2016

Integral mission formation in Abya Yala (Latin America): a study of the Centro de Studios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios (1982-2002) and radical evangélicos

Padilla DeBorst, Ruth Irene
INTEGRAL MISSION FORMATION IN ABYA YALA (LATIN AMERICA):
A STUDY OF THE CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS TEOLÓGICOS
INTERDISCIPLINARIOS (1982-2002) AND RADICAL EVANGÉLICOS

by

RUTH IRENE PADILLA DEBORST

B.Ed., Instituto Nacional Superior en Lenguas Vivas, 1984
M.A., Wheaton College, 1987

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

2016
Approved by

First Reader

_________________________________________________________
Dana L. Robert, Ph.D.
Truman Collins Professor of World Christianity
and History of Mission

Second Reader

_________________________________________________________
John Hart, Ph.D.
Professor of Christian Ethics
DEDICATION

To communities who seek life for all

in Abya Yala and beyond,

in grateful memory

of Caty, Irene, and Doris
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work would never have seen the light without the loving support and faithful prodding of the communities of which I am privileged to be a part.

To each and every person in Casa Adobe,

A la FTL y la CIEE del pasado, que es presente, y del presente, que es futuro, y a los amigos de Kairós,

To my co-theologian practitioners in INFEMIT-OCMS-Micah,

Al equipazo de CETI Continental,

To friends and supporters of Langham Partnership and OMSC,

To wisely perseverant Dana, and prophetically present Dr Hart,

A Tali, por garantizar que nos graduáramos el mismo año,

A mi multi-único Che, to the love of my life,

for the joyous adventure of second chances,

To all,

Gracias!
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RUTH IRENE PADILLA DEBORST

Boston University School of Theology, 2016

Major Professor: Dr. Dana Robert, Professor of World Christianity and History of Mission

ABSTRACT

This dissertation traces the development of the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios (CETI) from its inception in Argentina in 1982 until 2002, when the first dean, Catalina Feser Padilla, stepped down. Born out of the self-theologizing of “radical evangelical” Protestant communities—Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos, Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana, Escuela Bíblica de Villa María, and Comunidad Kairós—CETI has furthered misión integral within Latin America and beyond. Grounded in the history of CETI, this dissertation argues that CETI constitutes a generative model of theological formation for integral mission because of its theological, missiological, and
pedagogical commitments: doing theology in response to context, a radical evangelical perspective, an integral mission intent, and a focus on the formation of all Christians through interdisciplinary dialogue, communal design, and implementation.

Although studies have been done of the integral mission movement, this dissertation breaks new ground by focusing on CETI, which has been running continuously within Latin America since 1982. The dissertation is based on the historical analysis of primary sources housed in a virtual repository and in the offices of the Fundación Kairós, in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Findings were corroborated through personal interviews and correspondence with key people involved in the creation and development of CETI. Chapter One introduces the research and clarifies key concepts. Chapters Two and Three portray the academic and ecclesial communities out of which CETI was generated. Chapter Four surveys the development of CETI and portrays the key role of its first dean, Catalina Feser Padilla. Chapter Five offers a theological, pedagogical, and institutional analysis of CETI along with narrative accounts that provide insight into the missional and ethical impact of the program. Chapter Six serves as a conclusion and refers to the reach of CETI beyond Latin America after 2011
through the auspices of the International Fellowship of Mission as Transformation. The final section raises critical questions for the ongoing development of CETI within Latin America, and for the expansion of theological formation for integral mission into other parts of the world.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios emerged in Latin America during the late twentieth century as a means to empower Christian leaders and lay people to live out their Christian faith in all areas of life--facing the ethical concerns of their day, and transforming their reality for the common good. Grounded in its history, this dissertation argues that the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios (CETI) is a generative model of integral mission formation for church leaders and lay people in the diverse contexts in which Christianity is present as a worldwide religion.

The need to articulate and analyze the distinctive features of CETI is urgent for two reasons. 1) The program has continued to grow significantly within Abya Yala, with hundreds of students involved in the learning

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1 The title Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios and the corresponding Spanish language acronym, CETI, have been used historically to describe the organizational body, as well as the learning community and the specific programs generated and implemented. This study follows the same polyvalent use of the acronym. The English translation is Center for Interdisciplinary Theological Studies.


3 Abya Yala is a compound term coined by the Gunan (or Kuna) people who live in present-day Panama and Colombia. It means “land of plenitude and maturity,” and has been employed by autochthonous groups to refer to what Europeans named America. The usage of the term is customary now in decolonization circles, which affirm the rights of indigenous peoples. It is also
community; and 2) Protestant-Evangelical church leaders, educational institutions, and global networks beyond Latin America have adopted the program and are currently creating contextual versions as a means to further processes of theological reflection that generate transformative Christian presence in those contexts. In both cases, understanding the origins, distinctive marks, and historic contributions and limitations of the program can strengthen the evaluation of current practices as well as yield findings useful for the ongoing design and its implementation. Although this dissertation does not portray the current expansion of CETI, it is the author’s assumption that the study of the origins and first twenty years of the program uncovers insights that will prove valuable for the development of theological formation for integral mission within Abya Yala and beyond. While analyzing the potential of CETI as a generative framework for integral mission formation, the study also affirms that such formation will necessarily take on varying methodological shades and contextual flavors at diverse times and in different regions in response to the social, cultural, and religious particularities of those contexts.

increasingly being used more broadly as a more felicitous term than “Latin America” since it focuses on the land shared by peoples from many ethnic backgrounds, a continent that is not merely Latin/European, but also indigenous, African, and Asian in make-up. This is the sense in which the term is employed in this work, interchangeably with the more traditional one, Latin America.
This Introduction first alludes to the historical and theological context in which CETI was generated in order to then propose the significance of the study. Explanations regarding method, sources, and limitations are followed by a conspectus, which outlines the chapter sequence and content. The chapter concludes with a section on Definitions.

**Historical and Theological Context**

The decades of the 1960s and 1970s were turbulent ones in Latin America, marked by military governments, repression, civil wars, and social unrest. From within this context, and alongside the mostly Roman Catholic liberation theologies, were born a handful of autochthonous “radical evangelical” movements and organizations marked by their “self-theologizing” and their commitment to nourish the life and integral mission of the Latin American church in relation to the challenges of its context.⁴ Among the Latin America-

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⁴ See Evangélicos and Radical Evangelicals, “Four-self,” Self-Theologizing, and Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana in Definitions. The various liberation theologies generated within Latin America have been made known in North America through related religious orders, educational institutions, and the publications of Orbis Books. In contrast, the existence and production of these radical evangelical movements in Latin America is far less known, a reality this study contributes to correcting. On this contrast, see Daniel Salinas, “The Beginnings of the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana: Courage to Grow,” *Journal of Latin American Theology* 2, no. 1 (2007): 12-15.
wide movements, which have also been nourished by and contributed to mission thinking and practice beyond the continent, are the Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos (CIEE), founded in 1958, and the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana (FTL), founded in 1970.5 Related institutions within Argentina are the Fundación Escuela Bíblica Evangélica, established in Villa María in 1960 by members of the Ateneo Teológico, and the Fundación Kairós, which grew out of the Asociación de Teólogos Evangélicos in Buenos Aires and was formally constituted in 1976 with the objective of “resourcing Christian communities to seek God’s Kingdom and God’s justice.”6

5 The title Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos (CIEE) historically referred to the movements affiliated to the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES) in Latin America. See “Somos IFES,” accessed April 16, 2016, http://www.ifesworld.org/es. See “Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana,” accessed April 16, 2016, http://ftl-al.org. Both are explored in Chapter Two. The term “fraternidad” in Spanish points to fraternal relations, to Christian fellowship, and elicits none of the connotations it does in the English-speaking world, with its traditional college and university Fraternities and Sororities. For many years, the official name in English of the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana was the “Latin American Theological Fraternity.” Given that the word “Fraternity” in North American English usually refers to male-only organizations, and a woman was leading the movement, the title “Latin American Theological Fellowship” was adopted in 2006 as the official title in English to better express the composition and spirit of the organization.

6 “Kairós Foundation,” n.d., 1. This tagline accompanies most of Kairós’ promotional materials. Kairós and the Asociación de Teólogos Evangélicos are explored in Chapter Three. At the core of the FTL reflection since its foundation has been the theological concept of the Kingdom or Reign of God. See Definitions and Chapter Two.
In the mid 1980s, with the expressed intent of strengthening the vision and capacity of Christian lay leaders and pastors for mission in all areas of life, members of these movements in Argentina created the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios, the program for integral mission formation on which this dissertation focuses. The term misión integral (integral mission) was coined by members of the FTL concerned about the need to broaden the understanding of the Christian message and mission. Drawing deeply on diverse strands of their shared evangelical tradition, FTL members understood that the scope of Christian mission included both proclamation and demonstration of the good news of the Reign of God through Christian teaching, presence, and social engagement for transformation. The concept of misión integral has since been adopted in different degrees by a variety of global evangelical agencies, networks and movements such as the International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation (INFEMIT), the Micah Network (now Micah Global), and the

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7 For an orientation to the historic development of Post-Reformation evangelicalism, see Mark Hutchinson and John Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
Lausanne Movement. The first of these global networks has adopted and is producing contextual versions of CETI in different continents as a means to further this holistic understanding and practice of mission.

Significance of the Study

In the wake of the recognition of Christianity as a multicultural, worldwide movement, and that “the typical late twentieth-century Christian [is] no longer a European man, but a Latin American or African woman,” Northern/Western evangelical churches, institutions, networks and movements are beginning to realize that “no one way of embodying the gospel... is exhaustive of the truth and the life,” that “no one performance of the biblical script serves as either a template or paradigm for all others.” Aware that “the time of European and

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8 For more on integral mission and INFEMIT, Micah Network (Micah Global), and Lausanne Movement, see Integral Mission and Global Evangelical Networks in Definitions, and Chapter Two. For more on the influence of misión integral beyond Latin America, see Michael Clawson, “Misión Integral and Progressive Evangelicalism: The Latin American Influence on the North American Emerging Church,” Religions 3, no. 3 (2012): 790-807.


10 Kevin J. VanHoozer, “‘One Rule to Rule Them All?’ Theological Method in an Era of World Christianity,” in Globalizing Theology: Belief and Practice in an Era of World Christianity, ed. Craig Ott and Harold A. Netland (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 117.
Western monologue is over,“ and that the need to renew theological education both in form and in content is acute, they are beginning to draw upon evangelical theologies and models generated outside their context. Evidence of this are the number of Global South scholars being hired in North American institutions, the conferences being organized in North America and Northern Europe about global theology, the invitations issued by churches, movements, and academic institutions to speakers and thinkers from around the world, the recent interest among Northern publishers to include global voices in their catalogs, and the curiosity awakened by CETI among evangelical educational institutions beyond Latin America.


12 Along with the changing face of world Christianity, questions have arisen in evangelical and ecumenical circles regarding relevant forms and modes of theological and missiological education. The field is vast and explorations are taking place in scores of fora and publications. Some recent articulated initiatives are: The Global Forum of Theological Educators, the inaugural gathering of which was held in Dorfweil, Germany, May 16-20, 2016, with the participation of 86 theological educators from Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical, Pentecostal, and Independent churches. “Global Forum of Theological Educators,” accessed June 23, 2016, http://www.gfte.org. Also, the establishment of the Global Ecumenical Theological Institute of the World Council of Churches; the Lausanne Consultations on Global Theological Education: Boston 2012 and Sao Paulo, Brazil, June 2014; and the Global Institute of Theology of the World Communion of Reformed Churches. This study seeks to contribute to the discussions and designs out of the experience of CETI.

13 See the Eerdmans Series on Majority World Theology edited by Gene L. Green, Stephen T. Pardue, and K.K. Yeo, in which scholars from outside the North-Atlantic tackle traditional theological themes which have typically been presented as the domain of European and North
Although a handful of dissertations have been written on various dimensions of the thought of theologians and missiologists associated with the *Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana;* no academic writing has thus far been

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American academics. Also Darren C. Marks, ed., *Shaping a Global Theological Mind* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008); Virginia Fabella and R.S. Sugirtharajah, eds., *Dictionary of Third World Theologies* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000); and William A. Dyrness and Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, eds., *Global Dictionary of Theology* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2008). In his address to the Global Forum of Theological Educators, Daniel O. Aleshire, president of the Association of Theological Schools (ATS), affirmed “ATS’s global engagement is not altruistic but fundamental to our own work in theological education in North America. We need the global church family.” Daniel O. Aleshire, Global Forum of Theological Educators, Dorfweil, Germany, May 19, 2016. Jeffrey Greenman summed up the reasons for which Western educational institutions should take global theologies seriously. First, because Christians belong to one same body, and “you don’t ignore family;” second, because of the internationalization of the student body in Northern/Western institutions, which now includes people from most regions of the world; third, as a matter of scholarly integrity, because Christians need one another and one another’s perspectives in order to grow in understanding of God, God’s purposes, and their part in them; and lastly, in order to correct Western blind spots. Jeffrey P. Greenman, “Learning and Teaching Global Theologies,” in *Global Theology in Evangelical Perspective: Exploring the Contextual Nature of Theology and Mission*, ed. Jeffrey Greenman and Gene Green (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2012), 237-252. A similar call was issued by Philip Jenkins in *The New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

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produced about the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios, in spite of the fact that the program has been running since the early 1980s and contributed to noteworthy missional expressions across Abya Yala. That fact in itself would not justify dedicating an entire dissertation to the program and proposing it as a framework for integral mission formation in other quarters. It is the author’s assumption, however, that in addition to fulfilling the important evaluative purposes already described, the study of CETI also contributes to the scholarship on world Christianity by casting light on the construction and propagation process of a liberation model of contextual mission theology generated within Latin America during the second half of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{15} The theological matrix out of which CETI was born was one concerned about integral salvation and the need for social change. It exemplifies what Robert Schreiter categorizes as a contextual theology with a “liberation approach.” Robert J. Schreiter, \textit{Constructing Local Theologies}
CETI was born from the intentional self-theologizing of members of the 
Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana and the Comunidad Kairós. Although most of
the creators of CETI were transnational Christian leaders and expatriate
missionaries, they were all deliberate in their analysis of and engagement with
the Latin American reality. They recognized that theological articulations are
necessarily marked by the context in which they are generated and are only
relevant to the extent to which they are honed in relation to the particular
historical matrix within which they propose to serve. Consequently, they drew
from the cultural and theological repertoires made available to them by their
multiple belongings; yet, instead of settling for externally imposed theological
agendas, categories, and priorities, they strove to design the entire curriculum
around areas of everyday life within Latin America and sought to promote
critical analysis of that context as well as missional, transformative presence

(Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2006), 13. See Contextualization and Contextual Theology in
Definitions and Chapter Two.

16 See Transnational Belonging in Definitions.

17 Chapters Two and Three detail the multiple ethno-cultural belongings of CETI founders. The
transnational identity of CETI creators allowed them access to several “repertoires or tool kits” of
symbols, stories, rituals, and worldviews, as well as habits, skills, and styles of relationship out of
which to construct “strategies of action.” See Ann Swindler, “Culture in Action: Symbols and
within it, in light of the Bible and Christian tradition. This contextual commitment did not lead, however, to a narrow "contextualism" which precluded awareness of theological developments outside Abya Yala. Instead, CETI creators appreciated and engaged in respectful dialogue with Christians from other regions.

In addition to this overarching contextual commitment within a broader, global theological conversation, several other characteristics of CETI reveal the program as one that resisted traditional polarizations and rigid categorizations. As the rest of this study portrays, CETI located itself within a trans-denominational theology of the Reign of God rather than within any particular denomination.\(^{18}\) Although it drew from sources as diverse as early Church Fathers, Catholic Social Teaching, mainline ecumenical traditions, critical educational philosophy, and a variety of non-Christian intellectuals, CETI was situated within a "radical evangelical" paradigm marked by appreciation for Scripture and general revelation, along with a generous approach to knowledge and discovery.\(^{19}\) From within this paradigm, CETI rested on and promoted an

\(^{18}\) According to the Oxford Dictionary, the term “denomination” is applied to a recognized autonomous branch of the Christian Church or to a branch of any religion.

\(^{19}\) See Evangélicos and Radical Evangelicals in Definitions.
“integral” definition of gospel and mission. In content, form, and design process, CETI strove to overcome the divides and dichotomies between clergy and lay people, the sacred and the profane, the spiritual and the material realms, and sought to empower all the people of God to live out the whole gospel in all areas of life as an embodied expression of the Missio Dei.\textsuperscript{20}

CETI focused primarily on the laity; it aimed to form the whole people of God in mission. An illustration of this return to one of the core Reformation tenets, in its original design CETI was directed to university graduates in diverse fields who were unlikely to take up formal theological formation yet chose to carry out their careers as a form of Christian mission in the public realm. The program was later extended to include lay people and church leaders with less formal education. In recognition of the priesthood of all believers, and undergirded by a liberating educational philosophy, CETI viewed participants as active subjects of their own learning and not mere receptors of the knowledge of others. In so doing, it legitimized the grass-roots appropriation of the theological task as complementary to academically-formed theology.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{20} See Missio Dei (mission of God) in Definitions.

\textsuperscript{21} See Priesthood of all Believers in Definitions.
At the same time, CETI was explicitly interdisciplinary; it invited students to bring the knowledge, perspectives and methods from their disciplines as well as their experience to bear on the doing of theology. Bible, church history, social analysis, and theological articulations intermingled in the program with the real-life experience of participants. Finally, CETI conceived of learning as a communal affair rather than as an individual endeavor. The entire educational process, from the design of the courses, to the outworking of the learnings, was carried out in community. At different times in a variety of ways students contributed to course creation. Learning took place in circles of participants who met regularly, supported one another in their discovery process, and held one another accountable for the commitments assumed throughout the program.

This study uncovers the generative value of CETI for Christian communities in contexts other than that in which it was created by demonstrating its distinctive features: a committed responsiveness to context within a broader global conversation, a radical evangelical perspective, an integral mission intent, a focus on the formation of all Christians through interdisciplinary dialogue, and a communal design and implementation. These features complement one another and, I propose, contribute to making CETI a
valuable framework for the design of integral mission formation programs in diverse contexts.

**Method of Investigation**

This dissertation is a missiological study and, as such, it is naturally interdisciplinary and integrative, bringing historical, educational, social ethical, and theological considerations to bear on the analysis of CETI and the subsequent proposal. Latin American missiologist Samuel Escobar describes a missiological approach as inter-disciplinary in that it “looks at missionary acts from the perspectives of the biblical sciences, theology, history, and the social sciences. It aims to be systematic and critical, but it starts from a positive stance towards the legitimacy of the Christian missionary task as part of the

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22 Missiology has been diversely defined as a field of study or as a discipline in North American and European academic circles. Presbyterian scholar, Stanley Skreslet understands missiology to be “an intersection point among the many disciplines that take an interest in mission-related phenomena.” “Missiology... properly encompasses every kind of scholarly inquiry performed on the subject of mission without necessarily subordinating any group of studies to any other.” Stanley Skreslet, *Comprehending Mission: Questions, Methods, Themes, Problems and Prospects of Missiology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2012), 12 and 15. For Indiana Wesleyan Professor, Edgar Elliston, missiology “does not have a unique or distinctive methodology. However, it does embrace components common to other academic disciplines around a theological core.” Edgar J. Elliston, *Introduction to Missiological Research Design* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2011), 1.
fundamental reason for the being of the church.”

His perspective is representative of the women and men who conceived the program studied and for whom the cleavages existing in much of North Atlantic academy between Biblical Studies, Theology, Missiology, and Ethics were a non-issue. For the communities out of which CETI grew, “Missiology is and must be thoroughly theological as it reflects critically on the Church’s praxis. Its purpose is to stimulate global commitment to the Lord of all history by promoting the doing of righteousness in the midst of God’s groaning creation.”

The present study results from an interplay between an emic and an etic approach. A balance between these is favored in qualitative research and in this

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24 Anthony Christopher Smith, “The Essentials of Missiology from the Evangelical Perspective of the ‘Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana,’” abstract (Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1983). For Orlando Costas, missiology in Latin America contrasted with that of the North Atlantic in the way in which the critical-reflection task was undertaken: “In the North, missiology usually appears as a carefully thought out, written reflection. In the South, it is mostly an oral, popular reflection which is done ‘on the road’ as it were, prompted by a significant event or a specific issue. In addition, missiology is done in connection to issues of context, vs the ‘geographically far.’” Orlando Costas, “Missiology in Contemporary Latin America: A Survey,” in *Missions and Theological Education in World Perspective*, ed. Harvie M. Conn and Samuel F. Rowen (Farmington, MI: Associates of Urbanus, 1984), 83-84.

25 The terms “emic” and “etic” were initially employed in linguistics and anthropology to differentiate between the “insider” (emic) and the “outsider” (etic) perspectives and eventually became used in other fields. See references in Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002).
study. In this case, an emic stance allows readers to appreciate the self-
definitions and perspectives of the Latin American movements studied,
recognizing that “The task is to interpret how representatives of the Latin world
perceived the discipline that is fundamental to the Church’s obedience and
which Euro-Americans have identified by the term ‘missiology’.”26 Meanwhile,
the etic stance permits the interaction with the global missiological conversation
and scholarship for mutual enrichment.

The socio-cultural and religious location of the author must be made
explicit because of its inevitable bearing on the purpose and nature of the
historical reconstruction of CETI and the broader reflection on theological
formation. Among the labels that have been attributed to me, one that fits rather
comfortably is that of a “radical evangelical Latina.” As a Latin American woman
who identifies personally with the radical evangelical movement, I choose to pay
particular attention to the role of women in the story of CETI as well as to
evaluate the contributions CETI has made to shifting gender politics in a male
dominated church and cultural context. I also trust my narrative scholarship will

26 Smith, “The Essentials of Missiology,” 3. Dana Robert charted the history of the development of
mission studies, missiology and mission theology as an academic field of study that grew to
“become foundational for theology, ecclesiology and church history.” Dana Robert, “Forty years
of the American Society of Missiology: retrospect and prospect,” Missiology: An International
contribute to “unburying” women’s participation in the larger story of world Christianity, and forge a way forward for other Latin American women in the fields of missiology, mission, and theological formation.

Secondly, as a third-culture person, born in Colombia to an Ecuadorean father and a US-American mother and reared in Argentina, my identity and

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27 Dana Robert argued that, as in other fields of history, women’s participation is being buried and must be put into the center of the scholarly agenda of “world Christianity,” because women “constitute the majority of active participants.” Dana L. Robert, “World Christianity as a Woman’s Movement,” International Bulletin of Missionary Research 30, no. 4 (October 2006): 180. Susan Smith avers that what has prevailed in the writing of mission history is an “androcentric reading of history revolving around the lives and actions of eminent missionaries and theologians such as Paul, Augustine, Aquinas, Luther, or George Carey, and prominent political figures like Constantine, Charlemagne, and Henry VIII.” What is needed is a “hermeneutic of suspicion” (Elizabeth Schuster Fiorenza) that discovers women who have been invisibilized and excluded from history. Susan Smith, Women in Mission: From the New Testament to Today (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2007), xv and 45. As an example, although Bevans and Schroeder dedicate a few paragraphs to general comments about women in mission between the years 100 and 300 AD, in their summative theological typology they name twenty-four men and not one woman. Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Shroeder, Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2006), 37.


29 “Third-culture person” derives from the term “Third Culture Kid” (TCK), which is applied to the children of diplomats, business-people, and missionaries, people who have spent a significant portion of their developmental years outside the culture of their parents and who build relationships to diverse cultures, while not having full ownership in any particular one. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCK’s life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background. David Pollock and Ruth Van Reken, Third Culture Kids: The Experience of Growing up among Worlds (London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing, 2001), 19.
perspectives are those springing from “in between-ness.” Nueva Trova protest music and Handel’s Messiah, Argentine asados and my mother’s meat loaf, anger at US intervention in Latin America and recognition of my privileges as a US citizen: all had to be integrated into a meaningful whole in my life. Further strengthening of this “inter” stance occurred through my Interdisciplinary Master’s studies in Education, Literature, and Theology, my intercultural engagement while living in several Latin American countries, and my interaction with fellow students from the global South at Boston University. In terms of religious affiliation, although I grew up in a Baptist church, I served for many years with Christian Reformed World Missions, my three biological children were baptized in St James’ Episcopal Church, and I am currently a member of an intentional Christian community a la New Friars movement in Costa Rica. My inter-denominational relations, both evangelical and ecumenical, have not been limited to Latin America but have been global in reach through movements like the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students, the International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation, Lausanne, and the World

Communion of Reformed Churches. In sum, the life-enforced exercise of
negotiating and integrating difference marked me as a person who thrives on
weaving together strands that other people may construe as incompatible and
reconciling what others may conceive as irreconcilable. In the present
reconstruction of CETI, narrative historical considerations, theological
perspectives, and missiological and ethical commitments merge in a way that
may transgress disciplinary boundaries yet results from the author’s inescapable
bridge-building vocation.

Also requiring acknowledgement is the proximity this researcher has to
the object of study. As a member of the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana for
25 years, and a daughter of two key founders of CETI, I have access to people,
material, records, and insights not readily available to the general public. Having
facilitated the certificate level of CETI for several years in El Salvador, I have
firsthand experience of the program and its impact. I have also been involved in
contextual adaptations of this curriculum for other regions of the world.
Additionally, as current provost, faculty, and board member of CETI, and a
leader of INFEMIT, I have a vested interest in seeing this program thrive in Latin America and beyond, and in providing normative leadership to the movement.

Regarding research methodology, closeness to the creators of CETI who are still alive granted me access to primary sources housed mostly in Argentina: historical records, the archives of CETI, and the various renditions of the curricula are the core material to be analyzed. Historical involvement in the program also facilitated oral interviews and correspondence with authors, faculty, students, and witnesses of the impact of the program, means I used secondarily in order to corroborate the findings gleaned through archival research.

In sum, this dissertation is the product of qualitative research and takes the form of a case study and evaluation of the formation, development, and

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31 Researchers owe particular gratitude to Guillermo Steinfeld, a theologian, pastor, and professional librarian who led CETI for a period of time and then painstakingly gathered and scanned scattered CETI documentation, making it digitally available for further use and research.

32 Alongside the benefits of insider access to sources and key actors in the story of CETI and radical evangélicos, my proximity also brings limitations. I readily admit that it is impossible for me to gain the distance necessary for a detached evaluation of people and processes. I believe, however, that this effort is valuable for at least two reasons. 1) Research is currently being done on the misión integral movement by people from outside Latin America, with the perspectives, language, and categories granted by their particular situatedness. Although this study does set the thought and work of the CETI creators in dialogue with the missiological perspectives of the North Atlantic, I am particularly committed to defining them from within, and so offering a counterpoint to the work being produced in other latitudes. 2) My work lays down a track only
dissemination of CETI among Protestant-evangelicals throughout Latin America from 1982 to 2002. Though not meant to produce generalized prescriptions, it does propose principles for integral mission formation that can then take on local shape in the context of Christianity as a worldwide religion.

Sources of the Study

Within the Kairós Foundation library in Buenos Aires, Argentina, a number of boxes contain minutes from CETI meetings, correspondence between the original creators of the program, notes of discussions held regarding course design, as well as student and faculty rosters. Also available are the initial versions of the curriculum, an essential source for unveiling the core ingredients of this missional formation program. Finally, later renditions of CETI curriculum and course guides have been stored digitally. I accessed all this material either on site in Argentina or digitally. In addition, through interviews and correspondence an insider could lay down, and is offered in hopes that other researchers may explore the movements and processes presented in further scholarship.
with faculty, administrators, and alumni, I was able corroborate written findings with local informants for the construction of the oral history of CETI.

The CETI materials constituted the core sources. In addition, I consulted the resources cited in the bibliography and especially the publications of the movements out of which CETI was generated, of individuals who were most significant in its development, and of other global evangelical networks and movements that have adopted integral mission as central to their reflection and practice, since these all yield insights into the history and missiological framework of the program.

**Limitations**

The *Comunidad de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios* is the current expression of CETI. With students, faculty and staff from across Latin America CETI, offers a hybrid format Master’s program accredited by the Association of Theological Schools in the United States and Canada (ATS) through Carey Theological College, a school of the University of British Columbia. The certificate program is running in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Cuba, Brazil, and Argentina. Contextually adapted renditions are being used in South Africa, Zambia, China, Albania, and Romania. This dissertation, however,
does not intend to study all these expressions of CETI. Rather, it deliberately limits its scope to the first 20 years, the phase running from its original conception in 1982 through its development and impact until 2002, when dean Catalina Feser Padilla stepped down. Although some references are made to other countries, most are limited to Argentina and El Salvador. While the global growth of the program falls outside the bounds of this dissertation, it is precisely this expansion that provokes the need for the study.

Two practical limitations impacted the present research. The first is related to CETI documentation in Buenos Aires. With the exception of student files—which were organized alphabetically in a filing cabinet—and the study guides and material for CETI Básico—which were compiled in well-marked boxes—, all other CETI material (reports, financial records, and so on) was scattered and uncatalogued. No archival work had been done with this important material nor with the general files of Kairós, the organization which managed CETI during the period studied. The second limitation had to do with the fact that two main actors in the creation and development of CETI, Catalina Feser Padilla and Elsie Romanenghi de Powell, died before the study. Their
absence deprived the narration of some of the thick texture which would have granted it more depth.

**Conspectus**

In order to uncover the potential of CETI for integral mission formation in relation to pressing ethical concerns in diverse contexts, the present study includes two central ingredients: 1) A historical reconstruction of the antecedents of CETI and its first 20 years, from its beginnings in 1982 until early 2000, when the original designers of the program stepped out of formal leadership. 2) An analysis of CETI, its curriculum, goals, and impact, intended to serve as a critique for the improvement of CETI, as grounding for the expansion of the program beyond its original context, and as a contribution to other processes of integral mission formation.

The historical reconstruction is developed in Chapters Two, Three and Four. Chapter Two presents the distinctive features of the Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos and the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana, the continent wide movements that offered an affective and conceptual framework to CETI, and considers the relationships of the FTL with other theological movements within Latin America and globally. This
exploration is based on FTL publications, *Kairós* and CETI archives, and personal interviews and correspondence with key people involved in the communities out of which CETI was generated. Chapter Three hones in on Argentina, introducing the *Fundación Escuela Bíblica Evangélica* of Villa María, Córdoba, and the *Comunidad Kairós* (later *Fundación Kairós*). These two organizations were committed to making theological formation accessible to the broad base of the church and constituted the local matrix within which CETI was conceived. The final sections of this chapter concentrate on the perspectives and educational practices within *Kairós* which carried through into the design of CETI and offer insights into the contributions of Catalina Feser Padilla, Sidney and Mae Rooy, and Elsie Romanenghi de Powell, key leaders in that design. Chapter Four first reviews the global concerns regarding theological education and the models available within Argentina around the time CETI was created. It then outlines the historical development of the CETI program from its formal establishment in 1982 until 2002, when it underwent a leadership transition from the pioneers to a second generation. Primary sources include *Kairós* records, CETI meeting minutes, correspondence between writing-team members, and archival records of the initial curriculum and its various renditions. Attention is drawn to alterations in the program as different people composed the CETI team, as the
program expanded its reach, and as the general historical context changed. The chapter ends with a section on the distinctive characteristics of CETI that constituted it as an alternative in theological education.

The last two chapters analyze the program. Chapter Five offers a critical analysis of the first 20 years of CETI from an educational standpoint, and portrays instances of the missional impact of the program in social-ethical terms. Finally, Chapter Six builds on the previous ones and suggests reasons why CETI constitutes a generative model of integral mission formation for evangelical movements that find themselves at the intersection between the global and the local. It also serves as a conclusion and proposes critical questions for communities seeking to construct modes of theological formation that foster missional engagement.

Definitions

*Evangélicos* and Radical Evangelicals

Given the varied theological, ecclesiological, and sociological denotations of the term “evangelical,” the usage given in this dissertation must be clarified.³³ Within

³³ Dana Robert highlighted the “interpretative challenges” posed by the “southern shift” in world Christianity and issued a caution against “defining the changing global patterns in relation to the
Latin America, a prevailingly Roman Catholic environment, *evangélico* has loosely been applied to all non-Roman Catholic Christians. “The most common understanding of the term [evangelical]” is the “very wide Latin American meaning, referring to all non-Catholic Christians.”

Latin American *evangélicos* who value historical roots see themselves as inheritors of the sixteenth century Protestant Reformation. Thanks, consequently, to this association with the Reformation, the terms “*evangélico*” and “*protestante*” are often used interchangeably within Latin America and in scholarly writing about the region.

In sum, “It is important to understand that Latin American Christianity cannot be understood in terms of North American Christianity –that goes for both Catholicism and Protestantism.”


Although within the broad *Protestante-evangélico* camp there is much diversity, some distinctive features have been identified by Latin Americans.\(^{37}\) Salvadoran theologian Emilio Antonio Nuñez characterized “evangelical theology” in Latin America as Theocentric, Bibliocentric, Christocentric, and Pneumatological.\(^{38}\) Argentine theologian and ethicist José Míguez Bonino portrayed the multiple “faces” or expressions of Latin American Protestantism in its liberal, evangelical, Pentecostal, and ethnic strands and proposed that evangelicalism is a common marker of all these “faces.”\(^{39}\)

The kinship of origin, of piety, and even of theology and the interpenetration of earlier and later missionary waves forces us to consider the phenomenon as internal to evangelical missionary Protestantism in Latin America... The identity of Latin American... changing (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975). Given the controversies surrounding the terms, Sydney E. Ahlstrom affirmed, “'Evangelicalism' is a battle-torn flag that has waved over many different Protestant encampments ever since the Reformation, sometimes over more than one at the same time.” Sydney E. Ahlstrom, “From Puritanism to Evangelicalism: A Critical Perspective,” in Ibid., 269. See also David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1989).

\(^{37}\) For a comparison between Orlando Costas’ understanding of the theological themes at the core of evangelicalism (authority of Scripture, salvation by grace through faith, conversion, and a life of morality and mission), and David Bebbington’s “quadrilateral” (conversionism, activism, crucicentrism, and Biblicalism), see “The Third World Evangelical Missiology of Orlando Costas” (Ph.D. diss., University of St Andrews, 2012), 17.


Protestantism is unthinkable if these features are excluded. Even more, I would dare say that the future of Latin American Protestantism will be evangelical or it will not be.\textsuperscript{40}

When defining himself, this Methodist minister and theologian stated:

I have been variously tagged a conservative, a revolutionary, a Barthian, a liberal, a catholic, a “moderate”, and a liberationist. Probably there is truth in all of these. It is not for me to decide. However, when I do attempt to define myself in my innermost being, what ‘comes from within’ is that I am evangélico.\textsuperscript{41}

The qualifier “radical” has specifically been applied to the Latin American evangelical thinkers who served as pioneers of the \textit{Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana} by people inside and outside the movement.\textsuperscript{42} Orlando Costas employed the term as a means to differentiate the FTL both from groups who identified fully with theologies of liberation and from those who rejected it outright. Radical evangelicals, for him, were people who sought to remain faithful to Scriptures and, at the same time, incarnated in the Latin American

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., 46.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., viii.

\textsuperscript{42} David Bosch categorized as radical evangelicals “Mennonites and others associated with journals such as \textit{The Other Side} and \textit{Sojourners}; they are especially concerned about issues of justice and include such two-thirds world theologians as René Padilla, Samuel Escobar, Vinay Samuel, and David Gitari.” David J. Bosch, ”’Ecumenicals’ and ’Evangelicals’: A Growing Relationship?” \textit{The Ecumenical Review} 40, no. 3-4 (July 1988): 459.
socio-political reality. Al Tizon characterized this brand of evangelicalism as “the unlikely combination of conservative evangelical theology and a radical orientation to faith and society.” Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroeder identified René Padilla and Samuel Escobar as “advocates of a missiology of ‘radical discipleship,’ which sees action for justice as an integral and indeed constitutive part of evangelism.”

The phrase “radical discipleship” in this usage hearkens back to 1974 when, during the Lausanne I Congress, an ad hoc group summoned by the FTL

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members present composed a document on “Theological Implications of Radical Discipleship.” Leaders from across the global South echoed with the Latin American call for a holistic understanding of the gospel and mission, and several hundred participants affirmed that “There is no biblical dichotomy between the Word spoken and the Word made flesh in the lives of God’s people. Men will look as they listen and what they see must be at one with what they hear.” The consensus around this integral perspective served as a precursor to the International Fellowship of Mission Theologians (today International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation, INFEMIT).

