paniagua: “He [Arrázola] focused much on certain parts of the bible. Where God is a righteous God”³⁸. Attacking the agreement because it is not just, thereby has a religious foundation. This view of God and the focus on justice is not shared by all evangelical pastors. Quiroz, another Evangelical pastor had a different interpretation of what the biblical view of the peace agreement and what justice would be, therefore he was very active in the 'Yes' campaign³⁹.

The argument on impunity calls for more punishment. The lack of punishment is found in how FARC will become politically legitimate and get seats, the reduced sentences, fast track justice, but most importantly they will not go to jail. Humberto Orozco, a government employee that worked for the 'Yes' campaign, said about the arguments from ‘No’ campaigners: “Impunity is when there is no justice ... The fact that the FARC would not go to jail. ... They want a peace with jail”⁴⁰. The people that have committed crimes, the FARC, must be punished more severely, if not, there is no justice.

Arrázola may have implied that the FARC will financially benefit from the peace agreement, but I have found no online evidence for that Arrázola explicitly used this argument. Ernesto Taborda explained that FARC is seen to benefit financially from the peace agreement because demobilizing members receive financial compensation to start reintegration in society and Colombians have to pay higher taxes.. Firstly, people do not want to pay more taxes. Secondly, that the FARC is not deserving to benefit from increased

³⁶ See appendix C

³⁷ La gente con mucha frecuencia, busca un Dios que le justifique algo. Hay algunos que quieren un Dios generoso, o un Dios benevolente, otros esperan un Dios castigador. Un Dios que reclame, que recrimine, si. En esa busqueda pueden encontrar dentro de un discurso de un pastor Evangelico, de un religioso, pueden encontrar elementos que ellos permitan de justificarse con su vida cotidiana. – Author’s interview on 24 April 2017 with Raul Paniagua Bedoya, professor social development at Universidad Cartagena and voted ‘Yes’.

³⁸ [Arrázola] Se enfocaba mas a ciertas como partes de la biblia. Donde Dios es un Dios justo – Author’s interview on 23 may 2017 with Marian Mercado.

³⁹ Author’s interview on 31 May 2017 with Jorge Quiroz

⁴⁰ Impunidad es cuando no hay justicia. ... El hecho de que la FARC no fueran a la carcel. ... Ellos quieren una paz con carcel - Author’s interview on 30 may 2017 with Humberto Orozco Cera, campaigner and adviser for the government to promote ‘Yes’.

taxes. 'No'-voters argue that they are against the peace agreement because they do not want to pay higher taxes to provides incomes of the reintegrating FARC members, because this is also not just.



Pastor Miguel Arrázola

31 augustus 2016 · 🌐

"La justicia traerá para siempre paz, tranquilidad y confianza" -Isaías 32:16-17 TLA

#SinJusticiaNoHayPaz

👍 Leuk 💬 Opmerking plaatsen ➦ Delen

Image 9^{viii}: “Justice will bring peace, tranquility and trust forever” -Isaías 32:16 17 TLA”

3.2 *Castrochavismo*

Of course, everything is in the name: Castro and Chavez represent the left wing political ideology of these (neighboring) countries. Balanta explained: “*Castrochavismo* ... generates panic and psychological terror in the population. That if they vote 'Yes' the country will be like Venezuela. That if you vote 'Yes' the FARC will reach the presidency and take power”⁴¹. Cuba and Venezuela are used as examples of how left-wing politics leads to bad economic shape, and a person voting against the peace agreement using the argument *castrochavismo* wishes to prevent the same thing from happening in Colombia.

In the peace agreement the FARC receives five seats in the 166-person House of Representatives and five seats in the 102-person Senate. These seats will be available from 2016-2026. The agreement does not specify which persons specifically will occupy these seats. As Arrázola indicates in his Facebook post (see image 10), this is not democratic – the seats will go to FARC without people actually voting for them.

The exact meaning of *castrochavismo* however is rather vague. It is a reference to the neighboring countries, but also to the left wing ideology in general. There is an implication that Santos may be seeking approval and support of the current presidents of the two countries. The peace negotiations took place in Havana, Cuba and this strengthened the narrative of *castrochavismo*. David Mendoza explained that “He [Santos] negotiates in conditions that are not just. ... No-one says: do not negotiate. It is the form in which he will do it. ... Initiating to negotiate in Cuba. A country that has captured their people, their population”⁴². He explained that the negotiations implied that Santos was looking for the

⁴¹ Castrochavismo y sobre todo va un elemento totalmente cuestionable, generar panico y terror psicologico en la poblacion. De que si votan por el Si el pais va a ser como Venezuela. Si votan por el Si la FARC llega la presidencia y toma el poder - Author's interview on 28 April 2017 with Gustavo Balanta Castilla

⁴²El se sienta de negociar en unas condiciones que no son justa. ... Nadie dijo: no negocie. Es la forma como el lo va a hacer. ... Iniciar a negociar en Cuba. Un país que ha secuestrado a su gente, a su población - Author's interview on 14 June 2017 with David Mendoza Coneo, a business lawyer and presbyterian who voted 'No'.

approval of the Raúl Castro and Nicolás Maduro, which is “bad message”⁴³ that shows the Colombian public what is on the road ahead. The term in that sense implies Santos has affiliation to left-wing ideas, but I will explore Santos’ role further in the next argument.

The image of communism, the bad economic shape of the two neighboring countries and the former presidents of the countries are in this argument closely interconnected and function as a doom scenario for the economic development of Colombia. FARC represents these communist ideas and their seats in government will inevitably lead to the economic breakdown. The term *castrochavismo*, was explained by Irina Junieles: “the country was succumbing to what they call *castrochavismo* ... An economically left-wing politics that represents Venezuela by Chavez and Castro with Cuba”⁴⁴. Orozco agrees and when I asked him about *castrochavismo* he sighed: “yes, the phantom of communism”⁴⁵. This idea also shows in the advertisements that were seen around the country in which Timochenko was depicted as possible president (see image 11). However, Arrázola has not used that image and limited his post to indicate that the peace has a ‘communist taste’ (see image 10).

This argument is contrary to the impunity argument, not linked to biblical passages or stories. Mendoza, a fervent Christian believer, pointed out to me that the principle of the free market is a biblical principle, but when Arrázola used the argument he used fear for a worsening economic situations rather than for fear of going against biblical principles⁴⁶.

Summarizing, the argument *castrochavismo* contains the idea that Colombia will become more left wing politically resulting in grave economic consequences, similar to Cuba and Venezuela. The political shift would occur due to the seats FARC receives in government and the improving relations and influences from the before-mentioned countries. The economic consequences would be the results of these left-wing, communist politics that will be implemented.

⁴³Mal mensaje - Author’s interview on 14 June 2017 with David Mendoza Coneo

⁴⁴El país estaba sucumbiendo a lo que llaman el castrochavismo. ... Una política económica de izquierda, que representan Venezuela con Chavez y Castro con Cuba - Author’s interview on 1 June 2017 with Irinia Junieles Acosta, who held various political posts and currently implements the peace agreement.

⁴⁵Si la fantasma de comunismo - Author’s interview on 30 May 2017 with Humberto Orozco Cera

⁴⁶Author’s interview on 14 June 2017 with David Mendoza Coneo, a business lawyer and presbyterian who voted ‘No’.



Image 10^x: “A peace cooked by/at the Castro’s with a taste of communism and including Maduro. NO thanks, it gives me democratic indigestion [stomach pains].”



Image 11^x: “Do you want to see Timochenko [current leader of FARC] as president? Vote Yes in the plebiscite” Under the text is written FARC-EP accompanied by pictures of a machine gun, the Cuban and Venezuelan flag, an image of Fidel Castro smoking marijuana and a picture of Nicolas Maduro, the current president of Venezuela. Next to the text is a picture of Timochenko, real name Rodrigo Londoño Echeverri.

3.3 Santos, the Antichrist

This argument concerns the form of the negotiations: Santos was not a fit person to negotiate nor to claim to have brought peace. There are various ways in which this argument can be explained, but often these interpretations are used side-by-side.

Firstly, Santos is unfit to negotiate the peace because the only bringer of peace is God or Jesus. Arrázola spread this message without explicitly naming Santos in his tweet (see image 12) that he posted on Twitter. He claims the only person fit to bring peace is Jesus Christ. Mora and Torres, two Rios de Vida leaders, explained:

I doubt if it [peace] will work, if not every person in this country has God in their heart and learns that peace cannot be brought by a man that promises it. So they [the government] can make thousands and millions of agreements ... but it will never create peace, not if not every person [inaudible]. The only one that can bring peace is God.⁴⁷

Santos is not God or Jesus and will therefore not succeed in bringing true peace to the country.

Secondly, Santos is not fit to bring peace, because he is the Antichrist, he is an intrinsically bad person. This shows in the video in which Arrázola says: “The Antichrist, we have him in Colombia”⁴⁸. In the beginning of the clip images of Santos are shown, leaving little room for interpretation whom Arrázola calls the Antichrist. The clip is not from official Rios de Vida channels, but the material is filmed in the church and considering the input of interviewees I find this sufficient to establish that Arrázola has indeed, indirectly, called Santos the Antichrist. Quiroz, for example, said: “He [Arrázola] calls Santos the Anticrist. He used passages from the Apocalypse and used them for Santos”⁴⁹. This diverts from the first interpretation of the argument in which no-one can bring peace, except for God or Jesus, because this focuses on how Santos in particular is unfit.

Thirdly, Santos’ leftist inclinations make him a partial negotiator that will give away too much to the FARC. In an informal conversation with a Rios de Vida member, he explained to me that Santos’ brother was part of M19, another leftist insurgent group and this brother was also involved in the negotiations⁵⁰. His brother was indeed involved in the early process of the peace negotiations (Semana 35 2012), but I have not been able to verify that he was involved with any paramilitary group. The Rios de Vida member argued that the involvement of Santos’ brother does not only make the process less democratic, but also shows Santos’ affiliation for leftist movements which makes the outcome of the agreement unfavorable for those opposing the FARC. Mendoza, not a member of Rios de Vida, but also strong opposer of the peace agreement explained to me he voted ‘No’ for exactly this argument. I cannot link this argument directly to Arrázola.

Santos is particularly viewed as a bad politician in comparison to other politicians. Mendoza explains that people are unhappy with Santos because they expected him to

⁴⁷ Es cuando tu no tienes Dios en tu Vida, Dios es tu gobierno. Entonces, sea todo que el gobierno te prometó tu lo crees. ... Yo dudo que hasta que cada persona en esta país no tenga a Dios en su corazón y que aprenda que la paz no lo da por un hombre que la prometa, no va a funcionar. Entonces se pueden hacer mil y millones de acuerdos ... pero nunca se va a crear una paz, si cada persona no [inaudible]. El único que puede traer el paz es el Señor. - Author’s double interview on 31 May 2017 with Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta, law students at Universidad Cartagena, believers and leaders in Rios de Vida, neither approved the peace agreement.

⁴⁸ El anticristo, lo tenemos en Colombia – see appendix C

⁴⁹ Author’s interview on 31 May 2017 with Jorge Quiroz, evangelical pastor and active ‘Yes’ campaigner.

⁵⁰ Author’s fieldnotes on 14 June 2017 from conversation with Rios de Vida member that voted ‘No’ in the plebiscite.

continue Uribe's methods, but he did the opposite⁵¹. Arrázola was firmly against Santos' second term for presidency and supported his opponent during his last election. When Santos was running for presidency, Arrázola would say that peace, *paz* in Spanish, is written with a 'Z', not an 'S' (Las 2 Orillas 2016). This refers to the last names of the candidates: Santos – written with an S – and his challengers name was Óscar Zuluaga Escobar, Zuluaga – written with a Z. Zuluaga was also supported by Uribe. Furthermore, Santos is perceived negatively because he is from Bogota and spends much of his time there. According to Castañeda, many Cartageneros see Bogota as an arrogant, distant place from the costeño (coastal) life and Arrázola used this sentiment in his campaign against Santos⁵².

Daniel Florez explained that altogether the meaning of peace was changed by the campaigns that emphasized it was Santos' peace.

It is very usual in those [inaudible] of manipulation to use phrases, little phrases and repeat them, right? So when something happens, it was usual that people blamed it on Santos. A building collapsed and it was [the fault of] the 'Santos' peace'. And everything [bad] was associated with the 'Santos' peace'. ... That manipulation of language affected us, the way how people saw peace.⁵³

Florez emphasizes here that the word peace was repeatedly linked to Santos by not using the word "peace" but "Santos' peace". Santos is seen as a bad person according to the arguments above, and repeating that this peace is *his* peace makes that the peace is seen negatively. As long as Santos is the person that brings the peace, the peace is not correct.

The argument against Santos is supported with religious interpretations and concepts, but also utilizes the negative view of Santos in general. Accusations that Santos has left-wing affiliations cannot be verified or directly linked to Arrázola, but the existence of this idea in Cartagena certainly helped make his argument that Santos is the Antichrist more believable.



MiguelArrázola @PMiguelArrazola · 28 jun. 2016

"Sólo hay un Dios, y sólo hay uno que puede ponernos en **paz** con Dios: Jesucristo"

-1 Timoteo 2:5

Vertalen uit het Spaans



23

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⁵¹Author's interview on 14 June 2017 with David Mendoza Coneo

⁵²Author's interview on 13 May 2017 with Wilson Castañeda Castro

⁵³Es muy usual en estos [*tableas?* inaudible] de manipulacion utilizar frases, frasesitas, y repetirla no? Entonces cuando pasar cualcier cosa era muy usual que la genta genera esta a penal de Santos. Se caiya el edificio y es la paz de Santos. Y cualcier cosa se asociaba con la paz de Santos. Entonces eso por supuesto contenido a la palabra paz. Porque Santos vende a una empresa el estado, una mulitnacional. Esta la paz de Santos. ... basicamente por paz entienden cualcier cosa. Esa manipulacion de lenguaje nos affecto justamente la forma como la genta perseguido la paz. - Author's interview on 27th of April 2017 with Daniel Florez Muñoz.

