

# WISDOMS AND THE PEOPLE'S THEOLOGY

Edited by

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# The Centrality of the People in Pope Francis' Socio-cultural Theology

RAFAEL LUCIANI

*The reception of the Council undertaken by Pope Francis is part of a socio-cultural theology that originates in the ecclesiology of the People of God. This advocates a Church that embeds itself and lives among the peoples of this world and their cultures. In this sense this article sets out briefly three ideas from Pope Francis' teaching that contribute to this new reception of the Council: the outgoing Church, permanent pastoral conversion and a pastoral approach that goes back to the people's understanding of the faith. The article highlights some of the chief sources of this missionary theology of Francis' with a stress on the historical and relational soteriology that is expressed in the Church's faithful commitment to the building of a world of inclusions and justice in accordance with the values of the Kingdom.*

## **I The Church as the People of God among the peoples and their cultures**

Since the Second Vatican Council the Church has thought of itself as the People of God called to live among other peoples and their cultures (LG 17; AG 5). This idea became the starting point of the Council's ecclesiology. Yves Congar asserted that 'This quite novel attitude is one of the major original feature both of the constitution *Lumen Gentium* and of the Council as a whole.'<sup>1</sup> This idea emphasises two elements that produce an important shift in the way the Church is understood and situated in the world. First, the essence of what it means to be Church is understood to rest on the status of its members as believers, and not on the hierarchy or institutional structures (LG 9). Second, it is accepted that the historical nature of the Church affects and shapes the Church through the socio-

cultural influences in which it carries out its evangelising mission (LG 8; 9; 13). 'The historical nature of the Church is based on its essential and irrevocable link with the temporal, the earthly and the human dimensions of this world, since the Church is incarnate in history.'<sup>2</sup> Because of this historical nature, the Church always needs discernment, conversion and renewal: *Ecclesia semper reformanda*.

In this context, neither can the local Church be understood as a part or fragment of the universal Church, nor the universal Church be thought of as an entity with its own independent existence. The Council assumes that the local Church is the universal Church itself (LG 26) happening in a particular socio-cultural setting, in which it has to embed itself as a pilgrim people among other peoples and cultures (LG 13, 17). In this was the category People of God regards the task of the Church 'in the effort of all struggles for the liberation and dignity of human beings in Jesus Christ, not only in our churches' liturgies, however authentic they may be, but wherever human beings are victims of hatred, exploitation, contempt, lack of love, forms of unjust discrimination'.<sup>3</sup> This is the context in which the Constitution *Gaudium et Spes* situates the presence and action of the Church as the People of God in the world.

The reception of this concept has not been easy. One example is the Extraordinary Synod held in 1985 to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the end of the Council. Here there was an attempt to relativise the idea with the argument that 'people of God' is one of the various ways in which the Council defined the Church. According to the final document of the synod, to treat this idea as a central concept would be to reduce the Church to a sociological concept.<sup>4</sup> The same attitude can be seen in the reinterpretation the Synod made of *Gaudium et Spes*. Whereas the Council fathers said that 'this community [of the followers of Christ] realises that it is truly linked with mankind and its history by the deepest of bonds,' and because of this link were able to proclaim that 'The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ' (GS 1), the Synod fathers – 20 years after the Council – moved the centre from which the realities of history are seen, and the object of solidarity, back to the institutional Church: 'We likewise have participated in one another's joys and hopes, as well as in the sufferings and anguish too often undergone *by the Church* throughout the world' (*Final Report*, I.1).