In this dissertation, the term “radical evangelical” is used interchangeably with “evangélicos.” Both are employed with the emic definition here presented as a means to identify this movement of “contextual evangelicalism,” whose roots


47 See Integral Mission and Global Evangelical Networks below, and Chapter Two. For a brief, yet substantive review of the impact of missionaries and third world evangelicals, like the FTL members, who “spoke back” to US-American evangelicalism, see David R. Swartz, “Embodying the Global Soul: Internationalism and the American Evangelical Left,” Religions 3 (2012): 887-901. For insight into the early discussions on the part of Two-Third World theologians that birthed INFEMIT, questioned the captivity to individualism and rationalism of Western Theology, and affirmed “We urgently need an Evangelical theology which is faithful to Scripture and relevant to the varied situations in the Third World,” see ”The Seoul declaration: toward an evangelical theology for the Third World,” International Bulletin of Missionary Research 7, no. 2 (April 1983): 64-65.
are found in the more radical strands of the sixteenth century Reformation and subsequent expressions of socially committed evangelicalism, and to differentiate it from historic fundamentalism and current brands of religious right evangelicals.48

As a result of her in-depth study of the theological work of FTL pioneers, researcher Sharon Heaney affirmed that “the defining interaction for Latin American evangelical theologians occurred within international evangelicalism.”49 She concluded that much of the theology produced by these Latin American evangelicals followed patterns familiar to evangelical thought – God’s work of salvation through Christ is good news; the Bible is authoritative as God’s word to humanity; the Holy Spirit grants understanding of Scripture;


49 Sharon Heaney, Contextual Theology for Latin America: Liberation Themes in Evangelical Perspective (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2008), 211.
conversion leads to an on-going life of discipleship and mission (sharing the
good news and God’s love for the world)—and it is trans-denominational.50 At
the same time, she uncovered certain original contributions: “the readiness to
question, reassess, and reapply traditional concepts,” the prioritization of
pastoral ministry over academic acclaim, the “courage to confront long held
presuppositions and to pursue biblical theology which will speak into desperate
circumstances with power and hope.”51 In summing up what being evangélico
means to FTL members, she affirmed:

_Evangelicalism_ in the FTL means a life of personal discipleship, dedication
to contextual biblical theology, and commitment to sharing the good news
of Jesus Christ” in every facet of a person’s existence.52

The early members of the FTL were explicitly evangélicos. At the same
time, while among them were represented diverse positions regarding dialogue
with the ecumenical movement, the leaders with direct bearing on the creation of
CETI resisted a mutually exclusive understanding of the terms “ecumenical” and
“evangelical.” They stepped over the boundaries of those camps, and sought to

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50 Ibid., 44.

51 Ibid., 245.

52 Ibid., 68.
broker respectful dialogue between their proponents. Preferring theological rather than political definitions of the terms, both Sidney Rooy and René Padilla identified as “ecumenical evangelicals.” Sidney Rooy taught at the Instituto Superior Evangélico de Estudios Teológicos (ISEDET), which served historical Protestant churches. René Padilla was an active member of the International Association for Mission Studies (IAMS), and spoke on several occasions in its global conferences. Additionally, Pedro Savage participated as FTL General Secretary in the 1978 meeting in Mexico, during which the determination was made to found the Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias (CLAI). According to Sidney Rooy, the openness of the Latin American radical evangelicals to the influence of Protestant and Roman Catholic leaders, many of which were European, was due to the importance granted by Latin Americans to praxis in

53 Sidney Rooy affirmed, “true Protestantism is ‘evangelical’ as defined by the 1916 Missionary Congress of Panama.” Sidney Rooy, e-mail to author, July 30, 2016. C. René Padilla, Discipulado y Misión: Compromiso con el Reino de Dios (Buenos Aires: Káirós, 1997), 34.

54 C. René Padilla, Mission Between the Times: Essays of the Kingdom (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), xvii. And René Padilla, e-mail to author, July 30, 2016.

55 René Padilla, e-mail to author, July 30, 2016.
the theological endeavor and to their rejection of Northern theologies that upheld a philosophical ideology as the key to truth.\footnote{Sidney Rooy, e-mail to author, July 30, 2016.}

The theology imported from North America did not take seriously Southern context and culture. The great contribution of Latin American theology from within different traditions was the call to include human experience as an essential element in the understanding of the Gospel of life. The FTL leaders affirmed this perspective.\footnote{Sidney Rooy, interview by author, Cambridge, MA, October 24, 2007.}

Samuel Escobar, Sidney Rooy, and René Padilla attested to the friendship they developed with Míguez Bonino, Mortimer Arias, Emilio Castro, and Federico Pagura. Escobar explained, “I read everything they published, though I retained my own convictions.”\footnote{Samuel Escobar, e-mail to author, July 16, 2016. See also C. René Padilla, “En memoria del Obispo Federico Pagura,” Blog de René Padilla, June 9, 2016, accessed June 10, 2016, http://www.kairos.org.ar/blog/?p=985. See also, Latinoamericana: An intentionally contextual and evangelical movement in Chapter Two. See also Raimundo C. Barreto, Jr. "Facing the Poor."} These interdenominational friendships garnered rejection from conservative evangelical circles in Latin America, but also contributed to the FTL’s ability to bring together the more extreme wings of the church.\footnote{See FTL and Interlocutors within Abya Yala in Chapter Two.} The openness of the FTL to dialogue with diverse currents and to broker the encounter between them expanded the vision of its members.
regarding mission and their commitment as agents of God’s Reign in their
color context.  

“Four-self,” Self-theologizing

In the mid-nineteenth century, mission leaders and theoreticians Rufus
Anderson and Henry Venn articulated as an important goal of mission work the
establishment of churches that were self-governed, self-supported, and self-
propagating. In reviewing this “three self theory,” church historian Justo
Gonzalez comments on their omission:

They did not envision self-interpretation or self-theologizing. They
expected theology to continue being what it was, for the meaning of the
gospel was fully understood by the sending churches, and all that the
younger ones had to do was continue proclaiming the same message.

60 Sidney Rooy, e-mail to author, June 30, 2016.


62 Justo L. Gonzalez, Mañana: Christian Theology from a Hispanic Perspective (Nashville: Abingdon, 1990), 49.
With Gonzalez, Christian thinkers outside of the West have been affirming for decades that “A mature church... must also be self-theologizing.”63 In this vein, New Testament scholar Gene Green characterizes today’s church in the Majority World as a four-self church: “The characteristic feature of global biblical interpretation and theology is the unyielding commitment to understand the faith from and to a particular social context, always with self-awareness of the interpreter’s place.”64 As a theological movement born in Latin America in 1970, the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana is an exemplar of “four-self,” and “self theologizing” in its understanding and practice of “doing mission theology.” The present study, and particularly Chapters Two and Three illustrate the self-theologizing process of this movement of Latin American evangélicos65 in the second half of the twentieth century.

63 Hwa Yung, Mangoes or Bananas? (Oxford: Regnum, 1997), 10. Methodist bishop Hwa Yung is one of the pioneers of the International Fellowship for Mission Theology and the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies.


65 See Evangélicos and Radical Evangelicals below.
During the last several decades, as Christian leaders from around the world recognized that the theologies generated in the North/West did not answer the pressing questions of their contexts, they began to construct “local theologies,” to foster fresh dialogues among Scripture, tradition, and their particular contexts.66 Within Latin America, alongside the more widely known theologies of liberation, was born a Protestant-evangelical movement, the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana (Latin American Theological Fellowship, FTL). Regarding this movement, Salinas noted:

The literature of those years fails to point out that simultaneously with liberation theologies there was a group of evangelical Latin American theologians also producing theology from Latin America. With few exceptions, historiography has either ignored or misrepresented them… A notable exception among evangelicals was British scholar J. Andrew Kirk who characterized this group of Latin Americans as the “avant garde of the Evangelical churches.” … In the mid-1980s, the Swiss historian Jean-Pierre Bastian described them as “a biblical-conservative reformist sector of intellectuals” that intends to “develop a Latin American theological thought.” … In 1990 David Stoll referred to this group as “distinctively Latin American as well as distinctively evangelical” theologians who “wanted to pursue social issues without abandoning evangelism, deal with oppressive structures without endorsing violence, and bring left-and right-wing Protestants back together again.”67


Daniel Carroll defined the FTL as “an international and interdenominational association of like-minded men and women committed to doing theological reflection on pressing contextual issues in light of the Word of God.”\textsuperscript{68}

The FTL is an indigenous Latin American movement that rests on a recovery of the historical evangelical tradition of Anabaptist, Reformed, and Wesleyan strands and seeks relevance to current life in Latin America. For the members of this movement, Scripture is central. So is the value of incarnation in all cultures. This entails both a positive dialogue with every culture, and a critique of any unreflective symbiosis between faith and particular cultures.

The FTL is a member-based movement; yet its reach far exceeds the number of formal members, and includes men and women across Latin America and beyond that associate with its vision, mission, and objectives, even if they have never paid membership dues. The movement has brought together Christians from diverse traditions in a variety of consultations through the years, as well as in the CLADE Congresses (Congreso Latinoamericano de Evangelización,

1979, 1993, 2000, 2012)\textsuperscript{69} in order to foster reflection on the demands of God’s mission in relation to the challenges of the day in all realms of church and public life. Local and national chapters meet, consultations and conferences are held, and people present and respond to papers, many of which are published in print and digital form. These publications are often identified as related to the FTL in virtue of the relationship their authors have with the movement. Concurrently, and since its inception, the FTL has sponsored an intentional publishing program. While the Boletín Teológico was published from 1972 until 1997 in a journal format, after 1997 the regular publication took on a book form, with two to three titles of the Colección FTL being published every year in partnership with Ediciones Kairós.\textsuperscript{70} A third set of publications are those generated by the CLADE Congresses. In addition, during the 1970s, the FTL published the English language Occasional Bulletin of the Latin American Theological Fellowship. Lindy Scott has been editing The Journal of Latin American Theology: Christian Reflections


\textsuperscript{70} Since 2013, books of the Colección FTL are being published through Ediciones Puma, from Peru.
from the Latino South, which, since 2006 has been available in print and digitally to libraries around the world.

Through publications, conferences, and personal relationships, the FTL has contributed a holistic emphasis to the missiological agenda of the global church and inspiration to radical evangelical theologian-practitioners from different regions, particularly to those gathered in INFEMIT (International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation) and the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies.

Doing Mission Theology

While the fact that FTL members “did not spend much time talking about missiology” might lead to the erroneous conclusion that they were not concerned about mission, the reverse is actually the case: “The Fraternity’s grasp of missiology was thoroughly conditioned by its hermeneutical approach to ‘doing theology.’” 

Rather than conceiving of theology as a pre-established body of knowledge that can be handed down from generation to generation or from centers of power or learning to others outside the centers, FTL members engaged

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in active “missionsal theologizing.”\textsuperscript{72} FTL pioneer Orlando Costas defined theology as “a systematic, critical and contextual reflection (discipline) on the faith and praxis of the Christian church in a concrete historical and social situation.”\textsuperscript{73} Faithful theologizing, in his understanding, cannot be done for its own sake: “The ultimate test of any theological discourse is not erudite precision but transformative power.”\textsuperscript{74} Andrew Kirk, an FTL founder, elaborates, “My thesis is that it is impossible to conceive of theology apart from mission. All true theology is, by definition, missionary theology for it has as its object the study of the ways of a God who is by nature missionary and a foundation text written by and for missionaries.”\textsuperscript{75} Wilbert Shenk sums up well the intimate relationship

\textsuperscript{72} Robert J. Priest, “‘Experience-Near Theologizing’ in Diverse Human Contexts,” in Globalizing Theology: Belief and Practice in an Era of World Christianity, ed. Craig Ott and Harold A. Netland (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 195.


between theology and mission in the conception of the FTL pioneers, “Authentic theology will be mission theology.”

The usage of the term “theology” in this dissertation is infused with that understanding. Furthermore, the qualifier “theo-missional” is attributed to formation in this writing as a means to highlight the inextricable relationship between theology and mission.

Contextualization and Contextual theology

In missiological circles, the term “contextualization” points to the process by means of which the gospel message takes root in particular contexts. This usage is grounded in the theological understanding of the Incarnation, God becoming human in a specific historical, geographical, socio-political context.

Contextualization… to take seriously the specificity, the scandal, of the Incarnation. God became a particular human being in a specific context.

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dealing with the perplexities, the challenges, and demands of that context.  

René Padilla identified God’s incarnation through Jesus Christ in a particular historical context as the theological underpinning for mission engagement in particular cultures. The purpose of theology, he affirmed, was the contextualization of the Gospel. Theology would serve its purpose if it grounded itself in biblical revelation as well as in the context of real life, and if it fostered obedience to Christ.

While Taiwanese theologian Shoki Coe is recognized as the person who established the term “contextualization” in the church circles linked to the World Council of Churches in 1972, radical evangelicals in Latin America had been grappling with the importance of context in all its social, historical, and cultural


dimensions since the late 1950s. As they engaged in student ministry in the universities, they recognized the need to differentiate between biblical content and the ropaje anglosajón (anglo-saxon clothing) in which North-Atlantic versions of the Gospel were wrapped and exported to the rest of the world. They realized they had to face the challenge of moving from a transplanted theology to an incarnated theology that was relevant to their reality. Contextualization, for them, was not to be conceived merely as an adaptation of an existing theology to a given culture but as the dynamic expression of the Gospel within culture. The contextualization of the gospel would not derive in a simple acceptance of all cultural mores, values, and practices and take the shape of cultural Christianity.

80 Dana Robert maintained that the concept of contextualization was “sweeping through missiological circles” in the mid 1980s. She acknowledged that although evangelicals were slower to adopt the idea than mainline Protestants and Catholics, the Latin Americans gathered in the FTL “embraced the challenge of self-theologizing in a more deliberate way.” Dana Robert, “Forty years,” 9, 10 and n. 12. See the articles in Boletín Teológico 1 (1981), particularly C. René Padilla, “La Palabra Interpretada: Reflexiones sobre Hermenéutica Contextual,” 1-8. See also Chapter Two and the discussions within the Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos.


Instead, it would prophetically confront whatever ingredients of that context were incompatible with the nature of God’s rule of justice and peace. When they reflected on the a-critical association of the Gospel with Western cultural values, the FTL pioneers reacted strongly, denouncing the “gospel of culture-Christianity” as a message of conformism that contributed to the status quo. “The racist can continue to be a racist, the exploiter can continue to be an exploiter. Christianity will be something that runs along life, but will not cut through it.” 83

FTL pioneers viewed US culture-Christians at the time as people who “oppose the violence of revolution but not the violence of war,” who “condemn all the sins that well-behaved middle class people condemn but say nothing about exploitation, intrigue, and dirty political maneuvering done by great multinational corporations around the world.” 84 In the understanding of the FTL pioneers, evangelical faithfulness to the Gospel demanded self-awareness

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regarding the contextual bias of the believer, \(^{85}\) and would be expressed in prophetic annunciation and denunciation in order to bring about social change.\(^{86}\)

While the term “contextualization” describes the process by means of which the Christian message takes shape within a given context, the complementary process, the fresh articulation of the Christian message from within particular contexts, is explained in terms of “contextual theology.”

Referring to the specificity of the Incarnation, Dietrich Werner explains,

> An authentic theology had to be equally specific. There could be no universal, no final theology, but that which gloried in its inherent, in-built obsolescence for it was true only if it sought to answer the questions and

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\(^{85}\) Said René Padilla, “I was influenced by Ortega and Gasset, ‘I am and my circumstances,’ and by Art Holmes, my Master’s supervisor, from whom I learned that our understanding of truth depends, to a great extent, on our perspective. These stances coincide with our emphasis on the need to recognize reality and to contextualize the biblical message.” René Padilla, e-mail to author, April 4, 2015.

\(^{86}\) Thanks to this liberative perspective, FTL pioneers would have judged as “cultural reductionism” the position of people like David Hesselgrave and Ed Rommen, for whom contextualization is reduced to “the attempt to communicate the message of the person, works, Word, and will of God in a way that is faithful to God’s revelation, especially as put forth in the teaching of Holy Scripture, and that is meaningful to respondents in their respective cultural and existential contexts.” David J. Hesselgrave and Edward Rommen, *Contextualization: Meanings, Methods, and Models* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989), 200.
perplexities of a particular, a specific, community in a particular and specific context.\textsuperscript{87}

The contextualization of the gospel, in sum, generates contextual theologies. All theology, then, is contextual. “There is no such thing as ‘theology’; there is only contextual theology.”\textsuperscript{88} For the FTL pioneers, the historical context was not simply the scenario in which theology was articulated and mission was carried out, but a legitimate source for the doing of theology, along with scripture and tradition.\textsuperscript{89}

Costas alluded to the thinkers associated to the FTL and INFEMIT as evangelicals with an unambiguous commitment both to the authority of Scripture and to context:

[For them] The Scriptures are normative in the understanding of the faith, the lifestyle of God’s people and the way Christians go about their theological reflection. Yet the Scriptures are not to be heard and obeyed un-historically. Indeed, the normative and formative roles of Scriptures are mediated by our contexts –context that are, generally speaking, characterized... as a reality of poverty, powerlessness, and oppression on the one hand, and religious and ideological pluralism on the other. Thus a

\textsuperscript{87} Dietrich Werner, introduction to Handbook, xxii.

\textsuperscript{88} Stephen B. Bevans, Models of Contextual Theology (Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis Books, 2005), 3. See also Schreiter, Constructing. For Latin American evangélico theologians as those portrayed in this study as well as liberationists like Gustavo Gutiérrez this was an uncontested fact.

\textsuperscript{89} For a thorough treatment of the concerns regarding contextual theology among the FTL pioneers, see Heaney, Contextual Theology. See also C. René Padilla, “La Palabra Interpretada: Reflexiones sobre Hermenéutica Contextual,” Boletín Teológico 1 (1981), 1-8, and other articles in that issue.
contextual hermeneutic appears a *sine qua non* of evangelical theology in the Two Thirds World.  

The choice to further a contextual hermeneutic for the sake of faithful living in the midst of the realities of the late twentieth century was at the heart of the vision of the CETI creators. CETI is explored in this dissertation as an educational process that both builds on and generates contextual theologies.

Transnational Belonging

In recent years, the term “transnational” is being employed in fields like sociology, political geography, and history in order to qualify identities and processes that complement, compete with or supersede national bounds. A transnational approach “focuses on relations and formations, circulations and connections, between, across and through” “the units that humans have set up to organize their collective life.”  

Although transnational membership can be achieved through different means, such as business, education, and diverse forms of affiliation,

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religion lends itself particularly well to expressions of transnational belonging. Religion works differently than ethnicity or nationality. Its message of transcendence, codification and ensuing portability, and socialization of subsequent generations, to name a few, makes religion a fertile arena for multiple memberships.92

The creators of CETI are presented in this dissertation as women and men with transnational belonging. Though living within Argentina—at least for a time—and committed to the transformation of the church and society in that context, the women and men who designed CETI drew from their multiple belongings which were the product of their cross-cultural immersion experiences and friendships, their affiliation to global evangelical networks, and their education in countries other than their place of birth.93 CETI creators


acknowledged the influence exercised on their thinking by a diversity of writers, including many from outside Latin America and especially from Europe.  

Particularly significant for the early FTL members was the impact of John Alexander Mackay’s work and life. Also important to Samuel Escobar, René Padilla, and Sidney Rooy was Lesslie Newbigin. Regarding other authors, 

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94 Samuel Escobar commented on how his missiological reflection and that of his friends, Pedro Arana and René Padilla, which had begun in the context of student ministry, “advanced qualitatively” when René and Pedro returned from Manchester and Edinburgh. Samuel Escobar, e-mail to author, July 30, 2016. Also: “I should state that I never followed a formal theological course, and thus reading was decisive. I did not always follow a proper academic path, and I was not confined by any evangelical canon.” Samuel Escobar, “Thirty books that most influenced my understanding of Christian mission,” International Bulletin of Missionary Research 34, no. 2 (Apr. 2010): 112-113. 

95 René Padilla, e-mail to author, July 18, 2016 and Samuel Escobar, “My pilgrimage,” 206-211. Through Mackay’s Preface to Christian Theology, Escobar discovered Russian philosopher Nicolai Berdiaev, Spanish writer Miguel de Unamuno, and theologian Karl Barth. Ibid. Already in 1953, on his way back to Peru from the World Baptist Youth Congress, Escobar had stopped in Buenos Aires precisely when John Mackay was delivering the Carnahan Lectures; talking personally with him for over an hour was “a defining experience” for him. Samuel Escobar, International Bulletin of Missionary Research 36 no. 4 (October 2012), 206. See also, Samuel Escobar, “La Huella de Juan A. Mackay en la Historia Peruana,” introduction to 4th edition of Juan A. Mackay, El Sentido de la Vida y Otros Ensayos (Lima: Ediciones Presencia, 1988), 5-15. 

96 After detailing all the books by Lesslie Newbigin that he had studied deeply, René Padilla concluded, “He was probably the mission theologian I most read through the years.” René Padilla, e-mail to author, July 18, 2016. Samuel Escobar affirmed, “I have an enormous debt with Newbigin from his book A Faith for this one world, onwards. He had a strong influence on the way I articulated my thinking.” Samuel Escobar, e-mail to author, July 30, 2016. And Sidney Rooy cited him as possibly his “favorite author,” who challenged him early on to see the importance of the faith community and a critical attitude towards the growing individualism of North American society. “Also helpful was Newbigin’s distinction between secularism and
Escobar highlighted the influence of Paul, in the New Testament, René Padilla, E. Stanley Jones, D.T. Niles, Rolland Allen, F.F. Bruce, Jacques Ellul, John Stott, Roman Catholic missionary Walbert Bühlman, Andrew Walls, Arthur Glasser, Eric Fife, David Adeney, Justo Gonzalez, P.T. Chandapilla, from India, and Hawaiian Ada Lum. Sidney Rooy’s perspective on the mission of the church was significantly marked by the work of Johannes Blauw, with whom he studied in Amsterdam (1961-1965). Other important influences in his missiology were Johan Bavinck, Jan Van den Berg, and Hendrik Kraemer, with whom he studied at the Free University of Amsterdam, as well as D.T Niles,

secularization, important concepts for understanding Latin American societies.” Sidney Rooy, e-mail to author, July 30, 2016.

97 “The influence of F.F. Bruce was very positive as a Bible scholar with evangelical convictions who faced the text with the tools of well studied biblical sciences without losing sight of the missiological intent of the biblical text. Particularly helpful were his rich expositions of Acts and about Paul.” Samuel Escobar, e-mail to author, July 30, 1916.


Reinhold Niebuhr, and Richard Niebuhr, with whom he became acquainted at Union Theological Seminary.\textsuperscript{100}

The early leaders of the FTL whose thinking shaped the design of the CETI curriculum were committed to articulating theology from within Latin America in order to strengthen the mission of the church within Latin America. In order to do so, they drew from the diverse sources made available to them through their transnational belonging. And as they made known their theological articulations beyond Latin America, they “reversed the trajectory of the American missionary diaspora and began to circulate in the North American evangelical world,”\textsuperscript{101} thus contributing to the cross-fertilization with progressive evangelicals in North America like Jim Wallis and Sojourners, Ron Sider and Evangelicals for Social Action, The Other Side, and Vanguard.

The generative value of CETI for the world evangelical movement rests precisely on the conjunction of transnational evangelical tradition with contextual situatedness and commitment to integral transformation modeled by the Latin American radical evangelicals who created it.

\textsuperscript{100} Sidney Rooy, e-mail to author, July 30, 2016.

The Spanish term *integral* is frequently used in reference to grains and bread when these have not been refined, and instead include all their constitutive parts. For example, *harina integral* (whole wheat flour), *arroz integral* (whole grain rice). The term is also applied to educational and health programs, to indicate their comprehensive, all encompassing, nature (*educación integral*). As Chapter Two elaborates, the application of the term *integral* to Christian mission was initiated within Latin America as a means to describe a practice that “integrates the proclamation of the Kingdom of God and its justice with the demonstration of its presence in history through the action carried out by the people of God.”  

Within the FTL’s theo-missiological framework, mission is understood to be “integral” in that it involves all the people of God expressing God’s good purposes for the world through all it is, does and says in relation to all

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dimensions of human existence. The late Orlando Costas, missiologist and member of the FTL expressed this perspective:

If we can enable Christian women and men to see the billions who have yet to hear the good news of salvation, to commit their lives to their integral evangelization, and to acquire the necessary analytical tools and communication skills to facilitate such a task; if we can enable them to have prophetic courage and confront social institutions with the demands of the gospel; and if we can foster in them a ‘spirituality for combat;’ we shall have been indeed faithful to the whole Gospel and sensitive to the fullness of the world to which God has sent us.

By overcoming the noxious dichotomy present in many evangelical circles at the time between evangelism and social action, the paradigm of misión integral birthed within Latin American evangelicalism constituted a gift to the global church. Scholar Sharon Heaney remarked,

It would be fair to say that the missiological discussion emanating from Latin America, encapsulated in the misión integral concept, is the most significant contribution which Latin American evangelicals have made internationally.

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105 Heaney, Contextual Theology, 249.
This FTL contribution was made effective through publications, transcultural friendships, and public presentations of FTL members in global fora through the years. CETI is presented in this dissertation as an articulated channel by means of which the misión integral paradigm was offered out of Latin America to the global Christian community.106

*Misión integral* and global evangelical networks

Global evangelical networks are both agents and products of globalization processes. By involving Christians from different linguistic, cultural, social, and religious contexts, they foster the development of a new sense of identity negotiated between local rootedness and belonging to a global body.107 Like the roads cleared by the Pax Romana of the first century, these networks open the way for exchange and mutual influence. They serve as conduits for “global

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theological flows.”\textsuperscript{108} So, although mission as integral transformation was most comprehensively articulated by FTL members within Latin America, it has become a recognized paradigm in mission far beyond, and is currently being furthered by these networks of global reach: The International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation, Micah Global, and the Lausanne Movement.

\textit{International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation (INFEMIT)}

The original name of the International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation was International Fellowship of Evangelical Mission Theologians. Though in gestation since 1974, during Lausanne I, gaining force during the Lausanne gathering in Pattaya in 1980, and gathering formally since 1982, this international network was officially formed in 1987. It birthed the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies, Regnum Books International, and

\footnote{\textsuperscript{108} Robert J. Schreiter defines global theological flows as “theological discourses that, while not uniform or systemic, represent a series of linked, mutually intelligible discourses that address the contradictions or failures of global systems. They… speak out of the realm of religious beliefs and practices. They are not uniform or systemic, because of their commitment to specific cultural and social settings. Yet they are intelligible to discourses in other cultural and social settings that are experiencing the same failure of global systems and who are raising the same kind of protest.” Robert J. Schreiter, \textit{The New Catholicity: Theology between the Global and the Local} (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004), 16. I propose that the theology of misión integral constitutes another global theological flow alongside the ones on Schreiter’s list (liberation, feminism, ecology and human rights).}
Transformation journal. Led by a global Networking Team composed of women and men, leaders from almost every continent, and holding an annual Stott Bediako Forum on Issues in Mission, INFEMIT today defines itself as “a Gospel-centered fellowship of mission theologian-practitioners that serves local churches and other Christian communities so we together embody the Kingdom of God through transformational engagement, both locally and globally.”109 The Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana is one of several regional fellowships which compose INFEMIT.110

Micah Global

The Micah Network, established in 1999, and known today as Micah Global, is currently composed of 569 member organizations and individuals committed to integral mission. According to René Padilla, its creation constituted “one of the most significant phenomena of today’s global Evangelical ecclesial

109 “INFEMIT Mission Statement,” accessed August 2, 2014, www.infemit.org. Current leadership includes Seblewengel Daniel (Ethiopia) and Benhardt Quarshie (Ghana) for Africa, Munther Isaac (Palestine) for the Middle East, Corneliu Constantineanu (Romania) and Wonsuk Ma (OCMS) for Europe, Las Newman (Jamaica) for the Caribbean, Gift Kanthamanee (Thailand) for Asia; Al Tizon (USA) for North America, Marcelo Vargas (Bolivia) and Ruth Padilla DeBorst (Costa Rica) for Latin America. At the moment of writing the Asian representation is vacant.

110 See From Latin America to the World, in Chapter Two.
scene.” The objective of the network is to motivate and equip a global community of Christians to embrace and practice integral mission. Its core document, the Micah Network Declaration on Integral Mission, states:

Integral mission or holistic transformation is the proclamation and demonstration of the gospel… in integral mission our proclamation has social consequences as we call people to love and repentance in all areas of life. And our social involvement has evangelistic consequence as we bear witness to the transforming grace of Jesus Christ.

The board of Micah Global is globally representative. The vision is carried out through national, regional, and global conferences and consultations, as well as through articles and publications. INFEMIT serves as the theological working group of Micah Global.

The Lausanne Movement

The Lausanne Movement is the contemporary expression of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization and the broadest expression of global evangelicalism. Although since its inception in the mid-1970s this organization

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has housed differing and conflicting perspectives regarding the nature of
evangelization and its relationship to social responsibility, one strong strand,
predominantly representative of regions other than the North Atlantic, affirms
and nourishes a holistic perspective.¹¹³

Formation for integral mission

The Spanish term formación is most often translated into English as
“training” when it refers to education. However, whereas the term “training”
tends to point to the acquisition of technical skills, formación denotes a more
integrated process that aims at the whole-life development of participants and
includes not only cognitive or skill acquisition, but also emotional, ethical,
spiritual, aesthetic, and social growth. Because of this broader denotation, it has
sometimes come to be transposed into English as “formation,” in order to
describe educational processes aimed at the fuller transformation of people.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ For perspectives regarding the Lausanne movement from within the FTL, see articles in Journal of Latin American Theology: Christian Reflections from the Latino South 6, no. 2 (2011). See also Misión Integral: From Latin America to the World, in Chapter Two.

¹¹⁴ An example of this is the transposition of the term “formación” into English in the context of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students in order to describe the educational efforts of this network of national movements dedicated to Christian discipleship and witness among university students around the world. See, for example, “IFES Europe – Student Leadership

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The term is used in that sense in this dissertation, and applied to the formation of women and men for integral mission. It is the contention of the author that misión integral is both the purpose and a means of theological formation, a holistic engagement with all dimensions of life that transcends the dichotomies of secular vs sacred, and social vs personal. Radical evangelicals conceived of the theological task as one directed towards mission in the world. Chapters Four and Five expound on the formation process CETI sought to foster, one through which, in an ascending formation spiral, the faithful practice of mission births the doing of theology, which in turn nourishes transformative mission.

Reign of God

A key theme in Latin American theology and mission practice is the Reign or Kingdom of God. In the case of the FTL, the first continental gathering after its foundation was titled “The Kingdom of God and Latin America” (Lima, December 1972). Considerations regarding the nature of God’s reign, as revealed in Scripture and proclaimed and inaugurated by Jesus, as well as its

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ethical implications for the life and mission of the church have remained central to this movement ever since. What follows is an extremely brief overview of the concept as it was cast in the initial years of the FTL.

Bullón summed up an FTL definition of the Reign of God as the conjunction of “utopia-historical project-values.” Padilla explained this already but not yet stance:

The Kingdom of God has become a present reality in history, in the person and work of Jesus Christ... [The Kingdom] is as much present as future... It refers to the power of God in action—the royal power of God which, anticipating the end, manifests itself in the present through Jesus Christ and will manifest itself in the future in all its fullness.

Within this view, God’s rule is translated into God’s mission (Missio Dei), from which derives the vocation of the church in history.

To speak of the Kingdom of God is to speak of God’s redemptive purpose for the whole creation and of the historical vocation that the church has with regard to that purpose here and now, ‘between the times’... The mission of the church can be understood only in light of the Kingdom of God.

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116 H. Fernando Bullón, El Pensamiento Social Protestante y el Debate Latinoamericano sobre el Desarrollo (Grand Rapids, MI: Libros Desafío, 2013), 293.


118 Padilla, Mission Between, 186.
The church contributes to God’s mission when in all it is, does, and says as a new humanity it bears witness to Jesus Christ.\(^{119}\)

Emphasizing the liberative intent of the *evangélicos radicales*, José Míguez Bonino detailed the ethical values intrinsic to the rule of the king who chooses a different way of ruling, the way of the cross. This is a king who exercises “authority according to God’s will, who cares for the poor, who offers himself for his people, who announces and inaugurates the year of God’s liberation” and rejects violence.\(^{120}\) Costas declared that the fundamental problem with Christendom projects was that they confused the Kingdom of God with the institutional church, the gospel with culture, and the power of the cross with the power of the sword.\(^{121}\) Finally, in a more recent essay, Padilla summed up the connection between the understanding of the Reign of God and the liberative mission of the church.

Integral mission is the means designed by God for the church to manifest the presence of the kingdom of God within history, in the midst of the kingdoms of the world and over against every form of imperialism, and to


bear witness to God’s purpose of love and justice revealed in Jesus Christ, in the power of the Holy Spirit.122

This study uncovers the potential of CETI to further this understanding of the Reign of God and the consequent missional practice.

Missio Dei

The Latin term Missio Dei (mission of God) describes a mission paradigm which, as the phrase indicates, sets the focus on God rather than on human institutions, affirming that “mission [is] founded in God’s Trinitarian nature.”123 Art McPhee traced the development of both term and concept, and attributed to Karl Barth the initial usage, made public in a paper presented at the Brandenburg Missionary Conference in 1932, in which he stated that missio Dei is “an expression of the doctrine of the Trinity—namely the expression of the divine sending forth of self, the sending of the Son and Holy Spirit to the world.”124 A couple years later Karl Hartenstein “began using the term missio Dei to describe


mission as an attribute and activity of God.” Next, during the 1952 Willingen Conference of the International Missionary Council, although the term *missio Dei* was not formally employed, the paradigm was named and expanded to include the sending of the church into the world. It was finally Georg Vicedom who fully fleshed out the paradigm in his 1958 book, *Missio Dei*, translated into English in 1965. At a time in which many people were decrying the entire missionary enterprise and calling for a moratorium in missions, he recast the debate. By more fully developing the connection between God’s mission, God’s kingdom under Christ’s lordship, and God’s church – composed by disciples and constituting the tool of mission under the impulse of the Holy Spirit – Vicedom shifted the focus. At stake was not essentially the legitimacy of missions but the actual renewal of the church so that it would be true to its missionary calling.

We cannot speak of ‘the mission of the church’, even less of ‘our mission’. Both the church and the mission have their source in the loving will of God… Both are only tools of God, instruments through which God fulfills His missionary intention… God makes his claim clear by first achieving

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126 Ibid., 7.

the mission through Himself… Mission is based on the activity of God himself.\textsuperscript{128}

Although not without contestation, the \textit{missio Dei} paradigm eventually grew in acceptance across traditional Roman Catholic, ecumenical, and evangelical lines, during the 1980s. By then, the concept had “created a common theological framework in which holistic missiologies inclusive of both evangelism and social justice, salvation, and liberation, could cohere.”\textsuperscript{129}

The expositions of Chapter Two and Three demonstrate that, in contrast with the contestations in North America and Europe at the time, the understanding of Christian mission in the world as an incarnated expression of the mission of the Triune God was present among the Latin American \textit{evangélico} movements out of which CETI was birthed from the very beginning, in the early 1960s.


\textsuperscript{129} Robert, “Forty years,” 6.
Priesthood of all Believers

One of the central tenets of the 16th century Reformation was the concept of the priesthood of all believers, which was drawn from New Testament teaching and synthesized in the words registered in a letter from the apostle Peter to the early Christians spread across the Roman Empire. “But you are a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God’s special possession, that you may declare the praises of him who called you out of darkness into his wonderful light.” Ever since then, the phrase has been used to counter a strict distinction between clergy—ordained priests, pastors and ministers—and non-ordained people, known as “laity,” and between religious and secular realms. According to this tenet, all Christians have access to God through Christ, and receive gifts and callings from the Holy Spirit for Christian ministry in the world.

Early in the 20th century, Rolland Allen articulated this perspective in relation to the mission work of men and women. Every Christian, he insisted, is “a missionary in his ordinary daily work, not merely outside it, and part of the time.” “The professional missionary secularizes all the work which he does not

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130 1 Peter 2.9 New International Version.

131 The term “laity” is derived from the ancient Greek laós, which simply means people.

132 Roland Allen, Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours? (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1962), 81.
recognize as religious work; the non-professional missionary consecrates all work.”\textsuperscript{133} Years later, mission administrator Max Warren similarly affirmed,

> The minister of the sacrament may be a shop-steward on the floor of a factory; a management consultant; a doctor or a nurse in a hospital; a teacher opening windows in the minds of pupils; a translator pursuing an elusive word to give sense to what he is translating; a hostess whose home is ever open to any visitor; the man or woman struggling across the desert of learning a foreign language; that through them the Word made flesh may win his way and ‘pass the low lintel of the human heart’.\textsuperscript{134}

The mid-to-late 20\textsuperscript{th} century FTL pioneers shared this perspective, which echoed with the emphasis in the World Council of Churches of “de-professionalizing” the mission field and focusing on the laity, with the democratizing impact of Vatican II which put the Bible in the hand of common people and opened the door for Mass to be led in vernacular languages, and with the broader decolonization conversations in the social sciences and missiology. Orlando Costas called for “a revolution in current missionary strategy. For if the modern church has failed in anything it is in its ecclesiastical professionalism, in the anti-biblical distinction that is has made between professional minister and

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., 82.

\textsuperscript{134} Warren, \textit{I Believe}, 178.
lay person.” René Padilla highlighted the need for a “new reformation,” one that recognized that “service to God is a responsibility and privilege of the ‘common and ordinary’ members of the church, the ‘laity’ dedicated to God ‘in the world.’” Samuel Escobar affirmed the importance of the Declaration of Curitiba which stated, “Mission commits all Christians in the entirety of their lives. The priesthood of all believers cannot be replaced by the mistaken exclusive notion that considers only professional missionaries.” At the core of the motivation, the purpose, and the design of CETI was the desire on the part of its founders to further the understanding and practice of this equalizing vision in church and mission.