Image 12^{xi}: “There is one God, and there is only one that can put us in peace with God: Jesus Christ.”

3.4 *Ideología de género* and Gina Parody

Ideología de género literally means gender ideology, and the argument roughly contains that the country would turn gay. Many interviewees indicated this was an important reason for people to vote ‘No’⁵⁴. Castañeda explained that Arrázola was against the peace agreement “because the peace process destroys families, because the LGBTs participated in the peace process and the peace process will make the city gay”⁵⁵. Essentially, the future of Colombia would be at stake as family values would no longer be protected and ultimately the Colombian people will cease to exist as a consequence of lack of reproduction.

In the peace agreement the first mention of LGBT is on the second page. It concerns a section that emphasizes that LGBTs have been a vulnerable group during the conflict and that they should receive extra protection. Adoption by homosexual couples is not mentioned in the agreement, although it was often mentioned as a reason to be against the agreement by interviewees.

To understand the *ideología de género* argument, I need to introduce Gina Parody. Gina Parody is the former lesbian minister of education that, in response to a suicide of a homosexual boy in Bogota, introduced *cartillas*: manuals that instructed teachers/students on acceptance and gender theory as a measure to prevent similar events (El Tiempo 2016b).

Her campaign was met with country-wide resistance. Various of the interviewees⁵⁶ called her campaign key in the mobilization of churches and religious people. Whereas many catholic and evangelical churches would usually stay out of politics, they openly opposed and protested this degrading of morals (El Tiempo 2016c). Teaching children that their sex only has to be defined when they want to, that other children may be of one gender despite having body of another gender, conservative Colombia gathered its forces and made itself heard loud and clear. There would be no implementation of *ideología de género* in Colombia. The manuals were retracted from the secondary schools swiftly and Santos was sure to distance himself from the matter (El Colombiano 2016).

Santos made Gina Parody head of the campaign for the plebiscite a month before the votes were to be casted (El Espectador 2016). Just her name linked to the peace agreement is already judged as a move that lost the plebiscite according to Paola Pianetta and Leidy Laura⁵⁷. It was interpreted as a reason to believe that the peace agreement would try to

⁵⁴Author’s interviews with: Edison Lucio Torres, Ernesto Taborda Herrera, Gloria Bonilla Vélez, Gustavo Balanta Castilla, Irinia Junieles Acosta, Jorge Quiroz, Leidy Laura, Author’s fieldnotes on 14 June 2017 see appendix A.

⁵⁵ Porque el proceso de paz destruye la familia, porque los lgbt’s participaron en el proceso de paz, y el proceso de paz va a maricar la ciudad. Miguel empieza de mezclar el discurso conservador con el discurso religioso. Author’s interview on 13 may 2017 with Wilson Castañeda Castro

⁵⁶ Author’s interviews with: Jorge Quiroz, Leidy Laura, and Author’s fieldnotes on 14 June 2017, see appendix A

⁵⁷ Author’s interviews with: Paola Pianetta, and Leidy Laura, see appendix A

implement gender ideology. That LGBT groups were explicitly mentioned in the agreement and that LGBT groups were involved in the negotiations, confirms this suspicion.

The Tweet below (see image 13) shows that Arrázola said on Facebook: “How things are [now], I prefer a war with values to a peace without principles. #WeSaveTheFamily #The10Commandments” He wrote this two years before the plebiscite took place, but it indicates he agrees with the *ideología de género* argument.

Several people, including an ex-member of the church and Orozco claimed that *ideología de género* was not the main focus of the arguments that Arrázola put forward⁵⁸. Indeed he only mentioned Ideología de Género three times on Facebook literally, but that indicates it was indeed an argument for Arrázola to be against the agreement, despite it not being the most important used argument. The position of the church during the public debate on *las cartillas* may have made that many other interviewees assumed that this was an important argument for Arrázola and his parishioners. Mora and Torres said that this was one of the most important reasons for them to be against the peace agreement. It probably was similarly the case for other parishioners, they did not need Arrázola to say it often or explicitly. The attitude of the church towards LGBT and gender issues makes clear how parishioners are expected to think about *ideología de género* and Gina Parody’s involvement in the campaign indicated that the *ideología* was included in the peace agreement.

The argument is important because being gay is culturally viewed as something very bad. Claudia Ayola explains that the argument was very important to many people as people find it easier to understand what it means to be gay than to understand the consequences of the peace agreement and the argument that this could lead to communist politics⁵⁹. An anonymous ex-member of Rios de Vida builds on this and argues that for people from Cartagena it is worse to have a child that is a *marica*, than it is to have a child that is a thief⁶⁰. Mora and Torres add:

*Principals that are in the bible, they are against homosexuality. ... God created men and women, and he created them with sexual organs so they can reproduce. Nothing can come out of two women [lesbians]. Nothing can come out of two men. It is men and women that produce life. ... [Homosexuals] go against their nature.*⁶¹

⁵⁸ Author’s interviews with: Authors fieldnotes on 14 June 2017 and Humberto Orozco Cera, see appendix A.

⁵⁹ Author’s interview on 30 May 2017 with Claudia Ayola Escallón, columnist at El Heraldo, writer of controversial critical column about Arrázola after plebiscite and supporter of peace agreement.

⁶⁰ Author’s interview on 27 May 2017 with anonymous ex-member of Rios de Vida that voted ‘No’ in the plebiscite.

⁶¹ Principios que esten en la biblia, estan en contra de la homoseksualidad. ... Dios creo hombre y mujer, y los creo con los organos sexuales para ellos se pueden reproducir. Dos mujeres no pueden salir nada. Dos hombres no pueden salir nada. Es hombre y mujer que producen la vida. ... [Homosexuales] se van en contra de su naturaleza. – Author’s double interview on 31 May 2017 with Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta

They conclude that adoption for gay couples should therefore not be allowed, which according to the students is part of the peace agreement.

A member of Rios de Vida explained that God gives his people challenges and when listing what these challenges might be he said “Challenges such as Hitler, [and] that people now want rights for homosexuals. That boys and girls go to the same toilet”⁶². This really illustrates on what level people can be repulsed and how conservative the population may be towards LGBT rights, although the last quote also may show that comparing a situation to Hitler’s reign is a less grave comparison to make in Colombia than it is in Europe. He continued to explain that the people are the servants of God that have to rise up against these challenges. Consequently, to be a good servant of God, one needs to vote against the peace agreement.

To conclude, the argument *ideologia de genero* helps convince parishioners even if it was not the principal argument Arrázola used. Disgust of homosexuality and recent commotion about the *cartillas* made that people were already actively opposing *ideologia de genero*. Gina Parody as the head of the 'Yes' campaign has strengthened the idea that the peace agreement contained this *ideologia*.

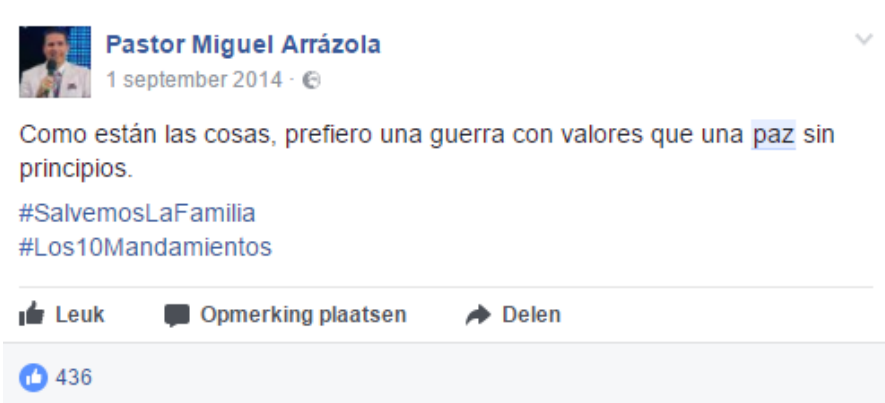


Image 13^{xii}: “How things are [now], I prefer a war with values over a peace without principles. #WeSaveTheFamily #The10Commandments”

Subrayando que el Acuerdo Final presta especial atención a los derechos fundamentales de las mujeres, los de los grupos sociales vulnerables como son los pueblos indígenas, las niñas, niños y adolescentes, las comunidades afrodescendientes y otros grupos étnicamente diferenciados; los derechos fundamentales de los campesinos y campesinas; los derechos esenciales de las personas en condición de discapacidad y de los desplazados por razones del conflicto; los derechos fundamentales de las personas adultas mayores y de la población LGBTI;

⁶²Author’s fieldnotes on 14 June 2017 from conversation with Rios de Vida member that voted ‘No’ in the plebiscite.

Image 14^{xiii} 63: Underlining that the Final Agreement extends special attention to the fundamental rights of women, those of the most vulnerable groups such as indigenous people,

3.5 Fear of God

Often interviewees told me that the Pastor used fear to convince people to vote 'No'. Fear for *castrochavismo*, for *ideologia de genero*, but maybe the most important is fear for God. As stated before, God in Rios de Vida is also seen as a punitive God. If believers do the right thing, they will be rewarded, if they do not, they will be punished. Mora and Torres said: "When you go against the God's principles, He punishes. Many say: no, God is love ... but He is bothered and annoyed and sends his punishment too"⁶⁴. Lucio said that this fear for God and his punishment is one of the essential, returning topics of Arrázola's preaches⁶⁵.

In the before mentioned video clip the pastor said: "Nothing is coincidence... It will be so big, His hate, that terrible things will happen against that treaty ... Oh God has His hands over us"⁶⁶. While the video shows footage of people dying of starvation, violence and Santos signing the peace agreement. This clarifies that it is not just FARC that will bring terrible politics and worsen the economy for Colombia, but also God that will punish his people for not voting the right thing: 'No'.

3.6 Conclusion

A peace agreement always has an inherent tension between justice and peace. Many Colombians protested against the agreement because they think it is too forgiving for the perpetrators of violence. Miguel Arrázola also used other arguments to be against the agreement. The arguments were discussed in different sections above, but during the interviews it was clear that the arguments strongly overlapped and were interconnected. The lack of punishment for the farc, *impunidad*, is also that they get seats in the government. Those seats in the government lead to left-wing politics, but that can only be so because Santos will allow it.

Furthermore in my opinion it is unlikely that something like *ideologia de genero* or *castrochavismo* will unfold. To make a country gay seems like an impossible challenge, and FARC's ten seats will not be able to change Colombia's economic system. The argument that

⁶³Parts of the screenshot are marked red, these are parts that were removed after the plebiscite. I must underline here that the parts that were added to the agreement after the plebiscite are not indicated. Therefore I urge readers not to jump on conclusions considering the removal of content. The words LGBT for example, was used ten times in the first peace agreement – and three of these mentions were removed. However, in the new document, the abbreviation LGBT is used 16 times, no conclusions can be drawn on the basis of these numbers only.

⁶⁴Cuando se van en contra de los principios de Dios, Dios castiga. Muchas dicen que no, Dios es amor ... pero tambien se molesta y se enoja y manda su castigo.- Author's double interview on 31 may 2017 with Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta

⁶⁵Author's interview on 12 May 2017 with Edison Lucio Torres, journalist, threatened by Arrázola and active 'Yes' campaigner.

⁶⁶ See appendix C for transcription

Santos was not the right person to bring the peace seems to be another method to increase polarization between Santos and Uribe. To further understand how these arguments could be made and why they resonated with certain audiences I looked into the media that were used to disseminate the arguments.



Image 9^{xiv}: Arrázola summarizes his own arguments like this: “A month ago, we said: #NO to the manuals from Parodi [sic] #NO to Socialism #NO to *ideologia de género* #NO to Havana and we will say #NO to tribunal reform.”

Chapter 4

Religious space and political friends in modern times

In this chapter I provide an overview of where the pastor campaigned, for what audiences and how this impacted resonance. How has the use of (non-)religious space influenced the resonance of Arrázola's campaign? I found that although the church is the primary place where arguments are spread, it is not the only place. This means that more places than just the 'religious space' will be addressed.

Frame resonance depends on credibility and salience of the frame and is very dependent on the public (Benford and Snow 2000:619). Credibility is measured by "frame consistency, empirical credibility and credibility of the frame articulators or claimsmakers" (ibid:219). I will discuss the different audiences in relation to credibility when discussing the different locations of the campaign. Empirical credibility is abundant throughout the Colombian society because the whole nation was occupied with the plebiscite, I will therefore not address this indicator. The salience is very dependent on individuals and will be addressed separately at the end of the chapter.

The primary place where Arrázola presents his argument is in the church. The organization of the church strongly contributes to the credibility of the messages for parishioners. In the church the campaign was credible because Arrázola is regarded as a highly credible speaker and the frame was consistent with other themes in the church creating frame consistency.

Second Arrázola has spread his arguments in public marches in company of political leadership from Centro Democrático. The mix of politics and religion similarly may increase frame consistency for some, and decrease it for others. This company may have increased Arrázola's credibility as a claimmaker for some, but not for all.

Thirdly Arrázola has probably not engaged directly with traditional media: they wrote and spoke about him, showed clips of his services, but did not interview him in person. This negatively affects the credibility of Arrázola as a claimmaker, because the media were often negative about him.

Fourthly social media has been used actively by the pastor. This fits his modern image and allows him to reach a wider public without relying on journalists. Social media also allows the pastor to be present in the daily lives of his parishioners, adding to the amount of time parishioners are exposed to the Rios de Vida narrative. Using social media to express his arguments has no effect on the credibility of the campaign.

The salience of the Arrázola's campaign is varied for individuals. The centrality, importance of the values in the individual's life, is very dependent on what religious ideas the person has. Experiential commensurability is dependent on whether the framing is congruent with everyday experiences of the audience. The nation-wide discussion on the

topic made that there is a certain form of everyday contact with the conflict, although not experiential. Cartagena has not been victim of the conflict, but has received many IDPs. The everyday experiences of Cartageneros with conflict is more rooted in BACRIM and other urban, local violence. In conclusion there is little experiential commensurability for most Cartageneros. I have not been able to define the narrative fidelity of Arrázola's campaign, as I have not investigated cultural narrations, myths or inherent ideology.