But the point of the Council is that it had embarked on its examination of the realities of history through the experience of real human beings, regarded as protagonists of history and not as objects of a salvation coming from beyond. As a result,

The Church addresses human beings as they are, not for what they may become (through their social position or education), but simply because they are human beings. The other consideration may come afterwards, but in no way is it a condition for choosing to pay attention to them. Their dignity does not depend on whether or not they can read or write, if they have electricity or natural gas, but simply and solely because they are human beings created by God. This is the difference between the anthropological turn and anthropocentrism.<sup>5</sup>

In other words, this outlook made it possible to pay attention to people as they are, allowing for the importance of the socio-cultural context in shaping what it means to be human, a consideration that represented an anthropological turn:

not towards an abstract human, considered in terms of a particular idea or conception of what he or she is or examined in terms of human nature (which would still be abstract), but towards particular, real human beings, existing as historical individuals, that is, the whole human being and every human being born of woman, created by God and called by Him to share his life, which is eternal: and for that very reason the whole human being in all his or her dimensions – eternal and temporal, spiritual and corporeal, individual and communal – all human beings and each of them.<sup>6</sup>

The great merit of the conciliar spirit was to have understood that salvation takes place *in* history, not outside of it, and affects all dimensions of human existence. This gives rise to the need, inherent in the Church's own mission, to contribute to processes of transformation and improvement of living conditions in this world. Accordingly, the conciliar account recognises the autonomy of human beings, society and science (GS 36), of human culture (GS 59) and of the temporal order un general (AA 7). The basis of this approach can be found in the appeal made by John XXIII

(*Mater et Magistra*, 155), followed by the Second Vatican Council (GS 88) and Paul VI in *Populorum Progressio*. This is how Paul VI sums up the idea:

This duty concerns first and foremost the wealthier nations. Their obligations stem from the human and supernatural brotherhood of man, and present a three-fold obligation: 1) *mutual solidarity* – the aid that the richer nations must give to developing nations; 2) social justice – the rectification of trade relations between strong and weak nations; 3) *universal charity* – the effort to build a more humane world community, where all can give and receive, and where the progress of some is not bought at the expense of others. The matter is urgent, for on it depends the future of world civilization (PP 44, italics added).

This people of God ecclesiology corresponds to a soteriology that is historical and relational, to a way of saving chosen by God that cannot be reduced to the outlook of a private and closed religion, without any connection to reality and drawing solely on its liturgical expression. *Lumen Gentium* puts this beautifully: ‘God does not make men holy and save them merely as individuals, without bond or link between one another. Rather has it pleased Him to bring men together as one people.’ Starting from this premise, Francis believes that the Church is essentially missionary, ‘outgoing’.

## **II The Church as the outgoing people of God**

Francis has adopted the conciliar people of God ecclesiology (*Evangelii Gaudium* 111, 114). This Church, which ‘is incarnate in the peoples of the earth, each of which has its own culture’ (EG 115), must go out into ‘new socio-cultural settings’ (EG 30) and reach the ‘periferies’, the remote areas (EG 20). The point is not an attempt to renew religion to make its practices more accessible to the people of today, but ‘to live our human life to the fullest’ (EG 75), ‘go out from ourselves to our brothers and sisters’ (EG 179) and so renew religion. These are the standards by which Catholicism must be measured today, by its engagement in processes of reform (EG 188, 205, 208) and restoring the socio-cultural ties among peoples (EG 67, 178).

In this model ‘the task of evangelization implies and demands the

integral promotion of each human being' (EG 182), and so the fight for improving the socio-economic conditions of others can no longer be a private or optional matter for some people. Nor is it the exclusive field for those engaged in pastoral ministry for a few hours a week. As the bishops of Latin America reminded us, 'our social conduct is an integral part of our following of Christ' (Puebla, 476) because 'the kerygma [the message] has a clear social content' (EG 177).