*La Realidad* (reality) and Conscientization

The term *la realidad* is of common usage in Latin America in reference to the general, concrete, historical situation. It includes all dimensions of human

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138 The term “reality” is used in this dissertation as a translation of *realidad*, with the same connotation as the Spanish term.
experience, matters social, economic, political, religious, and ecological. It was particularly employed since the 1960s in educational and political circles concerned with conscientización, awakening the critical consciousness of people in relation to the conditions within their countries that alienated great sectors of the population from the decision-making processes which affected them. Critical education sought to foster awareness of la realidad as a first step in mobilizing people for social transformation. ¹³⁹ FTL pioneers and the creators of CETI understood this awareness to be an essential ingredient in the creation of contextual theology and, consequently, a necessary component in theological education.

¹³⁹ A key publication was Paulo Freire, Education for critical consciousness (New York: Continuum, 1973).
During the last third of the 20th century, a group of radical evangelical friends within Latin America shared a deep and urgent concern regarding the relevance of Christian faith and practice in a “context marked by revolutionary fervor and the pervasive ills of poverty, oppression, and mounting militarization.”

They became aware of the need to shape a theology that engaged with the issues of their context, ones for which their theological studies in prestigious North-Atlantic universities provided no response.

Two interrelated Latin American movements, the Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos (CIEE) and the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana (FTL), became the communities within which these friends would develop a contextual mission theology that in time came to be known as misión integral. The ethos, method, and intent of these communities shaped the creation and design of the program on which this dissertation centers, the Centro de Estudios Teológicos

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Interdisciplinarios (CETI), and offered it foundational theological and
missiological narratives, commitments, perspectives, and language.  

This chapter begins with a broad stroke depiction of the socio-political
context of the second half of the twentieth century in Abya Yala as presented by
the central actors of the CIEE and the FTL. It then focuses on the distinctive
characteristics of these radical evangélico movements, 3 presenting those features

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2 Discussions about the power of community to make meaning and ascribe identity to their
members are rich and varied in the intersection of religion, politics, sociology, and literature. The
usage of the terms “community” and “movement” in this study are informed by these
discussions. As he analysed the modern nation and its pretenses to determine identity, values
and loyalty, Benedict Arnold described as “imagined” those communities that are socially
constructed and include people who are never in physical proximity to one another. The supreme
eexample are nations, social constructs made possible especially through the expansion of print
media. Benedict Arnold, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism
(London: Verso, 1991). In contrast, ethicist Jean Elshtain insisted on the importance of “really
existing” communities. Jean Bethke Elshtain, “Really Existing Communities,” Review of
International Studies 25, no. 1 (Jan 1999): 141-146. Peggy Levitt proposes that global religious
affiliation offers a “transnational gaze.” Peggy Levitt, “Redefining the Boundaries of Belonging:
The Transnationalization of Religious Life,” in Everyday Religion: Observing Modern Religious Lives,
emphasized the power of narrative in the construction of identity and community: “Our
individual and collective lives come to have meaning and purpose insofar as they join the larger
cast of characters enacting, reenacting and perpetuating the larger narrative.” We are “made by
our stories.” Christian Smith, Moral Believing Animals: Human Personhood and Culture (New York:
Oxford University Press, 2003), 78. Positing a narrative epistemology, Margaret Somers affirmed
that, “It is through narrativity that we come to know, understand and make sense of the social
world, and it is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social identities.”

3 The Spanish term movimiento, translates into the English “movement” and is similarly attributed
to “a group of people who share the same aim and work together to achieve it.” Macmillan
Dictionary. Its usage in Latin America, however, is far broader than in North America, where
groups tend to institutionalize more promptly, and is employed in reference to people grouped
together for a multiplicity of purposes.
that served as grounding for CETI and became identifiable characteristics of this formation program. Although each of these is a movement in its own right, the FTL is here presented as a natural outgrowth and maturation of the CIEE.4

**Latin American Context in the Mid-Twentieth Century**

The development of the *Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios* can only be thoroughly comprehended when viewed within the socio-political, economic, and religious context of the time during which it took shape, or, more precisely, within the reading of that context on the part of the creators of the program. Although the portrayal of Latin American reality in the mid 20th century could draw on a rich array of historical sources, this brief account is gleaned from public documents produced by members of CETI’s communities of origin, and so

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4 It is virtually impossible to trace a solid dividing line between both movements in the accounts of their founders. Although many FTL members have never been involved in the CIEE and not all the CIEE leaders became members of the FTL, the same people pioneered both movements and served as their initial leaders. The development of the FTL cannot be understood if its origins in the student movement are not accounted for in terms of people, ethos, method, and intent. Within FTL and CIEE circles, there is an acknowledgment of the bonds between the two movements. What is not clear is which is the “daughter” and which the “mother.” The CIEE vision engendered that of the FTL while, at the same time, the thinking articulated by FTL members nourishes that of the CIEE. Mexican historian Carlos Mondragón presents the CIEE as one of two concurrent Christian student movements in Latin America that serve as precursors of the theological work articulated later in both Protestant and Evangelical circles. These are the *Movimiento Estudiantil Cristiano* (MEC/FUMEC) and the *Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos* (CIEE). See Mondragón, “Los movimientos.”
points to the high value these communities attributed to social consciousness in their theological and educational task.

The 1969 Evangelical Declaration of Bogota characterized the Latin American situation as a “critical [one] of underdevelopment, injustice, hunger, violence and despair.” A year later, and although it mainly focused on the authority and historical relevance of Scripture, the “Evangelical Declaration of Cochabamba” also alluded to the “dramatic” and “complex” social, political and economic reality of Latin America. Participants in the Evangelical Consultation of Social Ethics, held by the FTL in Lima in July of 1972, engaged head on with this reality, seeking to discern how commitment to Jesus Christ would spell itself out in “incarnated commitment” in a continent in crisis. In their 1979 Carta de CLADE II al Pueblo Evangélico de América Latina, FTL members and conference participants affirmed,


7 C. Rene Padilla, ed., Fe Cristiana y Latinoamérica Hoy (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Certeza, 1974). This edited volume included the papers presented during the 1972 FTL consultation on Social Ethics and evidenced the prominence of concern for the Latin American reality from the very inception of the FTL.
We have heard the cry of those who suffer. We have raised our eyes to our continent and witnessed the drama and tragedy of our people in this era of spiritual disquiet, religious confusion, moral corruption, and social and political convulsion. We have heard the clamor of those who hunger and thirst for justice, of those who are deprived of the most basic sustenance, of marginalized ethnic groups, of destroyed families, of women denied their rights, of young people surrendered to vice or pushed to violence.8

Early in the century, the mood among Latin American Protestants had been hopeful; they had expressed much confidence in the power of the Gospel allied to progressive government policies for the transformation of the world.9 However by the second half of the century, the iron tentacles of the global Cold War had begun to grip the region while the superpowers of the day utilized Latin America as testing grounds for their proxy wars.10 By the 1960s, right wing military dictatorships had taken over most countries in the region, bolstered by the more or less ostensive support of the National Security ideology of the


United States. Poverty, inequality, violence, and repression intensified. Few tasted the expected progress; dissatisfaction and unrest rippled through the continent. Peaceful reform and “developmentalism” were perceived by many as ineffective, and violent revolution seemed to many the only way out of poverty and inequality in the continent. The two evangelical movements out of which CETI was generated took root in the midst of this “revolutionary situation,”


which was accompanied by the expanding Protestant presence in Latin America.\textsuperscript{13}

The Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos

Leaders of ten evangelical student movements from around the world founded the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES) in Boston in 1947.\textsuperscript{14}

The Latin American expression of this Fellowship, the Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos (CIEE), was formally constituted in 1958 in Cochabamba, Bolivia, building on preceding initiatives in various countries of the region.\textsuperscript{15}


\textsuperscript{14} For an account of the founding of IFES, see See Pete Loman, \textit{The Day of His Power: A History of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students} (Leicester, UK: InterVarsity Press. 1983). According to Robin Boyd, IFES broke out of the Student Christian Movement during the 1920s because of differences regarding biblical interpretation. Although marks of the SCM in its origins included the centrality of Christ, Bible study, serious intellectual inquiry, mission understood not only as overseas, but also as political and social concern including tackling race discrimination, and impact in the university, proximity to churches, prayer and worship, women’s ministry, lay leadership, and interfaith dialogue, eventually the focus of the movement concentrated on political stances, and the centrality of the Bible, theology, church, and mission weakened. Robin Boyd, “The witness.” The IFES currently identifies as “a community of national student movements engaging the university with the good news of Jesus. “We are IFES,” accessed October 12, 2015, http://ifesworld.org/en.

\textsuperscript{15} Carlos Mondragón presented what to him were the key contrasting features between the CIEE and the FUMEC, the student ministry connected to the World Council of Churches: the differing importance granted to the Bible, to evangelism, and to the church. He cited leaders of the FUMEC regretting the loss of evangelical piety in their movement. For example, looking back to the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century, Fay Campbell said, in 1955 “We lost direction. We were not sure of Jesus Christ.
Certain features of this global community made it fertile ground for the generation of theological articulations and missional practices that were intentionally both evangelical as well as Latin American, born out of and seeking to be relevant to that context. Among these features, which marked the ethos, method, and intent of the CIEE, and became markers of the FTL, were 1) The emphasis on local initiative and autonomy; 2) The sense of community: women and family in ministry; and 3) The promotion of biblically based and interdisciplinary discipleship expressed in mission for integral transformation.

1) Emphasis on local initiative and autonomy

All IFES-linked movements shared values and commitments such as a focus on discipleship, prayer, and Bible study, as well as the aim of producing graduates who would bring their faith to bear on all areas of personal and public life, build up the church, and produce creative Christian thought and literature. Moreover, the autonomy of national movements and the emphasis on student responsibility

studied books on ethics and books about the Bible, but we did not study the Bible. We forgot how to pray... We were going to free the world of poverty, illness and war in one generation. But the day is clearing again. There are signs. Once again the call to evangelism must gain meaning for us.” Reviewing the 1960s and 1970s, Hugo Magaña Aguilar later lamented “one of the basic errors” of the FUMEC, the replacement of church membership by political commitments. Mondragón, “Los movimientos,” 5-6.
was agreed upon from the very inception of the international organization.\textsuperscript{16} Said one of the narrators of IFES’ history: “The faith that the Christians in each country could be trusted to know best the ways of working appropriate to their culture was… what made it possible for the Fellowship to come together.”\textsuperscript{17} This appreciation of local initiative was crucial for student ministry in the revolutionary situation of Latin America in the mid-20\textsuperscript{th} century, when suspicion towards North America was particularly acute and universities were rife with protest and rebellion.\textsuperscript{18} The entrepreneurial leadership of IFES’ General Secretary, Australian Stacey Woods, offered latitude for Latin American leaders to hone their own models of discipleship and mission, free from the imposition of prefabricated and foreign patterns.\textsuperscript{19} Instead of simply adopting the general


\textsuperscript{17} Loman, \textit{The Day}, 80.

\textsuperscript{18} See Escobar, “My pilgrimage,” 207.

\textsuperscript{19} Pete Loman portrayed Stacey Woods, first General Secretary of IFES, as a “strong campaigner for the autonomy of each national movement.” At the beginning “administrative superstructures were kept to an absolute minimum so that money was directed to the work on the campuses.” This was based on the conviction that students could carry out the job, that the Holy Spirit was at work, and that ordinary people had been granted gifts for ministry. Loman, \textit{The Day}, 82, 83.
IFES statement of faith and objectives, for example, CIEE leaders hammered out their own. Although they drew on experiences and models from other latitudes, and maintained significant relationships within and beyond the global IFES network, CIEE leaders developed their own contextual models rather than simply replicating others. The emphasis on local autonomy was also embodied by the small team of Latin American regional staff in relation to national initiatives: their meager budget and the long distances between university cities left ample room for student initiative and for the local movements to develop their own indigenous character. In this way, the CIEE grew as a self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting movement, and the ground was plowed for

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20 Samuel Escobar traced to his 1959 encounter with John Stott as “The beginning of a long friendship that was decisive in my missionary career.” Samuel Escobar, “My pilgrimage.”

21 The first “Seminario Continental” of the CIEE was held in 1966. According to Samuel Escobar, the month-long design was strongly influenced by the experience shared the year before by Luis Santiago Botero, Pedro Arana, René Padilla, René Castro, Samuel Escobar, and their families at an IFES Conference at Casa Moscia (Laggo Maggiore, Switzerland) with Hans Burki. The program was designed for an entire month as a means to strengthen the sense of community. Samuel Escobar, interview by author, Valencia, Spain, June 13, 2015. René Padilla retold how the Latin American leaders chose to diverge from the model, however, by proposing that participants spend an entire week doing literacy training in a poor neighborhood of Lima. When he consulted with Stacey Woods, the General Secretary of IFES (1947-1972) expressed surprise and asked what that activity had to do with Christian discipleship. Padilla explained that the CIEE team believed it was essential that Christian university students become exposed to the realities of their countries and that their training include capacity building for service of the poor. Woods’ response was simply: “I never would have thought of that; but you know your context best, so go right ahead.” C. René Padilla, interview by author, Buenos Aires, September 15, 2014.
the growth of an articulated evangelical mission theology in Latin American soil through the self-theologizing of the FTL.

2) The sense of Community: Women and Family in Ministry

The fact that the term Comunidad (community) was built into the very name of the CIEE indicated how central fellowship was to the movement’s self-identification. Fellowship was nurtured at local, regional, and global levels, and it bridged gender, national, and denominational barriers. Unlike those in wealthier regions of the world, universities in Latin America had no expansive campuses or student residences. So hospitality played a key role in the growth of the national movements. Meetings were often held in the homes of staff workers like Venezuelan Emma and her Peruvian husband, Pedro Arana, Peruvians Lilly and Samuel Escobar, US-born Catalina and her Ecuadorean husband, Rene Padilla.22 With no budget for hotel stays and with a commitment to building

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22 Samuel Escobar issues a necessary historiographical note: “For every person mentioned in missionary history there are thousand whose names are never chronicled, though they are equally important. One effect of the idea of looking at history and at scripture through the eyes of the poor will be the development of a new way of writing missionary history and evaluating missionary activity.” Samuel Escobar, Changing Tides, 154. In a humble attempt in that direction, this dissertation includes references to the women who worked alongside the men whose names are far more familiar. Also, when invited to write a chapter on her father, René Padilla, this author requested the privilege to portray her mother. See Padilla DeBorst, “Catharine Feser Padilla.”
community, CIEE staff ate and lodged in each other’s homes. Friendship became the matrix out of which convictions were born as these women and men shared personal and family concerns, wrestled with the challenges of the context over meals, and celebrated their culture with autochthonous song. Although not always present in formal conferences and training events, Catalina, Emma, Lilly, and other wives of staff members contributed significantly to nourishing relationships and strengthening the sense of community. Additionally, in this familial atmosphere, women were encouraged to take on leadership roles and were granted space to teach students alongside their male counterparts even when only a few of them had public roles on the university campuses. These women as well as foreign missionaries like Ruth Siemens, Miriam Lempke, Felicity Houghton, Deni Sison, Sheila Dale, and Latin Americans like Nelly García, Carmen Perez, Neuza Itioka, and Irma Iskuche exercised a ministry of teaching through hospitality.

Visits by Hawaiian Ada Lum, who taught Bible study methods in student movements around the world, are illustrative of the space available for women

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23 See Samuel Escobar’s references to his wife, Lilly Artola Escobar in “My pilgrimage,” 206-211.

24 See Table 1 for a depiction of the places of origin and of ministry of these women.
to put their capacities to the service of the common cause and of the international
network of belonging promoted by the IFES.

Since the beginning, the CIEE has been at the forefront of women in
leadership in Christian work, with scores of women staff and many national
movements headed up by female General Secretaries. Since 1984 and to date, the
publishing houses related to the student movements in the region have all been
directed by women: Ediciones Puma in Perú, by María Ester Martinez; Ediciones
Lámpara in Bolivia, by Lourdes Cordero; Certeza Argentina by Beatriz Buono,
Certeza México by Ana Bello; and Certeza Unida by Ruth Padilla DeBorst.

Women in leadership of the student movement in Argentina during the time
studied include Beatriz Bueno, Silvia Shaves, Olga Horwitz, Graciela Jordán,
Graciela Berchansky de Fernández Arjona, Silvia Buxó.\(^{25}\)

Quadrennial World Assemblies and more frequent Latin American-wide
gatherings, publications, and prayer bulletins contributed to the sense of
affiliation within a broader community. Additionally, as students moved from
their country of origin to another for studies, they built up new movements and
strengthened the bonds between existing ones across national borders. A shared

\(^{25}\) Women referred to in Adriana Powell, *Una familia en misión* (Buenos Aires: Asociación Bíblica
Universitaria Universitaria, 1988).
radical evangelical stance was coupled with a generous posture regarding
diverse denominational traditions within the broad Protestant-Evangelical camp.
Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Brethren, Pentecostals, all were welcome in
this ever-growing network of caring relationships which, in time, would serve as
the bedrock of the nascent FTL.

Table 1. Women in the student ministry with the CIEE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Country/countries of service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruth Siemens</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Peru and Brazil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miriam Lempke (later Luster)</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Mexico and Paraguay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine Feser Padilla</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lily Artola Escobar</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma Arana</td>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>Perú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felicity Houghton</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Chile and Bolivia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelly García</td>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>Mexico and Costa Rica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonica VanderMeyer</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Angola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deni Sison</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmen Perez Camargo</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuza Itioka</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irma Iskuche</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>USA and Chile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercedes Nakachi</td>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheila Dale</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silvia Roitberg</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Indigenous people of Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucy Larrahondo</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Uruguay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruth Padilla DeBorst</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Ecuador, Argentina, El Salvador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ediana Marin</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Panamá, Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karla Ramos</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>Uruguay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26 The non-exhaustive list shows the mobility of women in mission in the context of the Latin American student movements affiliated to the CIEE-IFES.
3) Interdisciplinary discipleship and integral mission

The CIEE pioneers in Abya Yala sustained high appreciation for the Bible; yet for them, full-orbed discipleship included far more than spiritual disciplines and personal piety. Students and young graduates were called to bring their faith to bear on their study, on the exercise of their discipline and professional practice, and on all areas of personal, familial, and social life. The CIEE team pursued this objective through personal mentorship, educational programs, and publications.

*Ediciones Certeza*, the publishing house of the Spanish-speaking student movements, and the regular *Certeza* magazine (with a circulation of 10,000 and a readership of some 50,000 people by 1982) included topics as varied as science, literature, anthropology, philosophy and politics, poetry and Bible studies in a format and language accessible to the general university population.²⁷

The visit of IFES’ Hans Burki to Latin America in 1965 exemplifies the interdisciplinary bent of the movement as well as its transnational identity.

Samuel Escobar notes that Burki lectured in universities on literature,

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²⁷ Loman, *The Day*, 198. Founded in Argentina in 1958 by Alejandro Clifford, *Ediciones Certeza* was later directed by Samuel Escobar and then by René Padilla. After a period under the tutelage of InterVarsity Press, USA (1982-1995), the publishing model changed, as did the name. Since 1995, *Certeza Unida* operates as the joint effort of the national publishing houses linked to the CIEE/IFES Spanish speaking movements from Argentina, Bolivia, Perú and Spain under the leadership of Ruth Padilla DeBorst.
philosophy, and education in addresses such as “Biblical faith and existentialism,” “Christian ethics and contemporary psychology,” “Pestalozzi: humanism and Christianity in conflict.” The integration of faith and the various academic disciplines, however, was not an end in itself; instead it was recognized by CIEE leadership as a necessary means for service in the world, especially in favor of the least advantaged sectors of society.

A “watershed event” in the history of the Christian student groups in Latin America and exemplary of interdisciplinary discipleship for societal transformation, was the conference “Jesus Christ: Lordship, Purpose and Mission.” Held in Curitiba, Brazil, in July of 1976, it constituted a clear “call to see every structure of Brazilian life and every country of the world as a mission field.” Among the fruits of this conference were doctors moving to poverty stricken areas of the country; dentists, dieticians, social scientists and engineers serving in slums and with relegated indigenous populations; a creative writing workshop; the consolidation of a fellowship of Christian psychologists and psychiatrists; and ministry in Angola and Mozambique. Discipleship in the CIEE

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30 Ibid.
was radical and directed towards the transformation of all that needed change in society.\textsuperscript{31}

**From Continental Student Ministry to Self-theologizing**

The CIEE was an *evangélico* movement intent on inviting students to know and follow Jesus. At the same time, the friends shared the conviction that being *evangélico* was a matter of life-style more than merely a theological position,\textsuperscript{32} so if they were going to influence students to live out their faith and not simply assent to a set of doctrines, they needed to engage with the broader context. The task ahead, then, was to move from a transplanted theology to one incarnated in the soil of Abya Yala.\textsuperscript{33} They understood that the time had come for them to work for themselves “on an evangelical theology that would be faithful to [their]  

\textsuperscript{31} In the same vein Escobar, issued a call to 12,000 college students and InterVarsity staff at the 1970 Urbana Mission Conference “Christ the Liberator,” saying that it is possible to “witness to the power of God to liberate us from sin, if we are able also to show by word and deed that we are being liberated from those sins of social injustice, social prejudice, abuse, and selfish individualism.” This address was published as Samuel Escobar, “Social Concern and World Evangelism,” in *Christ the Liberator*, ed. John Stott (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1971), 103-113. A fuller explanation of radical discipleship, contextual theologizing, and integral mission follows later in this chapter.  

\textsuperscript{32} Escobar, “Obra estudiantil,” 16-17.  

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 16.
evangelical heritage and at the same time relevant to the social and political situation that the churches were facing in Latin America.”  

Although they could appreciatively employ the tools granted them by their theological studies in the North Atlantic, they had to wrestle to differentiate between biblical content and ropaje anglosajón (Anglo-Saxon clothing). Theirs was a “turn to context,” the choice to generate a contextual theology that would allow the gospel to find a home, to contextualize, in Latin America.

Inspired by the example of early Latin American Protestant-evangelical leaders, and building on their CIEE experience as a self-initiating community of mutual discipleship for interdisciplinary academic endeavor and integral transformation, “these friends engaged in fresh explorations into biblically based

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36 Kevin J. Vanhoozer, “One Rule to Rule Them All? Theological Method in an Era of World Christianity,” in Globalizing Theology: Belief and Practice in an Era of World Christianity, ed. Craig Ott and Harold A. Netland (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 92. This “turn to context,” implies a movement from method to experience, from proposition to praxis, and from ideas to identity.” Ibid.

social ethics,”38 in their minds, a “new way of doing theology.”39 For them, the social responsibility of Christians could be “worked out from a biblical basis, historical awareness and a basic Christological structure.”40 “They grew to conceive theology less as the academic study of professional theologians and more as a task that was both faithful to the Christian narrative witnessed to in Scripture, and relevant to life in the world;”41 as “a means to discern God’s will for the life and witness of God’s people in a specific context at a specific time, in the light of Scriptures and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.”42 Although they drew on sources from the history of Christianity and from other latitudes, the theological articulations of the CIEE leaders grew out of the interplay between those sources, Scripture, and the pressing issues of their context. And it


was intentionally directed towards a missional engagement that would bring about integral transformation of that context.

The CIEE Seminarios Continentales offered ideal opportunities for these friends to organize their thinking with a clear pastoral and educational intent. They were committed to addressing serious issues in a language that was accessible to common people, the students and young university graduates who had no theological formation yet wanted to think theologically about their disciplines and professional practice. Every week of these month-long events was dedicated to the exploration of a particular theological concern. Pedro Savage, the Peruvian-born son of British missionaries who was trained in instructional design in Bolivia, enthusiastically encouraged the CIEE leaders to organize the material into courses, some of which became the foundation for books published by Ediciones Certeza. For example, the courses taught at the first

43 Samuel Escobar, interview by author, Valencia, Spain, June 13, 2015. Escobar recalled how this commitment earned them the scorn of some people in the ecumenical camp, who believed the work of these evangelicals was substandard and not sufficiently “academic.” According to him, the leaders of the Movimiento Estudiantil Cristiano (MEC), linked to the World Council of Churches, used to make fun of the CIEE students because they did not “talk difficult.” Even so, CIEE leaders chose not to use the language of a “scientific sect” but rather to keep theology close to the people.

44 Ediciones Certeza, today Certeza Unida, is the publishing house of the Spanish-speaking student movements affiliated to the CIEE.
Seminario Continental in 1966 were eventually published as El Evangelio Hoy, a book edited by René Padilla. With publications like this one, the theological work of the radical evangelical friends reached beyond the CIEE and the stage was set for a new Latin American movement to arise.

Table 2. Chronology of major events in the development of radical evangelical theology in Latin America and parallel movements, 1949-2012.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>CELA I, July 18-30, Buenos Aires, Argentina (Protestant-Evangelical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Valdo Galland General Secretary Movimientos Estudiantiles Cristianos (MEC)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1953 | – Compañerismo Estudiantil, Mexico, (CE)  
– Asociación de Grupos Evangélicos Universitarios de Perú (AGEUP)  
– Asociación Bíblica Universitaria de Brasil (ABUB) |
| 1956 | – Mauricio López General Secretary Movimientos Estudiantiles Cristianos (MEC), Argentina |

45 Samuel Escobar, interview by author, Valencia, Spain, June 13, 2015. Escobar emphasized how significant at that event had been Padilla’s orderly biblical exposition of the history of salvation for participants who had never studied theology.

46 Although this table does not presume to be comprehensive, it highlights significant events in the development of radical evangelical theology in Latin America alongside some of the parallel events among other Protestant and Roman Catholic movements. Particular attention is given to the development of the CIEE and the FTL. For a more detailed chronology of significant FTL events between 1969 and 1982 that need not be repeated, see Anthony Christopher Smith, “The Essentials of Missiology from the Evangelical Perspective of the “Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana” (Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1983), xv. The original chronology presented in this dissertation is broader than Smith’s, both in terms of span of time covered (1949-2012) and of church sectors and movements represented.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| 1958 | Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos (CIEE), Cochabamba, Bolivia  
| | Magazine Certeza, Córdoba, Argentina (CIEE) |
| 1959 | Samuel Escobar General Secretary CIEE |
| 1961 | First Latin American Consultation on Church and Society (ISAL), July 23-27, Huampaní, Perú (funded by World Council of Churches)  
| | CELA II “Cristo la Esperanza para América Latina,” July 2-Aug. 6, Lima, Perú |
| 1963 | Estudiantes Cristianos Unidos, Costa Rica (ECU)  
| | Asociación Bíblica Universitaria de Puerto Rico (ABU)  
| | Asociación Bíblica Universitaria de Argentina (ABUA)  
| | ISAL Journal Cristianismo y Sociedad |
| 1967 | C. René Padilla General Secretary CIEE, Buenos Aires, Argentina  
| | Movimiento Universitario Evangélico Venezolano (MUEVE)  
| | Grupo Bíblico Universitario (GBU), Paraguay  
| | III ISAL Consultation, Uruguay |
| 1968 | CELAM Conference, Medellín, Colombia (Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano, Roman Catholic) |
| | CELA III “Tercera Conferencia Evangélica Latinoamericana” February |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>CLADE I “Acción en Cristo para un Continente en Crisis” (Action in Christ for a Continent in Crisis). Nov. 21-30, Bogotá, Colombia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana, Cochabamba, Bolivia, Dec. 12-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pedro Savage International Coordinator FTL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Asociación Dominicana de Estudiantes Evangélicos (ADEE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gustavo Gutiérrez publishes <em>Teología de la Liberación: Perspectivas</em> (Lima: Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1971)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asociación Teológica Evangélica, Buenos Aires, Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>FTL Consultation on Social Ethics, Lima, Perú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FTL Consultation on the Kingdom of God, Lima, Perú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Pedro Arana General Secretary CIEE, Lima, Perú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Military coup d'état in Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comunidad Kairós, Buenos Aires, Argentina</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>CLADE II, “Que América Latina Oiga su Voz,” Huampaní, Perú Oct. 31-Nov. 8</td>
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<td>CELAM II Conference Puebla, Mexico</td>
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<td>1980</td>
<td>FTL office moves to Cuernavaca, Mexico</td>
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<td>1981</td>
<td>Boletín Teológico (2nd phase)- Rolando Gutiérrez</td>
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<td>1982</td>
<td>Magazine <em>Misión</em> (later <em>Iglesia y Misión</em>)</td>
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<td>1st Consultation of Third World Evangelical Theologians, “Toward a Missiological Christology in the Two Thirds World,” Bangkok, Thailand, March 20-25 (INFEMIT)</td>
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<td>November constitutive Assembly of CLAI, Lima, Peru</td>
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<td>1984</td>
<td>C. René Padilla General Secretary FTL</td>
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<td>FTL Office moves to Buenos Aires</td>
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<td>2nd Consultation INFEMIT “Life in the Spirit” May 28 - June 4, Mexico</td>
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<td>1987</td>
<td>3rd Consultation INFEMIT “The Living God,” Nairobi, Kenya, Aug. 8-17</td>
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The Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana

The relationships and commitments developed for over ten years of shared ministry in the effervescent university scene served as natural grounding for the establishment of a new self-theologizing radical evangelical community, the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana (FTL). Although the English language nomenclature of this movement has recently changed, the core identifying commitments have remained firm since 1970. A 2005 self description reads:

48 See Chapter One, n. 5.
The Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana is a non-profit organization integrated by followers of Jesus who are committed to the life and mission of God’s people in Latin America. We are an evangelical movement that, since the 1960s, has promoted spaces for contextual theological reflection in our colorful and wounded Latin America. We yearn for a Latin American Church that, transformed by the Word and the Spirit into an agent of the Kingdom of God and God’s justice, ministers in every area of society. The FTL, as part of the church, facilitates friendly spaces for dialogue and biblical-theological reflection from Latin America.49

This section is organized around the self identifiers chosen by the early members of the movement, 1. Latinoamericana, 2. Fraternidad, and 3. Teológica.

1. Latinoamericana: An Intentionally Contextual and Evangelical Movement

The IFES’ emphasis on local initiative and autonomy had granted the CIEE movements in Latin America ample opportunity to develop not only their own models of ministry and formation in the universities but also theological

49 “The FTL,” a promotional brochure (Santiago, Chile: FTL, 2005). No attempt is here made to develop a detailed historical account of the movement which has been portrayed in detail in other publications. Attention is focused on the characteristics of this movement which have a direct bearing on the birth and development of the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios. Readers are directed to Escobar’s brief essay on the beginning of the FTL, to the comprehensive work of Daniel Salinas regarding the first decade of FTL work, and to Sharon Heaney for comprehensive study of the FTL’s contextual evangelical theology. Samuel Escobar, “La Fundación de la Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana,” Boletín Teológico, no. 59-60 (Julio-diciembre de 1995): 7-25; Salinas, Latin American; and Heaney, Contextual Theology.
articulations in response to the context. The time eventually came for the movement to clarify its identity and include people who had not been involved in the CIEE.

Although the broadening of the circle and the development of a radical evangelical theology from within Latin America would become an on-going process, the interactions that took place during the 1969 Congress, “Action in Christ for a Continent in Crisis,” convoked by the Billy Graham Association and the Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies, served as catalysts in those processes. The US-American agencies had designed the Congress as a means to “hold back the growing wave of socially committed missional reflection and action on the part of evangelicals in the region and what they deemed to be the negative influence of the progressive Protestant sectors of the church represented by Iglesia y Sociedad en América Latina (ISAL).” Samuel Escobar’s speech, “The

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50 This Congress would later come to be known as CLADE I. For more on the Congresos Latinoamericanos de Evangelización, see Padilla DeBorst, “Who Sets the Table.”

51 Padilla DeBorst, “An Integral Transformation,” 51. The attitude of the Latin American radical evangélicos towards ISAL was far more nuanced than that of the North Americans convoking the conference. For more on ISAL and the relationship between this movement and the FTL, see FTL and interlocutors within Abya Yala, below. For a full explanation of the stance assumed by the organizers of CLADE I in relation to the leaders related to the World Council of Churches, see Salinas, Latin American, 49-90. In his book, Teología latinoamericana ¿evangélica o izquierdista? which he distributed to all participants, Peter Wagner questioned the Christian identity of ISAL members and severely criticized the movement because of its radical politics. Mondragón, “Los movimientos,” 13. Sidney Rooy reported that Escobar’s talk was “a slap in the face of the
Social Responsibility of the Christian,” however, issued a clear “shout for independence and liberation of theological tutelage,” and confronted the dichotomy between evangelism and social engagement head on.52 The Congress offered Latin American leaders the occasion to gather and recognize the need to work together on a theology that responded in a holistic way to their reality. So they determined to gather again the following year to explore what a contextual evangelical Latin American theology would look like.53 When they gathered in 1970 in Cochabamba, Bolivia, they founded the “Fraternidad de Teólogos Latinoamericanos,” which soon after changed its name to Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana.

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53 Rooy recalled the challenge facing the budding theological movement. “We realized we were living off the heritage of other places and other times, which has its value but still didn’t fit our contextual situation, that we needed to rethink, reorder, reincarnate the gospel in our situation.” (Sidney Rooy, interview by author, October 24, 2007). Interestingly, this movement of mission theology was being created in Latin America at the very same time as mission studies and missiology were going through a significant crisis in North America. See Dana Robert, “Forty years of the American Society of Missiology: Retrospect and Prospect,” Missiology: An International Review 42, no. 1 (2013): 2.
For the FTL pioneers, the endeavor to develop a Latin American evangelical theology was two-pronged. The first was a critical task in relation to two contemporary theological movements, on the one hand, the Church Growth mission theory exported from North America, and on the other, the liberation theologies that were being articulated within Latin America around the same time.\(^{54}\) The FTL pioneers resisted the North American Church Growth mission theory which they viewed as far too narrow. Meanwhile, the debate with the theologies of liberation addressed concerns regarding biblical authority and the need for evangelism.\(^{55}\) The second task was a constructive one – the generation of a mission theology that was \textit{both}biblically grounded \textit{and} committed to spiritual and social transformation within Latin America.\(^{56}\)


\(^{55}\) Tellingly, the book that contains the main papers presented in the foundational gathering of the FTL is José Grau ed., \textit{El Debate Contemporáneo Sobre la Biblia,} Serie Pensamiento Evangélico (Barcelona: Ediciones Evangélicas Europeas, 1972). Haitian scholar Dieumeme Noelliste summed up the difference between most of the theologians linked to the FTL and those identified as liberationists. In his view, the FTL pioneers saw theology as a contextualized activity grounded in Biblical revelation while liberationists saw the socio-political context as the point of departure. Dieumeme E. Noelliste, “The Church and Human Emancipation: A Critical Comparison of Liberation Theology and the Latin American Theological Fraternity” (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1987), 102.

\(^{56}\) Escobar, \textit{Changing Tides}, 112-115. See FTL and Interlocutors within Abya Yala, below.
The constructive work ahead for the FTL leaders, then, included a re-definition of the Gospel (*evangelium*) from within Latin America. This re-signification, in turn, would determine how they defined their identity as *evangélicos* and how they understood involvement in God’s mission in the world. These re-definitions on the part of the early members of the FTL were possibly their most significant contribution to global Christianity, and an indication of their independence from Northern categories and polarizations.\(^{57}\)

For the FTL pioneers, the challenge of constructing theology from within Latin America did not demand isolating themselves from the historical and global theological conversations nor setting aside the tools they had acquired during their studies and experience in Europe and the US. It did require, however, that they operate under certain commitments: 1) They chose to reflect theologically as “Latin Americans,” reading both reality and Scripture from an intentional situatedness within the particularities of the Latin American context;\(^{58}\)

\(^{57}\) Jamaican Las Newman, retired President of the Caribbean School of Theology, Director of Lausanne Regional Coordinators, and INFEMIT Networking Team member classed *misión integral* as “one of the most important developments in Christian missiology.” Las Newman, Forward, in *Holistic Mission – God’s Plan for God’s People*, ed. Brian Woolnough and Wonsuk Ma (Oxford: Regnum: 2010), ix. On the resistance on the part of FTL members to categories imposed from outside the region, see Salinas, *Latin American*, 100ff.

\(^{58}\) This commitment pointed to the hermeneutical task. “Theology in an era of world Christianity is still hermeneutical, but hermeneutics now means not ‘rules for interpretation’ but ‘reading
and 2) They purposed to affect that context in all its social, political, cultural, economic, and ecological dimensions. Their explicit intent was integral transformation in light of their vision of the Reign of God. By means of these commitments, which represented a “turn to context,” and the critique of Western theology as insufficient, the FTL leaders began blazing a trail trodden by few Northern evangelicals. Together they were unabashedly generating a contextual theology with a liberative telos, an “evangelical theology of from one’s lived experience.’... Understanding is a matter of ‘fusing’ the horizon of the text and the horizon of one’s present context, ...the ‘world of the text’ and the ‘world of the reader’.” Kevin Vanhoozer, “‘One Rule to Rule Them All?’ Theological Method in an Era of World Christianity,” in Globalizing Theology: Belief and Practice in an Era of World Christianity, ed. Craig Ott and Harold A. Netland (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 94. Vanhoozer built on Hans-Georg Gadamer, for whom hermeneutics “is a matter not of method but of the conversation that we are,” and affirmed that “Third World theologians even more than Gadamer have given a distinctively contextual twist to the famous hermeneutical circle.” Ibid., 94. The FTL pioneers contributed to a shift in this regard within global evangelical theologizing. According to C. René Padilla, “contextual hermeneutics” combines the advantages of intuitive and scientific approaches to Scripture in that it recognizes both the role played by the ancient world in relation to the original text and the role played by the current world in conditioning the way contemporary readers “hear” and understand the text. For him, the challenge of hermeneutics, the process by means of which the people of God appropriate the word of God in order to live out God’s purposes in the world, is to transport the message from its original historical context to the context of contemporary readers in order to produce in them the same impact that it produced in the original listeners or readers. C. René Padilla, Editorial note, Boletín Teológico 1 (1981): 1. Schipani concurs, stating that the role of theology is to read the situation in light of Scripture and to read Scripture in the light of the situation. Daniel S. Schipani, “Liberation Theology: An Appraisal,” in Freedom and Discipleship: Liberation Theology in an Anabaptist Perspective, ed. Daniel S. Schipani (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1989), 54.