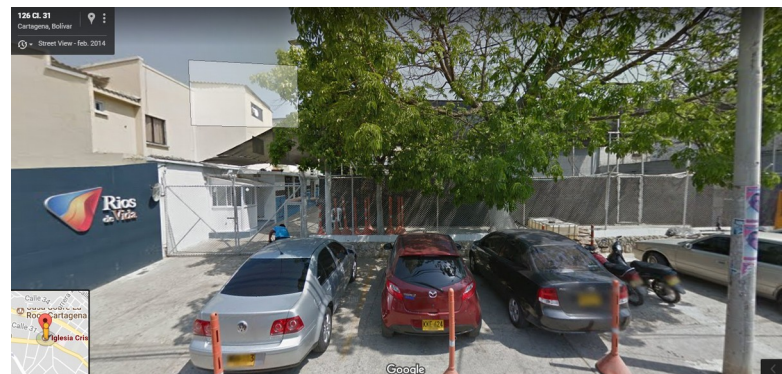
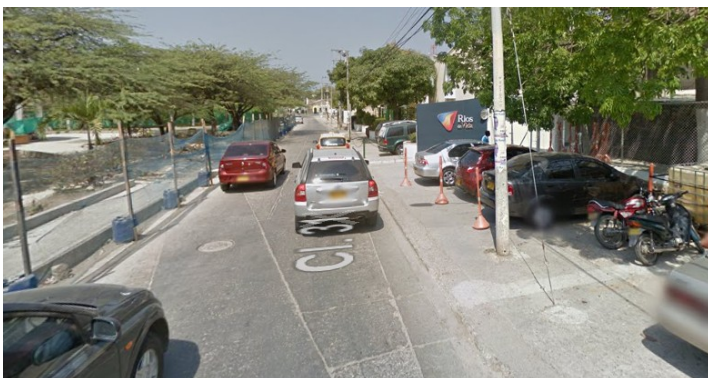
In total, this chapter will show how the pastor used physical, social and digital space to make his arguments resonate with his public. The use of different outlets has helped him reach a wide audience, but also allowed for an opposition against his ideas to publicly criticize him. The content was often difficult to confirm, I therefore mainly rely on observations by interviewees.

4.1 Religious space

Most speeches were, naturally, given in the church – the place where Arrázola would have speeches every week irregardless of the plebiscite⁶⁷. The physical space the church provided was not necessary for insulation from a repressive regime, but was used as a space to campaign by the pastor. The organization of the church increases

The services are open for everyone. The church is situated in the neighborhood Pie de Popa, upper middle income class neighborhood. Several people work during the service to make sure the seats in front are filled and that no-one records the service with their phone. As can be seen in image 17, there are three camera's that record the entire service, this is shown on the screen beside the stage and streamed on Facebook live. Anyone can enter the church, and even more easily watch the service online from any location with internet access.

Image 15^{xv} (left): Street in which Rios de Vida church is currently situated. Park on the left hand (at time of the photo under construction), behind the park a large street.



⁶⁷ Author's interviews with: Claudia Ayola Escallón, Daniel Florez Muñoz, Irinia Junieles Acosta, Javier Bustillo Pertuz, Jorge Quiroz, Anonymous on 1 June, Leidy Laura, Paola Pianetta, Tomas Sanmartin Pérez, Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta,, see appendix A

Image 16^{xvi} (right): Frontal view of the entrance of the church. Parishioners enter on the left hand and pass through the outdoor corridor. On the right side is a soccer field for the children.



Image 17^{xvii}: Interior of the current church

The church is organized very hierarchical, like a pyramid. Lucio explained that Arrázola and his wife are the head of the church, and from them on the church is organized in a pyramid-like structure of groups of twelve⁶⁸. This results in a certain distanced, witnessed by an ex-member of the church: “There are no relations with the parishioners. Fifteen years and never [did I meet him]. You can ask for an appointment and he will not go. He gives you someone else, he gives you a leader. He does not relate with the people. He arrives, he enters through a [back]door to the pulpit and leaves though there”⁶⁹. Taborda, a journalist, thinks being richer makes getting in touch with the pastor easier. The same ex- member from Rios de Vida concludes that this leads to a competition to who can become close to Arrázola⁷⁰.

⁶⁸ Author’s interview on 12 May 2017 with Edison Lucio Torres

⁶⁹ No hay relaciones con los feligreses. Quince años y nunca [lo vi]. Tu puedes pedir una cita y no va. Te manda a otro, te manda un líder. No se relaciona con la gente. El llega, el entra, por una puerta por el pulpito y sale por allá. - Author’s interview on 27 may 2017 with anonymous ex-member of Rios de Vida that voted ‘No’ in the plebiscite.

⁷⁰ Author’s interview on 27 may 2017 with anonymous ex-member of Rios de Vida that voted ‘No’ in the plebiscite.

Each group of 12 members has a leader, which organizes *Casas de Vida*. In these *casas*, or houses, the members come together to study and interact. Mora and Torres said that no political messages are spread during this time. Often when I wanted to talk to a member of Rios de Vida, they would redirect me to their leader. This can be due to insecurity on intellect – which many indeed gave as their reason -, fear of saying something that will be negative for the church and fear of me being the wrong person – that I may use their words in the wrong context. The *casas* are intended to give believers social support, a free space to talk about issues that occupy them and to study the bible⁷¹.

The parishioners are not of a certain type or social class. While some interviewees believe that there are more rich and influential people in the congregation than in other churches⁷², but other interviewees thought the church would have more poor parishioners because of the *teología de prosperidad*⁷³. Lucio indicates that in his research he found out that 70% of the parishioners are from the middle socioeconomic class, 5% are exceptionally rich and the remaining 25% are from the poorest socioeconomic class and are struggling to survive. This also means that people in Rios de Vida have different educational backgrounds⁷⁴. The modernity of the church does not mean that only young people attend, although the amount of young people in this church is probably higher than average⁷⁵. Also Herrera Taborda notes that level of jobs and education vary within the church.

The main goal of the services is to interpret the bible and teach what it means in daily life, this is done by various pastors in Rios de Vida. The pastors' sermons are closely related to the bible as during the services quotes of the bible are often shown and interpreted. The quotes are placed in modern times: in a service that I attended references were made to taking selfies (this developed into an argument that people should not become narcissist in these times, encouraging parishioners to have God as their number one priority in life). The focus of service is predominantly on three themes: fate, family values and wealth⁷⁶. These core topics create consistency in the frame presented by Arrázola. The focus on wealth links to the argument *castrochavismo* and the threat that Colombia is economically in danger. The constant focus on family values, including the rejection of homosexuality, makes the argument *ideología de género* consistent with the core ideas of Rios de Vida, making giving the arguments frame consistency. Also, linking the political decisions parishioners have to

⁷¹ Author's double interview on 31 May 2017 with Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta

⁷² Author's double interview on 31 May 2017 with Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta, about the image that others have of Rios de Vida

⁷³ Author's interview on 1 June 2017 with an anonymous teacher

⁷⁴ Author's interviews with: Gloria Bonilla Vélez, and Ernesto Taborda Herrera, see appendix A.

⁷⁵ Author's interviews with: a Javier Bustillo Pertuz and Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta, see appendix A

⁷⁶ Author's fieldnotes on 21 May during attendance of service in Rios de Vida, see appendix E. Also Edison said: "There are two fundamental aspects in Rios de Vida: love for the pastor and the money" Existen dos aspectos fundamentales en Rios de Vida: adultria al pastor y el dinero. - Author's interview on 12 May 2017 with Edison Lucio Torres, journalist.

make is consistent with the custom to link the biblical texts to how parishioners have to make decisions in other aspects of life.

Arrázola's speeches as the leader of the church are even more important than those of other pastors. His being against the peace agreement in itself creates frame consistency in a way too. An ex-member of the church, Tomas Sanmartin, claimed that the parishioners believe that Arrázola's words is more important than God's. Other interviewees confirmed that it is commonly believed that God communicates directly with the Pastor⁷⁷. A member of the church made remarks that shows a similar line of thought, when he kept on repeating that "Our Pastor has the truth"⁷⁸. He did not say "our pastors" in plural but really spoke about Arrázola. This means that when Arrázola explicitly asks his parishioners to vote 'No', this has a profound impact on them. In the video clip mentioned before, Arrázola talks in his sensational manner and asks his parishioners:

*But those who love their God, they will stand firmly, and no! It will not happen! ... They will stand firmly and no! What? [The crowd responds: No!] [Softer tone] That is what you have to vote.*⁷⁹

Thus, if Arrázola encourages his parishioners actively to vote 'No', this becomes the core view of the church.

Interviewees assessed the space for discussion within Rios de Vida positively. In the church a political debate was organized, to inform parishioners⁸⁰. According to an anonymous interviewee only 'No' voices were present⁸¹. Alvaro Uribe visited the church to campaign (see image 6 in introduction). Despite all these 'No' voices, the anonymous member of the church emphasized that in her experience no-one had a problem with that she voted 'Yes' in the plebiscite.

Salas claimed the religious space was expanding, that transport from Rios de Vida to the ballot boxes was provided⁸². I cannot confirm this with certainty, but it does not seem unlikely to me, as it has been used by other politicians before according to Pianetta⁸³.

In the church, where the public is parishioners, the two factors of credibility are present. First, the frame was consistent with subjects that are usually important in the church Rios de Vida. Second, for parishioners of Rios de Vida, the position of Arrázola makes

⁷⁷ Author's interviews with: Irinia Junieles Acosta, Jorge Quiroz and Tomas Sanmartin Pérez, see appendix A.

⁷⁸ Author's fieldnotes on 14 June 2017 from conversation with Rios de Vida member that voted 'No' in the plebiscite.

⁷⁹ Pero los que aman a su Dios se mantendrán firmes y no, no harán caso. ... Se mantendrán firmes y no – que? [Crowd responds: No!] el no es que tienen que votar. - See appendix C.

⁸⁰ Author's interview on 15 June 2017 with an anonymous member of Rios de Vida that voted 'Yes' in the plebiscite and interview on 1 June 2017 with an anonymous teacher and active 'Yes' campaigner.

⁸¹ Author's interview on 1 June 2017 with an anonymous teacher and active 'Yes' campaigner.

⁸² Author's interview on 29 May 2017 with Isiais Salas Montero

⁸³ Author's interview on 6 June 2017 with Paola Pianetta

him an important and very credible speaker. It is believed he has direct communication with God, as a pastor in general he is able to correctly interpret biblical texts and the organization is structured in a manner in which Arrázola is the top person, making parishioners look up to him. I shortly wish to indicate again that not all parishioners voted 'No' or follow Arrázola's ideas on presidential and other political candidates.

4.2 Marches and stages outside Rios de Vida

Arrázola's campaign also took place outside of the church. He gave speeches on the stages in Cartagena (Semana 35 2016c, Taborda Herrera 2016) and shared stage with Alvaro Uribe (Semana 35 2016b), the ex-president of Colombia, the presidential candidate for Centro Democrático Ordoñez and senator Fernando Araújo, the head of Centro Democrático in Bolivar (Taborda Herrera 2016). This means that the public not only consisted of his own followers, and included people with similar political ideas but different religious ideas. Publicly appearing side-by-side with politicians from Centro Democrático has not had a clear impact on the resonance of Arrázola's campaign, frame consistency and his credibility as a claims-maker are affected positively and negatively. The most clear consequence of the use of this "non-religious space" is that Arrázola has a wider audience.

Centro Democrático, Uribe's and Ordoñez' political party, provided organizational capacity and gave Arrázola a wider public. Florez explained that the majority of the 'No' campaigns were supported by evangelical groups, extreme right groups and Centro Democrático⁸⁴. Rios de Vida was not the only church that supported the 'No' campaign. Orozco claims that all groups that were part of the 'No' campaign were in the end supported by Centro Democrático⁸⁵. Junieles explains that the entire 'No' campaign appeared professionally organized because of this support from Centro Democrático. Centro Democrático was appointed by many of my interviewees as one of the core sources of fake news. Miriam analyzed: "Generating false news about the content of the plebiscite. Colombians started to believe that it was true and that [voting no] will benefit them"⁸⁶.

The arguments that Centro Democrático and Uribe used to argue against the peace agreement were similar to the arguments that Arrázola used. Semana 35 (2016e) untangles Uribe's ten arguments: 1) it was possible to renegotiate, 2) drug trafficking was not addressed sufficiently, 3) 'No' voices were repressed, the president did not give debates, 4) there should be no international interference, 5) there would be more taxes, 6) the government associated itself with criminals, 7) the agreement approved terrorism, 8) we want peace but not like this, 9) FARC gets impunity, and 10) *Castrochavismo*. The last six arguments closely resemble Arrázola's ideas, minus the religious support. This means that frame consistency is not breached for Rios de Vida or other attendees of marches.

⁸⁴ Author's interview on 27th of April 2017 with Daniel Florez Muñoz

⁸⁵ Author's interview on 30 May 2017 with Humberto Orozco Cera

⁸⁶ Generar noticias falsas a cerca de lo que contenia el plebiscito. Colombianos comenzaron a ayudar de si eso era en verdad un aporte que va a beneficiaron. - Author's interview on 23 may 2017 with Marian Mercado.

Arrázola encouraged his own followers to be at Centro Democrático demonstrations, and he is seen by his parishioners to represent their church outside of the 'religious space' too, bravely defending their values. The anonymous Rios de Vida member stated that

*Our pastor rose up. He is the servant of God and he said it like it is: the people of Colombia do not agree with this [peace agreement]. Other pastors thought the same, but did not have the bravery to stand up. ... Other pastors are afraid of politicians, but our Pastor is not*⁸⁷

Mora and Torres said a similar thing: "But when politicians want to threaten with the principles that the church defends [inaudible] is when the church and the pastor raise up"⁸⁸. As the most important pastor of the church, he is the religious and political inspiration for his parishioners. That put much of their trust in their defender of values, giving Arrázola more credibility as frame articulator for parishioners.