Here the Pope introduces a theme that is characteristic of the reception of the Council in the teaching of the Latin American Church. This is the socio-cultural emphasis, which refers not merely to where the Church carries out its mission but the position from which it discerns it:

The Church has to see itself and see its problems from the position of the people. The people are the factor that illuminates and brings together the issues facing the Church. In other words, it is not to see them in terms of its internal conflicts, in terms of its internal difficulties, or in terms of its internal partisan conflicts, but from its position as embedded, as the people of God, in the people.<sup>7</sup>

This means that the peoples are not mere recipients or beneficiaries of external projects. If the people are the *protagonists and shapers* of their own history, the Church has a duty to the people, and not the reverse.<sup>8</sup> It is the outskirts that give meaning to the centre, and not the reverse; it is the everyday, formative relationship, lived by faith, that informs the people and gives them meaning as the people of God, and not their adherence to an official religion. As the Pope recalls,

The world's peoples want to be artisans of their own destiny. They want to advance peacefully towards justice. They do not want forms of tutelage or interference by which those with greater power subordinate those with less. They want their culture, their language, their social processes and their religious traditions to be respected.<sup>9</sup>

In *Evangelii Gaudium* Francis traced a route map for this advance using three sources: the model of the disciple as missionary proposed by the Latin American bishops' meeting at Aparecida, the relationship between evangelisation and liberation set out in *Evangelii Nuntiandi* by Paul VI, and



the importance of the socio-cultural setting emphasised by Latin American theology and the teaching of its bishops. In Rio de Janeiro he announced it like this: 'The missionary discipleship which Aparecida proposed to the Churches of Latin America and the Caribbean is the path God wants for us here and now.'<sup>10</sup> On these foundations he succeeds in setting out a new universal reception of Vatican II.

One of the main sources for understanding the approach Francis follows is the 'San Miguel Document', in which the Argentine bishops adapted the conclusions of the 1968 Latin American bishops' meeting at Medellín to their local situation:

The Church has to make a discernment about its liberating or saving action from the perspective of the people and its interests, since, because the people are the protagonists and shapers of human history and intimately linked to the history of salvation, the signs of the times become present and decipherable in the events caused by this people or those that affect them.<sup>11</sup>

To say that the Church has to discern its mission from the position of the people is not a sociological principle; it is a consequence of the incarnational and missionary character that it is intrinsic to the Church, and includes a salvation dimension. Accordingly, the Church as people of God – *Lumen Gentium* – cannot live except by going out towards every people of this earth and being in their midst – *Gaudium et spes* – which brings with it a process of pastoral conversion of the institutional Church, both in its theological methods and in its action in history.

### **III The permanent pastoral conversion of the Church**

The call to a permanent pastoral conversion first appears in the message of the Fourth General Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Bishops, which met in Santo Domingo in 1992 (para 30), and was then developed at the subsequent General Conference in Aparecida in 2007 (paras 368-370). The consequence of this reception is clear:

Gradually there emerges an understanding of the Church that is more 'charismatic' than 'structural', which, without ignoring the value of its necessary internal organisation, is revitalised, not by countless

modifications to the structure, nor by its organisations and programmes, but because power comes to it from the Holy Spirit. The Spirit stimulates and unifies the common mission of the different elements, forcing the Church to 'expropriate' itself, to abandon itself and seek to be more for the 'Other' and for 'others' because its mission is to be 'beside itself'. It is clear that, to achieve this idea of an 'outgoing Church' a 'pastoral conversion' is needed that accepts that 'All renewal in the Church must have mission as its goal if it is not to fall prey to a kind of ecclesial introversion' (EG 27).<sup>12</sup>

*Evangelii Gaudium* calls on us to go into the public spaces, to reject attempts to make religion something private, to move away from individualistic devotions (EG 70) and to move beyond a do-gooding approach (EG 204). The reason for this is that 'to evangelize is to make the kingdom of God present in our world' (EG 176), and embraces all of 'man's concrete life, both personal and social' (EG 181, quoting Pope Paul VI).

The conversion the Church needs starts, then, with the move 'from a pastoral approach of mere preservation to one that is firmly missionary' (Aparecida 370), which calls on it to be in continual transformation and reform (LG 8). This direction was adopted at Medellín (Medellín, 'Pastoral Work among the Poor', 1), when it called for a move beyond 'a pastoral approach of preservation, based on the administration of the sacraments', which is the approach adopted in most parishes. The institution cannot understand its relationship with the world solely through its sacramental ministry, but through a personal encounter with others (*Evangelii Nuntiandi* 15).