59 Vanhoozer, “‘One Rule,” 92.
liberation,“ which respected the authority of Scripture while at the same time taking praxis seriously. 

For the FTL pioneers, in sum, identifying their movement as “Latin American” was far more than an indication of geographic location. Their choice

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61 In these endeavors, Latin American radical evangelicals identified with a small US-American evangelical sector which included Jim Wallis, Ron Sider, others connected to the journals The Other Side, Sojourners, and advocates of social concern at Calvin College who, according to Fowler, had a “controversial reputation as radical representatives within evangelicalism.” Robert Booth Fowler, A New Engagement: Evangelical Political Thought, 1966-1976 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982), 7. As was the case with the FTL pioneers, “Their systematic reflections on politics and society flourished without any necessary sacrifice of orthodoxy, denigration of the centrality of faith, or repudiation of the Bible.” Ibid., 9. They “eagerly supported a return to the Bible,” but sought the face its social side seriously. More concerned about living the Bible, than in defending its inerrancy, they were critical of US-American power, and called for the establishment of communities of radical believers as an expression of the Kingdom of God. Radical discipleship, for them, would be made visible in work for peace, justice, and freedom. See Fowler, “The Radicals,” in A New Engagement, 115-139.

62 Helpful for understanding the identification of FTL pioneers as Latin American in the definition of ethnicity offered by Koonings and Silva. They presented ethnicity as a social construct the characteristics, practices, and socio-cultural perceptions of which mark the existence of human collectives in a flexible and dynamic manner. Ethnic characteristics emerge from social, cultural and symbolic practices that seek to authenticate this collective and differentiate it from other groups and categories. Ethnicities build on a common past, a certain territory, language, and shared cultural and symbolic elements. In this way, they grant a sense of identity and belonging, both which are in constant renegotiation, and contribute to socio-cultural transformation. Ethnicity can also be employed as a strategy of social protest when the identity, survival, and power of a group confront pressures. The authors advocated for neither an essentialist nor an instrumentalist approach but rather for a middle ground, which recognized that ethnic constructs build on an available repertoire in relation to a new context. Kees Koonings y Patricio Silva, Introducción, Construcciones Etnicas y Dinámica Sociocultural en América Latina
pointed to a distinctive feature of the movement, the methodological commitment to a contextual hermeneutics, which gave “adequate attention to how the interpreter’s present-day historical context affects the interpretation of Scripture,” and made sure “the witness becomes relevant to a new context.” 63

This, according to Padilla, was a contribution that Latin America made to global theology:

One of the most outstanding features of both liberation (mostly Roman Catholic) theology and integral mission (evangelical theology) in Latin America has been a theological methodology that views the interpretation of texts as inseparable from the context of the interpreter. 64

Commitment to Latin America on the part of these radical evangelicals, at the same time, did not preclude their evangelical identity, even if it pushed the boundaries of the definitions of Gospel, evangelism, and mission prevalent in

(Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1999), accessed March 22, 2015, http://hdl.handle.net/1928/10736. “The ethnic elements constructed are, by definition, authentic, unquestionable and eternal. This is fundamental for the legitimacy and viability of such construction. For participants, the objective dimension of ethnic authenticity is not highly important. What counts is the subjective establishment of authenticity as a ‘lived experience,’ as a framework which guides both practices and social relations such as incorporation and exclusion.” Ethnicity plays a key role in the formation of individual identity as well as collective; in the formation of local, national and transnational communities; in the struggle for economic resources and of symbolic spaces.” Ibid., 10, 14.


64 Ibid.
dominant North-Atlantic evangelical circles. Instead, it led them to draw deeply from the wells of historic evangelicalism and the work of exponents of “Evangelical Protestantism” within Latin America during the first half of the twentieth century. These included leaders like Mexicans Alberto Rembao and Gonzalo Baez-Camargo, Ángel Mergal of Puerto Rico, Justo González of Cuba, Erasmo Braga of Brazil, Juan Varetto and Santiago Canclini of Argentina, who, along with John Mackay and John Ritchie, from Scotland, Samuel Guy Inman, from the US, and Stanley Rycroft, from England “manifested a degree of

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65 Mondragón, Like Leaven in the Dough, 69.

homogeneity in regard to their recognition of the authority of the Bible, their Christology, their position on Catholicism, their view of popular Latin American religiosity, and their defense of religious liberty and of democracy.”

Representative of their posture was the final document of the First Evangelical Conference of Latin America (CELA I, 1949) organized by the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, which stated:

Our Christian Evangelical Churches, also called Protestant, scattered throughout the continent and made up in the great majority by Latin Americans and other ethnicities from our lands, are worthy of respect as they are deeply rooted in their social environment. They do not constitute foreign organizations, nor do they proclaim doctrines alien to the pristine gospel of our Savior Jesus Christ. Loving children of our respective homelands, we give thanks to God for them and we endeavor to serve them loyally.

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67 Mondragón, Like Leaven, 51.

68 According to Peruvian historian Tomás Gutiérrez, this Committee was formed in 1913 by a group of evangelical denominations with mission work in the region. It sponsored Latin American Evangelical Congresses on mission (Panamá 1916, Montevideo 1925, La Habana 1929, and Buenos Aires, 1949) in order to foster joint church action and collaboration. La Nueva Democracia created in 1920 by the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America (CCLA) made known “the perspectives of integral and integrated mission” of the progressive Christians who dialogued with leading intellectuals of the region (José Vasconcelos, Gabriela Mistral, Baltasar Brum, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Luis Alberto Sánchez among others) and contributed to the building of their nations. Tomás Gutiérrez, e-mail to author, May 6, 2009.

69 Ibid., 58.
Radical evangelicals found in these precursors the integrated perspective they were wrestling to sustain, one that was socially engaged in Latin American reality yet retained evangelical commitments of personal piety and respect for the authority of Scripture.\textsuperscript{70} With that grounding, they forged ahead, developing the “unlikely combination of conservative evangelical theology and a radical orientation to faith and society,”\textsuperscript{71} that would come to be known as misión integral.

2. Fraternidad: Friendship as the Matrix for Doing Theology

The friendships nurtured in their days of student ministry continued to grow as the FTL pioneers broadened the scope of their work and welcomed new friends into their circle. Bonds were so tight that for many of the children of FTL pioneer families, their parents’ co-laborers became surrogate uncles and aunts. In

\textsuperscript{70} Samuel Escobar introduced John Mackay as a Presbyterian missionary for whom conversion to the Christian faith could not be conceived without ethical consequences, a representative of a form of Protestant Christianity rooted in a theology that focused on the social and the individual at the same time. Samuel Escobar, “La Huella de Juan A. Mackay.” According to Mondragón, this holistic perspective was expressed in 1924 by the editors of La Nueva Democracia, who affirmed that “a religion that does not serve to build and shape our character in such a way that it helps us to confront the problems of life with courage, integrity, and justice… is not a religion worth professing.” Carlos Mondragón, “Protestantismo y Panamericanismo en América Latina,” Boletín Teológico, Año 28, n. 62 (abril-junio, 1996): 13.

\textsuperscript{71} Tizon, Transformation after Lausanne,” 3.
addition, the theological work of the FTL scholars was honed in a collegial atmosphere of trust and mutual support rather than one of competition and self-advancement. The following instances illustrate this point. When North American evangelicals issued invitations to CLADE I (1969), they were reticent about René Padilla’s participation and did not give him any platform space because they deemed him too critical of the missionary establishment of the day. There were also those who wanted to exclude him from the conversations leading to the foundation of the FTL. In a show of loyalty, Escobar conditioned his participation to that of Padilla, so the organizers were forced to include him.72

In the case of Sydney Rooy, two friendships especially impacted his own scholarship:

Réné is like a brother to me, faithful in discipleship, understanding in our differences, pioneer in writing and publishing, erudite and able in communication, companion in many challenging projects in which we worked together with an unusual consensus of objectives and strategies...Orlando Costas, who though he was younger than I, seemed like a father figure with his blustery and aggressive style (he called me “chico” frequently), his openness to all theological currents without watering down his own convictions, one with whom I shared a more ecumenical stance in the Latin American Theological Fraternity circles, and who challenged me to diligent scholarship...”73

72 Salinas, Latin American, 76 and 93.

Deeper than expressions of affection and mutual companionship, however, the relationships nurtured in the FTL circles were the result of shared theological understandings and commitments. Early in the development of their movement, FTL theologians critiqued the “individualistic hermeneutical lens” of “culture Christianity” exported especially by North American evangelical mission agencies. In contrast, within the evangelical contextual theology they honed together, they recovered the communal understanding of the Reign or Kingdom of God as the main hermeneutical principle for understanding the Gospel, Jesus, and the mission of his followers in the world.

The fact that it was practically impossible to find a text written by one of the FTL pioneers in which his “companeros de camino” (companions along the way) were not extensively and appreciatively cited points to the communal nature of FTL members’ theologizing. As a matter of fact, FTL friends

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74 Samuel Escobar explicitly referred to the “Anglo-saxon wrapping” of Western Christianity that gave shape to Evangelicalism in Latin America. Escobar, “Una Teología Evangélica para Iberoamérica.”


76 Regarding FTL membership, Rooy explained: “We didn’t proselytize. If you attended, you presented papers, you met regularly, then you were a member.” He highlighted the special case of José Míguez Bonino, “a Christian gentleman and a scholar who was very faithful to the FTL, and showed up whenever we asked anything of him.” The FTL Board decided to make him an
collegially built on one another’s work through the decades. For example, the Arana, Escobar, and Padilla couples went on a retreat together in 2001, and published the results of their discussions as *El Trino Dios y la Misión Integral* (*Kairós*, 2003).77

Of the women in this set of friends, the one with a formally theological role was Catalina Feser Padilla, a prominent figure in the creation, organization and implementation of CETI. She taught Greek and Hermeneutics for three decades at the *Instituto Bíblico Buenos Aires*, and published several articles and book chapters. Her voice, however, is not heard in the *Boletín Teológico* of the FTL, which was published in different formats from 1972 until the time of this writing. As a matter of fact, very few women’s contributions appeared in the official publication of the FTL in its first decades, and most of them only in the form of poetry. Between 1972 and 1980, amid over one-hundred articles published in twenty-one issues, only one was written by a woman, Mae Rooy.78

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77 More recently, in May 2016, the three pioneer men went together on a speaking tour of Spain and then spent time planning their joint memoires of what they have learned in ministry over the previous sixty years.

Of the thirty-four people published in the sixteen issues produced between 1981 and 1984, only one was a woman, Beatriz Melano Couch. It was not until the late 1980s and the 1990s that articles by women like Nancy Bedford, Irene Foulkes, Elsie Romanenghi de Powell, and Elsa Tamez began to appear in the pages of *Boletín Teológico*. One cannot but wonder why the many women leaders of the CIEE did not naturally grow into public voices in the early years of the FTL. Might it be that the informal structure of student ministry granted them more space than a continental *Fraternidad* that held official assemblies and established formal leadership roles? Might it be that in spite of the collegial ethos of the newly founded FTL, they were not able to counter the prevalent expectations of the time, in which the world of academic theological work was *de facto* limited to men?

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80 It was not until 1992, with its sixth assembly, that two women stepped on to the FTL board. Carmen Perez Camargo was elected Vice President and Dorothy Quijada, Treasurer.

81 Since those early years, matters have changed significantly: two women have presided the FTL, Lilia Solano and Ruth Padilla DeBorst (2000-2004 and 2004-2008 respectively); the latter served as General Secretary (2008-2012); at the time of writing, Eva Morales was presiding the Fellowship; there were three women on a Board of seven; and three of six Regional Secretaries were women. The previous and similar questions, however, demand research-based responses if the FTL is to fully carry out its mission of fostering theological reflection and dialogue on the part of the whole church. Samuel Escobar issued an important historiographical note when he warned about assuming that it is only the educated, privileged persons who carry out mission simply because they are the ones writing letters, books, and manifestos. Samuel Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 154.
Although friendships ran deep, the FTL was not a shallow fan club of mutual admiration. Friendship was solid enough to allow honest appraisals and even differing postures. Padilla remembered Costas’ arrival in Costa Rica in February of 1970,

Orlando arrived in CR with a rather “fundamentalist” approach but with noticeable willingness to learn. He got upset with me when I commented that his first book La iglesia y su misión evangelizadora (La Aurora, Buenos Aires, 1971) was good but could stand to be revised editorially. He criticized me for not writing and publishing more and attributed that to my “perfectionism.” Years later, however, he confided to me that he was paying much more attention to style. And his literary work is truly amazing. He eventually became a good expositor of Latin American evangelical theology and one of the main generators of an integral, ecumenical and evangelical missiology.\(^\text{82}\)

In similar fashion, Escobar referred to the involvement of Salvadoran born Emilio Antonio Nuñez, founder and first dean of the Seminario Teológico Centroamericano in Guatemala and FTL pioneer:

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When asked to explain the limited number of women in the FTL in its early years, Padilla responded with an anecdote about his wife. “When I was heading out to a meeting or a conference, she would send me off saying: ‘Go ahead; you men can talk. We [women] have more important things to do.’ And she stayed home tending to the children, leading a Bible Study with the neighborhood women, and preparing to teach her next class at the Bible Institute.” C. René Padilla, interview by author, Florida, Buenos Aires, September 15, 2014.

\(^{82}\) C. René Padilla, e-mail to author, December 4, 2007.
His central concern was theological education. He helped us in that. We, in turn, showed him that it was possible to do theology with a more open mindset than the narrow dispensational one of his context. 83

Sidney Rooy was explicit about the differences within the FTL, which represented “many if not most” of the currents in ecclesiology, missiology, and attitudes toward society present in Latin America at the time, from the most conservative, to the mainline. 84 In the midst of the “creative tension” generated by their differences, 85 FTL pioneers sought to draw on the stores and strengths of various Christian traditions, radical discipleship and the priesthood of all believers from the Anabaptist tradition, socially committed pietism from the Wesleyan tradition, a comprehensive affirmation of Christ’s Lordship over every last dimension of existence from the Reformed tradition, and an appreciation for

83 Samuel Escobar, interview by author, Valencia, Spain, June 14, 2015.

84 Sidney Rooy, interview by author, Cambridge, MA, October 26, 2007. Rooy retold an anecdote about a 1977 FTL meeting in Itaicí, led by Guillermo (Bill) Cook. Vigorous debate ensued between Costas, who was “more open to ecumenical circles,” and Escobar, who “was working with IFES in Canada around that time.” The tension generated was broken by the caricature drawn by a cartoonist in the group, who depicted Orlando and Samuel in opposing corners of a boxing ring. “That broke the ice! We learned that we can remain friends even with our differing positions.” Ibid.

the diverse gifting of the Holy Spirit from the Pentecostal tradition, among others.  

So although bonds were strong among the FTL pioneers, they were not exclusive. Pioneer Pedro Savage’s unswerving commitment was that the FTL be a place for the “cross fertilization of minds” under the authority of the Bible, not a “closed” or “secret society” or ghetto. Since its inception, as a forum of theological pluralism, creative tension and divergent positions, the FTL sought to include new and diverse thinkers. While Emilio Antonio Nuñez became a


87 Pedro Savage, cited by Salinas, Latin American, 115.

88 Ibid., 114.
bridge figure between the radical *evangélicos* and the more conservative strands of the church in Latin America, Sidney Rooy and Orlando Costas did the same in relation to the more ecumenical sectors connected to the *Instituto Superior Evangélico de Estudios Teológicos* (ISEDET) and the *Seminario Bíblico Lationamericano*, where they respectively taught. Regarding the preparations for CLADE II, held in Peru in 1979, Rooy reported to his sending board, Christian Reformed World Missions:

>The sort of bridge building that is necessary in order to avoid unhealthy polarization and fragmentation in the Latin American church world can only be done when a certain web of confidences have been achieved. It seems that my ministry in this area of inter-personal and inter-church relations is becoming an important part of my task: between ISEDET and the eight denominations we officially serve, between the historic churches and the mission churches, as well as some of the Pentecostal branches; between the widely diverse theological institutions of the Southern Cone through ASIT89 (representing our eight denominations and also the Baptist, Missionary Alliance, Pentecostal, Lutheran Missouri Synod and Brethren traditions); and through the Fraternity, which is a unifying factor among the widely diverse churches which comprise the broad center of the Latin American evangelical tradition.90

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89 The Asociación de Seminarios e Instituciones Teológicas was an interdenominational accreditation body in the Southern Cone of Latin America. Sidney Rooy presided this Association and contributed significantly to its basic policy and to the formulation of its standards for accreditation.

90 Sidney Rooy, "Letter to Eugene Rubingh," December 10, 1978. With this letter, Rooy turned down the nomination for the position of Latin American Secretary for Christian Reformed World Missions. He concluded, "It does not seem to me wise to withdraw from active service in Argentina at this time." He and his wife, Mae, would remain in Argentina until 1991, and then in Costa Rica until 2001. It is worth noting that, when requested to propose names for the position, one of the five people he recommended was a woman. In a Nov 6 letter he mentioned her "great
Sidney Rooy attributed the “greatness of the FTL” to its conceptual breadth, and the mature attitude of its members toward other movements, one that invited dialogue and critical exchange of ideas, and avoided reactionary stances. “Putting a movement in a pigeon hole does a great injustice to the members of that movement.”\textsuperscript{91} Though buffeted from either side, viewed by more liberal sectors of the church as far too conservative, and by more conservative sectors as far too liberal, the FTL managed on occasion to bring together the more willing people of the different camps.\textsuperscript{92}

The FTL pioneers carried over the sense of community which had marked their CIEE experience into their leadership of the FTL, and worked for four and a half decades to “promote fraternal spaces of biblical theological dialogue and reflection,” and serve as “a forum for dialogue among people who confess Jesus

\textsuperscript{91} Sidney Rooy, interview with author, Cambridge, MA, October 25, 2007.

\textsuperscript{92} See FTL and interlocutors within Abya Yala, below.
Christ as Lord and Savior and are willing to reflect in light of Scripture in order to communicate the gospel in the midst of the cultures of Latin America.”

3. *Teológica: An Interdisciplinary Movement of Integral Mission Theology*

CIEE student ministry was necessarily interdisciplinary, given the fact that staff prioritized encouraging students to consider in what ways their faith commitments affected their scholarship and their professional practice and not only their private or religious lives. Marked by this inheritance, the theological work of the FTL was characterized by its interdisciplinary, pastoral, and missional commitments.

Regarding its interdisciplinary commitment, FTL pioneers fostered theological dialogue especially with the social sciences. They encouraged young professionals to grapple theologically with issues in their field, to prepare papers and present them in local and regional consultations, and to publish their work as a means to encourage Christians to connect their faith with their work, their family, their church, and the issues in society. Topics in these consultations and

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publications ranged widely and included economic, political, social, ethical, and educational concerns.94

Secondly, without neglecting the search for scholarly excellence, FTL pioneers were committed to ensuring that the reflection be accessible to church leaders and members.95 Andrew Kirk’s words reflected the FTL understanding of these leaders, “It is crucial to the integrity of theology never to isolate its intellectual work from the call to be a force for the transformation of human life.”96 They believed that theological explorations had to respond to the concerns

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94 Examples of interdisciplinary work were the writings of psychiatrists Carlos Hernández and Ricardo Zandrino. See Carlos Hernández, La reflexión Filosófica-Teológica y el ejercicio clínico como actividades complementarias en la práctica psiquiátrica (Posadas: Editorial Universitaria de Misiones, 2008), and Ricardo Zandrino, Sanar es también tarea de la iglesia (Buenos Aires: Asociación Bautista Argentina de Publicaciones, 1987). Also, the contributions brought together in Carlos Mondragón, ed., Los retos del conocimiento (Buenos Aires: Kairós, 2004). Four regional FTL consultations were held in 1971 on the topic of the Church as a visible manifestation of God’s purposes in the world (Argentina, Brazil, Perú, and Mexico). A consultation was held in 1972 on “Social Ethics” (Lima), Salinas, Latin American, 114, 117. Other consultations were “The Kingdom of God and Latin America” (Lima, 1972), “The people of God and Latin America” (Itaicí, 1977). See Boletín Teológico 2 (1977). For more about theological consultations in the 1970s and 1980s see Salinas, Latin American, chapters 4 and 5. More recent consultations included, among others, “Theology and New Generations” (San Salvador, September 2003); “Church, Mission, and Immigration” (Pasadena, 2007); “Identity, Indigeneity and Interculturality” (La Paz, 2008); “Mission and Power in North South Relations” (San José, 2009); “Church, Mission and Power” (San José, 2010); “Art, Liturgy and Mission (San José, 2011); the multiple consultations held during CLADE V (San José, 2012); “FTL, Identity and Mission in the XXst century (San José, 2014); “FTL: 45 years” (Sao Paulo, 2015); and “Corruption Kills” (Lima, 2016).


of regular church people as they engaged in mission in their every day lives. They could not be merely academic; they had to be meaningful to the church as a whole. This understanding determined the response of the FTL Board when it received proposals both to call together a Council of churches as well as to found an interdenominational and interdisciplinary seminary that would cater to pastors and lay professionals who were not theologically trained. In response, the FTL pioneers agreed they would not create any formal institution or church council, but rather broadly promote theological reflection that was biblical, contextual, and interdisciplinary and would influence existing institutions and churches for the development of a “contextual evangelicalism.” So in addition to consultations and theological production, they began offering series of Pastoral Seminars that were open to a broad public. Through these seminars, Latin American pastors, students, and church members “from across the board” were exposed to the reflection of local leaders and of “outstanding scholars from

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97 René Padilla, interview by autor, Buenos Aires, September 17, 2014. The term “contextual evangelicalism” is employed by Oscar R. Campos, “The Mission of the Church and the Kingdom of God in Latin America” (Ph.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, TX, 2000), 3.

around the world.” Among these, John Stott visited Mexico, Peru, Chile, and Argentina early in 1974 and Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Argentina in 1977, along with his friend René Padilla.

Thirdly, theological reflection for the FTL pioneers was necessarily missional. For them, mission rested on the very nature of God and of Scripture, on the nature of the theological task, and on the transformative objective of the

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99 Sidney Rooy, interview by author, Cambridge, MA, October 25, 2007. According to Rooy, these seminars, offered by the FTL before the foundation of competing organizations CLAI and CONELA, allowed the FTL to build a broad interdenominational base, a credible hearing and valuable confidence “in a continent where trust is essential.” Rooy served as coordinator of these Seminars from 1977 to 1980. He recalled visits by John Stott, Leon Morris’ in 1977, and the “Michael Green conference without Green,” when, in 1978, the invited speaker missed his flight and local FTL people had to fill in at the last minute. Ibid.

100 Timothy Dudley-Smith, John Stott: A Global Ministry. A Biography. The Later Years. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 197-201. Each of these trips included a couple days of intense bird-watching in unique sites like the Galapagos Islands and the Argentine Patagonia. John Stott’s attempts to induct René Padilla into avid bird-watching were less successful than his preaching seminars! The friendship between these two men had far-reaching consequences. See Misión Integral: From Latin America to the World, below.

101 Said FTL pioneer, Andrew Kirk, “My thesis is that it is impossible to conceive of theology apart from mission. All true theology is, by definition, missionary theology for it has as its object the study of the ways of a God who is by nature missionary and a foundation text written by and for missionaries. Cited by Wilbert Shenk, “A Missiology of Western Culture,” in Mission in Context: Explorations Inspired by J. Andrew Kirk, ed. John Corrie and Cathy Ross (Fanham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 173.

102 Pedro Savage, first FTL General Secretary, affirmed, “Theology is in essence missiology. Its task is to unwrap the missiological visions so that the church will be mobilized in the world in this century. Its task is to help the church break its ‘compromises’ and its ‘slavery’ to the world in order to obey her Lord. This obedience leads to questioning the ‘anti-Kingdom’ values in the culture and in the historical moment. Its pedagogical role is to help the church grow in her mission… so that people may live an integral and legitimate conversion.” Pedro Savage, “El quehacer teológico en un contexto Latinoamericano,” Boletín Teológico Jan-March (1982): 6.
theological endeavor. The FTL missiology was rooted in deeply theological understandings which included both a high Christology and the conviction that there is “no disjunction between the Jesus of History and the Christ of faith.”

The historicity of Jesus leaves no room for a dualism in which the soul is separated from the body, or for a message exclusively concerned with salvation beyond death, or for a church that isolates itself from society to become a ghetto.

The story of God’s involvement in history as revealed in Scripture offered the pattern for the missional involvement of the church in its context. Since God “does not transcend the predicament of human history by avoiding its perils but, rather, by taking upon himself the infirmities and corruption of deformed humanity” neither should the church. Christians must learn to discover Christ’s real identity in particular historical situations and especially in the

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105 Escobar, Changing Tides, 89.

experience of the oppressed, in light of Biblical revelation of Jesus, and for the transformation of the present situation.¹⁰⁷

Regarding the theological task, FTL members conceived of it as one directed towards empowering the church to live out its missionary vocation in the world rather than one carried out for its own sake.¹⁰⁸

As in the best biblical times, our theological itinerary for the future springs from our mission, not from the academic whims of the latest university celebrity. This is the itinerary that the Fraternidad yearns to follow with the men and women of God in Latin America.¹⁰⁹

As these Latin American radical evangelical leaders did theology, reading Scripture and their context in community, “they grew to articulate, incarnate, and promote misión integral, a theological-missiological framework in which mission is understood to involve the whole people of God expressing God’s good purposes for the whole world, evidenced in who the people of God are, what they do, and what they say in all dimensions of life, at personal, communal

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., Chapter 1.

¹⁰⁸ See Transnational Belonging in Definitions for an explanation of the influence of Johannes Blauw on these articulations.

¹⁰⁹ Samuel Escobar, Boletín Teológico, June-August (1981): 1. Scholars from outside Latin America recognized this perspective as another contribution from the global South to the church in the West. “Thanks to developments in the global South, we now realize that all theology is essentially mission theology, arising out of the need to translate and incarnate the gospel in and into particular cultural settings.” Vanhoozer, “‘One Rule,’” 123.
and structural levels.”\footnote{Padilla DeBorst, “An Integral Transformation,” 49.} This framework significantly expanded the missiological horizon regarding the agents, the location, the nature, and the purpose of mission. All God’s people were conceived as missionaries, not only those specifically appointed by a church or agency. Mission was to be carried out from everywhere to everywhere, not only from powerful, Western nations, to the rest.\footnote{See Samuel Escobar, \textit{The New Global Mission. The Gospel from Everywhere to Everyone} (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 2003).} No realm of human existence was seen as falling outside the bounds of Christian mission. Missiology, then, “the critical reflection about Christian faith as cultural, ideological, religions, social, economic and political borders are crossed,” was a discipline at the crossroads, where the “forces of history… confront each other.”\footnote{Costas, “Teólogo en La Encrucijada,” 28; and Orlando Costas, \textit{Theology of the Crossroads in Contemporary Latin America: Missiology in Mainline Protestantism, 1969-1974} (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1976), 325.} The church fulfilled her purpose inasmuch as in all she was, did, and said, she extended beyond herself into the world for the sake of integral transformation.\footnote{René Padilla and Harold Segura, \textit{Ser, Hacer y Decir: Bases bíblicas de la misión integral} (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Kairós, 2006), drove this point home biblically. Authors from across the continent developed the biblical grounding of the paradigm. “From the Pentateuch to Revelation, they explained how the Good News of God’s creation, redemption in Christ, and sanctification through the Holy Spirit were inseparable. The appreciation for aesthetics and liturgy in the}
might enjoy the life in abundance that God intended through Jesus Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit. Mission, for these leaders, included both evangelization and liberation; both a change of heart and a change of structures; both vertical reconciliation (between God and people) and horizontal reconciliation (between people and people); and both church planting and community building.\(^\text{114}\)

Through this emerging misión integral paradigm, the early FTL leaders recovered the integrated perspective that had characterized historic evangelicals. They included in the theological agenda topics like “the intimate relationship between love of God and love of neighbor, shalom as God’s purpose for human life, the place of justice, mercy and humility in the life of those who confess his

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These concerns had often been relegated in the evangelical circles that sent missionaries around the world in the 20th century due, to a large extent, to the “individualism of the modern era.”

In time, misión integral became “the programmatic theology of the FTL,” and a hallmark of “contextual evangelicalism” in Latin America. The practical out-workings of this theo-missiological paradigm were explored in FTL consultations such as “Toward Integral Transformation” (Huampaní, Perú, 1987) as well as in continent-wide conferences and the CLADE congresses, Congresos Latinoamericanos de Evangelización CLADE III (1992), IV (2000) and V (2012).

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116 Ibid.

117 Salinas, Latin American, 118.

118 Oscar R. Campos, “The Mission of the Church and the Kingdom of God in Latin America” (Ph.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, TX, 2000), 3.


120 See Padilla DeBorst, “Who Sets the Table.”
Having been initiated in 1970, and grown across Abya Yala, the *Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana* celebrated 45 years of theo-missiological reflection and presence in June of 2015 in Sao Paulo. Along the way, it had inspired countless mission initiatives, organizations, and educational programs, and built the vision and capacity of individuals who took leadership in churches, NGOs, and the professional and public arena. As it grew, the movement garnered supporters and detractors yet remained committed to serving as a platform of theo-missiological dialogue for the sake of the integral mission of the church in Latin America. The *Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios* is an educational expression of this commitment. In time also, and not without contestation, the integral mission paradigm found its way into global evangelical movements.

121 See C. René Padilla, “45 Años de la Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana,” a paper presented at the FTL consultation with the same name, Sao Paulo, June 26, 2015, accessed May 23, 2016, [http://ftl-al.org/45-anos-de-la-fraternidad-teologica-latinoamericana/](http://ftl-al.org/45-anos-de-la-fraternidad-teologica-latinoamericana/). Also, Samuel Escobar, “Cuatro décadas de quehacer teológico,” a paper presented in the same conference, June 25, 2015, accessed May 23, 2016, [http://ftl-al.org/cuatro-decadas-y-media-de-quehacer-teologico/](http://ftl-al.org/cuatro-decadas-y-media-de-quehacer-teologico/). Although studies have been done of the theology, the hermeneutics, and the missiology of the FTL, the impact of the movement in churches, NGOs, and civil society at large remains open for research, though it falls outside the scope of this dissertation.
FTL and Interlocutors within Abya Yala

The theo-missiiological work of the FTL did not, obviously, develop in a vacuum. FTL members interacted with diverse ecclesial streams and theological movements that were also engaging with the challenges of the context at the time. Among the interlocutors of the FTL within Latin America were liberation theologians, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, as well as representatives of conservative evangelical strands of the church. The FTL was judged by both sides but was able to modestly serve as a bridge between them through the years.

Relationship between FTL members and liberation theologians

The FTL pioneers shared common concerns and certain hermeneutical stances with exponents of liberation theology, both Roman Catholic and those involved in the movement of Iglesia y Sociedad (ISAL). Their “broad

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122 This section does not intend to present a detailed and comprehensive comparison between these Latin American theological movements but merely to mention to some key points of contact and divergence between them. See Samuel Escobar, “Doing Theology on Christ’s Road,” in Global Theology in Evangelical Perspective. Exploring the Contextual Nature of Theology and Mission, ed. Jeffrey P. Greenman & Gene L. Green (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2012), 67-85. And Andrew Kirk, Liberation Theology: An Evangelical View from the Third World (Atlanta: John Knox, 1979) and Andrew Kirk, Theology Encounters Revolution (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1980).

123 Iglesia y Sociedad en América Latina was formally constituted in 1961 as an outgrowth of the
commitment to a *liberationist perspective,*” meant they approached biblical and related texts from a “self-conscious perspective;” they were suspicious about “universal de-contextual, apolitical theology and doctrinal affirmations that claimed to be value-free or neutral;” 124 and they believed theological work should lead to liberation and mission at both personal and structural levels. René Padilla affirmed the “liberationist theological discourse” as a necessary prophetic message, the purpose of which “is not to inform or propose theories, but instead to call for repentance; not to invite the consideration of a new and interesting theological theory, but instead to challenge Christians to face the need to demonstrate the historical efficacy of their faith.” 125 He also acknowledged the urgency of the questions posed by liberationists in relation to the context of poverty, repression and injustice, 126 as well as the value of their insistence on the

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*Movimiento Estudiantil Cristiano* (MEC) linked to the World Council of churches. Building on a long history of Protestant church initiatives in relation to social movements, this group represented the Protestant version of Liberation Theology. Central figures in this entity were Rubem Alves, Emilio Castro, Mortimer Arias, José Miguez Bonino, Richard Shaull, Julio de Santa Ana, Beatriz Melano, among others. Mondragón, “Los movimientos,” 12.


126 Ibid.
need to reflect “in the context of concrete commitment” and to “fashion theology into an instrument of transformation.” Finally, Padilla recognized ISAL as “the first Latin American Protestant theological movement,” and upheld Brazilian Rubem Alves as the first to articulate a theology of liberation, even before Gustavo Gutiérrez.

These commonalities and notes of appreciation, however, did not erase the divergences between the FTL and the liberationists. Paul Freston characterized the FTL as “a proto-Liberationist Protestant theological movement” and an “alternative to American-imposed theologies and agendas.”

Like liberation theologies, FTL’s members defined sin in social as well as individual terms... they recognized that one’s reading of the Bible was shaped by history and culture .... But they were also critical of Liberation


129 René Padilla, interview by author, September 17, 2014. Padilla backed his claim by referring to the article by Antonio Cruz Suárez in which the author demonstrated that ISAL and, in particular, Rubem Alves anteceded the better known Roman Catholic liberationists by several years. See “Marx and ‘liberation theology” Protestante Digital (July 15, 2013), accessed November 9, 2015, http://protestantedigital.com/magacin/13704/Marx_y_la_teologia_de_la_liberacionrsquo.

Theology ... instead of “liberation” as a paradigm, the Fraternity chose another term: “contextualization.” 131

FTL members were explicit in their questioning of what they understood to be liberationist stances: the adoption of Marxist ideology, the blurring of the border between the church and the world, the sacralization of revolution, the disregard for the authority of Scripture,132 and its selective use, as well as the reduction of the gospel to sociology, economics or politics.133 Meanwhile, some leaders of sectors linked to the World Council of Churches and gathered in the Consejo


132 C. René Padilla cited by Samuel Escobar in “La Fundación,” 4. John Hart clarified that though liberationists employed Marxist tools of social analysis as part of the methodology, they did not adopt Marxist “ideology.” In addition, he explained, Gustavo Gutiérrez stated that revolution was a “last resort” and he did not “sacralize” it. He clarified that Gustavo Gutiérrez distinguished himself and his thought from the “theologies of revolution” that were being promoted at the same time. “When the Vatican, through two documents written by then-Cardinal Ratzinger, attacked theologies of revolution, erroneously seeing them as liberation theology, Gustavo Gutiérrez and others then asserted that Ratzinger was not referring to them in his Instructions, since they were not teaching, nor were they a part of, theologies of revolution.” John Hart, interview by author, Boston, August 13, 2016.

Latinoamericano de Iglesias questioned the high view of Scripture and the pietistic stance of the radical evangelicals, considering them too conservative.  

Through the years, dialogue around common concerns grew between these parallel movements, and in spite of the divergent stances, friendships grew and prominent leaders like José Míguez Bonino affiliated to the FTL.

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134 The proposal for the formation of CLAI originated in Mexico in 1978. The intent had been to draw together all the church bodies within Latin America. However, fears on the part of conservatives regarding the links of this new organization with the World Council of Churches, which upheld political stances with which they disagreed, meant not all churches joined. David Stoll, Is Latin America Turning Protestant, Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 132. Samuel Escobar mentioned Míguez Bonino, Mortimer Arias, Emilio Castro, and Federico Pagura as leaders who were respectful of evangelicals, “an attitude that did not characterize other liberationists like Richard Shaull, Julio Santa Ana, and others.” Samuel Escobar, e-mail to author, July 16, 2016. See also Raimundo C. Barreto, Jr, “Facing the Poor.”