Interviewees explained that the Cartageneros are often not well informed on politics and the news, leading them to use famous people as reference points. Laura called this "*desinformado, malinformado*"⁸⁹. *Desinformado* is because the Cartageneros have not followed the news, and *malinformado* is because the news that they encounter is false. I will look at how this is possible in section 4.3. Miriam explained that because the people are not very interested in politics, it is common in Cartagena to use famous people as reference points for own political ideas to make up for this lack of information⁹⁰. Centro Democrático is founded by Uribe and Uribe still enjoys much support from the public, making him an important reference point for many to decide their political opinion. People that strongly agree with Uribe's methods are called *Uribistas*. For them, supporting Uribe means supporting the person Uribe supports. This is similar to certain parishioners that follow Arrázola's political ideas. The leaders in this way support one-another, giving each person more credibility as a claimmaker because of their mutual support.

When Arrázola linked his name to Uribe's, he may win over the *urubistas* to view the plebiscite from a religious perspective. Mendoza says

I do not agree with the practice and preaches of the church Rios de Vida but we [presbyterians] do agree with the subjects [arguments] about the peace process. The

⁸⁷ Author's fieldnotes on 14 June 2017 from conversation with Rios de Vida member that voted 'No' in the plebiscite. for the word bravery the spanish word "valoridad" was used.

⁸⁸ Pero cuando la politica quiere atentar con los principios que la iglesia protege [inaudible] es cuando la iglesia y el pastor se levanten - Author's double interview on 31 may 2017 with Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta

⁸⁹ Author's interview on 27 may 2017 with Leidy Laura, teacher of teachers about racism and gender and active 'Yes' campaigner.

⁹⁰ Author's interview on 23 may 2017 with Marian Mercado

*opposition that he [Arrázola] did had many truths but he did not do it in the most prudent nor reverent manner. But in the end he is right about the peace process*⁹¹

Although he agrees with Arrázola religious arguments on the plebiscite, Mendoza was very critical towards the organization of the church clearly expressed this: “Thank God, no [that I am not a member of Rios de Vida]. ... Because it is not a church with a doctrine that is biblical according to Evangelical preaching”⁹². Some account witnesses claim that many protesters on the first of April 2017 left when Arrázola came on stage, indicating that not all Centro Democrático supporters support Arrázola. This shows that not all ‘No’-voters are fans of Arrázola’s religious endeavors, but some may be attracted as a religious person to his religious-political arguments giving him more credibility.

At the same time, the association with Centro Democrático may also undermine Arrázola’s credibility. Uribe and Ordoñez are themselves Catholics, this which sparked critique that they only engage with Arrázola for political ends⁹³. Ordonez’ conservative family values do match Rios de Vida’s focus on family. “That family has to be man and woman ... What they [Centro Democrático] promote now, is a presidential campaign for ex-procurator Ordoñez... with the bible under the arm” said Pianetta⁹⁴. Taborda agrees that Ordoñez views against abortion and gay marriage originate in his religion. Ordoñez is one of Centro Democrático’s candidates for presidency and currently procurator, which means he is charged of safeguarding the rights of the Colombian people, and overseeing correct use of authority by government and its institutions. Engaging with Uribe and Ordoñez may give Arrázola more political credibility as he is associated with a political movement and not just a single pastor with political ideas, but this may negatively affect Centro Democrático for being inconsistent in religious affiliations.

To conclude, Centro Democrático allied with churches to defend similar arguments against the peace agreement. Their cooperation provided Arrázola a wider audience. This wider audience does not necessarily support the church, nor does it mean that Arrázola supporters blindly support the Centro Democrático. The arguments that Arrázola uses in his speeches and that are used by Centro Democrático are very similar, this means that for neither audiences there will be a severe breach of frame consistency when Arrázola speaks.

⁹¹ Yo no soy de acuerdo con lo que practica ni predica la iglesia Rios de Vida pero estamos de acuerdo con las temas del proceso de paz. El oposicion que el hizo tenia muchas verdades pero no lo hizo en la manera mas prudente ni la manera reverente. Pero finalmente tiene razon sobre el proceso de paz. - Author’s interview on 14 June 2017 with David Mendoza Coneo

⁹² Gracias a Dios No. ... Por que desafortunadamente es una iglesia con una doctrina que no es biblica para la predicacion del Evangelico. - Author’s interview on 14 June 2017 with David Mendoza Coneo

⁹³ Author’s interview on 11 may 2017 with Ernesto Taborda Herrera

⁹⁴ Que la familia tiene que ser el hombre y la mujer. ... Lo que se va a promover ahora, es una campaña predidencial del exprocurador Ordoñez que fue otra vez esta con la biblia de bajo brazo. Es un tema de – un campana conservador. - Author’s interview on 6 June 2017 with Paola Pianetta, recent graduate of MA Social conflict at Universidad Cartagena, active ‘Yes’ campaigner and set up a campment in Cartagena after the plebiscite to protest against the rejection of the agreement.

His credibility as a claimmaker is enhanced and reduced due to his involvement with Centro Democrático.

4.3 Mass media

The media is by many considered an important factor in the campaigns for the plebiscite, informants said that Arrázola's ideas were mostly spread on radio and television⁹⁵. They observed that Arrázola's and Centro Democrático's arguments were often repeated in shows and on the news, but I have not found online remains of this myself. Most of the information voters received about the plebiscite they heard on the radio. The public of mass media is so big that this has no clear impact on frame consistency. Arrázola's absence means there are also no consequences on his credibility as a claimmaker.

The interviewees were divided over whether Arrázola was himself present in these shows or not. I was unable to watch the tv programs or listen to the radio shows that could have hosted Arrázola because I was not in the country during the campaigns. Therefore, I have searched for remains of Arrázola's exposure on mass media and asked interviewee's to send me material that confirms his presence on tv, radio and in the newspapers. This did not lead to positive results. Neither have I been able to find articles on the websites of the tv and radio station directly quoting Arrázola or clips on YouTube that show him in tv programs. I therefore assume that Arrázola was not present in the media in person, but that his arguments and those of Centro Democrático were present and maybe in some shows moderators talked about him, rather than with him.

The material on news websites that I could find about Arrázola, almost exclusively discussed his threat towards a journalist in 2017. The article Lucio wrote on Arrázola's financial situation in April 2017, lead the pastor to threaten the journalist during a service, which demonstrates the hostile attitude Arrázola has towards the media after critique. Arrázola said during the service:

As you know, I cannot slap you, because [even though] you well deserve some of my punches, I have some big hands here, that can make you turn around [expression to say: can kill you]. Thank God that I am born again, I have the Holy Spirit and Jesus Christ in my heart, because you were almost in La Ciénaga de la Virgen [lake close to Cartagena] ...I give you to Nigergia, it will finish you, it will kill you this man(Semana 35 2017a)⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Author's interviews with: anonymous on 1 June, Isiais Salas Montero and Raul Paniagua Bedoya. See appendix A

⁹⁶ Como sabes que no te puedo pegar, porque bien te mereces un par de gasnatas (golpes) míos, yo tengo unos manes tablú aquí que te pueden hacer la vuelta. Dale gracias a Dios que soy nacido de nuevo, tengo al Espíritu Santo y a Jesucristo en mi corazón, porque hace rato estuvieras en la ciénaga de la virgen, así metido, así —y pone la mano en contrapicada, como quien dice enterrado—. Te mando a Nigeria, ese te acaba, te mata ese man. - See appendix C

Arrázola was severely critiqued for this statement, by different outlets of media. This included cartoons making fun of him in the national newspaper El Tiempo, see image 18 and 19.

Maria Paula Arrázola, the pastor's wife, reacted to the critique by filing a complaint at the Regional Defense of the People. There she gave a statement for a journalists, and said:

publications of psuedo-journalists and videos and edited sentences and taken out of context, false testimonies, gossip from the neighborhood corners, ... persons that enter our services to film our congregation saying all sorts of curses and improper things ... I have come before the authorities to present my present and cry for assistance and help (Miranda Batista 2017)⁹⁷

Placing the church in the role of the victim, rather than the aggressor.

This difficult relation with media can be traced back to a sit-in held by students the day after the plebiscite. They protested against the pastor for his relation with politicians and his use of religion to defend his political ideas. They chanted: "I believe in God and he is love. No more political-religious war, not a day more. We want peace. And: Colombia, a secular state"⁹⁸ (Ayola 2016). These students were intimidated by Rios de Vida members, filmed this and showed Ayola, who wrote an article about it. An ex-member of Rios de Vida then stepped forward and confirmed that the men intimidating the students were indeed Rios de Vida members, sparking controversy over the aggressive attitude of the church. However, this all happened after the plebiscite.

The most direct consequence was that it was difficult for me to come in touch with parishioners. His troublesome relation with mass media made followers suspicious too. A member of the church showed this when I told her about my investigation and interview about the church with a journalist: she immediately asked me to ensure her that the journalist made no bad comments on her pastor⁹⁹. A parishioner I tried to interview declined, despite our appointment, he said: "We do not like to talk so much, because I do not know who you are. Journalists have in the past twisted our words and used them against us. So to be honest, I do not want to lend myself for this."

⁹⁷ "Debido a las constantes y reiteradas amenazas producto de las publicaciones de pseudoperiodistas y de videos y de frases editadas y tomadas fuera de contexto, de testimonios falsos, de chismes de esquina de barrio, de planillas subidas por terceros, de investigaciones de entes gubernamentales por petición de anónimos, debido al constante hostigamiento de personas que entran a nuestras reuniones a filmar nuestra congregación pronunciando todo tipo de maldiciones e improperios... He venido ante las autoridades a presentar mi voz de Protesta y un grito de auxilio y de ayuda", indicó la pastora Arrázola.

⁹⁸ "Creo en el Dios que es amor. No más guerra político-religiosa", "Ni un día más. Queremos paz", y "Colombia, Estado laico"

⁹⁹ Author's fieldnotes on 9th of June from conversation with Rios de Vida member that voted 'No' in the plebiscite.

Returning to the relations with mass media before the plebiscite took place, interviewees indicated that the radio channels RCN¹⁰⁰ and Caracol¹⁰¹ are the most as sources for Cartageneros to receive their news. Many interviewee's judgments were that RCN basically repeated the arguments of the 'No' campaign, hence "reproducing the discourse used by Arrázola"¹⁰². Laura tells me that on RCN, when speaking of FARC they always call them as terrorists¹⁰³. The reason that RCN was in favour of the campaign is often assigned to Uribe. Junieles also indicated that Uribe has much influence on the media, because the media often repeat what he says¹⁰⁴. The media is far a large part owned by few families that are also conservative Evangelicals (Serrano Zabala 2016) and Centro Democrático also has the possibility to influence news outlets¹⁰⁵. Caracol was less openly on a political side, but still supported the 'No' campaign, and Noticias Uno was openly supportive of the Si campaign according to an onymous informant¹⁰⁶.

In conclusion, the relationship with mass media is hostile from Arrázola's side. Although many interviewees said they observed that on radio and television Arrázola's arguments were displayed I cannot find prove for this. His relation with media severely worsened due to general critique on his involvement in politics, the student sit-in and Lucio's article. This made parishioners more hesitant to talk with me. It was often indicated that Colombians, Cartageneros in particular are not very interested in politics, and they do not read a lot of news. Due to the broad public, there is no effect on frame consistency and his credibility as a claimmaker is negatively affected due to the negative articles about him.

¹⁰⁰ Author's interviews with: Gustavo Balanta Castilla, Irinia Junieles Acosta, Anonymous on 1 June, Leidy Laura, Marian Mercado, Soraya Bayuelo, see appendix A

¹⁰¹ Author's interviews with: Anonymous on 1 June, Soraya Bayuelo, see appendix A

¹⁰² Author's interview on 1 June 2017 with Irinia Junieles Acosta

¹⁰³ Author's interview on 27 May 2017 with Leidy Laura

¹⁰⁴ Author's interview on 1 June 2017 with Irinia Junieles Acosta

¹⁰⁵ Author's interview on 23 May 2017 with Marian Mercado and Author's interview on 2 June 2017 with Soraya Bayuelo, director of NGO in village in the department, organized eucemenic activities to promote peace agreement and is representative of victims in the region.

¹⁰⁶ Author's interview on 1 June 2017 with an anonymous teacher and active 'Yes' campaigner.

El pastor Arrázola



Image 18^{xviii}: “ “Pastor, what are you doing with that journalist?” “I baptize him” Ciénaga de la Virgen” Shows Arrázola drowning a journalist in the lake Ciénaga de la Virgen bordering Cartagena, referring to Arrázola’s threat during service.

Plegaria del pastor Arrázola



Image 19^{xix}: “ “Dear God, could you “eliminate” that journalist that is sticking his nose in my buisness?” “But, make it look like an accident” “Amen”” His suit and his bed are made of money, referring to the story that Torres wrote. Published in El Tiempo, a national newspaper.

4.4 Social Media

In line with the modern image of the church, the pastor tweeted, youtubed and facebooked his messages beside his performances in church, in public and the repetition of his arguments in certain mass media. In the third chapter I showed that Arrázola used his Facebook and Twitter account to further spread his ideas about the plebiscite. Here I will shortly describe the content of the three clips made by Rios de Vida that were posted Youtube¹⁰⁷. I strongly recommend readers to take the time to watch the clips, because they also convey messages using music and images. The use of social media has a positive impact on frame consistency and no effect on his credibility as claimsmakers.

The pastor spreads these clips on various media. On the front page of this thesis and every page of their website, you will find a banner that includes their logo, a clock counting down the time until the next service, buttons to all four media outlets (YouTube, Twitter, Facebook and Instagram) and a button to donate money. All the buttons link to Arrázola's account, even though there is also general Rios de Vida accounts on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, confirming again that Arrázola is very important in the church.

The first clip on Youtube uses footage filmed by the church showing moments in which the pastor tried to convince his parishioners to vote 'No'. The clip feels like a trailer to a movie, because it uses pieces of visual material alternated with text. The clip uses suspenseful music to underline the bleak message: that we must vote 'No', because if we do not, the consequences will be grave. The video was deleted from the official Rios de Vida channel after many comments on Youtube as the clip allegedly went viral (El Heraldo 2016).