Another step on this road goes from an established Church to a different kind of Church that sees its identity and life in terms of 'being permanently in a state of mission' (EG 25). As Paul VI insisted, 'The Church exists in order to evangelise' (EN 14). Francis explains this beautifully in these words: 'My mission of being in the heart of the people is not just a part of my life or a badge I can take off... I am a mission on this earth' (EG 273). This implies that Church structures should be transformed into instruments 'for the evangelisation of today's world rather than for her self-preservation' (EG 27). It is an ecclesiology of missionary communion (EG 23) that presupposes 'being constantly ready to bring the love of Jesus to others, and this can happen unexpectedly and in any place' (EG 127). As a result,

Jesus' act of sending out (the state of discipleship) is made real today in the Church that goes out (the state of being a missionary). Nonetheless, as the Latin American Episcopal Council (CELAM) emphasizes, the main obstacle to the realisation of this vision is that 'some local Churches... remain institutions tied to the past, with little effort to dialogue with the world of today. This is reflected in the retention of some pastoral weaknesses: a pastoral ministry based on "events" without process and a pastoral approach dedicated to "maintenance", mainly concerned with offering sacraments and devotions and an initial catechesis for children and adolescents.'<sup>13</sup>

Conversion involves an arduous process of finding new mental categories to make as able to see history from the margins:

In conversion things – the world – are reinterpreted, felt again – felt in a new way. They are remade, as it were recreated in their paschal newness: we start from a different basis to rebuild the meaning of the world... which has to be thought of not just as coming back to life, but a new life, living in a different way.<sup>14</sup>

The hardest aspect of this is that it requires us to recognise the people as protagonists, different from intellectuals, scientists or technicians, and different from private religion. Here the starting-point is the encounter with others, which

presupposes loving the people, getting close to them and understand them; trusting in their creative abilities and their power to bring about change; helping them to express themselves and organise; listening to them, noting and understanding their views even though they respond to cultures on a different level; we must learn to understand their joys and hopes, anxieties and sufferings, learn especially what they want, long for, from the Church and its ministers; and in all this see what has to be corrected or purified, what is valid for the present but only transitory, what contains permanent values and seeds of the future; not to become cut off from them and anticipate what they really want or really decide; not attribute to them problems, attitudes, norms or values that are alien or foreign to them, especially when these remove or weaken their reasons for living and their reasons for hoping (Documento de San Miguel, VI.5).

This is the sense in which Francis believes that 'Only from the affective connaturality born of love can we appreciate the theological life present in the piety of Christian peoples, especially among their poor' (EG 125). It is when we begin to treat the poor as people that we start to be evangelised by them and strip away the ideological element in the a priori idea we may have of them. It is in this sharing of everyday life that

We find in the poor some deeply Christian values: spontaneous interest in others, an ability to devote time to others and to come to the aid of a neighbour without counting the time or the effort required, whereas the professional classes, with more organised lives, find it difficult to give time and attention, and make sacrifices for others spontaneously, gladly and selflessly.<sup>15</sup>

This, in fact, is the challenge of pastoral conversion:

The Church can choose not to turn to the poor, or it can do so from outside, with an attitude of service, whether self-interested or not. It Works for the poor, still more among them and even with some of them. I mean, it organises charitable programmes for the poor, sometimes establishing them among them and on occasion includes a few poor people in a programme team, but nevertheless, at least in spirit, this is not theirs. It's a good approach, and often may be very useful, but it does not adopt the real approach that would be characteristic of a Church of the incarnate Word. After all, its Master, the Lord, the Way, did not come to human beings from outside, but by becoming incarnate... Coming to the real, Christian people in our people, becoming incarnate among them, means doing so recognising with affection their faith and their culture.<sup>16</sup>