135 “Exchanges took place between members of the FTL and certain strands of liberation theology, particularly those embodied in the base communities, with whom they shared concerns for the establishment of communities joined by radical discipleship, empowerment of the laity, and actions for justice inspired in a biblical vision of God’s reign.” Ruth Padilla DeBorst, “An Integral Transformation,” 53. See Guillermo (Bill) Cook’s work. Among others, “The Protestant Predicament: from Base Ecclesial Community to Established Church – A Brazilian Case Study,” International Bulletin of Missionary Research 8 no. 3 (1984): 98-102; and The New Face of the Church in Latin America: Between Tradition and Change (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994). Particularly revealing of the perception of the Roman Catholic hierarchy towards the FTL was a letter read by the envoy of the CELAM (The Conference of the Roman Catholic Bishops in Latin America), Roman Catholic Monseñor José Rafael Quirós Quiro’s during CLADE V, in which he detailed the parallel ministry shared by the CELAM and the FTL over the previous 40 years.

René Padilla highlighted his friendship with José Míguez Bonino, Emilio Castro, and Federico Pagura, and his 1972 participation in a gathering with liberation theologians Juan Luis Segundo, Hugo Asman, Gustavo Gutiérrez, Benjamín Santana, Emilio Castro, and Míguez Bonino.  

Relationship between FTL members and more conservative evangelicals

While the difference between radical evangelicals and many liberationists centered on their stance regarding Biblical revelation, the difference between them and conservative evangelicals was centered on the value attributed to social concerns. Speaking out of a Reformed and FTL perspective, Sidney Rooy...
explained, “When you begin to identify with social, economic and political structures, you get the backlash; you get classed as non-Christian because you are getting your fingers dirty in so-called worldly affairs.”

Just as they had reacted to the ISAL movement during the 1960s, and convoked what would later become known as CLADE I, the more conservative evangelical sectors reacted in the late 1970s to the radical calls of the FTL. With the backing of Luis Palau and other conservative evangelicals, a group gathered during the Lausanne conference in Pattaya in 1980 determined to form CONELA, the Confraternidad Evangélica Latinoamericana, as a means to defend the gospel from leftist ideologies. This defense entailed forming a clear front not only against progressive and liberationist Protestants but also against the “open minded evangelicals” of the FTL.

The FTL leadership determined not to seek membership in CONELA when it was founded in Panama in 1982. However, individual members were

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139 Stoll, Is Latin America Turning, 133.

encouraged to join this network or the CLAI, whichever they preferred. The hope was that, in this way, the FTL could serve a mediating role between the two extremes, and foster encounters between them.

The FTL as a bridge between camps

The most symbolic encounter brokered by the FTL between polar camps within Latin American Protestant-evangelicalism took place during CLADE III (1992), on the premises of the Colegio Anderson, a Covenant Church school in Quito, Ecuador. By invitation of the FTL, leaders of contesting theological camps represented by the Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias (CLAI) and the Confraternidad Latinoamericana de Iglesias (CONELA) sat at the public debate table for the first time since their foundation, ten years before. About this conference, José Miguez Bonino affirmed,

[CLADE III] went beyond the limits of the Latin American Theological Fraternity to become a truly “Latin American Protestant Congress,” as much due to the breadth of its representation as to the wealth of materials

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141 René Padilla, e-mail to author, July 30, 2016.

and the freedom of debate. We were there present at a truly “ecumenical event” –if the reader will forgive the use of this controversial term –of Latin American Protestantism.\footnote{José Míguez Bonino, \textit{Faces of Latin American Protestantism: 1993 Carnahan Lectures} (Grand Rapids, MI.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1997), 50-51. See FTL and interlocutors within Abya Yala, below.}

Through the years, the FTL counted within its membership women and men who were also affiliated to other continental and global bodies, many of them on very different points of the ideological and theological spectrum. Consequently, and since the FTL remained committed to an integral definition and incarnation of mission, to serving as a platform of dialogue, and to not representing any particular church, denomination, or doctrinal camp, it received criticism from both poles yet managed to avoid settling into any one of them. Instead, its core leadership sought to remain both ecumenical and evangelical, believing that, in René Padilla’s words:

From the perspective of wholistic mission, there is no place for the polarization between an ecumenical outlook and an evangelical one. To be an ecumenical Christian is to be a Christian who conceives of the whole \textit{oikoumene} (the inhabited world) as the place of God’s transforming action. It is to commit oneself to the construction of a world of justice, peace, and integrity of creation. It is to see the church from the perspective of God’s purpose, that is to say, as a community of the Spirit, a worldwide missionary community whose unity transcends human divisions. To be an evangelical Christian is to be a Christian who conceives of the Gospel as good news of the love of God in Jesus Christ, the living Word witnessed by the Bible, the written word of God. It is to confess and to live out the
gospel of Jesus Christ as Lord of the whole of life in the power of the Holy
Spirit. It is to work together in the proclamation of the gospel to all people
of the earth (without distinction of race, culture, nationality or social class)
and in the formation of local congregations that nurture and share the
faith… If the mission of the church is the mission of the reign of God it
must be both evangelical and ecumenical at the same time.\textsuperscript{144}

The choice of FTL pioneers to remain both evangelical and evangelical set
solid ground for the development of CETI as a formation process that welcomed
and promoted unity across theological and ideological lines.

\textit{Misión Integral: From Latin America to the World}

The integrated and integrating position of the FTL pioneers garnered
them attention, both in terms of support and rejection, as it became known
beyond Latin America.\textsuperscript{145} Early on, at the 1959 World Assembly of the
International Fellowship of Evangelical Students, “conservative evangelical”


participants had been “a bit disturbed” by the concern expressed by Samuel Escobar and René Padilla that their training agenda should include “social responsibility and understanding of Marxism.”

While on the one hand US-American suspicion regarding social concerns mounted in the context of Cold War geo-politics, on the other hand, FTL leaders’ years of student ministry in Latin American universities during the restless 1960s only deepened their social concern. So in exchanges within IFES and papers presented in global evangelical and continental fora, FTL pioneers continued voicing their holistic concerns.

The 1969 Bogotá Congress convoked by Billy Graham as a follow up to the Berlin Congress on Evangelism, “offered an outstanding opportunity for the public exposition of the missiological reflection which was taking place in IFES

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146 Escobar, “My pilgrimage,” 207.

circles.”  

Samuel Escobar’s address summarized what René Padilla and he “had been seeking to develop among university students, and gave a historical and biblical basis for an evangelical approach to social justice.” Another milestone in the process of infusing the global evangelical community with an integral perspective of gospel and mission was the gathering of evangelical leaders called together by Ron Sider in Chicago in 1973. “After intense theological debate and reflection” leaders unanimously signed “the Chicago Declaration of Evangelical Concern, further evidence that evangelicals were moving toward a new understanding of Christian mission.”

The International Congress on World Evangelization, “Let the Earth Hear His Voice” (Lausanne, Switzerland, July 1974), provided a far broader platform. *Time* magazine described this Congress as “a formidable forum, possibly the widest-ranging meeting of Christians ever held.” It was at that global forum

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149 Escobar, “My pilgrimage,” 208.


that the radical evangelicals’ “main concerns, wrought in the context of the IFES in Latin America, were heard on the world stage.” These concerns, voiced by Samuel Escobar and René Padilla’s papers, included critiques of the “Western reduction of the gospel to the exclusion of its social dimensions and of the [unquestioned] association between the powerful US culture and the gospel, and its imposition through mission work.”

In clear contrast to the voices of many conservative evangelicals from the West, Padilla and Escobar called not for new methods but for a theology of the gospel and of society that emphasized questions of justice in the here and now, as well as questions of divine judgment in the future.”

Thanks to the valiant advocacy and mediation exercised by John Stott, the final document, the Lausanne Covenant came to include social responsibility as a dimension of the work of the church.

Although for conservative sectors matters had gone too far, for almost five-hundred participants, “approximately a quarter of the number of official

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153 Ibid.


155 Alister Chapman, “Evangelical International Relations in the Post-Colonial World: The Lausanne Movement and the Challenge of Diversity, 1974-89,” Missiology: An International Review 37, no. 3 (July, 2009): 360. Chapman attributed the differences between evangelicals from the West and the South to the differing contexts and the changes in international affairs as well as to the postures of individualism and certainty typical of the evangelical tradition.
delegates,” they had not gone far enough. They expressed their dissatisfaction with the dichotomy still present in the Covenant between evangelism and social responsibility by drafting and signing the document “Theological Implications of Radical Discipleship,” which “may be regarded as the first world-wide evangelical statement of holistic mission.” Although the Statement was not included in the Covenant, John Stott both signed the statement and presented it enthusiastically at the end of the Congress, again advocating for the more integral view of gospel and mission.

The misión integral paradigm had made its

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159 Timothy Dudley-Smith, John Stott: A Global Ministry. A Biography. The Later Years (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 215. John Stott’s advocacy for the evangelical credentials of the Latin Americans was theologically grounded and nourished by a friendship built through the years. René Padilla recalls how he and Cathy visited “Uncle John in his modest apartment at 12 Wymouth Street in London three or four times while I was doing doctoral studies at the University of Manchester between 1963 and 1965.” A closer relationship grew during Stott’s four visits to Argentina, during which he stayed in the Padilla family home. “Much of the conversation during the first visit in 1974 was related to topics that were to be dealt during that important global Congress.” C. René Padilla, e-mail to author, September 27, 2012. For more regarding the contribution of Latin American evangelicals to the 1974 Congress, see Heaney,
way into global evangelicalism and would continue to be put forth through the years, primarily by leaders from outside the North-Atlantic evangelical establishment, in spite of on-going resistance.\textsuperscript{160} Key pronouncements were “The Statement on Simple Lifestyle” (Lausanne Theology and Education Group and the Ethics and Society Unit of the World Evangelical Fellowship, England 1980); the “Statement of Concern for the Future of the LCWE” (Pattaya, 1980); and the Statement on “Transformation: the Church in Response to Human Need” (Wheaton, 1983).

In addition to the FTL pioneers, key Global South leaders who determined to accompany each other in the reflection and practice of this “critical missiology


\textsuperscript{160} A telling example of the resistance to radical evangelicals on the part of members of the US Evangelical establishment is recorded in John Stott’s diary from May 1977: “I was surprised how threatened the School of World Mission team obviously felt and, in consequence, how defensive they were in their presentations and contributions. I did not feel they were really ‘open,’ and it saddened me that when René Padilla got up to speak they (quite unconsciously, no doubt) put down their pads and pens, folded their arms, sat back and appeared to pull down the shutter of their minds.” John Stott, cited by Timothy Dudley-Smith, \textit{John Stott}, 224.
from the periphery” were Kwame Bediako (Ghana), David Gitari (Kenya), Melba Maggai (Philippines), Vinay Samuel (India), David Lim (China and the Philippines), and Peter Kuzmic (Croatia). Although the friendship among several of them had been initiated in the context of IFES and been nourished in global gatherings as those of Lausanne, they formalized their fellowship during a global Consultation of Third World Theologians on Christology in Bangkok (1982), birthed the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies, and officially established INFEMIT (the International Fellowship of Evangelical Mission Theologians, today International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation) in 1987. Radical evangelicals from the North who joined the fellowship included Chris Sugden, Tom Sine and Ron Sider.162

Beyond conferences and publications, these radical evangelicals from around the world continued honing their theology in constant dialogue with the communities they accompanied pastorally and through the incarnated practice of


integral mission in their local settings. Out of this practice new ministries and networks emerged, including the Micah Network (now Micah Global), which describes itself as:

a global community of Christians (aid / NGO organizations, mission organizations, academic / training institutes, local congregations, networks, alliances, denominational secretariats and individuals) drawn together because of their passion and commitment for integral mission.\textsuperscript{163}

In an on-going effort to strengthen the vision and capacity of this broad-based community for integral mission understanding and practice, INFEMIT formalized its service as the Theology Working Group of Micah in 2011. Subsequently, in addition to speaking and teaching at Micah events around the world, the Networking Team adopted the Certificate program of the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios for use in integral mission formation of Micah partners and other Christian communities.

\section*{Conclusion}

The Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos, and later the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana, offered a generation of young Latin American

evangelicals a community of belonging, a generative ethos for self-theologizing, a safe space in which to explore together how their faith might contribute to the social-ethical challenges of their context, and a natural environment in which to instill their passion for integral transformation in younger generations.

The CIEE’s emphasis on local initiative and autonomy provided impetus for self-theologizing and the honing of a liberative contextual theology within the FTL; the CIEE’s sense of community evolved into the centrality of friendship as a matrix for the theological work of the *Fraternidad*; the CIEE’s focus on interdisciplinary discipleship and integral mission marked the educational bent of the FTL as well as the commitment of its members to the practice of theology which was intentionally interdisciplinary and unabashedly committed to transformation of all they understood as conspiring against the full life intended by God for humanity. In the midst of encounters and contestations from different theological poles, and with the global reach and local commitment of the FTL, the stage was set for the development of a theological formation program that would further the understanding and practice of *misión integral*. 
CHAPTER THREE

COMMUNITIES OF ORIGIN II:
The Escuela Bíblica Evangélica
and the Comunidad Kairós

The Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos (CIEE) and the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana (FTL) were broad, continental movements, characterized by their community ethos, their commitment to local initiative, their emphasis on interdisciplinary discipleship, and their intent of contributing to integral transformation through education. These markers were shared by concurrent and related groups of theological reflection within Argentina in the mid 20th century and by the organizations that grew out of them, the Escuela Bíblica Evangélica of Villa María, and the Comunidad Kairós, in Buenos Aires. These local communities distilled the educational vision of the broader movements into a formal program, the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios, in the early 1980s, and offered it a platform of relationships for expansion within Abya Yala and beyond.¹

¹ The first two sections of this chapter portray the Argentine organizations within which CETI was generated. The next section identifies educational perspectives and practices that influenced the shape of the Centro. A final section presents brief biographical notes of key actors in the development of the program.
Seeds of CETI in Villa María, Córdoba

The developments in the small, yet historic city of Villa María, Córdoba, in the mid 20th century were significant to CETI. The magazine *Pensamiento Cristiano*, known as an “Exposé of Evangelical Thought,” was founded in Villa María in 1953 by Alejandro (Alec) Clifford. This bilingual, bicultural son of Scottish Brethren missionaries to Argentina, born in 1907 in Tucumán, became “one of the great Spanish-speaking evangelical journalists of the 20th century.”

*Pensamiento Cristiano* was dedicated to offering evangelical thought to non-erudite, thinking Christians, and served as an inspiration and a welcome channel for the leaders of the *Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos* to make their self-theologizing work reach others. Having studied medicine and literature, and taught English in the *Universidad Nacional de Córdoba*, Clifford was himself a voracious reader, a self-taught Bible scholar, an insightful writer, a superb editor, and a “living encyclopedia of the history of Christianity in Latin

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2 The city of Villa María, in the province of Córdoba, is located some 600 km from Buenos Aires, the capital city of Argentina.

America and Spain, both in secular and evangelical press.” His insistence on clarity of expression and on “weeding out high-sounding style” meant more to impress than to communicate, along with his responsible interdisciplinary scholarship, set a high standard for the many younger writers he mentored. Among these were Samuel Escobar, René Padilla, and Elsie Romanenghi de Powell within Argentina, and Plutarco Bonilla and Juan Stam, whom he met on a prolonged visit to Costa Rica.

In the same city where Clifford lived most of his adult life, two evangelical groups that are relevant to this study began meeting in the mid 1950s: The Ateneo Bíblico and the Movimiento de Estudiantes Secundarios Evangélicos (MESE). The Ateneo Evangélico brought together lay professional people who wanted to think theologically and to connect their faith to their professions, to science, and to life beyond the church. People like Clifford; biochemist and anthropologist Miguel Zandrino; his brother Plinio Zandrino, a medical doctor; and doctors Luis Seggiaro and Abraham Pérez San José met regularly, often in the Methodist church of Lima Street, to discuss the implications of their evangelical faith for

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4 Ibid., 64.

5 Samuel Escobar, interview by author, Valencia, Spain, June 14, 2015.
education, apologetics and society at large. Samuel Escobar joined this group in 1958 and eventually succeeded Clifford as editor of Pensamiento Cristiano.

The MESE brought together high-school students who sought to integrate their faith with their Argentine culture without losing their evangelical identity. For instance, instead of restricting themselves to Christian choruses in their meetings, they would sing popular folkloric songs, which their conservative churches considered “worldly.” As they grew older, the leaders of this movement formed a university group. John White, a well known British evangelical writer, psychiatrist, and missionary spoke in their first Annual Retreat, along with Alec Clifford, Samuel Escobar, Miguel Zandrino, and Paul Sheets. This group eventually joined the young people of the Peña Bíblica Universitaria, from Buenos Aires, to form the Asociación Bíblica Universitaria Argentina, the CIEE affiliated movement in Argentina.

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6 Norman Zandrino, e-mail to author, November 23, 2015, and Luis Pérez Seggiaro, e-mail to author, November 28, 2015. According to Samuel Escobar, participants were mostly Brethren, but there were leaders from other denominations like Pastor Daniel Hall, a Methodist. Samuel Escobar, interview by author, Valencia, Spain, June 14, 2015.

7 Samuel Escobar, interview by author, Valencia, Spain, June 14, 2015.

8 Richard Zandrino, e-mail to author, November 25, 2015.
A great number of the *Ateneo* and MESE leaders belonged to the Brethren Assemblies, a Christian denomination present in Argentina since 1882, which, among other things, emphasized the unmediated access of all Christians to the biblical text, and the priesthood of all believers. These groups, however, pushed the boundaries of their churches of origin by choosing to engage with Christians from other traditions, with the broader culture, and with the social issues of their context. In 1956, under the leadership of Alejandro Clifford, the friends of the *Ateneo* began discussing the idea of publishing a magazine that would reach a non-Christian audience. The first issue of *Certeza*, “the magazine for people who think,” saw the light in 1959, a year after the foundation of the CIEE, and soon became a backbone of the public witness and discipleship of the CIEE movements across the continent.

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9 Luis Pérez Seggiaro, e-mail to author, November 28, 2015. For further information about the life and thought of these Free, Anabaptist churches see *Brethren Life and Thought: A Quarterly Journal of the Church of the Brethren*, Bethany Theological Seminary and Brethren Journal Association, published since 1955.


11 Powell, *Una familia en Misión*, 6. Adriana Powell explained that Alejandro Clifford was chosen to direct *Certeza*, the publishing arm of the CIEE, born also in Cochabamba. In this way, the
A year later, on June 20, 1960, the same group of Argentines, along with several missionaries, founded the Fundación Escuela Bíblica Evangélica (FEBE).  

The central purpose of the Foundation was to establish the Escuela Bíblica Evangélica as a means to offer theological formation to people from Brethren churches in Argentina and the neighboring countries where such formation was not available. The first activity of the FEBE, a “Week of Meditation,” focused on “Church Government” and was held August 13-18 of the same year. Regular courses began in April 1961, with 10 students. Although the founders ran into trouble with the more conservative leaders of the Brethren Assemblies, who affirmed that believers should study the Bible on their own and that there was no

dreams of some people from Córdoba came true, precisely at a time in which evangelical students in Latin America had no biblically solid yet critical literature. The publishing house was first established in Córdoba, where Clifford lived, and where eventually Samuel Escobar moved.

12 “¿Quiénes somos?” Compromiso Cristiano, 1977, accessed August 22, 2015, http://www.compromisocristiano.com/quiennes-somos. A core primary source for the information about the beginnings of the EBE is the Libro de Firmas, which recorded signatures of the founders and all significant moments in the history of the institution. It is currently under the care of Norman Zandrino, retired biochemist, elder of the Iglesia Cristiana Evangélica of General Paz 260, Villa María, and one of the three sons of Miguel Zandrino.


14 Luis Pérez Seggiaro, e-mail to author, November 28, 2015.
need for formal theological formation, they did have the support of the English missionaries and of the more open national leaders of the day.\footnote{Samuel Escobar, interview by author, Valencia, Spain, June 14, 2015.}

Students arrived from most Argentine provinces as well as from Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Chile, with scholarships from their local churches and family support. The first site, used until 1969, was Chile 232, the home of “Abuela Antonia,” mother of the Zandrino brothers, where weekly Bible Studies had been held for several years before. In order to offer board to students from out of town, the family moved out and allowed the EBE to function in their house. In 1970, the school sold the home and moved to a new building at Santa Fe 469. The EBE was initially run by an Administrative Council composed of seventy-two advisors and a smaller Directing Committee. Faculty included Walter Bevan, Guillermo Cook, Raúl Caballero Yoccou, Nicolas Doorn, Miguel and Plinio Zandrino, Alejandro Clifford, John Clifford, Theda Krieger, Margarita Tyson, Daisy de Zandrino, Fausto Re, Luis Antonio Seggiaro, Abraham Pérez San José, Esther Alloco, G.M. Lear, Nigel Darling, Gilberto Colósimo, Juan Bester (from South Africa and residing in Villa María since 1968), David Sommerville (from 1970), Samuel Escobar (from 1971), José Young (from 1974), John White
(for one year), and Guillermo Cotton (British missionary, from 1977). The regular program lasted three years, and included Hermeneutics, Homiletics, New Testament, Old Testament, Biblical Geography, Church History, Exegesis, Bible, Psychology, Anthropology, and Christian Education.

In addition to regular courses, there were annual “Semanas de Meditación” (known as Jornadas de Reflexión in the 1990s) with teachers of global stature like John Stott; Ward Gasque, and Carl Amerding, from Regent College; Anglican David Evans; Samuel Escobar, and René Padilla. They were hosted in the Zandrino home and those of other EBE leaders. Of particular significance were two university-level courses held in conjunction with the Asociación Bíblica Universitaria Argentina (ABUA). The first one was taught during two months in the summer of 1972 under the theme “Jesus Christ: the key to history and its purpose.” Lecturers included Samuel Escobar, René Padilla, Ward Gasque, Miguel Zandrino, and Alejandro Clifford. The second “Curso Bíblico de Nivel

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16 *Libro de Firmas*. Information offered by Norman Zandrino, e-mail to author, November 24, 2015.

17 Norman Zandrino, drawing from *Libro de Firmas*, e-mail to author, Nov 24, 2015. He remembered these international guests as “sacred heroes” that contributed far more than content in courses; they enriched the churches and families that received them. The *Libro de Firmas* includes photographs of significant events, like Billy Graham’s visit on October 8, 1962. Also see *CETInforma* no. 4 (Buenos Aires, Mayo 1987). In the 1990s, members of the CETI team, Sidney Rooy, Elsie Romanenghi de Powell, and Wilfredo Weigandt also contributed to these annual sessions.
“Universitario” was taught by John Stott and René Padilla on “An Integral Reading of Scripture,” and helped set the broad framework for the on-going program.\textsuperscript{18} Students were assigned to local churches where they served for an entire year. They taught Sunday School and Children’s Bible Hours, and they visited people in hospital and in jail. They were very much appreciated by church members and were invited on Sundays to eat in parishioners’ homes. The entire evangelical world of the city was positively impacted by their presence. The FEBE’s reach was extended through its trimestral publication, \textit{Compromiso Cristiano}, led from the beginning in 1977 by Gilberto Colósimo and Miguel Zandrino. Although overall the educational project of the FEBE was well received and prepared dozens of pastors and church leaders through the years, it ran into the resistance of the “old guard” of the denomination and was forced to close its doors in 1979.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{18} “Cuaderno de doctrina” and Richard Zandrino, e-mail to author, November 15, 2015. He highlighted this course as one that particularly impacted all participants, who at the time of writing were all serving as elders of the Brethren Church of Villa María.

\textsuperscript{19} Richard Zandrino, e-mail to author, Nov 25, 2015. He explained the increasing tension between his father and the denominational leadership, which came to a head in 1977, when \textit{Ediciones Certeza} published Zandrino’s book \textit{The Origins of Man}. Miguel Zandrino wrote as a Christian anthropologist and biologist, and proposed that evolution was a serious scientific method that did not stand in opposition to Christian faith. Conservative leaders were outraged and boycotted the FEBE and withdrew all their support, telling churches they should not send their students to the EBE. This led to the end of the programs as they had been known.
Miguel Zandrino, however, was not easily deterred. For quite some time, he had been concerned about the theological formation of young graduates for whom a full-time theological program that lasted three or four years along with professional and family demands was out of reach. He viewed young professionals as a group that was not being cared for appropriately by the church, and he began exploring formats of distance education. In 1980, along with enthusiastic friends who accompanied him and offered fresh ideas, he launched a Distance Course that immediately attracted interest. Many students applied to this innovative program that served as a direct antecedent to the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios.

Seeds of CETI in Buenos Aires

Moving from the 1950s to the 1960s and from Córdoba to Buenos Aires, another reflection group significant to the origins of CETI was the Asociación Teológica Evangélica, founded by René Padilla and SAMS missionary Andrew Kirk in

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20 For an explanation of Distance Education, see Winds of Change: Theological Education by Extension in Chapter Four.

21 Richard Zandrino, e-mail to author, Nov 25, 2015, and CETIinforma no. 4 (Buenos Aires, Mayo 1987): 2
1969. This interdenominational group, which included notable evangelicals like Cuban psychologist Jorge León, Cultural Director of the YMCA; Methodist theologian José Míguez Bonino; Daniel Tinao, Dean of the Seminario Internacional Teológico Bautista; and Canadian Jack Shannon, Christian Missionary Alliance missionary, rotated their monthly meetings among the institutions they represented, the Instituto Superior Evangélico de Estudios Teológicos (ISEDET), the Biblioteca Evangélica Argentina, the Seminario Bautista, and the Instituto Bíblico Buenos Aires. Although they represented various theological traditions, they all identified as evangélicos, finding common ground in the Reformation markers: the centrality of Jesus Christ, faith and grace, the authority of Scripture, and the priesthood of all believers. Their reflection was grounded in their pastoral and educational work and served to enrich their work in their particular fields. René Padilla identified this group as a precursor of the

22 “Asociación Teológica se Fundó en Buenos Aires,” Pensamiento Cristiano 16, no. 62 (1969): 223. René Padilla explained that although the members had intended to identify the group as Asociación Teológica Evangélica Argentina, they refrained from doing so because the resulting acronym would be ATEA (Spanish for atheist), not the most felicitous name for a group of Christian thinkers! René Padilla, interview by author, Buenos Aires, September 15, 2014.

23 See Evangélicos and Radical Evangelicals in Definitions, Chapter One.

Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana in Argentina and attributed to Andrew Kirk’s association with ATE the fact that he was invited to speak at the inaugural meeting of the FTL in 1970. The Kairós Community, one of the two organizations that founded CETI, also grew out of this Argentine reflection group.

In the early 1970’s, Pedro Savage, Elsie Romanenghi de Powell, and Samuel Escobar joined ATE. Escobar labeled as “providential” the coming together of people with different backgrounds and occupations yet common concerns: While Sidney Rooy, Andrew Kirk, and Mervin Breneman were faculty in theological institutions; Miguel Zandrino, Carlos Hernández, and Elsie Romanenghi de Powell were involved in their particular professional fields; and René Padilla and Samuel Escobar were engaged in student ministry. What they all shared was a passion for making disciples of Jesus Christ who would live out their faith in every area of life, especially in their professional fields.

In 1973, Pedro Savage drew up a curricular proposal for a “Community of Theological Education,” focused on Spirituality, Contextualization in Reality, and...

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and Biblical Exposition. This proposal was followed soon after by a discussion, led by Samuel Escobar, on a “Preliminary Outline of the Structure and Program of an Evangelical Theological Community.” The group began to meet periodically and, in a disciplined fashion, tape-recorded their discussions, which were then transcribed word for word so that everyone involved could build on what had already been proposed. Eventually, what had been an ad hoc reflection circle formalized into the Comunidad de Educación Teológica Kairós, which was founded in 1976, just weeks after the military coup that inaugurated a reign of terror in Argentina for close to eight years. Ruled by a board, constituted by René Padilla (President); Catalina Feser Padilla (Vice-President); Alejandro Font (Secretary); Mervin Breneman (Treasurer); Carolina Lari, Norman Powell, and David Powell, the Kairós Community defined itself as

An evangelical group of men and women who have joined together to carry out common tasks related to the Christian mission in a context of injustice and poverty in an effort to foster the concepts of the “Radical Discipleship” group that several Third-World speakers... had articulated at the International Congress on World Evangelization held in Lausanne in July 1974.


There was consensus among the members that the communal “doing of theology” had to respond “to the questions of persons and churches who faced political and social dilemmas, and questions of life and death.”

Aware of the seriousness of the situation and of the need to strengthen their own capacity as well as to serve in their tumultuous context, the Kairós Community members committed to joining as “a community for learning, prayer, fellowship and mission” with the stated purpose of providing “theological formation for lay people.”

The Comunidad Kairós as Community

Although participants were comfortable with naming the new organization “Comunidad Kairós,” a review of early meeting minutes and publications revealed that, from the very beginning, members wrestled with differing expectations regarding the shape their community should take.

Andrew Kirk recalled how some founding-members expressed the desire that

29 Escobar, “Doing Evangelical Theology,” 44.

30 Andrew Kirk, e-mail to author, February 9, 2015. These constitutive markers of Kairós, its community nature and its identity as a learning-teaching organization, are explored in the following sections.
the main protagonists would commit themselves to living as an intentional community, to which end a covenant was drawn up, detailing mutual commitments and responsibilities. In his estimation, this aspect of the Comunidad Kairós never bore fruit mainly because of the complexity of living as a community, including the need for all the families represented to have basic needs met by a common purse. He obviously was counted among those who “considered this a wonderful ideal, but in practice thought that working out the logistics would detract from the main purpose, namely to be a fellowship of learners and educators.”

Meanwhile, other founding members would not that readily shed the dream, and even as late as 1989, Kairós publications attested to the initiatives directed toward the consolidation of an intentional community that would build on the original vision shared in 1976 and incorporate a younger generation of people from the Iglesia Bautista de La Lucila who were “seeking to live a more authentic Christian life.” Eventually, in March of 1990, the “Kairós Center for

31 Andrew Kirk, e-mail to author, February 9, 2015.

32 “A new search for wholistic discipleship and mission,” in Kairós Update (Buenos Aires, September 1989): 1. Joining René and Caty Padilla were their daughter Sara and her husband Mauricio Chenlo, as well as Moira and Juan Rogers. The stated objectives were wholistic discipleship in community, basic disciplines of community living, commitment to justice, peace

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Christian Discipleship and Mission” was inaugurated on a large plot of land in the outskirts of Buenos Aires as the most concrete expression of the dream.\textsuperscript{33} The Center was built by the German architect Hermann Klenk of Offensive Junger Christen (OJC) with the support of German and Swiss agencies and churches (Evangelische Missionswerk, the Church of Wuerttemberg, Allianz Hilfe Schweiz and the Stuttgart based Bread for the World).\textsuperscript{34} Although at the end of 1978 and beginning of 1979, and for different reasons, Samuel Escobar, Pedro Savage, and

and integrity of creation, exercise of gifts, growth of churches as agents of the kingdom of God, unity in Christ, and reflection on the Biblical faith and implications for contemporary society.

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Kairós al Dia} (Buenos Aires, Agosto 1990), 3. The stated purposes of the Center were to serve as a place for gatherings related to the \textit{Kairós} Community and other institutions with similar objectives; to offer national and international consultations, seminars, workshops and retreats on topics related to discipleship and mission for professionals, pastors, students, teachers, and couples seeking to live Christian lives that reflect the values of the Kingdom of God; to serve as an environment for reflection, meditation, prayer and study; to promote a community spirit so that participants experience the unity of the Body of Christ, overcoming national, racial, cultural, and denominational barriers. During 1994, for example, the Center hosted 65 conferences, consultations or retreats, 29 of which were sponsored directly by the \textit{Comunidad Kairós}. Plans for 1995 included writers workshop with the CIEE led by Ruth Padilla DeBorst, pastor retreats, 4 retreats for marriage enrichment, a preaching workshop with John Stott, a workshop on pastoral accompaniment in crisis, a workshop on homosexuality with Elsy Carvalho, a workshop on HIV/AIDS, and one on ecology. “Annual report and general balance, 1/1-31/12, 1994.” At the time of writing, a new generation of young families is carrying out the original vision of community life, and partnering with other intentional Christian communities across Latin America under the leadership of Ana Elisa Padilla Shannon, current \textit{Kairós} Director.

\textsuperscript{34} “Proposal for expansion 20/4/1994.” These relationships point to the transnational links of the founding communities of CETI and reveal these to have been more strongly connected to European than to North American Protestant-evangelicalism.
Andrew Kirk left Argentina with their families, the foundation had been laid for a learning-teaching community.

The Comunidad Kairós as a Learning-Teaching Community

Andrew Kirk described the Kairós Community as “a group of the Lord’s people committed to discovering fresh ways of serving the church in Latin America in the field of theological training and reflection.” The minutes of their constitutive meeting evidenced how the original Kairós members envisioned theological education: It had to serve the needs of the church in mission, and it had to be interdisciplinary in nature, integrating various disciplines that could enrich the understanding of the biblical worldview. The work, then, demanded specialists from various fields who could intentionally help relate the gospel to those areas of study and professional practice.

Members of the community represented various scholarly and professional fields: Church history (Sidney Rooy), Philosophy (Elsie Romanenghi de Powell), New Testament (Catalina Feser Padilla), Psychiatry (Carlos

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36 “Kairós Comunidad de Educación Teológica,” (Buenos Aires, 4-5 August, 1976).
Hernández), Theology (Samuel Escobar, Andrew Kirk, and René Padilla), Old Testament (Breneman), Education (Pedro Savage). As part of their own on-going learning, the group made on-site visits in order to engage with their different fields and realities, and to do theology communally. They spent time in the Psychiatric hospital that Hernández directed in Posadas, Misiones (Northeastern Argentina) and grappled with the psycho-dynamic relation between Christian faith and mental health. They traveled to Tucumán (Northwestern Argentina) and attended the university classes Elsie Romanenghi de Powell taught, in order to support her in the design of her curriculum and to develop a Christian view of universal history that could dialogue with the prevalent Marxist materialist dialectical interpretation. While they were in Northwestern Argentina, Anglican bishop David Leek received the group in Salta, where they spoke with indigenous leaders and became acquainted with the community development work of Asociana, the social-justice arm of the Anglican Church in Argentina. They also invited speakers to share their perceptions on some of the themes chosen for reflection. Professor Jürgen Moltmann, while in Buenos Aires on other assignments, joined the community for a day to contribute to the discussion on the philosophy of history. Professor Rodolfo (Roelf) Haan, a Dutch member of
the faculty of ISEDET and an economist, contributed a paper on a Christian view of economic life.37

According to Escobar, Pedro Savage played a key role in relation to the Community’s educational mission. He had specialized in programmed education in Bolivia, and he enthusiastically encouraged the group to organize the material they generated into courses that could then be taught in different venues.38 As a community, they envisaged three types of learning situations:

(a) service in a project, in which member(s) of the community would work together with students;
(b) dialogue, which would include lectures, workshops, reading programs and the writing of a monograph;39
(c) colloquia, which were study-sessions, lasting from one full day to several days, envisaging interdisciplinary discussion around specific themes of vital concern to the students themselves.40


38 Samuel Escobar, interview by author, Valencia, Spain, June 14, 2015.

39 “Kairós Comunidad de Educación Teológica,” (Buenos Aires, 4-5 August, 1976). Courses could be administered by extension in order to reach people in remote areas, and cassette tapes could be employed to share perspectives.

40 Andrew Kirk, e-mail to author, February 9, 2015.
Obvious from the early discussions, and consequent with the ethos and commitments of the FTL vision to which the Kairós members adhered, were the shared perspectives regarding the nature of learning and the doing of theology: theological formation should be done in community; it should draw on various disciplines, and it should have an integral missional focus.

**Perspectives on Education and Educational Practices within Kairós**

Considerations regarding the interweaving of theology and education were at the core of many of the Kairós discussions. All the members of the Community were experienced educators in their fields and brought their teaching experience to bear on the ministry of Kairós. Briefly reviewed in this section are the perspectives of Samuel Escobar and Daniel Schipani regarding the educational philosophy of the Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, which was significant in the curricular design and development of CETI. The section closes with a mention of the educational practices of Kairós which were generated alongside CETI to further the same vision.

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41 Eduardo Ramírez, whose main contribution to CETI was its educational design, reported the influence exercised by Paulo Freire on his pedagogical philosophy. Eduardo Ramírez, skype interview with author, December 28, 2014. See Chapter Five for a fuller exploration of Freire’s influence on CETI.
Samuel Escobar and Daniel Schipani, Interpreters of Freire

A concern for the intersection of theology and education was at the heart of Samuel Escobar’s career from a young age. During his university studies in the Facultad de Letras y Educación in the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos in Lima, Perú, he enthusiastically explored “nueva educación” (Cousinet, Dewey and Montessori), and sought to find parallels between this educational perspective, the Bible, and his experience. From 1962 to 1964, he lived in Brazil, where he experienced “the political effervescence” of the Northeastern region and became acquainted with Paulo Freire’s work.

Escobar’s interest in Freire led him to dedicate his doctoral dissertation to the educational philosophy of this Brazilian educator. “Paulo Freire: Otra Pedagogía Política” is a deep and succinct presentation of the contribution made

42 This concern was shared by René Padilla, and the friends had long conversations regarding how best to involve young people in the doing of theology through educational processes. Samuel Escobar, interview by author, Valencia, Spain, June 14, 2015. Already in 1972 René Padilla had dedicated several lectures during the ABUA: IX Jornadas de Estudio (Conference of the student movement affiliated to IFES in Argentina) to the exploration of “Education and Anthropology,” “The purpose of education,” “The pedagogy of the Gospel,” and related topics. C. René Padilla, typed outline and handwritten notes, January 1972. Concern for relevant theological education motivated his convocation to an FTL Consultation on New Alternatives in Theological Education in 1985, during the second year of his service as General Secretary of the Fraternidad. See C. René Padilla, ed., New Alternatives in Theological Education (Oxford: Regnum, 1989), 51-72.