The second clip is of Arrázola celebrating that the peace agreement was rejected in the plebiscite. He films himself and shouts: "We won! We wooon"¹⁰⁸ and continues to explain that the government should listen to God and their people because the country believes in Jesus Christ.

The third clip was made after the plebiscite it claims that Rios de Vida are the chosen people, the people that will change the world. In it, pastors preach that Rios de Vida will change Cartagena, will change Colombia, change the world eventually.

Many social media messages appeared without a clear author according to Miriam, a social communication graduate¹⁰⁹. Many of Arrázola's and Centro Democrático's information was spread on in social media groups which gave people wrong or altered information about the peace agreements, for example about income taxation according to Ernesto Taborda. He says that many voters received their information on social networks¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁷See appendic C

¹⁰⁸ Ganamos! Ganaaaamooos! De Dios nadie se burla gobernantes. Sin Dios no se puede jistar. El pueblo no lo trae entero. Hay que entender. Que cuando Dios esta en tu lado, vas a ganar. Nadie puede contrar a Dios. Ganamos. Colombia es tierra espirtu santo de avivamiento. Colombia cree en Jesus Cristo. Halleluja. Hahaha. - See appendix C.

¹⁰⁹Author's interview on 23 May 2017 with Marian Mercado

¹¹⁰Author's interview on 11 may 2017 with Ernesto Taborda Herrera

Altogether the use of social media adds to the resonance of the arguments Arrázola uses because it increases frame consistency: the pastor shows his ideas everywhere. Although the first video was deleted, it is still possible to find on YouTube and probably circulated among voters on other social media after it was taken down. The use of social media has no further influence on the pastor's credibility as a claimmaker.

4.5 Saliency

Resonance is not only dependent on credibility, but also indicated by saliency. This consists of three aspects: centrality, experiential commensurability, and narrative fidelity (Benford and Snow 2000:621). Here I focus on centrality and experiential commensurability. This varies among Rios de Vida- and non-Rios de Vida members. I have not been able to define the narrative fidelity of Arrázola's campaign, as I have not investigated cultural narrations, myths or inherent ideology.

Centrality refers to how essential the beliefs associated with the frame are in the life of the targeted audience. It varies among Rios de Vida- and non-Rios de Vida members. This is demonstrated by the different attitudes of interviewees. The anonymous Rios de Vida parishioner that spoke to me, made her own decision to vote in favor of the Peace Agreement and stressed many times that not everyone does what the Pastor wants¹¹¹. Apparently the values that influenced their decision on the peace agreement were different to those of Arrázola. Mendoza is not a Rios de Vida member, but voted 'No' and strongly agreed with Arrázola's ideas about the plebiscite. This shows that similar religious views do not define the centrality of the values that determine what one votes in the agreement.

Experiential commensurability is defined by the everyday experiences. The topic at hand is a peace process, hence experiential commensurability can partly be defined by a person's relation to the conflict. Cartageneros generally do not have everyday experiences of conflict, whereas the rest of department has been **victim of much violence**, especially in Montes de Maria. Isiais Salas and Soraya Bayuelo that are both from outside of Cartagena and shared their experiences with the conflict¹¹². They indicated that this was also one of the core reasons for them to vote 'Yes': they know what conflict is like. Journalists saw a link between the amount of violence that has occurred in departments and the votes too: regions with more direct history and victimhood of armed groups had more often voted in favor of the peace agreement (for example Idler 2016 and BBC 2016). This leads to believe that many people in Cartagena would vote 'No' in the plebiscite.

There is, however, not an absence of violence in Cartagena. Violent groups may even have caused people living in certain neighborhoods to vote 'No' or not to vote. Paniagua describes how in the past "paramilitaries paralyzed or produced a bloc for all the social

¹¹¹Author's interview on 15 June 2017 with an anonymous member of Rios de Vida that voted 'Yes' in the plebiscite.

¹¹² Author's interviews with: Isiais Salas Montero and Soraya Bayuelo, see appendix A.

[more left wing] organizations, politicians and for the construction of citizenship” in Cartagena ¹¹³. Such presence may still have influence. Taborda explained that in certain neighborhoods local groups also

*influenced [votes] because, because many of those groups support the right. Many people did not leave to vote. Because of fear. It could generate abstention. Fear for the BACRIM, fear for retaliation from 'No' for going [to vote]*¹¹⁴.

The threat according to Taborda was very covert and indirect, if it was even present at all.

Rios de Vida has no ties with these armed groups, but there is a certain sphere of hostility connected to the church. This originates in their ties with the Centro Democrático that have been investigated for links with paramilitary groups. It showed after the plebiscite when students had a sit-in in front of the church and parishioners threatened the students. Later, Arrázola’s threat of Lucio shows a similar hostility. Paniagua suspects that the church also attracts people that work in local *pandillas*¹¹⁵, BACRIM or other organizations¹¹⁶. Rios de Vida may not be officially affiliated with violent groups, but there is a certain level of hostility towards outsiders and people that left the church¹¹⁷.

In conclusion, centrality of the arguments that Arrázola presents appear to be linked more to the individual’s values, rather than their religion. Experiential commensurability is low for many Cartagenos as they do not encounter violence on a daily basis. If someone is to live in a neighborhood with more organized groups, that is likely to influence one to abstain from voting or vote ‘No’. Rios de Vida cannot be linked to such groups.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated what different methods have been used to reach the crowds and how this affected the resonance of the pastor’s campaign. The chapter starts with the most important place: the church of Rios de Vida. The organization of the church gives Arrázola much credibility as a claimmaker and arguments were consistent with core values of Rios de Vida. In the public sphere I showed that the presence of politicians, the repetition of mass media and the availability of messages on social media all enabled Arrázola to reach a wider audience. National radio and tv stations have repeated Arrázola’s arguments, but did not engage with the pastor directly. Negative news may have had some negative effect on how people view Arrázola, but most of this news appeared only after the

¹¹³Paramilitares paralizaron o produjeron un bloqueo a todos procesos de organizaciones social, de politica, de la construccion de la ciudadanía - Author’s interview on 24 April 2017 with Raul Paniagua Bedoya

¹¹⁴ Se influyo porque porque muchos de esos grupos apoyan a la derecha. Mucha gente no sale a votar. Por temor. Se pudo generar un abstencion. Temor de la BACRIM, temor del represaliar por salir por el No. - Author’s interview on 11 May 2017 with Ernesto Taborda Herrera, journalist who voted ‘Yes’.

¹¹⁵ Local groups of youth that are usually harmless, but may create a tense atmosphere

¹¹⁶ Author’s interview on 24 April 2017 with Raul Paniagua Bedoya,

¹¹⁷ Author’s interview on 27 May 2017 with anonymous ex-member of Rios de Vida

plebiscite. Salience varies much from person to person, but persons in neighborhoods with more organized crime may have been more inclined to vote against the agreement. Although I discussed each medium separately, voters have probably come in contact with more than just one medium which presented or evaluated Arrázola's ideas. The broadness of this presence strengthens the campaign and through different mechanisms the campaign has created more resonance.

Chapter 5

The impact and consequences of the 'No' campaign

What was the impact of the political campaign Pastor Arrázola held against the Peace Agreement? The answer to this question depends on the time frame. First I look at the direct impact on the outcome of the votes. Second, I turn renegotiation of the agreement. Arrázola was part of the Christian Pact was able to change parts of the agreement. Thirdly, the campaign influenced Arrázola's own position. The attention his campaign received and the attention he continues to receive, gave him a wider audience. Fourthly, the impact of Arrázola's campaign should be evaluated as part of a national campaign, in which Evangelical churches are openly involved. The plebiscite has led to polarization and will have continue to have impact on the presidential election of 2018.

5.1 The numbers

Arrázola did not succeed in making Cartagena vote against the peace agreement. The exact numbers are as follows: in the national campaign 49,78% voted in favour, 50,21% voted against and turn-out was 37,43%. A difference of about 54.000 votes. In Bolivar, the department in which Cartagena is located the municipalities voted in favor of the peace agreement: 60,23% in favor, 39,76% against and voting turn-out was 23,33%. In Cartagena 55,73% voted in favor and 44,26% voted 'No', the turn out in the city was 20,12% (all data from Registraduria Nacional 2016). The lower turn-out in Cartagena than in the department and nationally can be attributed partly to hurricane Matthew.

The outcome surprised Colombia, because the polls had shown that 'Yes' would win. In polls less than a week before the election, 'Yes' was estimated at 66% while only a third of the voters would reject the agreement (Brodzinsky, 2016b). Laura theorized that due to the polls and due to the general disbelief that people would vote against the agreement, the supporters of 'Yes' campaigned less actively. Salas agrees: "That was our big mistake, we trusted ... we were triumphalists [sic] more than realists, we believed to be winners, [because] we won in the polls"¹¹⁸.

The religious arguments in the 'No' campaign were not only disseminated by Arrázola, but by other pastors too. Important pastors were for example pastor César Castellanos, who's wife is ex-senator Claudia Rodriguez, from Bogota, pastor John Milton Rodriguez from Cali (Serrano Zabala 2016). These pastors worked together with Arrázola (Semana 35 2016a) to create the Christian manifest that proposes changes for the peace agreement. Churches that were represented in this manifest, only in Bogota already had more than 400 thousand parishioners (Serrano Zabala 2016). One of the pastors, Eduardo Cañas, owns the third most

¹¹⁸ Ese fue nuestro gran error nos confiamos, ... eramos triunfalistas mas no reales, nos creíamos vencedores, en las encuestas ganaba el si - Author's interview on 29 May 2017 with Isiais Salas Montero, founder of REDSIPAZ Bolívar and victim of the conflict in rural Bolivar in youth.

listened to radio station – after RCN and Caracol which were discussed in the last chapter. The religious platform is called La Mision, MCI or G12 – reference to how these churches are structured: in groups of twelve – and often provides the stage to Uribe. The president of the national Evangelical organization Cedecol (Confederacion de Iglesias Evangelical de Colombia), pastor Édgar Castaño, similarly argued that the peace agreement had to be revised (Serrano Zabala 2016). Just three of the churches from these pastors have 260 thousand parishioners in Bogota alone. Interviewees emphasized that Arrázola was not the only pastor showing on the political stage, but some indicated that the form in which Arrázola did this campaign was more rude than the tactic of other pastors¹¹⁹. The conclusion is that it is impossible to single out the influence of Arrozola alone in the full range of religious actors that played a role in the plebiscite. And next to that, there were non religious actors as well.

Estimating what exactly the influence was of Rios de Vida and in particular Arrázola, hence is impossible to do by numbers. Therefore, I continue to investigate what impact the campaign had other than the voting turn-out. This qualitative impact can also not solely be reduced to Arrázola's campaign, in the end it was a national plebiscite and national process that was going on.

5.2 Christian Pact's influence on the peace agreement

Arrázola was involved in two specific groups: the Christian Pact and Centro Democrático. The impact these groups had on the peace agreement was substantial. The Christian Pact for the Peace that was created by pastor Cesar Castellanos, Eduardo Cañas, Héctor Pardo, David Gómez, Jhon Milton Rodríguez and Arrázola (Rios de Vida 2016, and see image 20). Together the pastors created a documents with requests that answered to their religious objections to the agreement. The requests were 1) that in the agreement the concept “family” is clarified to be the union of man and woman and that the agreement considers family the principal victims of the armed conflict, 2) recognition of christian victims 3) right to educate children confirm to own (churches) principles and values, 4) freedom of religion without stigmatization: the agreement speaks of forbidden discrimination, and pastors want to ensure they can continue to manifest their opposition against marriage of homosexuals, 5) jurisdiction should not benefit guerrilla members, 6) clarify that private property is respected, people are able own land 7) elimination of phrases ‘diverse gender identity’ and ‘diverse sexual orientation’, 8) equal conditions for political participation (Semana 35 2016a). The last point refers to the seats for the FARC but remains vague on what it proposes instead (Semana 35 2016a). This was presented on the 12th of October 2016.

This list addresses some of the objections that Arrázola vocalized in chapter three, but does not define solutions for all the objections. The *impunidad* of the FARC is addressed in point 5, requesting that FARC members do not profit from the transitional justice system. *Castrochavismo* is a difficult argument to address, because it partly criticizes the form in

¹¹⁹Author's interviews with: David Mendoza Coneo, Raul Paniagua Bedoya see appendix A

which the agreement was negotiated. Point 6 asking for respect of private property can be seen as a protection of right-wing ideas, partly addressing *castrochavismo*. Arrázola's claim that Santos is the Antichrist is also unaddressed by the proposal, in which no claims are made about the president. The consequences God will send remain unaddressed too. The point that is most clearly addressed is *ideologia de genero*. Point 1, 3, 5, and 7 serve to clarify that Colombia will not be made gay and protect the pastor's freedom to voice their concerns with homosexuality.

When the plebiscite was won by 'No', the pastors asked to have a direct meeting with the president and demanded a seat at the negotiation table (Semana 35 2016a). The president opted instead to speak to pastors that promoted 'Yes' or had chosen to remain neutral (Semana 35 2016a). The pastors were given several appointments with minister Juan Fernando Cristo, whom is in charge of church registration (Semana 35 2016a). Next, the points were then discussed with civil society supportive of the agreement, and finally negotiations between the government and FARC took place again (Crisis Group 2017c::6). During these last negotiations, opposition was notified of development. The new agreement was not presented to the opposition again, but immediately to the public and senate for a vote on the 12th of November.

Almost all points put forward by the Christian Pact were addressed, although to varying degrees. The new agreement clarified the gender aspect (but did not remove inclusion LGBT term) (point 1 and 7), explicitly respects religious liberty (point 2, 3 and 4) and includes legal protection of land-owners that bought land in good faith (point 6) (Crisis Group 2016c:7 and Colombia Peace 2016). Some adaptations were also made to the justice system, redefining restriction of liberty for convicted FARC members to be reparation-oriented work in villages with UN surveillance – still no jail time, so part of the “benefits” remain unaddressed- and obliging FARC to hand over all information on illicit crops and hand over war economy to provide reparations for victims – addressing part of the “benefits” (point 5) (Crisis Group 2016c:7). Although changes were made to the chapter on political participation, “conditions under which ex-combatants could hold office” remained the same (point 8). Arrázola showed that he was still not satisfied with the outcome in a Facebook post, see image 21.