#### **IV Rediscovering the people's *sensus fidei***

In this reception of the Council, the *sensus fidei*, that primary experience of the reality of God that occurs in the act of faith, always occurs as *sensus populi* – in the *con-sensus fidei* – that is, in the community experience of faith (LG 12). In other words, the Church builds communion as it gradually establishes itself as the people of God. That is why the people of God becomes 'the primary form of Christian communion'.<sup>17</sup>

In the world in which the poor of Latin America live, the protagonist is part of the people because he or she is an ordinary person. The link between the ideas of 'poor' and 'people' belong to religious and socio-cultural anthropology. The poor always define themselves in relation to others, by means of a bond of common life that brings them to 'an awareness of needing others'.<sup>18</sup> It is not the self-interested need of someone who approaches someone else to ask and receive something in return, but an intrinsic need to be with the other person and so, to be unable to *exist* alone, with one own resources and goals. But to understand this we have to:

consider the poor, not only as the mere object of a liberation or an education, but as individuals capable of thinking in their own categories, able to live the faith legitimately in their own way, able to create routes out of their popular culture... It is simply a different culture, different from that of the middle class.<sup>19</sup>

This living *in-and-out-of* an understanding based on a shared life makes possible what I call the people's feeling for the faith or *sensus populi*, which is not the same as talking about the *sensus fidelium* because whereas 'the *sensus fidelium* could be the sum of the individuals that believe the same truths, the *sensus populi* has a communal subject, the people, who express themselves in terms of their common Christian experience and produce a characteristic culture of their own that gives others Access to that same experience: the people evangelise the people.'<sup>20</sup> This gives rise to a relational and socio-cultural soteriology.

The model Francis selects uses historico-cultural analysis, keeping a distance from the Marxist categories of 'class' and 'exploitation', which are replaced by others such as 'culture' and 'oppression', on the understanding that politics is a product of culture, and not the reverse.<sup>21</sup> Whereas for marxism exploitation produced by the relations of production is the cause of the structural crisis, Francis believes that the cause lies in the current socio-cultural models because these are the foundations on which socio-political, economic and religious structures are built.

Francis creates an outlook that is popular, but not populist, First, 'The term "people" differs from the word "mass" because it presupposes a collective protagonist that is able to generate its own historical processes.'<sup>22</sup>

Or, as O'Farrell puts it, the people 'represents a specific entity or, rather, an historical and collective, or political, protagonist able to adopt the good of all as a common and lasting value'.<sup>23</sup> Finally, the people is formed from a common culture united by a single common history with a collective idea of life.

Secondly, Francis believes that poverty is the consequence of systems that influence the fate of the protagonists. These systems, whether right-wing or left-wing, produce whole peoples that *have no possibility of having possibilities*. The bishops at Aparecida said that in an age of globalisation there is 'no longer simply the phenomenon of exploitation and oppression, but something new: social exclusion' (Aparecida, 65). *Evangelii Gaudium* later said the same: 'Exclusion ultimately has to do with what it means to be a part of the society in which we live; those excluded are no longer society's underside or its fringes or its disenfranchised – they are no longer even a part of it. The excluded are not the "exploited" but the outcast, the "leftovers"' (EG 53). This shows the urgency of 'first, the inclusion of the poor in society, and second, peace and social dialogue' (EG 135), which means 'in accordance with the Gospel command, defending the rights of the poor and oppressed' (Medellín, 3.22 [Conclusions]).