43 Samuel Escobar, e-mail to author, March 5, 2016.
by Paulo Freire to education and transformation, and the result of profound reflection on Escobar’s own educational practice in the context of the CIEE, the FTL, and formal education settings. In Escobar’s view, Freire’s pedagogy is fundamentally a reflection on his educational practice in a dialogue between the worldview of his culture of origin in Northern Brazil, his readings (the sources of which are Christian faith, educational philosophy and Marxism), and his pedagogical practice among the poor.

![Diagram of the interplay between world-view, readings, praxis and pedagogy in Freire.]


Figure 1. The interplay between world-view, readings, praxis and pedagogy in Freire.

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Samuel Escobar drew a parallel between Paulo Freire’s reflection and his own. “What I appreciated was his realistic approach regarding the social location of the learners, and his proposal of a participatory education, something that really matched the vision we had within the CIEE student ministry... For me, Freire’s pedagogy has not been mere theory but an actual reflection on my own practice.”45

Escobar analyses seven “notes” in Freire’s pedagogy: rootedness in the Third world with global projection; response to a situation of social transition; liberating vocation in situations of oppression; appreciation of the existing popular culture; dialogue as method and relation; conscientization as the purpose of education; and the explicit assumption of a utopia that grants direction and encouragement.46 He avers that Freire’s methodological contribution cannot be separated from the context of his political option towards transformation and his liberating intent.47

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45 Ibid. Although Escobar’s long and fruitful career as an educator in formal and informal settings across the Americas and Spain merits deep study, it falls outside the scope of this dissertation.

46 Escobar, “Paulo Freire,” 315-316.

47 Escobar, “Paulo Freire,” 318. Chapters Four and Five illustrate how these “notes,” filtered through their radical evangelical commitments shaped the pedagogical formulations of the founders of CETI.
Although Escobar’s formal passage through Kairós was brief, his pedagogical perspective contributed to the shaping of the self-understanding of the organization and its educational commitments. Even from afar, his influence on the developments within Argentina continued through friendship, publications, and the work shared in the FTL.

Daniel Schipani, an Argentine psychologist with doctoral degrees from the Universidad Católica Argentina and Princeton Theological Seminary, was an active member of the FTL, and also a Freirian scholar.48 His involvement with the FTL was significant for him in that it offered friendship and a safe, supportive environment for dialogue, exploration, and scholarship within which to clarify his vocation.49 He was active in the early years of Kairós and contributed to the educational efforts of the organization, teaching several seminars. Although he did not formally participate in the design of CETI, his thinking had an indirect

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48 Most relevant to this study are his publications Conscientization and Creativity: Paulo Freire and Christian Education (University Press of America, 1984); Religious Education Encounters Liberation Theology (Religious Education Press, 1988); Teología del ministerio educativo: Perspectivas Latinoamericanas (Nueva Creación, Buenos Aires, 1993); El Reino de Dios y el ministerio educativo de la iglesia (Nashville, Miami: Caribe/Betania, 1996); Paulo Freire Educador Cristiano (Grand Rapids: CRC World Literature Ministries/Libros Desafío, 2002).

influence on the program through the long conversations and the exchange of writings that he sustained with CETI creators through the years.

Educational Practices of the Comunidad Kairós

The educational vision of Kairós was initially channeled into two central projects, the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios and the Revista Misión, both launched in 1982. While CETI organized in order to offer formal educational programs, the magazine Misión reached a far broader audience. In addition to these programs, which were aimed at Protestant-evangelicals within Latin America, Kairós sponsored educational opportunities for Christians from outside Latin America.

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51 “Misión magazine is a quarterly magazine edited in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and printed in San José, Costa Rica. It was started in 1982, by an international and interdenominational group of church leaders headed up by Dr. C. René Padilla, General Secretary of the Latin American Theological Fraternity (FTL). The capital fund for it was initially provided through the Department of World Mission and Ecumenical Relations of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Wuerttemberg, Stuttgart. It has a print run of 2,500 and is distributed throughout Latin America through a wide variety of bookstores, agents and Church Institutions (especially seminaries and Bible Schools). It is edited by the KAIROS COMMUNITY in collaboration with a number of FTL members throughout Latin America.” “Misión: a Missiological Magazine for Latin America,” n.d.

52 While Chapters Four through Six are dedicated to CETI, this sections offers a brief overview of Kairós publications and international seminar programs.
Education through publications

According to its editors, Misión, which later became the quarterly Iglesia y Misión, was a “unique journal,” “the only evangelical magazine in Spanish dedicated to the study of mission.” The purposes of the magazine were, among others:

- To provide biblical and theological orientation to Church leaders in Latin America with the view of developing a holistic Christian witness in the context of socio-economic and political reality, with emphasis on questions of peace and justice.
- To foster the study of Scripture and to relate the biblical message to the Latin America situation so as to encourage a more biblical and contextualized preaching.
- To stimulate the development of a Christian mind open to dialogue with culture, the human sciences, the ideologies, other religions, etc.
- To build bridges of communication among evangelical churches and between Protestants and Roman Catholics.
- To foster the development of a missionary conscience in the churches.

In order to reach these objectives, the magazine featured articles by multiple authors on topics ranging from biblical theology to mission, Christian education, liturgy, church history, family concerns, and Latin American issues.

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Along with Misión, Kairós produced smaller publications distributed within Argentina and to supporters around the world. These publications reflected the concerns of Kairós and the FTL at the time, and dealt with contemporary issues far ahead of other evangelical publications in the region. Examples are “The problem of water in Argentina,” “Ecological education in the home, a Biblical perspective;” “Ethics and spirituality in postmodern times.”


56 These included Orientación Cristiana, Kairós Update, Expresión and Kairós al Día. The latter was published quarterly from 1989 onwards, and revealed the breadth and depth of concerns of Kairós, the ethos within which CETI was generated and developed. It included book reviews and considerations about community life; it built a sense of community by sharing personal news; it promoted reflection in recognition of the priesthood of all believers; all in all, it reflected the life and ministry of Kairós. Alejandro Botta served as Secretary of Literature and Communications for Kairós from 1990 to 1992, and was responsible for the administration of the magazine Misión, the promotion of Christian literature and the newsletter of the Kairós Foundation. Alejandro Botta, e-mail to author, September 7, 2016.


No review of *Kairós*-related publications or of evangelical publishing in Latin America would be complete without mention of the key role of René Padilla. For over four decades, and driven by an irrepressible vocation as an editor, he promoted and accompanied writers and either initiated or led several publication programs, including *Ediciones Certeza*; the *FTL Boletín Teológico*; *Nueva Creación* (in partnership with Eerdmans), *Misión* and *Iglesia y Misión*, and *Ediciones Kairós*.59 The writing generated and promoted through these publications constituted the backbone of the on-going theological work of radical evangelicals, challenged people from other circles, and offered solid bibliography for use in the formal education programs of the *Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios*.

59 “Spanish speaking Protestantism is indebted to René Padilla for his admirable theological, literary and editorial work, which began in 1967... Since then he has published more than 200 books. In addition to those he authored, he has served as editor of dozens of books for which he organized theological consultations, wrote chapters, managed to convince tens of Latin American evangelical authors that they could write, pursued them until they produced manuscripts and, once they were ready, supervised the production and publication process.” Samuel Escobar, “Los ochenta años de René Padilla,” *Protestante Digital*, October 17, 2012, accessed September 22, 2014, http://protestantedigital.com/blogs/4363/Los_ochenta_antildeos_de_Rene_Padilla. See also Martha Saint de Berberian, “René Padilla, ‘Editor por excelencia,’” *EyCCA/Escritores y Creativos Cristianos Argentinos* (2011?), accessed June 2, 2016, http://www.eycca.com.ar/capsulas/rene-padilla-editor-por-excelencia.
Transnational education

The educational vision of Kairós extended beyond the borders of Abya Yala, availing itself of the growing network of international ecumenical relationships developed by its pioneers.\textsuperscript{60} Partnerships were brokered with the Mustard Seed Foundation, Tyndale House Foundation, the Presbyterian Church USA, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK),\textsuperscript{61} Tear Fund UK, Tear Holland, Tear Switzerland, Offensive Junger Christen, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Stuttgard,\textsuperscript{62} the Alliance-Hilfe-Schweiz, the Evangelical Kirche of Kurhessen-Woldeck (EKKW),\textsuperscript{63} and Evangelisches Missionswerk in Deutschland (EMW).

Beginning in 1990, Kairós sponsored a series of “International Seminars.”

These were intended for

...First World Christians who wish to have a cross-cultural experience that gives them new perspectives on their lives and on their responsibilities as world citizens. They are then more able to consider ways in which

\textsuperscript{60} These partnerships are evidenced in the financial records of Kairós as well as in correspondence, mainly between C. René Padilla and the leaders of these church agencies and NGOs.

\textsuperscript{61} Clayton (Mike) Berg, Jr. “Letter to D. Naylor, SPCK” on Misión letter head, thanking them for support granted for the magazine (August 26, 1985).


\textsuperscript{63} Ludwig Moller, “Letter to René Padilla” refered to “the ecumenical internship to broaden young people’s ecumenical experience and generate concern for the poor.” (April 20, 1991).
Christians from wealthy countries can work for justice, peace and the integrity of creation in partnership with Latin American Christians.  

The first international seminar was held from July 16 to August 10, 1990. Under the general theme “Discipleship and Mission in the Two-Thirds World,” Jose Miguez Bonino spoke on “Living Theology: Insights from a Latin American Perspective,” and René Padilla on “Mission in a context of Poverty.” Participants also dialogued with Mervin Breneman, Catalina Feser Padilla, Sidney Rooy, Mauricio Chenlo, and Pablo Deiros, and visited poor neighborhoods, churches, local NGOs, and human rights organizations. The second Seminario Internacional (July 15-August 10, 1991) was “Designed for Christians of the First World who wish to have a cross-cultural experience to gain perspective on their own lives as citizens of a world deeply affected by injustice and poverty.” Samuel Escobar spoke on “Currents and Crosscurrents in Contemporary Missiology,” and René Padilla, on “Mission in a Context of Poverty.”

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65 Kairós al Día (Buenos Aires, Junio 1990). Participants from Germany, the UK, and Switzerland expressed their appreciation for the in-depth biblical study and the study of reality, the community living, and the “heart theology” they experienced during the seminar. Kairo al Día (October 1990).

These seminars, offered annually until 1995, were built on and strengthened the interdenominational and transnational network through which CETI would later grow.

Biographical Notes

The establishment of the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios was a community effort shared by women and men in Argentina in the early 1980s. The leadership and perseverant work of Catalina Feser Padilla, dean of CETI for most of its first twenty years, was particularly significant. A brief profile of this woman’s educational vocation sheds light on the development of CETI and its potential for relevant adaptation in other times and contexts. Also included are biographical notes of Sidney Rooy and Elsie Romanenghi de Powell, in recognition of their contributions to the development of CETI.

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67 Chapter Four elaborates on these efforts.


69 None of these biographical notes intend to be exhaustive. Instead, they simply highlight dimensions of the life and ministry of the people portrayed that were significant to CETI. The profiles of Samuel Escobar, René Padilla, Mervin Breneman, and other key leaders in the history
Catalina Feser Padilla, the consummate teacher (1932-2009)

One would search in vain for publications on educational philosophy authored by this US-born woman who “married Latin America” and served at the heart of CETI for several decades.⁷⁰ Her published work focused mainly on the role of women and men as equal bearers of God’s image in the Kingdom of God, the church, and the world.⁷¹ Perhaps more significant yet, was the mutually supportive marriage she modeled with her husband of almost 49 years, C. René Padilla, with whom she shared student ministry, pastoral work at the Iglesia Bautista de La Lucila, parenting of their five children, long-term hospitality for several young people, and countless hours of Biblical exegesis and editorial work. Although their marriage was fairly conventional in terms of household

of CETI can be found in *Journal of Latin American Theology: Reflections from the Latino South* 4, no. 2 (2009) and other sources, so they need not be repeated here.

⁷⁰ See Padilla DeBorst, “Catharine Feser Padilla.”

⁷¹ For example, “El ministerio de la mujer en la iglesia,” Encuentro y diálogo, no. 8, 2da. edición (1991): 93-105; *La relación hombre-mujer en perspectiva cristiana* (Ediciones Kairos, 2002). *Mujer y Hombre en la Misión de Dios* (Lima: Puma, 2005), co-published with C. René Padilla. Other writing includes “Los ‘laicos’ en la misión en el Nuevo Testamento,” in *Bases bíblicas de la misión: Perspectivas latinoamericanas*, ed., C. René Padilla (Nueva Creación, 1998); “Using the Bible in groups” in *Understanding and using the Bible*, ed. Christopher J.H. Wright and Jonathan Lamb (Minneapolis: Ausburg Fortress, 2015); Commentaries on 1 and 2 Thessalonians for the upcoming *Comentario Bíblico Contemporâneo* (Certeza Unida and Kairós), and support to her husband in his own Bible translations, publications, and public addresses through the years. In addition, she translated F.F. Bruce, *La Epístola a los Hébreos* (Grand Rapids: Nueva Creación. 1987) along with Marta Márquez de Campanelli.
and child-rearing responsibilities, and René became far more of a worldwide public figure, their relationship was one of mutual affirmation and collaboration to the extent that Catalina also preached in their local church, taught in formal theological institutions, and spoke publicly with and without her husband. René repeatedly attested to the fact that his ministry would not have been half as prolific if it were not for his wife’s biblical contributions and sustained support.72

Her keen editorial eye, her proficiency in both English and Spanish, and the inter-cultural skills she had developed through decades of immersion in Latin America, were all gifts she applied as she offered him feedback in his manuscript preparation as well as in their shared ministry in Kairós, and particularly in CETI.

Catharine Feser, known in Latin America as Catalina or Caty, was not given to theorizing about Christian education; yet she dedicated her entire life to hands-on teaching, especially among people with difficult life circumstances. Her educational ministry began during her college years, during which she taught Sunday School in an African-American church in the inner city of Chicago.73


73 Irene Foulkes, conversation with author, San Miguel, Costa Rica, February 13, 2016. The two women met their freshman year at Wheaton College, and remained friends for over half a century. Each named a daughter after the other. David Swartz identified Wheaton College at the time these women—and the men who would become their spouses—attended, as “one of the
After college, she served as chaplain at Sleighton Farms, a reform school for girls in her native Pennsylvania, before returning to Wheaton for graduate studies in New Testament. Her ministry among university students began with InterVarsity Christian Fellowship in the United States and continued for several decades with the Comunidad de Estudiantes Evangélicos (CIEE) in Latin America, alongside her husband, René Padilla. For over twenty-five years, she taught Hermeneutics and Greek in the middle-class seminary, Instituto Bíblico Buenos Aires, and for ten of those years she traveled to the outskirts of Buenos Aires, to teach at the Seminario Evangélico Interdenominacional, which served people in a working class neighborhood. She led Bible studies with women in her home, in the women’s fellowship at her local Baptist church, and in small groups of believers in marginalized communities. She also organized teen-clubs, so the most substantial sources of the evangelical left… Wheaton during the 1950’s and 1960s epitomized the new evangelicalism’s growing social and intellectual optimism.” In the early 1950s Wheaton organized conferences on “Christian Service in the Field of Social Work” and immersion trips headed up by Lamberta Voget. David Swartz, “Left Behind: The Evangelical Left and the Limits of Evangelical Politics, 1965-1988” (Ph.D. diss., Notre Dame, 2008), 62, 66.

She enlisted the support of members of the independent evangelical Blue Church, from Springfield, PA, to welcome into their homes the girls she took to church on Sundays.

See The sense of Community: Women and Family in Ministry in Chapter Two for a portrayal of teaching through hospitality in the context of student ministry.
youth of the church would have a welcoming and engaging space to which to invite their non-churched friends.

Her students, men and women, remembered her as a teacher with “human quality, who taught not only ideas but life, through her example.”76 Her teaching was coupled with a life of service to others as she opened her home to people in need, helped manage two different child day-care centers created in order to support single working mothers, and still raised her family of five children often single-handedly while her husband travelled for speaking and fundraising.77

76 Rubén Fernández, Conversation with author, Cape Town, South Africa (October 21, 2010). As an example, this young pastor recalls especially the time his wife was sick and he had no one to care for his baby. He took the child to class although it was exam day. Catharine cared for the baby while she proctored so that he could take the exam.

77 Dana Robert characterized “the holistic approach to evangelism which included education and ministries of compassion” as an approach typical of women missionaries. Catalina’s ministry is illustrative of two other characteristics of women in mission highlighted by Robert. One is the solid, behind-the-scenes, work of women while their husbands traveled; the other is the significant impact of “mature women teachers and mentors” on the education of male church leaders around the world during the twentieth century. Dana Robert, “Introduction,” in Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers: Missionary Women in the Twentieth Century, ed. Dana Robert (New York: Orbis, 2002), 14 and 16. Robert presents as illustrative the case of Susan Strachan, co-founder of the Latin America Mission, portrayed by Christina Tellechea Accornero. Christina Tellechea Accornero, “Susan Beamish Strachan (1874-1950): Mission Entrepreneur, Educator, and Leader,” in Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers: Missionary Women in the Twentieth Century, ed. Dana Robert (New York: Orbis, 2002), 663-671. Notable, in contrast, is the fact that Catalina Feser Padilla also had a public ministry: she preached in the couple’s local Baptist church, spoke at student conferences, and lectured in public settings. Instances are her presentations on “Education and Mission” at Northern Baptist Seminary (1986), on “La relación hombre-mujer en perspectiva Cristiana,” at CLADE IV (Quito, August 2000), on “Word and the Doing of Theology” at the FTL
With years of experience on the front lines as a teacher, Feser Padilla directed CETI as its dean from 1987 until 2002, with steady dedication and an unassuming style of leadership. While radical evangelical leaders with greater name recognition like René Padilla and Sidney Rooy were often profiled as speakers and teachers in the initial phases of CETI, Catalina spent many long hours painstakingly designing, organizing, maintaining correspondence, and managing much of the behind-the-scenes work necessary to get the program off the ground. Her hand is particularly obvious in the design of the Basic CETI curriculum.\(^78\)

Her final book, La Palabra de Dios para el Pueblo de Dios: Una introducción al estudio personal y grupal de la Biblia, was published posthumously.\(^79\) Grounded in Catalina’s life-long ministry, this manual revealed the theological and educational commitments that undergirded her teaching. The manual is

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\(^78\) See Phase IV: A Shift of Focus and CETI Básico (1999-2000) in Chapter Four.

dedicated to “the generations of students at the Instituto Bíblico Buenos Aires
who taught me this course.” 80 The Introduction makes explicit her hermeneutical
approach: “The Bible is for all believers,” “all the people of God have the
privilege of studying the Word, reflecting on its meaning, and doing theology” in
a “hermeneutical community” in which people discern together the biblical
teaching and its application to real life. Facilitators are told that their role is to
spur discussion; that they need not know everything or have all the answers; that
they are not there to preach a sermon but rather to encourage exploration; and
finally that the hope is that they will “discover that helping others learn is
actually the best way to learn.” 81

80 Ibid., 3. René Padilla told of his wife’s insistence that the book be published by Ediciones Kairós
with no author’s name, given that the material included resulted from the combined
contributions of her students through the years and she did not want to take the credit for it.

81 Ibid., 7-8. The interweaving of theology and education is obvious in this publication, which is
identified as a “Manual” and not only lays out clearly the study process but also directs study
circles step-by-step through the hermeneutical circle --contextual analysis; study of the text in its
historical and textual context; interpretation; critical engagement in the context; and renewed
study. Also revealing of her emphasis on the laity is Catalina Feser Padilla, “Los 'laicos' en la
misión en el Nuevo Testamento,” in Bases bíblicas de la misión: Perspectivas latinoamericanas, ed. C.
René Padilla (Nueva Creación, 1998) and Catharine Feser Padilla “Reading the Bible with the
People,” Global Connections “Thinking Mission” Forum, October 8, 2008, accessed June 16, 2016,
http://www.globalconnections.org.uk/sites/newgc.localhost/files/papers/Reading%20the%20Bible
A consummate teacher, when in February of 2000 Catalina reviewed her life in an update for her 50th high-school graduation, she said: “Most importantly, these have been years of helping people—especially young people—come to know God better and prepare to serve him in a variety of ways, both as pastors and leaders and as active laypeople in their churches and in their jobs or professions.”

Catalina’s steady leadership ensured that the big dreams of the CETI team would concretize in viable educational programs accessible to pastors and lay leaders across Abya Yala.

Sidney and Mae Rooy, bridge-builders

Sidney Rooy was a key actor in the creation and development of CETI. A US-born church historian, missiologist, pastor and teacher, he spent thirty-five years in Latin America along with his wife, Mae. Having studied at Union Theological Seminary, Columbia University, and the Free University of Amsterdam, he moved with his family to Argentina as a Christian Reformed World Missions missionary when he was forty years old. He worked with the Iglesia Reformada Argentina from 1966 until 1970, when they moved to Buenos Aires. The ministry

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and friendships the couple developed in this country accounted for what Rooy identified as his “multiple conversions” and contributed to molding both of them into bridge-builders between North and South, and between people of different theological persuasions.\textsuperscript{83}

From the beginning of his ministry in Argentina, Rooy chose to submit his job description to the judgment of the local church, rather than charting his own course or following a route prescribed from outside the country. His correspondence through the years openly addressed the issue.

Working with Christian literature, making indigenous Latin American theologizing more possible, and directly assisting the national church in the fulfillment of its mission task are all just as sacred and important mission work as is that of the missionary.\textsuperscript{84}

And “Helping the national church at its request and under its direction is fulfilling the missionary task.”\textsuperscript{85} As he listened to the local concerns of the rural people he pastored, he realized that his “Made in Berkhof theology,” with the

\textsuperscript{83} Sidney Rooy, \textit{El Yanqui Convertido: Perspectives about 25 Years in Argentina}, Farewell address at the Argentina Baptist Seminary to the faculty of that institution and ISEDET, May 1991. A dynamic translation of \textit{yanqui convertido} is “converted US-American.” The term \textit{yanqui} is still applied in Argentina to all people from North America. As he looked back on his years in Argentina, Rooy listed the many conversions that resulted from his insertion in that context.


700 pages of his systematic theology memorized at Calvin Seminary, had minimal bearing.\textsuperscript{86} True to his high esteem for Scripture, Rooy turned to it with new questions. Along the way, he came to realize that language-learning meant much more than mastering linguistic forms, syntax and vocabulary. Reading the Bible in Spanish, and through the lens of his newly adopted context, “was as if several windows had been opened for me through which I could see reality.”\textsuperscript{87} One of those windows led onto a whole new understanding of the biblical concept of justice, which English translations had obscured by consistently utilizing the term “righteousness,” regardless of the original text. While the contemporary usage of “righteousness” points mostly to personal piety and a vertical relationship with God, the term “justice” invokes right relations not only with God but also with fellow human beings. The King James version simply did not include the term justice; yet it was pervasively present in the Spanish version he read in Argentina. “Though I knew the kingdom perspectives since my youth, only then did it become clear to me that the Anglo-Saxon world had gradually

\textsuperscript{86} Sidney Rooy, interview by author, Cambridge, MA, October 25, 2007.

absorbed a worldview that was divided between righteousness and justice and their implications for social life.”

The move to Buenos Aires and his teaching position in History and Missions at the Instituto Superior Evangélico de Estudios Teológicos (ISEDET) demanded yet another “conversion.” From his Reformed tradition, Sidney Rooy always retained a high view of the priesthood of all believers (Luther) and a broad vision of the Reign of God which included things political as well as ecclesiastical, economic as well as religious, cultural as well as social, and constituted the worldview grounding for Christians’ involvement in the world

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88 Sidney Rooy, interview by author, Cambridge, MA, October 24, 2007. See “Righteousness, and Justice,” Evangelical Review of Theology 6, no. 2 (Oct. 1982): 260-65. John Hart, Boston University professor of social ethics, remarked that during his Ph.D. studies at Union Theological Seminary, he had noted the difference between Protestant and Roman Catholic translations. “Terms translated as ‘justice’ in Catholic Bible translations, I discovered were expressed as ‘righteousness’ in Protestant translations. I came to the same conclusion as did Rooy, that the reader could be personally satisfied with a personal ‘righteousness’ without embracing social ‘justice.’” John Hart, interview by author, Boston, August 12. A comparison between the Catholic Douay-Rheims translation and three Protestant versions confirmed this distinction. While “righteousness” appears only twice in the Catholic version (Psalm 10.8; and 51.5), “justice” is included 398 times. Meanwhile, in the King James version, “righteousness” appears 291 times and “justice” 28 times. In the New King James version, “righteousness” appears 302 times and “justice” 136 times. In the New International Version, “righteousness” appears 213 times and “justice” 130 times. Spanish translations were more similar to the Roman Catholic ones in this regard: in the 1960 Reina Valera, “rectitud” appears only 29 “justicia” while “justicia” appears 367 times. It is not far-fetched to surmise that the biblical injunction to pursue justice was more hidden for English-speaking Protestant-evangelicals than it was for Roman Catholics or Spanish-speaking Protestant-evangelicals.
(Calvin).\textsuperscript{89} However, his interactions at ISEDET drew him out of the narrow constraints of the \textit{Belgian Confession} and \textit{The Canons of Dordt} of his early years, and granted him the “gift of ecumenicity.”\textsuperscript{90}

Upon arrival in Buenos Aires, Sidney became a part of the \textit{Asociación de Teólogos Evangélicos} (ATE), “an interdisciplinary attempt to help professionals discover the faith implications of their field,”\textsuperscript{91} and also began mentoring university students with the \textit{Asociación Bíblica Universitaria Argentina} (ABUA, the student movement affiliated to the \textit{Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos} in Argentina). Both he and Mae joined the \textit{Comunidad Kairós}, which, “from its foundation and throughout the years provided a nucleus of fellowship and thinkers, a base from which to work and to measure changes that were taking place in my own perspectives and in the changing historical context.”\textsuperscript{92}

\textsuperscript{89} Sidney Rooy, “Hijo de la Reforma,” 19. Sidney Rooy fit the profile of American Dutch Calvinists which David Swartz names “reformationalists,” people “ethnically and theologically rooted in the Reformation but mediated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by Kuyperian theology and the ecclesiastical tradition of the Christian Reformed Church.” These “Reformed evangelicals articulated the pointed message that Christ is Lord over all of creation… and contended that Christians ought to be in the forefront of intellectual and social thought.” David Swartz, “Left Behind,” 97.


\textsuperscript{92} Sidney Rooy, interview by author, Cambridge, MA, October 25, 2007.
a member of the Academic Council of the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios, Sidney wrote the study guides for a number of modules on missions and church history.93 Meanwhile, Mae offered accompaniment to CETI faculty and students in all the Jornadas de Estudio.

No account of the Rooys’ missionary presence in Argentina is complete without a visit to their home, at Ciudad de la Paz 873, Belgrano, Buenos Aires, where the couple sacrificially received poor people, single pregnant women, sick people arriving in Buenos Aires for medical treatment, missionary kids in town for education, and national pastors and missionaries, among others. At the heart of this open home was a solid and respectful marriage: Sid and Mae were bound together by loving commitment and common dreams.

Mae and I have always shared our deeper perspectives and commitments in life… Since our views on justice and the mission of the church were something we had in common, we supported each other as much as possible in our respective ministries. Mae has always been a loving and sacrificial partner for me and my diverse callings, I only hope that I have been the same for her.94

Once their children had gone grown up and left to school, Mae engaged in a very intense ministry outside of the home. In those days, Sidney reported “I think she

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93 Catalina and René Padilla, e-mail to author, November 29, 2006. See also Chapter Four.

has more liberty to develop her gifts and to fill a significant role here than she would have in the States.”

“She visited and helped lonely, needy and handicapped persons within and outside the Reformed church.” She represented the Iglesia Reformada in the Argentine League of Evangelical Women for a number of years, and worked on several committees which sought to respond to basic social problems by managing a home for the aged and an educational program for the International Year of the Handicapped, collecting Christmas gifts for an orphanage, and promoting the work of social Assistance to the Toba Indians.

As time wore on and his Argentine friendships strengthened, Rooy’s message began to reach churches and homes across the United States with added urgency, through letters, articles, lectures, and sermons. The final, and perhaps

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97 Ibid. The Toba Indians are one of several indigenous groups who live under very marginal conditions in the extreme Northeast of Argentina, some 800 miles away from the capital city.
most radical conversion had occurred: No longer simply a Dutch American missionary, Sidney Rooy had become a Latin American voice to the people who had originally sent him. He reported,

On occasions people have commented to us that the integral view of mission, the description and explanation of world issues which we experience, and the third world perspective of the Christian faith need urgently to be more widely communicated to our churches in the US.”

Accordingly, Sidney determined to publish more in church magazines.

He also laid out for himself an agenda for future letters and reports. Not one of them failed to include a portrayal of the social, economic, and political situation of Argentina and the rest of Latin America or the challenge those conditions posed to local churches and to overall mission in those contexts. His letters walked readers through the most crucial issues from the Puebla conference of the Latin American Catholic Bishops to the rise of fascism under Juan Domingo

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Perón, the deadly effects of the Argentine military dictatorship, and the covert and overt intervention of the US in Central America, the comparative cost of the arms race in relation to money spent on food and health around the world, and the condition of human rights in the region. He engaged in fora and consultations where Christians were wrestling head on with these issues. Among them, a CRWM Committee on Justice and Oppression and an FTL consultation on Christian faith, political power, and justice in Santo Domingo (1983).

Chief among these learning and exchange experiences was his participation in a Calvin Center for Christian Scholarship study team, whose mandate was to produce a Christian response to the crisis in Central America during the hot years of the mid-eighties. As a part of the research team, Sidney Rooy spent long stretches of time in the region and interviewed presidents and political prisoners, legislators and journalists, refugees and rebels, church leaders and human rights activists, in order to understand the issues from within. Findings were registered in Let my people live: Faith and Struggle in Central America, which aimed to awaken the North American church to a deeper understanding of its global calling—in evangelism, social concern and political policy, to serve missionaries working in the region, and to call for foreign
policies which would enhance justice, peace and prosperity for the people of Central America.  

The couple officially retired in 1992, and moved to Costa Rica. Sidney continued teaching Church History in that country until 2001, when they moved to Penny Farms, a retirement home in Florida. From there Sidney often travelled back to Latin America, especially to speak at conferences of the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana and to support a network of FTL historians he had pioneered in the late 1980s. His mediating role continues at the time of this writing and honors the title given to him by David Arcaute at his farewell from ISEDET: the “pontifex” (bridge builder). Through the decades, Sidney Rooys’ bridge-building vocation along with his historical perspective marked not only the design of CETI programs but also the relationships of the team members with diverse strands of the Latin American church.

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100 Calvin College Fellows of the Calvin Center for Christian Scholarship, Let My People Live: Faith and Struggle in Central America, ed. Gordon Spykman; Guillermo Cook [et al.] (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988). Also on the team were Guillermo Cook, Michael Dodson, Lance Graham, Gordon Spykman, Juan Stam, James DeBorst, Piet Koene and Timothy Steigenga. Latin American advisors were Xavier Gorostiaga, from Nicaragua, and Edelberto Torres Rivas, from Costa Rica and Guatemala.

Elsie Romanenghi de Powell, a pastoral philosopher

Elsie Romanenghi was born in Córdoba into a literary family of Spanish and Italian descent. When she enrolled as a student in the Universidad Nacional de Córdoba at age 16, Alec Clifford, a recognized linguist and a teacher, and a family friend, nourished her literary vocation which had begun at an early age. Through her marriage to David Powell, she entered the Anglo-Argentine community. The couple moved to Tucumán, in Northern Argentina, when David secured a teaching position in the National University. When she was 36, once the youngest of the couple’s five children had begun first grade, Elsie enrolled in University again. Upon graduation, she became Professor of Philosophy of History in the Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. During the twenty years of her teaching career she grappled with the intersection of faith, deep philosophical and existential questions, and the context of unrest and revolutionary fervor in the university and Argentine society.

Elsie Romanenghi de Powell also served as a member of the pastoral team of the Iglesia Bautista El Redentor in San Miguel de Tucumán. And in the early 1960s, the couple initiated a student group in their home along with Methodist pastor Vicente Tripatti and Arno Enns, a Baptist missionary. In 1977, they both became a part of the national leadership team of the Asociación Bílica Universitaria Argentina. Through friendship with Samuel and Lilly Escobar, and René and Catalina Padilla, Elsie became one of the founders of the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana, and the Comunidad Kairós, and a member of the Academic Council of CETI. With the encouragement of René Padilla to publish and the accompaniment of her husband and her friends from Kairós and ABUA (Sara Dale and José Young), she published, among other writings, Oraciones Inspiradas en el Evangelio de Lucas (1993), Poesía y Vida: Antología de Poesía Cristiana Contemporánea (1979), Trazos (2005), Interrogantes sobre el sentido de la historia y otros ensayos (2006); also poems and articles featured in Certeza and Iglesia y Misión.

Elsie Romanenghi de Powell contributed both to the overall design of CETI as well as to the detailed composition and teaching of many of the Master’s courses. Her unique contribution was the coupling of her deep and broad
historical, philosophical, and theological knowledge with her pastoral concern for the students and the daily challenges they faced.

**Conclusion**

The integrated theological, missiological, and ethical vision of the *Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos* and the *Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana* took root in Argentina during the 1960s and 1970s. Local entities, the *Escuela Bíblica* and particularly the *Comunidad Kairós*, concretized this vision institutionally and sought to channel it into educational initiatives that would strengthen the integral mission of evangelical churches and individuals in Latin America and beyond. In this way, the stage was set for the creation of an articulated interdisciplinary program of theological formation for integral mission.
CHAPTER FOUR

INSTITUTIONAL AND CURRICULAR DEVELOPMENT OF CETI
FROM 1982 TO 2002

Towards the end of the twentieth century “a handful of visionary Christians
recognized in the Latin American church the need and desire to link their faith
with the whole of their lives.”¹ In response to that need, they created the Centro
de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios, and developed Master’s and Licenciatura
programs as well as a non-degree educational model of theo-missional
education.² These evolved out of the informal educational programs and visions
of the Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos (CIEE) and the
Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana (FTL), continental movements, as well as out
of more local reflection groups, Escuela Bíblica Evangélica, and Comunidad Kairós.
Concurrent with the vision of these movements, CETI purposed to serve the

¹ Wilfredo Weigandt, e-mail to author, February 12, 2015. Weigandt was a CETI alumnus and a
faculty member during the period studied and beyond.

² The Spanish term “Licenciatura” is often translated into English as “Bachelors.” The difference
between both degrees, however, is that a typical Licenciatura in Latin America demands at least 6
years of study and in that sense is more equivalent to a US Master’s degree. In some literature,
the term is translated “Licentiate,” and that is the usage followed in this dissertation.
broad base of the church and not only its leaders, to foster conscientization,\textsuperscript{3} and to strengthen their capacity for integral mission in their contexts.\textsuperscript{4}

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the concerns related to theological education in Protestant-Evangelical circles in the second half of the twentieth century, of the development of Theological Education by Extension, and of the educational options available in Argentina, since these served as a backdrop to CETI and inevitably marked its development.\textsuperscript{5} The historical evolution of CETI is then traced from its establishment in 1982 until 2002, when leadership was handed down from the founding generation to the next.\textsuperscript{6} Finally, the focus narrows to the perspective on theological formation shared by the members of the communities within which CETI was generated, and to the CETI

\textsuperscript{3} See \textit{La Realidad} (reality) and Conscientization in Definitions, Chapter One.

\textsuperscript{4} This descriptive chapter focuses on the historical development of CETI while Chapter Five analyses the organization and its programs more critically.

\textsuperscript{5} The focus modestly remains on Latin America, offering only a broad stroke overview. No effort is made here to exhaustively explore the models and contestations within the vast field of theological education in the historical period covered.

\textsuperscript{6} The usage of the acronym CETI is polyvalent in this dissertation: it is used to describe the organizational body, as well as the learning community, and the specific programs generated and implemented. See Chapter One, n. 1.
curricula itself as it stood at the end of the phase covered by this account. The life-based organizing categories and the communal design process are highlighted as distinctive markers of CETI programs which constituted it as an alternative in theological education at the time.

Theological Education: The Scenario within which CETI was Created

The birth and development of CETI during the 1980s and 1990s were determined by the historical context of Argentina during those decades, by the nature and values of the communities which generated the program, and by the broader framework of the growth of Protestant-evangelical churches and the corresponding demand for relevant forms of theological education in Latin America.

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7 An important note regarding sources: CETI documentation and Kairós publications relevant to this study were found to be uncatalogued and scattered in René Padilla’s current residence, a house that served as the Kairós office during the years studied. Papers often were undated; and there was no consistent labeling or titling system. This made referencing them a particular challenge.