Other opposition parties also put forward suggestions, of which many were accepted too. In total 56 of 57 topics were revised, FARC's political participation was the only topic that remained unchanged (Crisis Group 2017c:8). Furthermore, the adaptations made the peace agreement no longer form part of the constitution, revised form and implementation of transitional justice, and emphasized handing over of assets and knowledge (Cosoy 2016 and Brodzinsky 2016c)¹²⁰.

Meanwhile, Uribe had also been included in the negotiations of the new agreement as a principal voice of the 'No' campaign. Uribe claimed that the changes were “cosmetic” and the agreement still does not punish rebels enough (the Guardian 2016). But Santos made

¹²⁰ Find the two documents side-by-side here: <https://draftable.com/compare/JjypTOKnafBktqvc>

clear that there would be no more negotiations: “This agreement, renewed, adjusted, precised and clarified will unite us, not divide us” (Santos in Cosoy 2016)¹²¹. Uribe tried to get another referendum on the agreement, but failed (the Guardian 2016).

The new agreement included many of the request raised by the Christian Pact. The Christian Pact reflected part of Arrázola’s concerns. The collaboration between the Christian Pact pastors continues into 2017. This was demonstrated for example when Arrázola claimed that Rios de Vida was persecuted by certain elements of society and other pastors voiced their concern and compassion. The political force of Evangelical churches has been visibly and tangibly established in the peace agreement and continues to show in ongoing protests, such as during the protest on the first of April 2017, claiming that Santos should resign.



Image 20^{xx}: The pastors from the Christian Pact (Arrázola on the left) plus Claudia Rodriguez

5.3 Impact on Arrázola’s own position

Beside the impact on the peace agreement, the campaign has also influenced Arrázola’s own career. Rios de Vida and Arrázola have enjoyed much attention from the press and in public debates. The amount of people that know about the church has certainly grown in Cartagena and beyond. New people will have come in contact with his ideas and arguments, hence part of his effort was success full has he succeeded in the evangelication for the church.

However, there was a considerable amount of negative press. These negative articles concerned the violent response of Rios de Vida members towards a sit-in of students protesting, the article written by Lucio concerning the income of Arrázola and articles criticizing religious mingling in politics in general, and Arrázola’s manner of expression in

¹²¹Este acuerdo, renovado, ajustado, precisado y aclarado debe unirnos, no dividirnos

particular. This led interviewees to claim that people have started to leave Rios de Vida, but I have found no evidence for this¹²².

The relation between the pastor and the politicians strengthened. During the campaign Arrázola has collaborated with different politicians from CD. He invited them on his stage, and he spoke on marches they organized. His visibility, as indicated before, may make him a reference point for Cartegeneros seeking opinion.

Some interviewees claimed that Arrázola has gained more political influence¹²³. Castañeda claimed that in the past Arrázola has sought political influence in the mayorship: “Miguel called the candidates and started to ask them: What do you give me, and in return I will give you the votes of my parishioners”¹²⁴. Junieles told a similar story too:

Before the plebiscite he already knew his power, and how did he know? Because during the campaigns from 2012 ... until 2015 ... and for this period from 2016-2019, local politicians, meaning, the persons that aspire publicly elected positions and they go to him. ... Because pastor Arrázola has a big number of followers that is, that [are] votes¹²⁵

This could continue in the future as Arrázola’s stage has broadened. It is impossible to judge if he seeks these political relationships to advance his religious ideals, his personal influence in politics or to accumulate (more) wealth.

Interviewees were divided on whether Arrázola has political ambitions for himself. My impression is that he is interested in political influence, but not a political function. An anonymous believer and Lucio clarified that Arrázola has his political ambitions because of a revelation by another pastor¹²⁶. Lucio explained: “Arrázola went to an international event there [Miami] and pastor Maldonado gave him a *funcion*¹²⁷ and said and predicted that he will be the owner of Cartagena. So when he [Arrázola] returned, he started to get closer to politicians, to Uribe. ... He wants to save Cartagena, of course. They want [him] to be mayor of Cartagena and soon, in the future, president”¹²⁸. The anonymous believer confirmed that

¹²² Author’s interview on 27 May 2017 with anonymous ex-member of Rios de Vida

¹²³ Author’s interview on 27 May 2017 with anonymous ex-member of Rios de Vida

¹²⁴ Miguel llamaba los candidatos, y empezaba a los candidatos: que me da usted, y a cambio lo que me doy votos de mis feligreses. Entro en negociacion con los candidatos - Author’s interview on 13 May 2017 with Wilson Castañeda Castro

¹²⁵ Antes del plebiscito ya se sabia su poder, y como se sabia? Porque en las campanas electorales, del ano 2012 ... hasta 2015, ... y para ese periodo 2016-2019 los politicos locales, es decir las personas que aspiraban a los cargos del eleccion popular y van donde el. ... Porque el pastor Arrázola tiene un numero de fieles muy grande, que es, que votos - Author’s interview on 1 June 2017 with Irinia Junieles Acosta

¹²⁶ Author’s fieldnotes on 14 June 2017 from conversational with Rios de Vida member that voted ‘No’ in the plebiscite.

¹²⁷ I do not understand exactly what this means and could not find a translation: Edison described it like this: In the bible when they thank God for being something: en la biblia cuando te dan la gracias de Dios para ser algo.

¹²⁸ Pastor Maldonado de miami, donde tiene un gran iglesia. Arrázola fue a un evento internacional alla y el pastor maldonado lo hizo un funcion y dijo y predijo de va a ser el dueno de Cartagena. Entonces cuando el regresa, el comienza acercarse mas con la politica, de Uribe. ... El quiere salvar a Cartagena por supuesto. Ellos

a pastor from the United States predicted Arrázola would receive the key to Cartagena. From his involvement with Centro Democrático it appears that he has chosen his political party through which he aims to pursue this revelation¹²⁹.

Other parishioners, however, stressed that Arrázola has articulated to have no intention to enter the political stage. According to Mora and Torres¹³⁰: “Those are simply speculations in their minds. Our pastor has it more than clear that he is pastor, he is not a politician. ... The people are afraid because he mobilizes masses and could easily be governor or mayor”¹³¹. He is “primarily pastor ... just defending our values ... no intention to become politician” said an anonymous Rios de Vida member¹³². He is sufficiently occupied with the church and just rose to the occasion to defend his values. An anonymous believer explained that “Other pastors think the same, in other cities too. But they do not have the courage to say the truth like the pastor. Pastors are afraid of politicians, but our pastor is not”¹³³. Although these parishioners claim he does not have the intention to become a politician, they acknowledge that he has been politically active.

In conclusion is clear that Arrázola’s influence has grown in the political spectrum as he has become a more visible public figure. To actually fulfill a political role himself, he will find some strong and tough opposition. I personally thinks there is a small chance Arrázola has the ambition to work as a politician . He has been able to influence politicians from the sideline before and has become closer to CD during the campaign. The impact the campaign will have on the church and its amount of parishioners is difficult to determine.

quieren por la política ser alcalde de Cartagena y de pronto, mas adelante, presidente. – Author’s interview on 12 May 2017 with Edison Lucio Torres

¹²⁹ Author’s fieldnotes on 14 June 2017 from conversational with Rios de Vida member that voted ‘No’ in the plebiscite.

¹³⁰En un país, nunca vamos a ver paz hablamos de un conflicto si en el propio pueblo no hay paz. - Author’s double interview on 31 May 2017 with Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta

¹³¹ Simplemente son especulaciones que tienen en sus mentes. Nuestro pastor tiene mas que claro de que el es pastor, no es político. ... La gente tiene miedo porque el mueve las masas y facilmente puede ser gobernador o alcalde. - Author’s double interview on 31 May 2017 with Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta

¹³²Author’s fieldnotes on 14 June 2017 from conversational with Rios de Vida member that voted ‘No’ in the plebiscite.

¹³³Author’s fieldnotes on 14 June 2017 from conversational with Rios de Vida member that voted ‘No’ in the plebiscite.



Image 21^{xxi}: “What deception? If the FARC remained with: 3000 recruited children, 900 kidnapped, 10 seats, arms, coke, *ideologia de genero*, *impunidad*, land and a new constitution” Showing his discontent over the outcome of the new peace agreement.

5.4 Impact on political arena

As one of the people that spoke during the marches that CD organized, Arrázola can also be seen as part of the CD movement. CD has successfully entered relationships with conservative religious leaders that used similar arguments as they did to convince people to vote against the peace agreement. The victory of the ‘No’-campaign has partly been attributed to religious groups which have increased amount of conservative voters or may have activated previous [un-active] voters. It is uncontested that the religious leaders brought extra support to the ‘No’ campaign. “Arrázola belongs to a political movement, or is aligned with a political movement. That movement is Centro Democrático, ... Therefore, they [pastors] worked for the No” said Balanta¹³⁴. “The country has a new wave of participation in political business. This new wave has been growing in the last years, last ten years, by religious Evangelical expressions. Above all, a [inaudible] the political subject is of a right-wing perspective and gives it a conceptualization, a justification from theologians to politicians.” added Pianetta¹³⁵.

More people are politically active on the right side of the political spectrum. In Cartagena I would until the end of my stay regularly spot cars with a sticker of ‘NO+’ on it,

¹³⁴Arrázola pertenece un movimiento político, o es alineado a un movimiento político. Que es el movimiento del Centro Democrático, que dirige el expresidente Uribe y el exprocurador Ordoñez. Por eso ellos trabajaron por el no.- Author’s interview on 28 april 2017 with Gustavo Balanta Castilla

¹³⁵En el país hay una nueva ola, de participación en los asuntos políticos. Y esa nueva ola ha sido tomada en los últimos años, últimos diez años, por las expresiones religiosas Evangélicas. Y sobre todo una [inaudible] el tema político es de una perspectiva derecha darle una conceptualización, una justificación, de teológico a la político. Y eso individualmente genera que temas como la garantía y el respeto de DH se han totalmente atacados. - Author’s interview on 6 June 2017 with Paola Pianetta

and there were no 'Yes' stickers to be seen. The sign of the 'No'-demonstration that took place on April 1st 2017, and the year before on 2nd of April. Pianetta places the growing right wing in a global perspective: "The country, and even the world, is becoming immensely more right. The Brexit, the triumph of Trump, ... Everything that has been happening, tic-tic-tic-tic, and suddenly, the 'No' won in Colombia"¹³⁶.

The Centro Democrático especially Uribe has successfully created an alternative-to-Santos narrative because he was the leader of the 'No'-campaign. Polarizing the discourse into this binary increases the chances that no third party will steal away the next presidency (Newman 2016).

The campaign has also been used to push a more right wing economic agenda. The argument on *castrochavismo* and left wing politics in a more general sense indirectly supports more right wing economic measurements. By many Santos is also considered economically right-wing. Some interviewees said that they think Uribe has engaged in the campaign to safeguard his personal assets such as pieces of ground. Lucio said: "The big fear of those of the status-quo is that land will be robbed from them. ... Uribe has expanded his properties"¹³⁷.

Informants mostly argued that the entire political arena has not changed much. "Corrupto de siempre" said Ayola: corrupt as always¹³⁸. Cartagena is a poor city and its inhabitants are occupied with the daily struggles rather than the abstract politics. When people find a leader, such as their pastor, they are open to their suggestions. Paniagua phrased it like this: "When they have fear, they do as the church says. Also because the people do not know much, and search for an opinion"¹³⁹.

Meanwhile, the peace process continues. Santos cannot run another term and the next elections are scheduled for 2018. FARC has started demobilization which had not completed on 31st of May 2017 as agreed due to the distant hideouts of parts of the arsenal (Economist 2017). FARC members are moved to 26 reintegration camps around the country. Meanwhile Santos is still in negotiations with ELN, the second biggest left-wing armed group in Colombia (Al Jazeera 2017). The outcome of ELN negotiations faces challenges because of the less hierarchical structure of the organization and stronger affiliation to Marxist ideology (BBC 2017).

Campaigns may also have damaged the peace process. Junieles explains how:

¹³⁶El país, y además el mundo, está en una derecha imensa. El Brexit, triunfo de Trump. ... Todo lo que está pasando, tin-tin-tin-tin, y de repente, gana el No en Colombia. Entonces empieza a raigar estas ideas conservadoras. Que la familia compuesta por hombre y mujer, que se ha perdido la moral, las buenas costumbres, y empieza en cierta manera un tema de oído nuevamente sobre cosas que ya sabían conseguidas con la victoria de las comunidades de LGBTI, de las mujeres. - Author's interview on 6 June 2017 with Paola Pianetta

¹³⁷ El gran temor de que están en el statu quo es que quiten la tierra.... Uribe ha expandido sus propiedades.

¹³⁸Author's interview on 30 May 2017 with Claudia Ayola Escallón

¹³⁹Pero cuando tienen temor hacen como a la iglesia dice. También por que la gente no saben mucho y buscan un opinión. - Author's interview on 12 May 2017 with Edison Lucio Torres

They believe less in the peace process. And I believe that now we are in a more difficult scenario than before the plebiscite, with much polarization in the society. And in which it is more difficult to express those ideas. ... It [the plebiscite] did not influence the opinions [about politicians] much¹⁴⁰

The campaign has been used to push a more right wing economic agenda and faces an interesting time with the presidential elections coming up. Resistance and protests continue against the Peace Agreement and against Santos, religious groups play an important role in these protests. The divide between the supporters of the agreement and opposition will probably play an important role in the campaign of the next Colombian president.

5.5 Conclusion

The 'No' -campaign has had several impacts. Firstly, contrary to the indications of the polls, the Colombians that voted 'No' won by a narrow margin, but in Cartagena the 'Yes' had won despite Arrázola's efforts. It is impossible to single out what Arrozolá's specific role was in terms of numbers, because there were many actors engaging in the discussion. It is possible to make a qualitative assessment.