Here social inclusion as the core value for socio-political and pastoral discernment implies going beyond antagonistic class struggle. This means avoiding any process dominated by ideology in the fight against poverty,<sup>24</sup> If this is not done, ideologies will take over and 'ideologies end badly, and are useless. They relate to people in ways that are either incomplete, unhealthy, or evil. Ideologies do not embrace a people.'<sup>25</sup>

Third, Francis also defines the people as 'God's faithful people' (EG 95 and *passim*; cf LG 62), the people who 'express the faith in their own language, and they show their deepest feelings of sadness, uncertainty, joy, failure, and thanksgiving in various devotions: processions, votive lights, flowers, and hymns'.<sup>26</sup> In this way the people's struggles and social aspirations are united with their religious experience, which becomes their daily channel. Here the socio-cultural position of the peoples acquires theological status (EG 126), with the pastoral consequence that 'the same way that we listen to our Father is the way we listen to God's faithful people. If we do not do so with the same ears, the same ability to listen, the same heart, *something has got broken*.'<sup>27</sup>

This is the core element that defines permanent pastoral conversion

as the guideline that gives structure to Francis' socio-cultural theology: recognising that God's cry is revealed in the soul of peoples, in their consciousness or 'hermeneutics'.<sup>28</sup> This is the particular emphasis of this reception of the Council that drives an outgoing Church, one that stems from the people and finds in them the fulfilment of its identity and mission.

In conclusion we may note that Francis' teaching shows the influence of the Jesuit Henri de Lubac, for whom 'Catholicism is essentially social. It is social in the deepest sense of the Word: not only in its applications in the field of natural institutions, but first and foremost in itself, in the heart of its mystery, in the essence of its dogma.'<sup>29</sup> For that reason, Francis can say, that if 'being Church means being God's people' (EG 114), then we are not saved alone, but in relationship, in the social nature we are and in which we live together as a people. This vision finds expression once and for all in *Evangelii Gaudium*: 'God has chosen to call human beings as a people and not as isolated individuals. No-one is saved by himself or herself, individually, or by his or her own efforts. God attracts us by taking into account the complex interweaving of personal relationships entailed in the life of a human community' (EG 113).