8 A clarification is in order: As difficult as pulling one strand out of a tight weaving is the task of isolating the CETI programs in the materials reviewed from the others administered by Kairós, such as its multiple publications and the Kairós Center. All the ministries appear to have been tightly interwoven and to be mutually reinforcing. The task is complicated yet further by the fact that René Padilla and Catalina Feser Padilla were central to all these programs, and René also served as a leader of the FTL and head editor of most FTL-related publications. Considered positively, at the same time, the entanglement points to the organic integration of the CETI educational process into a broader community of theological, missional, and social ethical endeavor, which resourced the program, contributed to its ongoing design and implementation and, at the same time, was influenced by it.
America. After reviewing the concerns regarding existing models of theological education in Protestant-evangelical circles in the mid 20th century and the innovations introduced by Theological Education by Extension (TEE), this section delineates the options available in Argentina in the early 1980s in order to further locate CETI in context.

Theological Education: A Global and Regional Concern

The religious map of Latin America was redrawn during the second half of the 20th century. During the 1970s and 1980s, in what had been a vastly Roman Catholic territory, Protestant-evangelical churches began to spring up at an accelerated rate. Growth was so dramatic that in 1994 theologian Guillermo Cook affirmed that: “The new face of the church in Latin America is largely a Protestant story.”9 A more recently study showed that “from 1995 to 2004, the percentage of Catholics in Latin America declined from 80% to 71% of the population while evangelicals grew from 5% to 14%.10 If the growing numbers of

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Protestant-evangelicals were to grow in their faith and in missional presence their context, new and relevant forms of theological education needed to be devised.

Already as far back as 1910, Protestant mission leaders gathered in the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh had identified as “inadequate” the state of theological education around the world.11 Concerns had focused particularly on the export of Western “systems of truth, knowledge, and practice,” teaching methodologies, and textbooks, models that did not nurture “original and formative native thought in theology.”12 Similar concerns were voiced in Jerusalem (1928) at the Second Missionary Conference of the International Missionary Council as well as in Tambaram (1938), when delegates named a commission to study the situation and propose a way forward.13

Although the Commission issued recommendations such as organizing learning


11 See David Esterline, “From Western Church to World Christianity: Developments in Theological Education in the Ecumenical Movement,” in The Handbook of Theological Education in World Christianity: Theological Perspectives; Ecumenical Trends; Regional Surveys, ed. Dietrich Werner, David Esterline, Namsoon Kang and Joshiva Raja (Oxford: Regnum, 2010), 15.

12 Ibid., 14.

13 Ibid., 15.
less along disciplinary lines and more according to areas of ministry (rural, urban, educational service in schools, and so on), and they urged cooperation across denominational lines, “the majority of the schools... followed the structural patterns of institutions in Europe and the United States and used the criteria of the West for assessing student learning and success rather than focusing on the needs of local churches.”

In recognition of the “urgent need for reform” in training, the Theological Education Fund (TEF) was created in 1958 by the International Missionary Council for the purpose of supporting institutions of theological education in the “younger churches” and their libraries, so that they might reach “a plane of work comparable to that in Europe and America.” Between 1958 and 1977, the TEF disbursed grants to Third World institutions, financed libraries, supported faculty, contributed to curriculum development and

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14 Christine Lienemann-Perrin, cited by David Esterline, “From Western Church,” 16.


17 Ward, “The Theological Education,” 139.
theological associations, and funded extensive studies around the world.\textsuperscript{18} In spite of all the effort and investment, however, the TEF 1972 summary publication \textit{Ministry in Context} admitted that “both the approach and content of theological reflection tend to move within the framework of Western questions and cultural presuppositions, failing to vigorously address the gospel of Jesus Christ to the particular situation. Western formulations are wrongly understood as identical with universal Christian theology.”\textsuperscript{19}

The successor of the TEF was the Programme on Theological Education of the World Council of Churches (WCC), set up in 1977 in order to foster “an ecumenical vision of theological education in every continent.”\textsuperscript{20} This program broadened the range of ministerial formation to include the laity and women. Even so, while WCC leader Emilio Castro celebrated the growth of churches in the Third World and the increased awareness of the need to form the whole people of God, he also mourned the persistent problems in existing expressions of theological education. He lamented the export of the western model of

\textsuperscript{18} Esterline, “From Western Church,” 1-19.


\textsuperscript{20} Christine Lienemann-Perrin, cited by Esterline, “From Western Church,” 20.
ministry and lifestyle, which took people out of their milieu and overemphasized professional achievement and competitiveness instead of service.\(^{21}\)

These concerns were not exclusive to historical Protestant circles linked to the World Council of Churches. Evangelical voices in the 1970s also decried the lack of cultural sensitivity and relevance of theological institutions patterned after North-Atlantic models. FTL pioneer Pedro (Peter) Savage lamented the over-concentration on content, typical of Western education, which was being exported to the Third World, and was responsible for the crisis in theological education in the areas of objectives, faculty, curriculum, and measurement.\(^{22}\) In a similar vein, Wheaton College professor and later Sudan Interior Mission leader James Plueddemann called for a “‘revolutionary paradigm shift’ in the design and methodology of theological education.”\(^{23}\)

\(^{21}\)Emilio Castro, “Editorial - Equipping God’ people for Mission,” *International Review of Mission* 71, no. 282 (April 1982): 129. Emilio Castro also identified opportunities for theological education, such as the growth of churches, which demanded ministers, and expressed the growing conviction that the theological task of the church belonged to the whole people of God. Theological education needed to “recapture …the missionary passion and missionary vision it never should have lost.” Emilio Castro, Foreword, *Ministry by the People: Theological Education by Extension*, ed. F. R. Kinsler (Geneva: WCC Oikoumene, 1983), xi.


discussions of the International Council of Accrediting Agencies for Evangelical Theological Education, and the later International Council for Evangelical Theological Education.\textsuperscript{24}

Winds of Change: Theological Education by Extension

Winds of change began to blow in evangelical theological education within Latin America as early as 1963.\textsuperscript{25} That year, under the leadership of Ross Kinsler, a small Presbyterian Seminary of Guatemala, the Seminario Teológico Centroamericano (SETECA),\textsuperscript{26} had launched Theological Education by Extension (TEE) as “an identifiable model of theological education.”\textsuperscript{27} The distance model


\textsuperscript{25} Also in 1963, at the World Council of Churches conference “Witness in six continents,” the Orthodox Church joined the WCC. See World Council of Churches, Commission on World Mission and Evangelism, Ronald Kenneth Orchard, Witness in six continents; records of the meeting of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches held in Mexico City, December 8\textsuperscript{th} to 19\textsuperscript{th}, 1963 (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1964).


\textsuperscript{27} Ross Kinsler, “Theological Education by Extension comes of Age: A Regional Survey,” International Review of Mission 71, no. 282 (April 1982): 146. Emilio Castro affirmed Ross Kinsler’s qualifications as an expert in theological education by extension, given his 13 years as part of the
did not result from some preliminary study nor from an intentional attempt to contribute to the philosophy of education. Instead, TEE developed in response to the need to make education accessible to the growing Guatemalan church as it engaged in mission. TEE served as a “renewal movement aimed at the integral growth of the church through ministry by the whole people of God.” Educator, pastor, and FTL member Jorge Maldonado drew a parallel between TEE and the historically concurrent growth of extension courses by “open universities” beyond Christian institutions. Eventually, by 1966, “a coherent extension program [had] emerged,” with “self-instructional home-study materials for daily preparations; decentralized weekly seminars of students and teachers [and]

SETECA faculty as it was developing the program, and his service as staff of the World Council of Churches in the Program on Theological Education. Emilio Castro, “Editorial,” 129. Ecuadorean evangélico, Jorge Maldonado recognized Kinsler as a “world authority in TEE.” Jorge Maldonado, “Theological Education by Extension,” in New Alternatives in Theological Education, ed. C. René Padilla (Oxford: Regnum, 1989), 38.


30 Maldonado, “Theological Education,” 38. CETI was also promoted as an “open university.” “Projections for 1991. I. Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios;” and “Kairós Community, Section D,” n.d.
periodic extended meetings at a central location of students from any or all the centers.”

A September 1967 consultation in Armenia, Colombia, served to promote the TEE model among leaders of the rest of Latin America, and the movement spread like wild-fire. By 1977, over 100 programs were being reported across Latin America and the Caribbean with close to 20,000 students. Similar reports were being issued from other continents. The new model had obviously struck a chord by questioning the “dominance of the academic model” in theological education, which resulted in a gap between the seminary and the world and the reduction of learning to “content knowledge.” It responded effectively to the needs of the grassroots of the church, by reaching leaders—including women—


32 Kinsler, “Theological Education,” 145, referring to Wayne Weld’s report.


who were not being served by traditional forms of theological education, without extracting them from their local ministry, and by making education financially accessible. Eventually, even the most established institutions were forced to reconsider their formats and gather into associations for collaboration.35 “The new wine of TEE [had] stretched old skins to the point where they can be kept from bursting only by setting them in cement.”36

No account of TEE in Abya Yala would be complete without mention of the significant contribution made by Guatemalan Elsa Ramírez Aguilar. A graduate of SETECA (Licentiate in Theology, 1978, and Master’s in Bible 1984), Ramírez Aguilar began writing material for Gozo de Servir, the SETECA’s program of theological and pastoral formation for women in 1992.37 She was then invited to direct the broader Estudios CLASE (Curso Latinoamericano de Adiestramiento Sistemático por Extensión), for which she designed and wrote courses from 1994 to 2009. Elsa taught theology at SETECA and was particularly passionate about making theological education accessible to pastors and leaders.

35 Maldonado, “Theological Education,” 43, 38.
36 Mulholland, “A Guatemalan Experiment,” 160
37 Joel and Annette Aguilar, and Claudia de Monzón, e-mails to author, December 12, 2015.
in the most remote areas of Latin America. Through CLASE, her work reached students across the Americas, among indigenous peoples’ groups, and in Europe. Always concerned about access, Elsa contributed to the foundation of Letra Viva, a network of Christian publishers in Latin America, and fostered the translation of the CLASE manuals into indigenous languages like Shuar, Ashuar, Quichua and Mam.\textsuperscript{38} She eventually began Odres Nuevos, an independent Christian publishing venture dedicated to offering “refreshing content to the worried and disoriented hearts.”\textsuperscript{39} Having specialized in New Testament exegesis, and a feminist-maternal reading of Scripture, her teaching and publishing nourished the faith of many, challenged the predominant traditional interpretations of her religious context, and contributed to the conscientization and theological reflection of hundreds of leaders.\textsuperscript{40} Her work is an example of the potential of


\textsuperscript{40} Elsa Ramírez died in May of 2010 and SETECA granted her a Ph.D. in Theological Education posthumously in October of that same year.
TEE to serve people for whom theological formation would be inaccessible and of the often silent, un-recognized, yet vital work of women in mission.

By the early 1980s, in the midst of the significant growth of TEE, concerns arose, and some of the very TEE proponents began to reflect on its limitations. Among these, they identified the danger of adopting the model as a “set formula;” the risk inherent in programmed instruction to “domesticate” students who could simply reproduce the predetermined correct answer expected by the instructional designer; the fact that most of the programs were being run by missionary personnel who also sought to further their denominational agendas; and the frustration of “haphazard cooperation, associations and periodicals that appear and disappear, and several of the best text and books about TEE out of print.”

Most significantly for some, the change articulated by TEE was not “sufficiently radical” because it failed to question the curriculum itself and, hence, “Extension meant… to extend –more of the same.”

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43 Maldonado, “Theological Education,” 45. Samuel Rowen avers that although TEE had the potential for “shifting the control for leadership development from the hands of missionaries to the church,” another byproduct was that it opened up space for missionaries to actually gain
Theological Education in Argentina in the 1970s and 1980s and FTL Perspectives on Theological Formation

Opportunities in Argentina for Protestant-Evangelical theological formation in the mid twentieth century were mostly concentrated in the capital city, Buenos Aires. The ecumenical Instituto Superior Evangélico de Estudios Teológicos (ISEDET) had the longest historic roots. Although it was founded in 1969, it resulted from the union of older institutions, the Facultad Evangélica de Teología (from 1884) y the Facultad Luterana de Teología (from 1955)).

The Seminario Internacional Teológico Bautista had begun in 1912, and the Instituto

space when they should have been retreating. “In spite of good intentions, the TEE movements, in some cases, has contributed to maintaining the status quo of dependency on resources outside the context. Structural education forms dependent on resources outside the context are inauthentic.” Samuel Rowen, “Accreditation, Contextualization and the Teaching of Mission,” in Missions and Theological Education in World Perspective, ed. Harvie M. Conn and Samuel F. Rowen (Farmington, MI: Associates of Urbanus, 1984), 145.


Bíblico Buenos Aires (IBBA) had been founded in 1946 by Christian and Missionary Alliance missionaries.\textsuperscript{46}

During the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, CETI pioneers were well acquainted with the existing traditional residential seminaries that responded to the directives of specific denominations, and doctrinally prepared pastors for ministry within those churches. Sidney Rooy taught Church History and other courses at ISEDET, Mervin Breneman taught Old Testament at the Baptist Seminary, Catalina Feser Padilla taught Greek and Hermeneutics at the IBBA, and René Padilla taught courses on the social responsibility of the church and on Latin American Theology at the IBBA.\textsuperscript{47} They were also aware of the growing movement of TEE with which they agreed about the concern for the formation of the laity in their local context. Nonetheless, they shared with their FTL colleagues a restlessness about the entire theological education endeavor (who was being educated, for what they were being educated, who did the educating, how the education was carried out, and so on) which had been brewing since before the founding of the Fraternidad (FTL).


\textsuperscript{47} Alejandro Botta served as René Padilla’s Teaching Assistant. Alejandro Botta, e-mail to author, September 7, 2016.
Already in 1969, during CLADE I, along with focused conversations regarding the development of contextual and evangelical theology, participants had sustained intense dialogues about theological education. Out of the first concern had grown the FTL. Regarding the second, when Pedro Savage stepped into the role of International Coordinator in 1970, he brought his passion and experience for pedagogical processes into the newly founded FTL. As one of the pioneers of TEE and programmed instruction in Latin America, he had been running successful extension programs out of Cochabamba and multiple centers across Bolivia, giving special attention to the pedagogical process. He insisted that FTL members articulate their thinking into courses that could be broadly shared, and he taught them how to design instructional manuals.\(^{48}\) Meanwhile, in 1976, Sidney Rooy attended a three month-long workshop about TEE led by Ross Kinsler, James Emory, and Ralph Winter in Guatemala. He then served as coordinator of ASIT-sponsored training workshops on the methodology.\(^{49}\)

Another FTL member, Norberto Saracco, had been experimenting with models of


TEE in his Pentecostal church, Asociación la Iglesia de Dios, since his return to Argentina after his studies in the Seminario Bíblico Latinoamericano in Costa Rica. Although he drew on and appreciated the existing TEE models promoted by ASIT, he came to realize that the attempt to “extend” the seminary was problematic in that it kept the theological institution at the center when “the axis of the teaching program” should actually be “the church and the student, their interests and possibilities.”

With all these antecedents added to the experiments within Argentina, the FTL held a consultation in Conocoto, Ecuador, August 19-23, 1985, in order to explore “New Alternatives in Theological Education.” The gathering allowed

50 Norberto Saracco, “International Faculty of Theological Education: theological education in mission,” 2007, accessed October 5, 2015, http://www.seaninternational.com/news/FIET_THEOLOGICAL_EDUCATION_AND_MISSION.pdf. Eventually, in 1994, Saracco and his team launched the Facultad Internacional de Educación Teológica (FIET), dedicated to pastoral formation through Certificates in Theology and in Pastoral Studies as well as through a Master’s program. The Diploma in Pastoral Care and Spirituality was dedicated to training chaplains and prison pastoral leaders.

like-minded leaders to share experiences and strengthen their resolve to find ways forward that would build on traditional and TEE models, while also seeking to transcend them in order not only to “inform” but to “form” men and women prepared to collaborate with God in his work of transformation in the world, a task that requires “creativity, imagination, new ways of responding to the present day-challenges in the field of theological education.”

Although many of the discussions held those days were not new to the CETI participants, given their extensive discussions in the CIEE, the FTL, the Escuela Bíblica, and Kairós, they did serve to sharpen their thinking and reaffirm their core commitments, which echoed with those of many others and contributed to the ongoing work of designing their alternative curriculum in an alternative way.

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53 Particularly noted by Sidney Rooy was Washington Padilla’s diagnosis. Washington Padilla decried the state of theological education in Latin America at that time, which was marked by a divorce between faith and life, dogmatism, resistance to change, “monologism” (unidirectional communication), and the pretense of “apoliticism.” Sidney Rooy, interview by author, Cambridge, MA, October 26, 2007. See Washington Padilla, “Non-Formal Theological Education,” in New Alternatives in Theological Education, ed. C. René Padilla (Oxford: Regnum, 1989), 124-133, and 163.
Historical Development of CETI

The Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios underwent significant changes as it grew from humble beginnings in a small town of a province in the interior of Argentina to Buenos Aires and beyond. With respect for those changes, the historical development of CETI from 1982 to 2002 is organized here in five phases:

- Phase I: Merging visions, from 1982 to 1987;
- Phase II: Organization as part of Kairós, from 1987 to 1993;
- Phase III: Growth, challenges and formalization of CETI programs, from 1993 to 1998;
- Phase IV: A shift of focus: CETI Básico, from 1999 to 2001;
- Phase V: Leadership transition and expansion beyond Kairós, 2001 and beyond.

Phase I: Merging Visions (1982-1987)

The story of CETI began in the early 1980s, years of instability and transition in Argentina, when the power of the military government was crumbling as its violations of human rights became ever more undeniable. Miguel Zandrino had travelled countless times the 350 miles separating Villa María from Buenos Aires.

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But his June 1981 trip was the most significant one for the development of CETI. Zandrino was aware that the educational work he and his friends had initiated in Villa María was vast and important and that, in order to fulfill the interdisciplinary expectations, it required the collaboration of an entire team of theology professors and graduates specialized in different areas. So he went to Buenos Aires in order to meet with René Padilla and propose the creation of a program of interdisciplinary studies by correspondence, drawing on the personnel of the Escuela Bíblica, Kairós, and other theological institutions. Said Zandrino of that visit: “God’s time had obviously arrived.”  

The conversations with Catalina and René Padilla and Mervin Breneman led to a meeting at the Instituto Bíblico de Buenos Aires, with faculty from that institution, the Seminario Bautista, and ISEDET. Participants agreed upon the need to develop a program different from the ones that already existed, that would offer formation to lay people so that they could integrate their faith with their work, family, and society. The purpose of this program would be to promote biblical theological formation at a graduate level, within an evangelical framework and

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56 Ibid.
characterized by methodological flexibility. Conversations continued throughout 1981, and finally, with the formation of an Academic Council in 1982, the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios was formally established as a graduate program.

The Council, composed of members of the Comunidad Kairós and the Escuela Bíblica de Villa María, shied away from the categories into which theological knowledge and teaching were traditionally structured, namely Hermeneutics, Homiletics, Church History, Old Testament, New Testament, and so on, and determined to organize the entire curriculum according to four areas of life: Family, Work, Church and Society. The Council began to meet monthly in order to design the initial units of the curriculum. Before launching publicly, they agreed to hold a couple of Pilot Courses, in order to evaluate the program together with the students. The program was publicized as a “new study method in the field of theology,” dedicated to professional people, pastors, and

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57 Ibid., and CETlinforma (Buenos Aires, Junio 1990).

58 See Life-Based, Contextual and Interdisciplinary Curriculum, below.

59 Compromiso Cristiano, no. 21 (Villa María, Diciembre 1983): 2. This publication announced that the curriculum consisted of 60 Units, with 48 of them being compulsory for the Licentiate degree.

business-people with an average academic level of a third year of university. Studies would be carried out by correspondence; students would maintain a close relationship with their tutors; and students and teachers would meet at least once a year. Progress would depend on students’ dedication, since each one would determine the time and place of work.  

The face-to-face pilot courses were delivered in “La Casa de la Familia de Nazareth,” a Roman Catholic retreat center in Villa María. These test-runs took place over 7 or 15 days, and involved groups of 15 students at a time. Ana Zeromsky, Miguel Zandrino’s secretary at the time, remembered those as busy and unpredictable days. Her job was to type up announcements for Compromiso Cristiano, send out informational bulletins, and respond to the queries of applicants. She also prepared room and board for the visiting faculty and hosted them upon arrival, in addition to managing the finances for the program and ongoing correspondence with the students.  

Once the intensive course was over, she photocopied sections of out-of-print books, packed the materials for each

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62 Norman Zandrino, e-mail message to author, November 25, 2015.

63 Ana Zeromsky, e-mail message to author, February 2, 2015.
unit in boxes and took them to the post office for shipping to students in other cities so that they could continue their studies. “It was all very homespun.”

The first full-blown courses were offered in June of 1983 and were run out of the EBE. The experience of running the pilot had given the Council valuable input for the development of new units and allowed them to adjust course readings and tasks to the time proposed for their study. The CETI Council embarked on a labor intense endeavor, creating course material, sending assignments to the students, visiting students on site, offering time voluntarily, and often investing personal funds in the project. Between 1982 and 1987, over 100 students participated in the courses and contributed to their development.

By 1987, it became obvious that the program had outgrown the local capacity of the EBE team and an alternative had to be found. In May of that year CETIinforma, the periodical publication edited by Miguel Zandrino, reviewed the history of CETI to date, listed the units available for study along with the names

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64 Ana Zeromsky, e-mail message to author, February 9, 2015.

65 Compromiso Cristiano, no. 19 (Villa María, Mayo 19, 1983): 1. This publication indicated Santa Fe 469, 5900 Villa María, Córdoba as the address for the program.

66 Student participation in the design of the courses is a distinctive feature of CETI which is explored later in this chapter.
of the members of the Academic Council,\textsuperscript{67} and included an apology from Miguel Zandrino for not keeping up the rhythm they had hoped in producing the courses or in responding to the students’ work.\textsuperscript{68} In June, a subgroup of the Academic Council (Miguel Zandrino, Afif Chaikh, David Sommerville, Mervin Breneman, René Padilla, and Catalina de Padilla), determined that: 1) From then on, CETI would be officially linked to the \textit{Comunidad Kairós}, which would grant it

\textsuperscript{67} The Academic Council included men from very diverse fields: Dr. Mervin Breneman (Old Testament), Gilberto Colósimo (Businessman); Prof. Guillermo Cotton (Bible scholar); Engineer Afif Chaikh (Electronics); Dr C. René Padilla (New Testament); Dr Sidney Rooy (Church History); Prof. Eduardo Ramírez (Education and Communications); Prof. Norberto Saracco (Social Ethics); Prof. Juan Shannon (Missiology); Prof. David Sommerville (Literature); Mario Tessore (Business Administration); Dr Miguel A. Zandrino (Biochemistry and anthropology). \textit{CETIinforma}, no. 4 (Buenos Aires, Mayo 1987): 2.

\textsuperscript{68} \textit{CETIinforma}, no. 4 (Buenos Aires, Mayo 1987): 2. Both Norman and Richard Zandrino, sons of Miguel Zandrino, recalled that it was around that time that their father became aware that Alzheimers was beginning to affect his memory and his capacity to manage CETI. In personal journals he expressed the growing realization that it was most strategic to hand the program over so that others could improve it and manage it more efficiently. He retired from the biochemical lab he had run for decades and quietly began stepping back on several active fronts. Norman and Richard Zandrino, e-mails to author, November 24 and 25, 2015.
the necessary infrastructure;\textsuperscript{69} and 2) A paid dean or academic coordinator would be named.\textsuperscript{70}

Phase II: Organization as Part of \textit{Kairós} (1987-1993)

So it was that CETI became \textit{Kairós}' first organized program. Although the transition to \textit{Kairós} was initiated that very year, and Catalina Feser Padilla began carrying out all the tasks associated to a serving Dean, it was not until 1989 that the hand-over was completed. In 1989 Catalina was formally named Dean, while Nestor Saavedra was appointed executive secretary, replacing Andrea Ernie, who had been supporting CETI as part-time \textit{Kairós} staff.\textsuperscript{71} One of the first actions of the new administration was to reduce the costs of the program to half the price

\textsuperscript{69} “C.E.T.I. Acta No. 19,” \textit{Kairós} papers (Buenos Aires: June 19, 1987), signed by Michelle Sommerville, \textit{Secretaria Ejecutiva}. \textit{Kairós} began its legal incorporation process as a non-profit organization with an interdenominational board of directors in 1989. CETI was presented as one of its core ministries. At that time, the board was composed of: René and Catalina Feser Padilla, Thomas Mackey, Mervin Breneman, David Powell, Silvia Chaves, and Oscar Ruella. “\textit{Kairós Community for the Kingdom of God and his justice}.” Interestingly, however, the FEBE, legally incorporated in the Argentine province of Córdoba, offered legal backing for CETI and \textit{Kairós} matters as late as 1990. See Miguel Zandrino letter directed to the Ministry of interior of Argentina requesting residency to German missionaries, Frank and Ute Paul, working with \textit{Kairós} (Villa Maria, Febrero 5, 1990).

\textsuperscript{70} “C.E.T.I. Acta No. 19,” \textit{Kairós} papers (Buenos Aires: June 19, 1987).

\textsuperscript{71} Announcement in “Community clippings” \textit{Kairós Update} (Buenos Aires, September 1989): 4; and in \textit{Kairós al Dia} (Buenos Aires, Julio-Septiembre 1989): 5.
in order to make it more accessible “in light of the economic situation of the country.” 72 In addition, the informational bulletin, CETIinforma, which had been produced in Villa María, was absorbed into Kairós al Día, a Kairós publication which began with its July-September, 1989 issue. 73 In this informational bulletin, CETI was introduced to a broader audience as “an integrated program of reflection on the relationship between Biblical teaching and human knowledge, between Christian faith and culture, designed especially for Christians who feel the need for further preparation in order to serve the Lord and the church within their professional fields.” 74 The program was still directed to university students


73 Kairós al Día (Buenos Aires, Julio-Septiembre 1989): 5. This bulletin, published quarterly, revealed the breadth and depth of concern, and the ethos in which CETI was generated and developed. It contained book reviews and considerations about community life. It promoted reflection and the priesthood of all believers. Finally, it nourished a sense of community by sharing news about Kairós members and friends. The English version of that publication, the occasional Kairós Update also offered insights into the life and ministry of the Comunidad Kairós and the struggles to retain valuable staff in the midst of the brain drain suffered by most Latin American countries. Core members of the Kairós Community, John and Moira Rogers, left Argentina in order to study at Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana; Victor Griffiths and family left for studies at Andover Newton Theological Seminary with plans to return to work with Kairós in the area of marriage enrichment. “Community clippings,” in Kairós Update Buenos Aires, September 1989): 3. To date, none of these people have returned to live in Argentina.

and graduates in addition to pastors and seminarians; it retained its mixed format of distance courses with face-to-face gatherings; and it led to a Licenciatura.

Although CETI had been launched in 1982, it was with the formal adoption of the program in 1989 and under the dedicated leadership of Catalina Feser Padilla that the Kairós Community intensified the construction of the modules and the recruitment of students, as well as the formalization of the program, the search for accreditation, and the promotion of CETI. The minutes of the Academic Council meetings, Comunidad Kairós reports, and informational bulletins attest to the progress made and the challenges faced. Encouraging to the team was the interest garnered by people from across Latin America by the advertisements placed in Misión magazine. The student body increased in number and diversity. Contacts were established with similar centers in Mexico City, México; Lima, Perú; Sao Carlos, Brazil; and Santiago, Chile, all drawn to the vision of creating a network of centers of non-formal theological education in order to better utilize human and material resources.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ “Memoria y balance general, 31 diciembre, 1990,” and “Comunidad Kairós, Projections for 1991,” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires). Thorough CETI reports, written by Catalina Feser Padilla, appeared regularly in Kairós annual reports and included a status update, a mention of achievements, and a list of the challenges being faced.
Among the persistent set-backs of the late 1980s and early 1990s was the brain drain caused by the departure from Argentina of founding members and faculty like Eduardo and Elvira Ramírez.76 Other difficulties included insufficient funds for expansion and staff time dedicated exclusively to the program, the slow revision of material and design of planned modules, and student drop-out from lack of follow-up.77 These difficulties were compounded by the complexities of a distance program which depended on often unreliable local and international post and cumbersome payment processes. Students received the material, unit by unit, in boxes containing photocopied material and audio cassettes. Once they had done their reading and written assignments, they posted their work back to the tutors, who listened to the audio recordings and read, wrote notes in the margins, and mailed back the written assignments to the students along with letters of general evaluation and recommendations for

76 “Actividades y andanzas,” *Kairós al Día* (Buenos Aires, Diciembre 1989): 3. The Ramírez both had university degrees in Educational Science and contributed significantly to the pedagogical methodology of CETI programs.

improvement. Payments were made by check and were also dependent on the vagaries of the postal service.


In 1993, slightly ten years after its foundation, CETI was very intentionally reorganized in order to fit the membership requirements of the Asociación de Seminarios e Instituciones Teológica (ASIT), the accrediting body for theological institutions in the Southern Cone of Latin America. Alberto Guerrero, a Baptist pastor with experience in theological education, was hired as part time CETI Coordinator. A new prospectus was drawn up for 1994-1995 in which two degree options and their requirements were laid out: 1). Licenciatura en Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios (granted to people who had at least 2-3 years of

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78 In a letter from Néstor Saavedra (Secretario Ejecutivo) to Peirone (Buenos Aires, Diciembre 17, 1991), the CETI administrator congratulated the student for his great work, saying they would file it as an example for other students. He lamented that the cassette tape the student had sent had been stolen, although the check had made it!

79 Correspondence from those days evidences the difficulties engendered by checks lost in the mail. For the Licentiate, students paid CETI a modest registration fee $20, in addition to $15 for the material of each of the 32 modules, a thesis fee $120, and UPS postage. They were personally responsible for the cost of mailing their work in for grading. “Spreadsheet 2003,” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires). For the Master’s, costs were $15 per Unit (x 40 Units) and $240 for thesis. In both cases, only 1/3 of what the student paid was actually invested in CETI. The rest barely covered the cost of photocopies and postage, and when it did not, CETI absorbed the difference.
higher education, and completed 8 CETI modules and a thesis); and 2). *Maestría en Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios* (granted to people who had a Licentiate, and completed 12 CETI modules and a thesis). CETI also began to offer monthly face-to-face sessions as opportunities for regular students to meet with each other, their tutors, and specialists in their area of study. These were meant to encourage students to persevere in their studies and manage the completion of a unit per month, adding up to a module a quarter.80 These sessions were held at the Central Presbyterian Church (Perú 352), downtown Buenos Aires.81 For students in other regions of Argentina, tutors travelled in order to hold intensive face-to-face sessions.82 Most significant, both for the learning process as well as for the ongoing development of the curriculum, were the *Jornadas de Estudio* (Study retreats) held annually between 1988 and 1994 and occasionally after that until 2004.83


82 For example, Mervin Breneman traveled to Salta and Córdoba to lead sessions in 1995. “Informe de CETI, Septiembre 15, 1995.”

83 These *Jornadas* are described in the section on Life-Based, Contextual and Interdisciplinary Curriculum.
CETI was accepted as a member of ASIT in the accrediting agency’s annual assembly of September 1994. This recognition enabled CETI to establish partnerships during 1995 with organizations in other countries for the use of CETI materials in exchange for a royalty payment to Kairós. By mid 1996, agreements had been signed with Departamento de Promoción y Asistencia Social of the Consejo Nacional del Perú (DIPAS/CONEP); Unión Bíblica de Chile and Grupos Bíblicos Universitarios (the CIEE affiliated student movement in Chile); MAP International (Ecuador); Programa de Servicios Comunitarios (Siguatepeque, Honduras), and Unidad Cristiana Universitaria (the CIEE affiliated student movement in Colombia). Interest grew around Latin America and beyond. By the end of 1997, other partners had been added from Mexico, Ecuador, Nicaragua (Centro Intereclesial de Estudios Teológicos y Sociales) and Spain (PMInternational).

Again, as in the 1980s, growth and opportunity in the 1990s mixed with difficulties, and awoke questions. Many people expressed interest, and initiated studies; but few remained the length of the program. Were requirements too

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84 “CETI report, September 15, 1995,” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires).

85 These partnerships concentrated on use of the CETI Básico material for non-degree formation processes. This program is explained later in this chapter.
difficult? The distance program brought theological education to people who otherwise would not have access to it; yet it was difficult to build a sense of belonging as a learning community with students spread out across Argentina and several other countries. What could be done to maintain a personal relationship with students when correspondence was so constricting? Although CETI remained the most financially viable program of Kairós, and sporadic donations kept the program going, 86 concerns regarding sustainability plagued the Academic Council. What could be done to avoid depending so heavily on outside contributions? Student responses attested to the value of CETI as an antidote to the shallowness of much of the evangelical church. But how could the team gain access to those circles? 87 Growing opportunities demanded ongoing restructuring: the responsibilities of the Academic Council, the Dean, and the Academic Secretary required further clarification; the remaining units needed to be completed and the existing ones updated; additional tutors were needed, and adjustments needed to be made in the curriculum if it was to serve an ever more


87 “Minutes of evaluation and planning meeting, July 1999,” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires).
international body, with students hailing from Temuco, Chile, to Tashkent, Uzbekistan.  

In search for relevance in a changing context, the Kairós Foundation as a whole embarked in 1998 on an extensive survey with the express intent “to gain understanding about the reality and needs of the congregations for the development of training programs for leaders and lay people.” The results were shared in the Assembly of Kairós Foundation members and friends, which took place during a two-day-long retreat that included prayer, reporting, planning, and the traditional end-of-year asado (Argentine barbecue). In light of the research, the Community reaffirmed that the core role of Kairós was educational: a “service oriented to support churches in their integral growth and the fulfillment of their ministry in the world.” This service would continue formally through the various Kairós ministries, and particularly through CETI’s Licentiate

88 “Memoria annual y balance General 1/1 – 31/12/98,” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires).

89 The “Church questionnaire, 1998,” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires), included 88 questions (1-4 on demographics; 5-11 on theological formation; 12-14 on involvement in theological formation; 15-19 on information about congregation, denomination; 20-36 on congregational practices; 37-39 on different ministries; 40-43 on socio-economic condition, neighborhood and relations with it; 44-47 on problems in congregations, activities in response to them; 48-54 on Christian leadership; 55-66 on teaching tools and processes; 67-80 on understanding of mission; 81-82 on problems faced in the country and responses; 83-86 on knowledge about Kairós Foundation and the FTL.

and Master’s; yet there was a growing consensus that “more than degrees, CETI offers leadership formation.”\textsuperscript{91} Participants recognized the need to develop a more basic level that would be accessible to people with no university studies. New formats were being envisioned, and the seeds were being planted for what would become the most far-reaching CETI program, the basic diploma or certificate level.

Only a few months later, students were being offered flexible alternatives for their course work: they could enroll for the full-blown, university level degree; they could open reflection circles in their local church or neighborhood for joint study with or without accreditation; or they could enroll for intensive study in residence at the Centro Kairós, during which they would work their way through CETI courses and also take classes at other theological institutions for CETI credit.\textsuperscript{92} Silvia Chaves was recruited as part time Academic Secretary in 1998 in order to offer sorely needed administrative support.\textsuperscript{93} The increased

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{92} “CETI Distance and in person,” \textit{Kairós} no. 8 (Buenos Aires, 1999): 3.

\textsuperscript{93} \textit{Kairós} no. 8 (Buenos Aires, 1999): 2. Silvia Chaves had served as General Secretary of the Asociación Bíblica Universitaria Argentina between 1987 and 1998. Powell, \textit{Una Familia en Misión}, 2. Before she was hired, Catalina Feser Padilla not only designed and taught courses, but also prepared the material to be sent to students and kept registration records.
promotion and flexibility yielded results: while by 1998 only 20 Argentine students had been studying full time, in 2000 there were 36 new registrations, and by 2002, there were 60 students enrolled, mostly in Argentina, but also in other Latin American countries, the United States, and Spain. Slowly, more graduates joined the first ones: Carlos Peirone, from Córdoba, was the first to receive a Licentiate (1999). He was followed by Alejandro Romero, also from Argentina, who got his degree in 2000 along with Winston Villamar, from Ecuador, who earned his Master’s the same year.

Phase IV: A Shift of Focus and CETI Básico (1999-2000)

In the early 1980s, common vision had drawn together the leaders of the EBE from Córdoba and those of Kairós in Buenos Aires, and CETI had been born as a graduate program of theological education which was interdenominational and interdisciplinary. Almost twenty years later, toward the end of the 1990s,

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94 “Fundación Kairós – Memoria del décimo primer ejercicio (1 enero-31 diciembre, 2000),” and Acta de la Asamblea de la Fundación Kairós- Marzo 16, 2002,” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires). A spreadsheet dated November 14, 2002 included data for 324 students from across Latin America. Of these, only 41, however, appeared to have completed more than one Unit of study!

95 “Fundación Kairós – Memoria del décimo primer ejercicio (1 enero-31 diciembre, 2000),” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires).
fresh winds came from a new and unexpected source and inspired the creation of a new CETI program, known at different times as PETI (Pequeño CETI), PROGRETI (Programa de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios), CETI Básico, Diplomatura, and Certificado.