Firstly, some of Arrázola's concerns were reflected in the document presented by the Christian Pact. When Santos re-opened negotiations and this pact played an important role as part of the opposition. Even though many of their proposed changes were included in the new agreement, Arrázola showed that he is still not satisfied and continues to oppose the agreement and the president.

Secondly, Arrázola's power has grown, although the consequences for Arrázola in Cartagena are ambiguous. He has broadened his public in Cartagena and become a visible public figure nationally, but part of the attention was negative. His collaboration with CD gives him more political credibility, and it is plausible he will gain political leverage from the campaign, but what his political intentions are remains obscure.

Finally, as part of the CD campaign, Arrázola has contributed to the growth of right-wing activism that can be attributed to different churches. The plebiscite polarized the voters and the campaign and its' arguments will certainly have continuing effects on the presidential elections in 2018.

¹⁴⁰Creo menos en el proceso de paz. Y creo que ahora estamos en un escenario mas dificil que antes el plebiscito, con mucho polarizacion entre la sociedad. Y en donde es mas dificil expresar esas ideas. ... No influyo tan mucho las opinas [sobre politicos]. - Author's interview on 1 June 2017 with Irinia Junieles Acosta

Chapter 6

The conclusion

In this chapter the conclusions of the sub-questions will be integrated to form an answer the core research puzzle: *What political role has pastor Miguel Arrázola played in the campaign on the plebiscite about the peace agreement in Cartagena, Colombia?* The sub-questions will be addressed again, but knowledge from other chapters will be included to provide a more extensive answer. First, I show how religious resources were utilized to strengthen Arrázola's arguments. Second, I show that Arrázola used his church as a place to mobilize, but Arrázola also left the 'religious space'. Outside of the church Arrázola speaks for a different public which influences the frame resonance. Third, the impact of Arrázola's campaign did not lead Cartagena to vote against the peace agreement: the city voted in favour. As part of the Christian Pact, Arrázola has had influence on the content of the revised agreement. As part of a growing religious conservative movement, Arrázola has contributed to the polarization of politics in Colombia. This is a trend that will continue to affect the upcoming presidential elections.

Next, I link these answers to the academic debate and what implications this has for current theories. As Brown, Deneulin and Devine suggested the pastor indeed made use of theological resources and has used the religious space of the church to spread his ideas. To systematically assess how the pastor made use of religious versus non-religious space, Benford and Snow provided a better framework. To conclude the reflections, limitations of the research and possible future research will be discussed.

6.1 The content of the campaign

Arrázola has used arguments that addressed the content of the peace agreement and arguments that focused on the form in which the peace agreement was negotiated. The claims of *ideología de género* built on existing conservative sentiments in society, but exaggerated possible consequences or intentions of the peace agreement. The peace agreement was indeed inclusive of women's rights and LGBT issues and it is understandable that Arrázola opposed this, considering that conservative family values are an important issue in Rios de Vida. The argument also implies that the agreement promoted *ideología de género* and this is an exaggeration. It builds on the anger that already existed in society directed against Gina Parody considering the education of children, but the agreement does not make any proposals regarding education or family values. In the revised agreement this argument was addressed by defining the term gender focus and recognizing that families were victims of the conflict. Whether Arrázola explicitly used this argument is difficult to establish, but he supported politicians and a movement that did.

The argument of *castrochavismo* did not reflect the real content of the agreement. The agreement allows previous FARC members to take seats in government, and FARC can

indeed be linked to communist ideology. The five seats that they get in both chambers, do however in no way support the fear that Colombia would turn into a communist country. The economic system cannot be changed by only ten members of state, and the comparison to Venezuela is unquestionably far-fetched.

Impunity was the argument that has most quality. There is an inherent tension that when a peace agreement is made the perpetrators of violence will receive certain benefits. In this case FARC members will indeed receive reduced sentences; according to Arrázola God wants there to be justice and this is not sufficient judgment in his eyes.

The video that shows the offense that the campaign employed against Santos, naming him the Antichrist is a very religious justification of an argument. This argument supported the growing polarization that Uribe has created between himself and Santos. Name calling Santos as the wrong person and appearing in public with Uribe sends the message that Uribe is the right choice. Using the term “Antichrist” is a very strong condemnation and can produce fear among believers. A fear that is already installed by believing in a righteous God.

The arguments can be made because the pastor is viewed as an important religious leader, fear of God is an important theme and the pastor makes these arguments knowing that he is the head of the church.

6.2 Spaces, audience and resonance

The pastor has reached a wider audience for his message by using more than his ‘religious space’. In the church, which is structured in a hierarchical order, there is an atmosphere that leads believers to view Arrázola’s words with much salience. The themes to vote against the agreement were in line with values that Rios de Vida has found important for a longer time.

Cooperation with politicians gave the pastor a more diverse public than his followers. The collaboration gives him more political credibility for his parishioners and may have a positive effect on their perception of Uribe. However, more attention also meant more negative articles. Although these articles mostly appeared after the plebiscite, this may negatively impact his credibility in the future. Furthermore, his presence on social and mass media matches with the young and modern appeal of the church, while also making the message visible to a wide public.

Resonance is dependent on individual values. These vary within Rios de Vida, but non-members of the church in turn can view Arrázola’s religious arguments with respect. Most Cartageneros have not been in contact with the violent conflict, but the city hosts right-wing oriented organized groups. This may push people in certain neighborhoods to vote against the agreement. Rios de Vida has no ties to these organizations, but has a hostile attitude towards outsiders that aligns with Uribe’s hostile attitude towards Santos.

6.3 Impact of the campaign

The 'No' -campaign has had several impacts. Contrary to the indications of the polls, the Colombians that voted 'No' won by a narrow margin nationally. In Cartagena, however, the 'Yes' won despite Arrázola's campaign.

Santos responded to the negative outcome by re-opening the negotiations with FARC. He talked to opposition leaders, among which the pastors with whom Arrázola had formed the Christian Pact. The Pact wrote a document with their demands, that addressed several, but not all of Arrázola's objections to the agreement. Many demands of the group were met, and other groups of opposition also managed to make some considerable changes.

The consequences for Arrázola in Cartagena are ambiguous. He has broadened his public in Cartagena and become a visible public figure nationally, but part of the attention was negative. His collaboration with CD gives him more political credibility, and it is plausible he will gain political leverage from the campaign, but what his political intentions are remains obscure.

As part of the CD campaign, Arrázola has contributed to the growth of the right-wing political movement that can partly be attributed to evangelical churches. The plebiscite polarized the voters and the campaign and its' arguments will certainly have continuing effects on the presidential elections in 2018.

6.4 Dialogue with the theory

The limitation of this research was that it only focused on one church, while there were several churches and also non-religious actors joining the 'No' campaign. The research thereby focused on a campaign that mostly influenced locals during a national plebiscite. Due to limits in scope and time however, the influence of other pastors could not be addressed too.

I Investigated Arrázola's campaign, using Brown et al's framework. They proposed that to investigate religious social mobilization, a researcher must investigate religious resources, religious space and the context. In Latin America a long history of dominant Catholic structures changes in the 70s, when Liberation Theology paved the way for change in the system. Not all Latin Americans were content with a more politicized religion, and consequently many turned to Evangelicism which was a faith that focused more on the individual than on the structural. In Colombia Liberation Theology had less impact than in the rest of Latin America, but still Evangelicism grew rapidly and currently more than 10 percent of the Colombian population identify as Evangelical. Arrázola's church can be placed in this trend and his church can be characterized as neo-Pentecostal.

Rios de Vida is evangelical, but was not a-political like early evangelical movements were. Arrázola used religious resources to support his arguments against the peace agreement. He did this by quoting Biblical texts and his position in the church as the most important leader created extra resonance for his parishioners.

The pastor did not only make use of religious space as a physical safe space. He also campaigned outside of the church. He used the figurative idea of space by creating alliances

that provided him with a broader audience. Brown et al's mention of "authority and legitimacy" is better covered using Benford and Snow's concepts of "credibility and salience". While Brown et al only mention that the use of figurative space may lead increased authority and legitimacy, Benford and Snow explain how this happens and how this can systematically be researched. Both authors acknowledge that this is dependent on the public, was true for Arrázola's campaign. His credibility as a speaker grew for his parishioners and local politicians in (future) need of his support, whereas for people that oppose the form of his church, and for people that do not approve of religious leaders getting involved in a political campaign, his credibility shrunk. This use of media was a strength in his campaign, he managed to get attention for his ideas without being present in shows and received national attention for his video calling Santos the Antichrist. His credibility will in the longer run probably not profit from his campaign as negative news has grown since the plebiscite.

The impact on Colombia has been considerable. Arrázola has through his cooperation with other pastors managed to change the peace agreement. He has strengthened the growth of Uribe's party, Centro Democrático, and Arrázola's campaign thereby advanced a shift to the right on the political spectrum throughout the country. Considering the impact that this will have on the election of the next presidency, I conclude that his religious social mobilization changed the context of the political arena in Colombia.

The framework by Brown et al has proved to be useful, but to evaluate the use of religious space Benford and Snow's concepts provided a better structure.

6.5 Suggestions for further research

Arrázola was not the only pastor that contributed to the 'No' campaign. In fact, other pastors have churches that are much bigger in size. These churches are by some called 'mega churches'. This research demonstrates that the influence of those type of churches, including Arrázola's, has grown in Colombia.

The document of the Christian Pact was a joint effort and a compromise, reflecting a range of Arrázola's arguments, but not all. Other leaders may have used similar religious resources to support their argument, but their outcome must have been different.

For future research I have two suggestions. First, I think it would be interesting to investigate how religious leaders negotiate among themselves. How do they define which interpretation of religious texts carries more weight? Second, mega churches as influencing the political arena is an interesting case. Comparative research within the country or within Latin America may provide more insight as to when these churches decide to engage in the political arena.

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Appendix A: List of interviewees

Ano = did they wish to be anonymous

Date '17 = the date on which the interview was conducted, all were conducted in 2017

Ref = What did they vote in the plebiscite

Five informants voted 'No', three wanted to remain anonymous.

nr	Ano	Name	Date '17	Profession	Relation to plebiscite	Ref
1	No	Alexander Pérez Alvarez	11 may	Professor social development		Si
2	No	Claudia Ayola Escallón	30 may	Columnist	Wrote widely read column on A	Si
3	No	Daniel Florez Muñoz	27 april	Professor Law	active Si	Si
4	No	David Mendoza Coneo	14 june	Lawyer of Business	Presbyterian, agrees with many arguments by A	No
5	No	Edison Lucio Torres	12 may	Journalist, active Si	Arrázola threatened him	Si
6	Yes	Anonymous	22 may	Different jobs: on the airport, journalist, etc		Si
7	No	Ernesto Taborda Herrera	11 may	Journalist		Si
8	No	Gloria Bonilla Vélez	25 april	Professor Women and Gender studies		Si
9	No	Gustavo Balanta Castilla	28 april	Politician and activist for human rights	Active si	Si
10	Yes	Anonymous	27 may	Lawyer	Ex-member Rios	No
11	No	Humberto Orozco Cera	30 may	Governmental campaign	Campaigned for Si officially	Si
12	No	Irinia Junieles Acosta	1 june	Politician in past, currently works on implementation of the agreement		Si
13	No	Isiais Salas Montero	29 may	Founder of REDSIPAZ Bolívar	Victim of conflict	Si
14	No	Javier Bustillo Pertuz	7 june	Politics MA		Si
15	No	Jorge Quiroz	31 may	Evangelical pastor	Active Si pastor	Si
16	No	Leidy Laura	27 may	NGO teacher of teachers about racism and gender	Active 'Yes' campaigner	Si
18	Yes	Anonymous	1 june	Director of Latin American School of Cooperation and Development	Symbolic act interpreted as satanic by A	Si

19	No	Marian Mercado	23 may	Hoteleria, comunicador social	Evangelic	Si
20	No	Paola Pianetta	6 june	Administration for university	Set up campament for peace in Cartagena	Si
21	No	Rafael Acevedo Puello	28 april	Professor social development	Remained neutral in class	Si
22	No	Raul Paniagua Bedoya	24 april	Professor social development	Si in class, thinks uni should Si too	Si
23	No	Soraya Bayuelo	2 june	Director of NGO in village in the department	Eucemenic activities to promote peace, representative of victims in the region	Si
24	No	Tomas Sanmartin Pérez	13 june	Security	Ex-Rios de Vida, new Presbyterian	No
25	No	Valentina Mora Berett and Solange Torres Acosta	31 may	Law students	Rios de Vida leaders	No
26	No	Wilson Castañeda Castro	13 may	Director of Caribe Affirmativo. NGO for LGBT rights		Si
27	Yes	Anonymous	15 june	Social security	Rios de Vida-member	Si
nr	Ano	Name	Date '17	Profession	Relation to the plebiscite	Ref
Author's fieldnotes on 14 June 2017 from conversational with Rios de Vida member that voted 'No' in the plebiscite.						No

Appendix B: Fieldnotes church visit

The Sunday service from Rios de Vida takes place in the neighbourhood (for now, they are constructing a new temple on the outskirts of the city) Pie de Popa. The place is quite busy as we get closer, although it seems that people do not linger very much after their service. Everyone is leaving the second service of the day and we enter for the third one.

Entering and leaving happens quite organized, fences are installed to increase efficiency. We spot a variety of t-shirts indicating the people working/volunteering for Rios de Vida. Several appear to be concerned with the efficiency and order of the service, while others have shirts saying “*meastria*” - the teachers for the children. As we enter through a narrow way, there is a building on our left side and on the right side children are playing. I assume they are playing here during the service, I see some children inside the right-hand building too, but not many – a baby, a boy, a girl.

We enter the building and I recognize the plastic chairs that I had seen in video clips of parts of the services. There are more people going out than in, probably because this service is during lunchtime my friend clarifies. Where do you want to sit, he asks. I reason that to not stand out more than I already do, with my blond hair and white skin, we should not sit in front. We pick a spot behind the first block of chairs in the middle-right row. Three very professional cameras are on the line just a little before us.