*Translated by Francis McDonagh*

*Notes*

1. Cf Henri de Lubac, *The Church: paradox and mystery*, Shannon, 1969, p. 43.
2. A. Antón, *El misterio de la Iglesia*, vol. I. Madrid, 1986, pp 31-32.
3. Yves Congar, *Un pueblo mesiánico*, Madrid, 1976, pp 95-96 (Original edition: *Un peuple messianique: l'Église, sacrement du salut, salut et libération*, Paris, 1975).
4. 'The whole importance of the Church derives from her connection with Christ. The Council has described the Church in diverse ways: as the people of God, the body of Christ, the bride of Christ, the temple of the Holy Spirit, the family of God. These descriptions of the Church complete one another and must be understood in the light of the Mystery of Christ or of the Church in Christ. We cannot replace a false unilateral vision of the Church as purely hierarchical with a new sociological conception which is also unilateral' (Extraordinary Synod of 1985, *Final Report*, II. A, 3).
5. O.C. Albado, 'La pastoral popular en el pensamiento del padre Rafael Tello', *Franciscanum* 160 (2013), 226.
6. R. Tello, *Fundamentos de una nueva evangelización*. Buenos Aires, 2015, pp 42-43.
7. R. Tello, *Fundamentos de una nueva evangelización*, pp 42ff.
8. Cf O.M. Albado, *El pueblo está en la cultura*, Buenos Aires pp 183-206.
9. Pope Francis, *Apostolic Journey to Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay* (5-13 July 2015), Address at the Second World Meeting of Popular Movements, 3.2: [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/papa-francesco\\_20150709\\_bolivia-movimenti-popolari.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/papa-francesco_20150709_bolivia-movimenti-popolari.html)
10. Pope Francis, Address to the executive of the Latin American Bishops Council (CELAM), Rio de Janeiro, 28 July 2013, 5.1: [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/july/documents/papa-francesco\\_20130728\\_gmg-celam-rio.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/july/documents/papa-francesco_20130728_gmg-celam-rio.html) (translation modified).
11. Documento de San Miguel VI 4: <https://catequeticaquilmes.wordpress.com/1968/11/28/cea-documento-de-san-miguel-declaracion-del-episcopado-argentino-sobre-la-adaptacion-a-la-realidad-actual-del-pais-de-las-conclusiones-de-la-ii-conferencia-general-del-episcopado-latinoamericano-m/>
12. C. Roncagliolo, 'Iglesia en salida: una aproximación teológico pastoral al concepto de Iglesia en *Evangelii Gaudium*', *Teología y Vida*, 55/2 (2014), 362. The passage cited from *Evangelii Gaudium* is a quotation from Pope John Paul II.
13. CELAM, Plan Global 2015-2019, Hacia una Iglesia en Salida, Bogotá 2015, 71: [http://www.celam.org/documentos/Plan\\_Global\\_y\\_Programas\\_2015-2019.pdf](http://www.celam.org/documentos/Plan_Global_y_Programas_2015-2019.pdf)
14. Cf L. Gera, 'Reflexiones teológicas sobre la Iglesia', in: V. Azcuy, C. Galli and M. González, (ed.), *Escritos teológico-pastorales de Lucio Gera. I: del preconconcilio a la Conferencia de Puebla* (1956-1981). Buenos Aires, 2006, p. 363.
15. V. M. Fernández, 'El sensus populi: la legitimidad de una teología desde el pueblo', *Teología*, 72 (1998), p. 139.
16. L. Gera, 'Reflexiones teológicas sobre la Iglesia', p. 486.
17. S. Madrigal, *Unas lecciones sobre el Vaticano II y su legado*, Madrid, 2012, p. 234.
18. L. Gera, 'Pueblo, religión del pueblo e Iglesia', lecture given during the CELAM conference on Religiosidad popular en América Latina, Bogotá, 26 August 1976, pp 730-731.
19. P. Rodari, 'Conversaciones con Víctor Manuel Fernández', *Iglesia Viva* 259 (Jul.-Sept. 2014), 65.
20. V. M. Fernández, 'El sensus populi: la legitimidad de una teología desde el pueblo',



- 162.
21. I.A. Fresia, 'Teología del pueblo, de la cultura y de la pastoral popular' *Stromata* 70 (2014), 230.
  22. P. Rodari, 'Conversaciones con Víctor Manuel Fernández', 65.
  23. O'FARRELL, J. *América Latina: ¿cuáles son tus problemas?* Buenos Aires: Editora Patria Grande, 1976, p. 17.
  24. Cf J.C. Scannone, 'La teología argentina del pueblo', *Gregorianum* 96 (2015), 467.
  25. Pope Francis, Apostolic Journey to Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay (5-13 July 2015), Address to Representatives of Civil Society, Asunción, 11 July 2015, 3: [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/papa-francesco\\_20150711\\_paraguay-societa-civile.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/papa-francesco_20150711_paraguay-societa-civile.html)
  26. Pope Francis, Apostolic Journey to Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay (5-13 July 2015), Address to Clergy, Religious and Seminarians, National Marian Shrine of El Quinche, Quito, Ecuador, 8 July 2015: [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/papa-francesco\\_20150708\\_ecuador-religiosi.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/papa-francesco_20150708_ecuador-religiosi.html)
  27. Pope Francis, Apostolic Journey to Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay (5-13 July 2015), Meeting with Clergy, Religious and Seminarians, Coliseum of Don Bosco College, Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia), 9 July 2015 (translated from the Spanish; the English version of this passage on the Vatican website is inaccurate): [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/papa-francesco\\_20150709\\_bolivia-religiosi.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/papa-francesco_20150709_bolivia-religiosi.html)
  28. J.M. Bergoglio, *Ponerse la patria al hombro*. Buenos Aires, 2005, p. 6.
  29. H. de Lubac, *Catholicism. Christ and the Common Destiny of Man*, London 1962, p.15.