The people working here are clearly trying to make sure everything is in order before the service, but as people keep dropping in they keep busy trying to get all the seats filled in the front up until 15 minutes after the service starts. The place can probably fit around 5x7 per block = 35 x 4 column = 140 x 3,5 rows (last row half filled) = 490 people (conservative estimate). The place today is not even half filled, but with everyone sitting in front it is still an impressive turnout of at least 250 people, plus there is a crowded balcony. Especially considering there are 4 more services on Sundays and there is a service “Fridays of Miracles” every week.

A few minutes before the service, on two big screens on the side of the stage a countdown to the service starts. No-one really pays attention and in the last two minutes, a sound accompanies the countdown. The service opens with songs sung by five young people on stage. I recognize the son's pastor in the middle, there is a guy with a hipster hairbun and a bit of a beard, and three women in their late twenties. They sing a house music song: Tu Amor Es Real. (Later I find out online that the song is originally from an Australian Christian band and is called Real Love.)

At the start of the song everyone stands up, we are asked to put our hands in the air, creating the vibe of a real concert and a sight that is often shown in the Rios de Vida clips and that can be associated with *zich overgeven en bezeten zijn*. They play two or three songs, during which the singers bounce around the stage and the projectors also give us a glimpse of the drummer from time to time. Towards the end of the last song, a young man

and woman in formal wear wait on stage for the song to finish. They start a prayer and ask everyone to join. After this, they ask us to take our places and everyone sits down.

The man starts his story, he tells us that one of his favorite passages in the bible is 'this one' - and it is shown on the screen, including references. He explains how God has a plan, and we may see our lives as a movie – everything was planned. He repeats certain frases and people repeat with him, he is often interrupted by the public that murmurs/screams amen, bien?, but does not let it distract him from his story. When they finish, a clip is played about a new church that is being built in Isla Baru. During the clip el *pulpito*, the *preekstoel* is carried on stage. The sound is a little distorted during the clip, but that only makes me realize how professional the sound and images are. There was already a really big statue with 'i love (very tiny) life?' and screen on the end of the stage are *geboid* with holes in them that create the typical polkadot background of any picture of the church, the colours of the light remain red and purple during the service, but I have seen pictures in other colours.

A women, Maria Paola Arrazola, the Pastor's wife, takes the stage. She comfortably walks around and leans on the pulpit. She reminds the audience that last week, we talked about three lies about money. This week we will discuss the next three. Everyone reaches to get their notebooks. She quickly repeats last weeks lessons, and starts with lie number four: money is not important, five: god will make everyone in this church rich, six: I forgot. During the story it stressed that the most important is to believe and to keep working. Everyone is welcome, no matter how much money you have, or in which neighborhood you live. She takes herself as an example too: her last name could have been Garcia – but that does not automatically mean she is rich?

Conveniently timed, the speech that stressed money in not the most important thing in life, is followed by handing out of envelopes. Put your hand up and you will receive one, it seems you are supposed to also write down certain details on the envelope, but when the money is in the envelope you put the envelope in one of the wooden baskets that several people are carrying around – creating the illusion of anonymity. The baskets move forward after a while, to make sure that everyone has time to return their envelope. It appears to me that far less than the majority pays, but maybe payments have also been made using cards (a women with the machine for that was walking around), and I read and heard from various sources that paying through phone is also possible. I figure that 10% of the income may also be paid once a month, not every week. We continue with another prayer.

Next a man with glasses takes the stage. He explains shows us slides that present thermometers that indicate the parishioners have already paid 100% of the anticipo and design of the new temple the church wants to build. For the material they are currently at 35%. He continues his preach to explain the story about Abel and Cain, and how offers are only right when given with faith. To me it almost sounds like, to have faith is to ask no questions; be naiev: just donate your money without wonder what it will bring you – god

will reward you. He asks the parishoners to within a certain timeframe donate an extra amount of money for the new temple.

Someone from the crowd – clearly not accustomed to using the microphone and telling her story in the *opzwepende* way that the previous people did, tells her story. It confirms what the preachers just explained: when she decided to give with good spirit, God rewarded her sooner than she expected.

We are shown another clip – this one can also be found online. It has the feeling of a movie-trailer or party promotion video. It shows different speakers from the church making bold statements: God will live up to his promise; you are changing the world; pastor Arrazola touching people that fall down; etc. Meanwhile people go around with a different type of envelope, this one seems to be meant for the temple only.

We stand up and get to hear more songs of the band that started the service: it's quite catchy, as the text is also shown on the screen I can already hum along to some parts. I do not have the living in the moment – eyes closed – hands in the air – body moving around – posture yet though, that some -but not all- have. Only a few people stay seated.

Now Miguel Arrazola comes out on the stage and starts his prayer. After the prayer we may take our seats again. Arrazola's speech is a little more difficult for me to understand, he has a stronger costeño accent than the former speakers. The main focus of his speech is family life that is one of the core duties of the parishoners. He has the crowd eating out of his hand, makes a lot of jokes and walks confidently around the stage.

His speech touches on modern culture and the values shown on television, he claims many colombian families let their children be thought by these values. However, children should be raised by their parents -mainly the mother- from the moment they get out of bed and are brought back to bed. The rules about marriage, after are all only set for your own benefit.

He makes a short *uitstapje* to drugs: the hippies that went to woodstock and smoked weed may claim to know peace, but to them that is listening to a Jimmy Hendrix concert. They abuse their freedom to smoke, but children should have rules.

He is also distancing this church from other christian and catholic churches. He asks if his microphone can get some echo and imitates the sound in regular churches. He argues that people in these churches do not know to what they say 'amen'.

Returning to the subject of families, he stresses that work or study can never be number one. (To me it remains unclear if God should be number one, or the family. I assume God nr 1 and family nr 2. This guess is confirmed by my company after the service). He makes a joke about the mexican accent and work attitude. Women especially should realize that when they marry life changes. No sort of succes is a succes when it costs the family.

He takes a detour and talks about modern technology again. Timelines are filled with food and selfies, he calls this narcissism and judged the youth for wanting to be like Hollywood. The constant obsession with technology also causes more accidents on the road.

This illustrates that technology is a distraction from what is really important: God should be number 1. He may have so many followers, but he does not let it distract him?

The next part of his preach concentrates on showing quotes from the bible. He talks about work, finance and diezmo. He tells a story about how people can gossip, but about God they have nothing to say. A true believer would endlessly want to talk about him. Finally he makes a point (I did not understand what exactly) using an example of how his son used to dance. This leads to an intimate encounter of his son doing the particular dance for a second for his dad as he takes his place on stage. Son is accompanied by girl and he says some words in his defense. Next the girl does another prayer and I have misunderstandings with my company as all the first-time-ers are called forward. We leave at this point as my company was in a hurry, so I don't see exactly what happens to the more willing newcomers.

Outside the vendors are waiting for us, but my date is running late for his next appointment.

Appendix C: Transcriptions of video's

First clip: Miguel and his wife are on stage, speaking for a crowd.

The clip is titled: *Discurso del pastor Miguel Arrázola durante marcha uribista*. Published by germxnbass on the 2nd of April 2016. Retrieved 28th of June 2017 on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xUnGDbB1nXE>

The movie is made with a phone. The description reads (in Spanish): Pastor Miguel Arrázola mixed two dangerous things: religion and politics. This is his speech during a march for uribismo and paramilitarism on the 2nd of April 2016.

Transcription:

Maria: Nos levantamos como iglesia, a declarar que este pais no le pertenece al comunismo, ni al terrorismo, sino lo pertenece a gente que *[inaudible]* de dios. Da una aplausa a Dios esta manana.

Miguel: la unica paz verdadera vimos en 2016 anos menos del cielo. Su noble Jesus. Y nign hombre puede competir con la paz perfecta que nos puede dar. Justicia es un derecho divino, no es *recor* ni/y falta perdon. Justicia es un derecho constitunal, un derecho dado por dios. Cartagena voy a clamar a lo que se graciendo a *[inaudible]* Que vemos miles de roicos que estmos clamando a dios. Eso no es mas un movimiento politico o personal o congresional. Es un movimiento devino que nos levantamos en contra la pobreza, la imbruna, la injusticia. Lo queremos una paz que venga de havana, perder una paz que venga de havana. Como perder la salvacion que venga del infierno. No queremos una de paz de la cocine en los castros. Ni queremos una paz con maduro incluido. Queremos una paz costena. Queremos una paz con pescado, con patacon pisado, con arepa costeña. Una paz que se fabrique en colombia, no *made* en cuba. Eso es la verdadera paz que nosotros van a ganamos. No nos guerider a nadie. Aqui hay gente de paz. Aqui no es pistola. Aqui no estamos como coneja con las armas, hacienda profenismo. Aqui la unica arma es la voz, el corazon, las manos que levantamos a dios. Dios lo pendimos todos,

Second clip: Different clips are edited together of Santos and the peace treaty and Arrázola in the church preaching against the agreement. At the start of the clips short shots of marching rebels (probably FARC), rebels shooting at buildings, a burning car, and dying people are shown. Subtitles are included in the video and show references to passages of the bible. Halfway the clip the word 'No' is shown with a red cross through it.

The clip is titled: *Pastor evangélico pide votar por el 'No' en el plebiscito por la paz*. Published by

El Espeluque on the 2nd of September 2016. The description reads: Subscribe to our channel. Retrieved on 28th of June 2017 on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DV6oAUZ0IPg&t=6s>

Arrázola: para quedarse con su reino, firmará a la paz y dejará que su hija se case. Entonces les hará caso a quienes, por estar a su servicio no cumplieron con el tratado de paz. Será tanto su odio que hará cosas terribles en contra de ese tratado. Ese rey, que casará a su hija, tratará de ganarse la simpatía de los que no cumplieron el tratado de paz.

Pero los que aman a su Dios se mantendrán firmes y no, no harán caso. Es demasiado coincidencia? Nada es coincidencia. Nada es coincidencia. No hay coincidencia, nada es coincidencia.

Yo sepa un destova, no voy a perseguir. Pero que teman a su dios y que va a pasar? Se mantendrán firmes y no – que? [Crowd responds: No!] el no es que tienen que votar. Ya lo cumplí.

Other pastor in Rios de Vida: No tenga temor de decir la verdad frente de ningun poderoso. [pointing at Arrázola] Por que Díos te dará lo que necesita, no importando, lo que sin corta no trafique con el mensaje. Dale con todo, prende la poderoso de la vida.

Arrázola: Oh Díos tiene sus manos sobre nosotros. Hija con tratado de paz. Casualidad no? El anticristo, lo tenemos en Colombia. Este verso, es el anticristo [inaudible] once.

Appendix D: Topic guide interviews

Por favor permite-me de grabar este conversación?

Nombre – quiere estar anónimo?

Introduce-le - Donde vive? De donde es? Es religioso/a? Visita a la iglesia? Cual?

Que hace por trabajo? Que hace antes este trabajo? Ha estudiado?

- Estuvo en Cartagena durante las campañas por el plebiscito? Que votó?
- Cuales temas fueron importantes para ti durante las campañas?
- Estuvo conectado/a con una campaña? Que estuvo el enfocado durante este campaña?
- Qué piensas de Arrázola? Qué piensas sobre Ríos de Vida?

1. Iglesia Rios de Vida

Descripción

- qué es el tipo de fé – que es la diferencia entre pentecostalismo y evangelico
- qué custombres tienen que son diferente en otras iglesias?

Organización

- cómo es la relación entre los fieles, pastores y arrazola? Lideres?
- tiene mucho control social?
- cómo es la relación con otras iglesias?
Ejemplo: cedecol, mira, upc, icpu
- cómo es la relacion entre otras iglesias evangelicas?

Politica

- tiene Arrazola aspiraciones políticas? Estuvo famoso antes de la campaña? Grande influencia?
- tiene la iglesia una ideología conectado con ideas politicas?
- tiene Arrazola/otros pastores vínculos políticos?
- tienen relaciones con grupos cartageneros (bandas criminalas, pandillas, bandas)

2. Campaña forma

- como organizo la campana? (hubo marchas?)
- hubo vínculos con otras campañas de no? Que papel tuvo la iglesia que estuvo diferente que los otros actores del campo de no?
- donde puedo encontrar la contenido de la campana?

3. Campana contenido

– que fue la tema mas importante durante la campaña? Como se relata con el acuerdo?

Ejemplo: lgbt, familia, farc, juicio, narcotrafico, reintegracion,

- dijeron algo sobre castrochavismo? Pensionados? Otras falsas noticias?

- cuales argumentos son los mas importantes por los fieles?

4. Response

- como respondió la media?

- como respondieron las campañas de sí?

- como respondió otros pastores?

- Como respondió Arrazola en la media? En los servicios?

5. Contexto: Cartagena – como lo influyo las votas?

- Cuales son temas importantes por los Cartageneros en los elecciones locales y nacionales?

Interesan mucha politica?

- Cuales religiones son importantes? Por qué? Que influencia tienen las iglesias en las vidas diarias de los Cartageneros? Promueven las iglesias políticas?

- Cuales campañas fueron muy visible por los Cartageneros? Prestaron atención?

6. Resultad

- piensa que la campana estuvo exitoso?

- que piensa son las consecuencias de las campañas?

Ejemplo: por la paz, por la percepción de política, por arrazola, por las fieles, por AUC

-que piensa son las consecuencias por las campañas de no?

-quiere decir algo más? Olvidé algo?

- tienes articulos, personas o situaciones interesante por mi investigacion?

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- ii Author's screenshot
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- vii Author's screenshot of service on 23th of July 2017 on Facebook Live
- viii Author's screenshot from Facebook on 28th of June 2017
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- x Lombana, A. B. (2016). A Nation in Spite of Itself: Uncertainty and Hope in Colombia After the Referendum. *VvvAlog*. Retrieved on 28th of June 2017 on <http://andreslombana.net/blog/2016/10/13/colombia-despite-of-itself-uncertainty-and-hope-after-the-referendum/>
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- xii Author's screenshot from Facebook on 28th of June 2017
- xiii Excerpt first peace agreement, page 2
- xiv Author's screenshot from Facebook on 28th of June 2017
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- xvi Author's screenshot from Google streetview on 24th of July 2017
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