Seong (Carlos) Park had spent three years in Paraguay with his immigrant family and arrived in Argentina when he was 17.96 In 1992, he began serving with Chung-Ang, a Korean Presbyterian church located at Avenida Castañares 1435, in the Federal Capital of Argentina. He soon realized how important it was to raise up local leadership that did not depend on missionary initiative. He was burdened by the findings of a 1990 study, published by Norberto Saracco in the Christian periodical El Puente, which revealed that within the Federal Capital of Buenos Aires, with 3 million inhabitants and 300 Protestant-evangelical churches,

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only 30% of the pastors had any theological training. The main pastor of Chung-Ang also recognized the gap, and agreed to initiate a program for biblical and theological education for Spanish-speaking pastors and leaders. After completing a Master’s in Korea, Carlos returned to Buenos Aires in order to serve in the program. In 1999, as he was seeking faculty, he met René Padilla. At around the same time, his brother was taking courses with Catalina Feser Padilla at the Instituto Bíblico Buenos Aires (IBBA) and heard from her about CETI. Very soon, a partnership was established, and the Instituto de Formación Bíblico Teológica, Pastoral y Misionológica was founded, with the slogan “Educación Teológica al Alcance de Todos” (Theological education within the reach of everyone). The intent was that CETI would constitute the back-bone of the curriculum.

However, the existing courses were immediately found to be too academically rigorous for the bi-vocational pastors who sat in the Monday night classes at Chung-Ang after a whole day of work and long hours of travel.97

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97 Catalina Feser Padilla often retold the story of how her husband had been ever so frustrated when he discovered, in the second session of the first course he taught at Chung-Ang, that the students had not done any of the required reading. “How is one supposed to teach if they don’t do their homework!” he impatiently complained. “Well, responded his wife, where do most of your students live? And where do they work? How much time does it take them to get to and from work? How many hours do they work? When, then, are these overworked, under-resourced, bi-vocational leaders supposed to find time and concentration to do Masters’s level reading for your class? We must adapt CETI to their reality!” Catalina Feser Padilla, interview by author, Buenos Aires, January 5, 2002.
Meanwhile, the departure of Sidney Rooy and Mervin Breneman from Argentina had weakened the Academic Council, and the task of developing the missing units for the Master’s and Licentiate had become even more out-of-reach than before. In contrast, Chung-Ang represented an entirely new student population thirsting to learn. Given the 1998 board mandate and the urgent demand, Kairós determined to seek a replacement for the Dean position so that Feser Padilla’s time could be freed up. She soon embarked on the demanding task of adapting the entire CETI curriculum into a more basic format that could be completed in two years. For this, she painstakingly “compressed and simplified” the Master’s program into four 16-week-long courses for a broader student body. She “translated” the material into didactic formats, adding discussion guides, meaningful activities, provocative questions, group simulations, survey research guides, and so on, in order to keep the praxis cycle going. Every guide bears the creative mark of a skilled teacher who knew how to awaken exploration and a love of learning in her students.

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100 Catalina Feser Padilla, e-mail to author, May 5, 2001.
In this manner was born the *Programa de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios* (PROGRETI) or *CETI Básico/Certificado*, which was organized around the same core areas as the degree programs, Family, Work, Society and Church. Each area was explored in seven Modules, each with two units of study introduced by a “*Marco de Referencia*” (Orienting Framework), a statement of Objectives and a list of Readings. Each unit consisted of a detailed Study Guide, and between modules there was a form for students to keep track of the work required for that module. Progress depended on the intensity with which students took the courses, and they determined the rhythm. Classes included Bible study, readings, questions regarding their context, exercises, and surveys. PROGRETI could be implemented as a distance or semi-distance program, which combined personal study with monthly gatherings. These soon took the form of 2-day long retreats, “*Encuentros ministeriales*,” and featured CETI faculty and other speakers. PROGRETI courses were launched at Chung-Ang as the modules were made available. During 2001, some 140 students were studying in the Federal Capital, San Justo, and Laferre (Buenos Aires) and another 120 in Rosario and San Juan, in the interior of the country.\textsuperscript{101} The full program was

\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.
promoted to the general public in March of 2003, and in order to make material available and to lower costs, the effort to digitize the guides and readings was significantly stepped-up. Meanwhile, students were offered access to the Kairós library, which contained 15,000 volumes and subscribed to 150 journals.

Phase V: Leadership Transition and Expansion beyond Kairós (2001 and later)

By 2001, with Kairós marking its 25th anniversary and both Rene Padilla and Catalina Feser Padilla soon to turn 70 years old and finally considering retirement, the Foundation entered a season of leadership transition. Alberto Guerrero was named Executive Director in 2001, and the search for a new CETI Dean was intensified until Juan Carlos Carrasco was appointed in 2003. That same year, Carlos Park was named consulting representative of Kairós to the

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103 “Profile of the Center for Interdisciplinary Theological Studies (CITS),” presented to Overseas Council International (July 2003). Kairós papers (Buenos Aires).

Korean diaspora, and the Academic Council was expanded and became the 
Consejo para el Ministerio de Educación Cristiana. Stepping down from her role as 
Dean did not, however, mean Feser Padilla distanced herself from CETI. Until 
her death, in November of 2009, she continued at the heart of the program, 
supporting the new leadership, developing and updating material, grading 
papers, recruiting students, encouraging tutors, and sustaining relationships 
with international partners.

Although the development and contribution of CETI to integral mission 
beyond its initial 20 years lies outside the scope of this dissertation and remains 
open for future research, a brief mention is necessary as evidence of the resilience 
of the program to changing leadership and contexts. Post 2002, chapters of CETI 
continued as a part of the work of Kairós, with new leaders Guillermo Steinfeld, 
Nicolás Panotto, and David Nacho heading up, reorganizing and updating CETI, 
until early 2011, when an agreement was signed with Christian Reformed World 
Missions by means of which a new entity, CETI Continental, was founded. By 
then, Master’s course outlines and reading material had all been scanned and 
uploaded to a website for student access, and agreements had been signed for 
local implementation of CETI Básico with The South Florida Center for 
Theological Studies (2004), Semillas de Nueva Creación (El Salvador, 2005), the
Universidad Politécnica de Nicaragua (UPOLI, Managua, Nicaragua, 2005), the Fundación Cristiana Neuquén Oeste (FCNO, 2005), the Instituto Teológico Bautista de Córdoba (ITBC, Argentina, 2005), Logos, Escuela Bíblica de Liderazgo (Lima, Perú, 2006), the Asociación Cristiana de Crecimiento y Vida (ACCREVI, Paraná, Entre Ríos, Argentina, 2007), and the Centro de Equipamiento Ministerial Iberoamericano (CEMI, Recreo, Santa Fe, Argentina, 2008). Through these partnerships, in which CETI provided guidelines and material in exchange for nominal – and often never concretized — royalty payments based on the number of students, hundreds of pastors and lay leaders were formed theologically. Most notable is the CETI experience in El Salvador, where Semillas de Nueva Creación (Seeds of New Creation), a very small local ministry linked to the mission agency of the Christian Reformed Church of North America, partnered with the mega-church Misión Cristiana Elim. With initial facilitation offered by the young staff of the Movimiento Universitario Cristiano (the student movement linked to the CIEE in El Salvador), the theological perspective, ethical awareness, and practice of mission of over a thousand pastors and leaders, men and women were shaped by CETI. Since 2011, under the leadership of James Padilla DeBorst, CETI’s Master’s program has been revamped to use the full capability of digital media. Study cohorts include students from across the continent who interact regularly with
faculty and each other online, engage in group projects, and meet bi-annually in person for intensive courses, fellowship, and spiritual renewal. A continental board oversees CETI’s development and expansion at Certificate and Master’s levels within Latin America. The most recent development has been the ATS accreditation of the Master’s program through Carey Theological College of Vancouver, British Columbia (February, 2016). Meanwhile, the International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation (INFEMIT) has adopted it as one of its central programs and brokered the creation of contextual versions in other regions of the world.105

CETI Curricular Design: An Alternative in Theological Education

Within the broader landscape of concerns and available options for theological education in Latin America in the last third of the 20th century, the creators of CETI determined that along with engaging in a “new way of doing theology,”106 they had to embody a new way of organizing and designing theological education. For them “learning and teaching theology [was] essentially doing

105 See The Spread of Faith and Life, in Chapter Six.

106 See Chapter Two, n. 39.
They were intentional about bringing together the educational and theological dimensions of theological education, and they conceived of the theological act as one directed toward orthopraxis, the living out of faith. They believed that formation must come from life and return to life in context and that students learned when they were active participants in the theologizing process. Thanks to these commitments, they sought to design both the degree and non-degree formats of CETI as life-based, contextual, and interdisciplinary curricula dedicated to transformation.

CETI’s distinctiveness rested not as much on its form of delivery, as a distance or mixed-format program, as on the educational philosophy and the categories into which the founders organized the learning process as well as on

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107 Antonio Maspoli de Araújo Gomes, “Teologia: Ciência e profissão,” in Teologia: Ciência e profissão, ed. A. Gomes (São Paulo, Brazil: Fonte Editorial, 2005), 131. “I propose the dissolution of the frontiers between producing and ‘consuming’ theology. Learners are theologians, and it is crucial that the ‘content’ of their learning involves not only static theological objects that should be somehow memorized, but also the matter of ‘how to do theology.’” Further yet: “it is possible that learning how to do theology may be the single most important outcome of the whole educational experience of learners in a seminary.” Ibid., 131, 135.

108 Antonio Gomes categorized this perspective as more typical of Latin American theologies in contrast to more Westerns theologies, which emphasize orthodoxy. Ibid., 135.

109 Minutes from CETI meetings, correspondence between the original creators of the program, notes of discussions held regarding course design, and student and faculty rosters housed in Kairós library reveal how the team grappled with the educational and theological issues involved in CETI’s design. Also available are the initial versions of the curriculum, an essential source for unveiling the core ingredients of this interdisciplinary theo-missional-ethical formation program.
the iterative and communal way in which its creators chose to design the curricula. Indeed, like existing TEE models, CETI’s degree programs were run as “distance” or “semi-distance,” and the non-degree program could also be followed by correspondence. However, although CETI shared certain values with the TEE models of its day – formation of the laity, reaching people with little access to residential institutions, the need for contextualized learning, a methodology that promotes conscientization—\textsuperscript{110} its founders strove to offer a yet more radical alternative in theological education. Nowhere in the CETI records are the programs presented as an “extension” from some central pre-existing institution to the margins and no programmed responses were required from students. Instead, CETI creators questioned the imported categories around which traditional theological education was organized, and the curricula was developed in a communal process that guaranteed a broader, more integral, interdisciplinary, and interdenominational agenda as well as the active participation of the students as subjects of the learning process.

\textsuperscript{110} See, for example, Ross Kinsler, “Extension: an alternative model for theological education” in \textit{Learning in Context: The Search for Innovactive Patterns in Theological Education}, Theological Education Fund (Bromley, Kent: Theological Education Fund, 1973), 27-49.
Life-Based, Contextual, and Interdisciplinary Curricula

The FTL commitment to self-theologize, coupled with the Kairós commitment to relevant formation of the laity in the Argentine context, meant that the creators of CETI were unwilling to settle for imported categories as they set out to design their curricula.  

So although they began conceiving of the program along traditional lines, and assumed learning would be organized into the customary seminary courses of Hermeneutics, Old Testament, New Testament, Church History, Ethics, and so on, the CETI creators very quickly found these categories “lacked integrative power.”  

They needed to conceive of courses that would contribute to theological reflection on the part of professional people and help them “to integrate the gospel into the complex social, political, religious and economic reality of their context.”  

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111 Paul Hiebert highlighted the fact that different cultures not only raise different theological questions, but also use different categories and create categories using different principles and different logics. Paul G. Hiebert “The Missionary as Mediator of Global Theologizing,” in Globalizing Theology: Belief and Practice in an Era of World Christianity, ed. Craig Ott and Harold A. Netland (Grand Rapids, MI.: Baker Academic, 2006), 307.

112 Mervin Breneman, skype interview by author, January 13, 2015. According to Afif Chaikh, the questions regarding curriculum and educational philosophy arose more acutely once the program was handed over to Kairós. Afif Chaikh, skype interview by author, April 7, 2015.

113 Elvira Ramírez, skype interview by author, December 28, 2014. With a university degree in Educational Sciences from the Universidad de Buenos Aires, Elvira was part of the original CETI team and designed several Units.
family, and church life, would not necessarily have time to go through all the
traditional courses before addressing their core concern, the integration between
faith and life. They also recognized that they had to bring to bear the various
disciplines they represented as a team.\textsuperscript{114} They realized that what was called for
was a “new paradigm in theological education,” less bound to abstract systematic
theology and more linked to the integration between biblical teaching and the daily
lives of participants.\textsuperscript{115} They were seeking to foster a theo-missiological reflection
that responded to the real questions posed by life, and nourished a social ethical
presence relevant to the context. In sum, true to their identification as part of the
FTL movement and its local expressions, the friends who created CETI sought to
free themselves from traditional categories in theological education and siloed
definitions of theology, mission, and social ethics. “We were convinced that every
believer does theology in his or her life and field of work, relating their faith to their
work. This holds true for all academic disciplines and all service vocations.

Theology is everyone’s field and is necessarily interdisciplinary.”\textsuperscript{116} Social ethics, in

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{114}] Sidney Rooy, interview by author, San José, Costa Rica, November 23, 2014. Team members represented disciplines as diverse as psychiatry, Bible, philosophy, business management, church history, education, and theology.
\item[\textsuperscript{115}] Elvira Ramírez, skype interview by author, December 28, 2014.
\item[\textsuperscript{116}] Sidney Rooy, interview by author, San José, Costa Rica, November 23, 2014.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
their conception, involved “obeying Christ in the world,” as women and men live out their mission of “responding in God’s love to human needs.” It is out of this “contextual praxis” that Christians pose questions to Scripture and to the history of the church. “The response to those questions, honed under the guidance of the Spirit, becomes our theology.”117 In this interweaving of fields, the conceptual categories that organized CETI’s learning sprung from the ongoing critical reflection on the practice of integral mission in specific social and political contexts.

Concern for contextual relevance accompanied the CETI team from the beginning, and especially once interest was sparked in the program in various quarters of Latin America. As a matter of fact, for a period the CETI administration turned down international requests until the program had been tested further in Argentina.118 The burden regarding the urgency of “internationalizing” the program so that it could respond to the needs of students in other countries is expressed in several Kairós meeting minutes.119

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117 Ibid.

118 Catalina F. de Padilla, “Informe de CETI – Diciembre 1993.”

119 Among these, “Minutes of Coordinating Committee” (April 16, 1997); “The Kairós Foundation Annual Report 1997;” “Memoria anual y balance general 1/1 – 31/12/98;” “Comunidad Kairós – retiro de fin de año 7-8 diciembre, 1998,” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires). Particularly exemplary of the concern regarding contextualization is letter sent by Catalina Feser Padilla to Rodrigo and Flor Matute in Loja, Ecuador, in which she explained: “The materials were originally prepared
With consensus that the call was to design life-based, contextual, and interdisciplinary curricula, the big question the friends then faced was “how?” Lacking in alternative models, the team spent long hours excitedly discussing options that would further their “integral gospel agenda” and “dissolve from its roots the dichotomy ‘profession-gospel.’” Eventually, Padilla brought in Mario Tessore, an educator and businessman who had experience in designing formation courses for companies. Although he only met with the group for a few sessions, Tessore’s contribution unlocked the process. As the team

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120 Eduardo Ramírez, e-mail to author, Dec. 7, 2015, and skype interview by author, December 28, 2015. Sidney Rooy explained further that the group was concerned about “the lack of Christian vocation in society and the world” and also about “the other-worldly theology of the churches.” Sidney Rooy, interview by author, San José, Costa Rica, November 23, 2014.


122 Richard Zandrino, e-mail to author, December 25, 2014. Richard Zandrino recalled his father, Miguel Zandrino, commenting that the CETI project had been rather “stuck” for lack of educational perspective, until Mario Tessore and the Ramírez couple “gave it shape” and “untied the knots that were impeding its definitive implementation.”
brainstormed, he condensed the ideas and helped them focus on the people they were seeking to serve, asking, “In what core areas of life is a professional person typically involved?” With that, “the puzzle pieces fell into place,” and the team agreed that the entire curriculum would be organized according to the spheres of action in which Christians regularly engaged, the areas of Family, Work, Church, and Society.

With the broad curricular areas determined, more long hours were invested in discussions regarding the overall structure and content of each area until a more detailed curriculum was designed. Out of conviction and out of need — “Most of us had teaching experience, but very few of us had training in distance education and directed studies” — they worked as a team. So although each member took responsibility for the initial draft of a given unit, the others evaluated the drafts and proposed ways to improve the content and the

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124 Afif Chaikh, skype interview by author, April 7, 2915.
125 The radical evangelical theological perspectives of the CETI creators obviously imposed a lens on the definition of each of these areas and on the ideals pursued within them. Those perspectives and commitments are more fully portrayed in Chapters Five and Six.
126 Eduardo Ramírez, skype interview by author, December 28, 2014.
pedagogy. Each unit was then re-written and tested before being printed in final format. After that, the second phase of curricular design began, one which involved the students themselves.

Table 3. Framework of CETI Master’s Program. The general organization of CETI curricula by 2002 exemplifies its integrated nature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA 1. WORK</th>
<th>AREA 2. FAMILY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MODULE 1.1. The professional and vocation Unit 1.1.1. Work in contemporary society Unit 1.1.2. The biblical meaning of vocation Unit 1.1.3. Historical conceptions of work Unit 1.1.4. Integrity and professional excellence</td>
<td>MODULE 1.1. The family in contemporary society Unit 1.1.1. The family in modern society Unit 1.1.2. The family and crises Unit 1.1.3. Resources for support of the family Unit 1.1.4. Growth in family life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MODULE 1.2. Work ethic and Christian witness Unit 1.2.1. Socio-cultural context of the worker Unit 1.2.2. Radical demands of the Gospel Unit 1.2.3. Commitment, solidarity and service Unit 1.2.4. Christian witness</td>
<td>MODULE 1.2. Work ethic and Christian witness Unit 1.2.1. Socio-cultural context of the worker Unit 1.2.2. Radical demands of the Gospel Unit 1.2.3. Commitment, solidarity and service Unit 1.2.4. Christian witness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MODULE 2.1. The family in biblical perspective Unit 2.1.1. Variety of biblical models of family Unit 2.1.2. Purpose of the family Unit 2.1.3. Family life: roles and responsibilities Unit 2.1.4. The family and church</td>
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127 Ibid.


129 It is impossible to fully explicate the entire curricular content of CETI, especially due to its interdisciplinary nature, and the fact that Bible study, social analysis, church history, theological tradition, ethical considerations, and constant reflection on missional praxis were woven through the entire process. What was clear throughout, however, was the effort to question given social and cultural patterns of human interaction in the various realms of life in light of the liberative message of the Gospel.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODULE 1.3. Work and Christ’s Lordship</th>
<th>MODULE 2.3. Love and sexuality</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unit 1.3.1. A Christian perspective on creation</td>
<td>Unit 2.3.1. Loves and mature love</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 1.3.2. Creativity and quality of human life</td>
<td>Unit 2.3.2. Sexuality, singleness and marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 1.3.3. Stewardship of life and goods</td>
<td>Unit 2.3.3. Problems with sexuality</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 1.3.4. Kingdom demands and social injustice</td>
<td>Unit 2.3.4. Pastoral perspectives on sexuality</td>
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<tr>
<th>MODULE 1.4. Integration and application</th>
<th>MODULE 2.4. The home and the education of children</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unit 1.4.1. y 1.4.2. &quot;Reflections on work in X field in light of personal experience and a Christian vision of vocation.”</td>
<td>Unit 2.4.1. The couple, the basis of the family</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 1.4.3. y 1.4.4. Application project.</td>
<td>Unit 2.4.2. Parental responsibilities</td>
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<td>Unit 2.4.3. Discipline in the home</td>
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<td>Unit 2.4.4. Pastoral care of the family</td>
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<tr>
<th>AREA 3. SOCIETY</th>
<th>AREA 4. CHURCH</th>
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<tr>
<td>MODULE 3.1. Dimensions of the contemporary world</td>
<td>MODULE 4.1. Images of the church</td>
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<td>Unit 3.1.1. The urban crisis</td>
<td>Unit 4.1.1. Various modern concepts of the church</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 3.1.2. Consumer society</td>
<td>Unit 4.1.2. Analysis from a historical perspective</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 3.1.3. Technology and poverty in modern society</td>
<td>Unit 4.1.3. Analysis from a biblical perspective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 3.1.4. &quot;Western Christendom&quot;</td>
<td>Unit 4.1.4. Elements for an integral vision of church</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODULE 3.2. A Christian perspective on society</th>
<th>MODULE 4.2. Gifts, Leadership and ministries</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unit 3.2.1. Christian faith and human sciences</td>
<td>Unit 4.2.1. The gifts of the Spirit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 3.2.2. Various concepts on being human</td>
<td>Unit 4.2.2. Leadership</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 3.2.3. Biblical understanding of the State</td>
<td>Unit 4.2.3. The ministry of women</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 3.2.4. The Christian in human society</td>
<td>Unit 4.2.4. The development of ministries</td>
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<tr>
<th>MODULE 3.3. Christian presence in society</th>
<th>MODULE 4.3. The church as a missionary Community</th>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 3.3.1. Social evil and God’s grace130</td>
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<td>Unit 3.3.2. Love and justice</td>
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130 A letter from Romanenghi de Powell to Feser Padilla revealed the breadth of sources employed in the CETI curriculum. As she was designing Unit 3.3.2, she sought to integrate a reading of Justo Gonzalez, some material from Reinhold Niebuhr (“because we need to see evil through a sociological lens in addition to a theological one”), and citations from Martin Luther. Elsie Romanenghi de Powell to Catalina Feser Padilla (Cathy), (Tucumán, May 28, 1999). Carlos Peirone attributed the uniqueness of the CETI program to the broad perspective of its creators,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit 3.3.3. The Kingdom of God and history</th>
<th>Unit 4.3.1. Integral mission of the church: biblical-theological basis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unit 3.3.4. Christian responsibility in society</td>
<td>Unit 4.3.2. Universality of Christian mission</td>
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<td>Unit 4.3.3. The role of “lay” people in mission</td>
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<td>Unit 4.3.4. Mobilization of the church in integral mission</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>MODULE 3.4. Christian action in society</th>
<th>MODULE 4.4. Life and mission of the church</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unit 3.4.1. The church as an agent of social change</td>
<td>Unit 4.4.1. The church as a hermeneutical Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 3.4.2. Strategic non-collaboration</td>
<td>Unit 4.4.2. Biblical revelation and the mission of the church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 3.4.3. Creative reform</td>
<td>Unit 4.4.3. y 4.4.4. Personal project according to student’s ministry: preaching, teaching, social service, worship, home bible study groups, transcultural mission, etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 3.4.4. Concrete projects of social change</td>
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A New Way of Designing Theological Education

CETI constituted a liberative contextual option in theological education in terms of its organizing categories and its interdisciplinary curricular content. A second way in which CETI constituted an alternative to existing forms of theological formation in Argentina in the 1980s and 1990s is this: Although

who included among the readings sources as diverse as Martin Luther King, Jacques Ellul, Aristotle and Adam Smith. Carlos Peirone, e-mail to author, February 3, 2015. Wilfredo Weigandt underscored the fact that CETI “operates as a true University,” inviting students into a broad universe of knowledge: “A distinctive feature of CETI is that it encouraged students to allow the Bible to dialogue with culture and illumine it while at the same time being illumined by the Spirit of Christ in the culture.” He mentioned additional characteristics: the program was economically within reach; the faculty were warm, humble and available; the content was high quality; the reflection was original and creative. “We studied Medieval Spirituality by watching critically the film “The Name of the Rose.” Wilfredo Weigandt, e-mail to author, February 12, 2015.
expert input was valued, the learning community as a whole constructed the learning process from which it benefitted.\textsuperscript{131} The iterative process by means of which CETI programs were constructed reveals the influence of Paulo Freire.\textsuperscript{132} For this Brazilian educator, curriculum development should move between the phases of preparation and execution in an interrelated way, in the hands of a multidisciplinary team. Preparation involves humble listening, tuning in with the reality, vocabulary, and issues of participants.\textsuperscript{133} The case of Carlos Peirone is illustrative of this process.

Carlos Peirone, a young man from Bell Ville, Córdoba, worked part time at the EBE, supporting Ana Zeromsky while he attended Teacher’s Training College in Villa María in the early 1980s. He was intrigued by the material he

\textsuperscript{131} CETI faculty, Richard Zandrino, qualified as “wonderful” the experience of designing and teaching his course because of the “exchange with the students, who taught me so much.” Richard Zandrino, e-mail to author, December 25, 2014. At the same time, CETI student David Casaretto, recalls how empowered he felt when he was invited to recommend bibliography to enrich the Master’s program he was studying. Richard Zandrino, e-mail to author, February 8, 2015; and David Casaretto, e-mail to author, February 8, 2015.

\textsuperscript{132} See Chapter Three, n. 41.

\textsuperscript{133} Samuel Escobar, “Paulo Freire,” 85. In the case of popular education, listening allows participants and educators to jointly identify “generative words/topics,” and then design the flash cards, which serve as aids for facilitators. In the case of CETI, the input of students like Carlos Peirone and David Casaretto brought to the fore issues with which bi-vocational pastors and lay leaders like them were grappling so that they could be addressed by the courses being designed.
was asked to photocopy for the initial units of CETI. When he accompanied Miguel Zandrino and David Sommerville to Buenos Aires for one of the first conversations about CETI, he met the other pioneers of CETI and decided to join the “learning adventure” as “a guinea pig.” In exchange for a 50% scholarship, he received the first drafts of the material and very carefully tabulated how long it took him to do the readings and complete the assignments; he also commented on the relative complexity of what was required, what had been most helpful, and how what he had learned in one or another unit had enriched his ministry. Correspondence between Peirone and the CETI tutors revealed the intense and detailed communication that took place between them. Assignments were not only graded but thoroughly reviewed in personal letters to Peirone which also included encouragement, questions, and recommendations for further exploration and application. Apologies were sent back and forth for material lost in the mail and regarding the difficulty to access required bibliography.

134 Carlos Peirone, e-mail to author, February 3, 2015.

Although progress was very slow because, more than a student, Peirone was a co-creator, and it took him fifteen years to graduate, he recalls how motivated he remained throughout.\footnote{In a personal letter published in \textit{Kairós al Día}, Peirone highlighted CETI as a program that had opened previously unknown pathways of discovery and adventure, formation and fellowship for him. During their end-of-year dinner, \textit{Kairós} celebrated the graduation of CETI’s first \textit{Licenciado}, Carlos Peirone, known as Chala, a professor and elder of his church in Bell Ville, Córdoba. “First Licenciado of CETI” \textit{Kairós al Día}, no. 8 (Buenos Aires, 1999): 3. As he recalled, although the going was very slow, he was highly motivated because he knew his contribution was significant in the construction of a new form of theological education that would benefit many others like him who did not have access to traditional options. He had contributed to something that would help many others learn a lot quicker than him! Carlos Peirone, e-mail to author, February 3, 2015.} He was exposed to a plethora of readings of difficult access that he never would have discovered on his own; he found the courses creative, engaging, eye-opening and useful in ministry with young people, in radio programming, in preparing sermons, and in his work as a teacher. The caring accompaniment of the faculty allowed him to grow in “writing, expressing myself, questioning, and interacting with others. I learned to learn! CETI prepared me to live out my faith in my context.”\footnote{Carlos Peirone, e-mail to author, February 3, 2015.} When asked about the limitations of the program, he mentioned that his had been a lonely experience: although he had benefited from the one-on-one interaction with faculty, he would have appreciated getting to know his fellow students.\footnote{Several graduates recommended that new expressions of CETI take advantage of the opportunities for student interaction, discussion fora, and collaborative projects granted by the}
the occasional *Jornadas de Estudio* all the more valuable. It was during these Study Workshops that friendship was nurtured, mentorship became more personal, and progress was made in the development of the curriculum because students and faculty walked through units “live,” and left with yet another one ready to be implemented.\(^{139}\)

The *Jornadas de Estudio* were central to the curricular design process of CETI. Although the Academic Council had traced an initial map of the program with the expert coaching of Tessore and the input of professional educators Eduardo and Elvira Ramírez, and although AC members wrote drafts of the units assigned to them, the development of the units was a community affair. Each unit was first evaluated by the other AC members, then tested by students or potential students independently or in two to three-day-long retreats, and finally re-written in light of the input received.\(^{140}\) These *Jornadas de Estudio* were

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\(^{139}\) Carlos Peirone, e-mail to author, February 3, 2015.

\(^{140}\) Illustrative of ongoing student and tutor input in curricular design were the notes written by Wilfredo Weigandt (CETI Master’s, 2002), suggesting editorial changes to the articulation of objectives so that they would be more practical and measurable. Wilfredo Weigandt. Undated notes on Module 1.3. Work and Christ’s Lordship, 1.3.1 A Christian perspective of creation: Creation and the Lordship of Christ. *Kairós* papers (Buenos Aires).
advertised as opportunities for people who “do not consider themselves professional clergy – professors, engineers, doctors, businesspeople, teachers, lawyer, all who desire to serve the Lord in their profession, in the world and the church–” to reflect together during workshops, round tables, personal consultation with tutors, and biblical expositions.141 The topics, speakers, facilitators and sites for these Jornadas varied, and eventually they evolved into the monthly face-to-face classes already mentioned.142 An example of a Jornada program is found in the unpublished document, “CETI February 9-22, 1988 Retreat.” Days began with worship and ended with song and fellowship time. They continued with group discussions about the Lordship of Christ in work, family, and church. Tutors and students then worked on their own on the

141 Kairós announced that the Kairós Center would be inaugurated with Jornadas de Estudio to be held February 3-7, 1990 and dedicated to “The professional and ethical demands.” CETI students, professionals, business people, upper division university students were invited to: 1. Reflect on ethical problems that surface in their professional practice; 2. Share with other Christians a week or two of study and fellowship; 3. Study one or two CETI units. Mervin Breneman would lecture on “The God of the covenant and human responsibility” (OT ethics); and René Padilla on “Jesus and the ethics of the Kingdom.” “Jornadas de Estudio 1990,” Kairós al Día (Buenos Aires, Diciembre 1989): 3. Professionals attended from all around the country and two from Chile: a lawyer from Salta, a doctor from Córdoba, an engineer woman from Buenos Aires, a couple from Ushuaia, a kindergarten teacher and a biology teacher from Chile. “CETIinforma,” Kairós al Día (Buenos Aires, Marzo 1990): 1.

142 “Annual report and general balance, 1/1-31/12, 1994” and “Informe de CETI – Diciembre 1993,” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires). The 1994 Jornada was held in conjunction with the Asociación Bíblica Universitaria Argentina (ABUA) in Los Cocos, Córdoba, from January 19-29.
particular unit in which they were interested, and later brought their material back to the plenary for feedback. Sundays were days of rest and Mondays the entire group hiked together in the Sierras of Córdoba.

The Academic Council had laid out a very ambitious curriculum, and a rich, yet complex and demanding design process. The team had never been large; health and immigration meant Miguel Zandrino, Mervin Breneman, Sidney Rooy, Eduardo and Elvira Ramírez, and Affif Chaikh eventually left. A couple of new people contributed to the course design, but the bulk of the work was left to Elsie Romanengui and Catalina Feser Padilla who, in spite of their intense dedication, were never able to complete the desired plan.\textsuperscript{143}

Even so, undergirding the written curriculum was a solid substrata of relationships that far outlasted the involvement of students and teachers in the formal study programs. Concern for students’ personal and family life beyond

\textsuperscript{143} By September 1995 “only approximately half the program” had been created. “Informe CETI, Septiembre 1995,” \textit{Kairós} papers (Buenos Aires). A loose sheet in the CETI archives, dated 12/12/2006 listed the authors of all the units: Zandrino (2 units); Breneman (2 alone and 1 with Feser Padilla); Rooy (4 alone, 1 with René Padilla, and 2 with Feser Padilla); Afif Chaikh (1); Eduardo Ramírez (1); Elvira Z de Ramírez (1); Angel Schoenenberger (2 alone, 1 with Feser Padilla, 1 with Romanengui); Alberto Guerrero (2 alone); Romanengui (9 in addition to those already mentioned); Feser Padilla (4 alone, and 1 jointly with René Padilla, in addition to those already mentioned). According to this record, 10 units out of the 48 remained unwritten. Wilfredo Weigandt later produced 4 units in the area of Work. \textit{Kairós} papers (Buenos Aires). Wilfredo Weigandt, e-mail to author, February 12, 2015.
their academic performance was evident in the correspondence from faculty and in the comments made by faculty on their papers.\footnote{An example of this accompaniment is a letter from René Padilla to Wilfredo Weigandt, encouraging him and committing prayer on his behalf in the midst of a difficult situation with a church. Wilfredo Weigandt, e-mail to author, February 12, 2015.} When asked to identify highlights of their CETI experience, the alumni referred to the “spiritual, affective, and intellectual bonds,” “the deep friendship rooted in our common commitment to the vision of mission in God’s Kingdom,”\footnote{Richard Zandrino, e-mail to author, February 8, 2015.} the “dedication and deep human quality of the faculty and administrators, who followed up with us and truly valued our contributions,”\footnote{Leticia Pérez, e-mail to author, December 20, 2014.} the “bonds of friendship and faith that drew us close to one another and broadened our horizons.”\footnote{Wilfredo Weigandt, e-mail to author, February 12, 2015.} Faculty became real people to the students and taught through their lives as much as through their words, modeling respectful marital relations, the affirmation of the role of women in church and home, and responsible participation in the broader society.\footnote{Beatriz Buono, skype interview by author, February 9, 2015.} These all contributed to the consolidation of a learning community which is current even at the time of writing: “We [CETI alumni] still exchange
the sermons generated in our local communities for mutual encouragement and feedback.”149 “For Latin Americans, working in groups is a guarantee of continuity. Catalina knew that and fostered it among us. Now I promote that form of learning wherever I can.”150 “Engaging in this novel, accessible and fresh way of studying awoke in me the desire to continue learning and to do so in community.”151

Conclusion

Over the last two decades of the twentieth century, and under the leadership of Dean Catalina Feser Padilla, the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios developed from humble beginnings in a small town of Argentina into a program that shaped the theo-missional-ethical perspective and commitment of pastors, and lay leaders, professional people, and workers, women and men from across

149 Carlos Peirone, e-mail to author, February 6, 2015.

150 Beatriz Buono, skype interview by author, February 9, 2015.

151 David Casaretto, e-mail to author, February 8, 2015. Interestingly, in their October 2015 meeting, the Board and staff of the CETI Continental agreed to exchange the word Centro for the word Comunidad, in order to more graphically represent the communal nature of the educational endeavor and communicate its identity as a learning community. The decision does not affect formal documents, in which the name may retain its historical nomenclature. “Board Minutes CETI Continental,” CETI records (Buenos Aires, August 2015).
the Spanish speaking world. Although patterned somewhat after a Theological Education by Extension model, the CETI Master’s and Licentiate were distinct in that they expressed the contextual, interdisciplinary, integral, and communal commitments of the communities that birthed the program, namely the Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos, the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana, and local expressions of these movements in Argentina.

Attentiveness to the context on the part of CETI leaders allowed them not only to question traditional categories, organize the learning process around areas of life, and generate course material in a communal process, but also to remain open, adapt their program to the formation needs of the church, and develop a simplified, non-degree program that eventually extended the vision of integral mission far beyond the borders of Argentina.
CHAPTER FIVE

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TRAITS, IMPACT AND LIMITATIONS OF CETI

The Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios grew out of radical evangélico movements of belonging and meaning-making in Latin America. The creators of CETI channeled the vision of the Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos and the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana through Kairós into an educational format available to lay leaders and pastors in Latin America during the 1980s, 1990s and beyond. These movements marked the relational ethos, the commitment to contextual evangelical theologizing, and the purposes of CETI as a learning-teaching community dedicated to interdisciplinary discipleship and integral mission for transformation. In turn, CETI sought to expand the reach of those movements and to nourish new generations who could carry the vision forward. True to its stated objectives, by means of its degree and non-degree programs, CETI contributed to shaping the theo-missiological understandings of hundreds of Latin American Christians, strengthened their commitment to
integral mission transformation, and propelled them into responsible social engagement in favor of the least advantaged people in their contexts.¹

This chapter consists of two parts. The first and most extensive one offers a critical analysis of the first 20 years of CETI, organized along the lines offered by Matthias Prieswerk, a long-time researcher of theological education in Latin America and advisor to the major accrediting agencies in the field, in Tramas Pedagógicas en la Teología. Herramientas para una Educación Teológica de calidad.² The second part considers some ways in which CETI contributed to the vision it set

¹ As a first-hand witness of the implementation of the program among pastors, church leaders, professionals, and grassroots lay people, I recorded the fruits in regular mission reports and newsletters which, along with CETI reports and testimonies of faculty and alumni, offer substantial information for these considerations. In addition, assessments made by consultants and by Timothy Wadkins, Peter Canisius Distinguished Professor in the History of Christianity, persons external to the movements and programs mentioned, add validity to the analysis.

² Matthias Prieswerk, Tramas Pedagógicas en la Teología. Herramientas para una Educación Teológica de calidad. Servicios Pedagógicos y Teológicos (2013). This book sums up the key points of his major work, Contrato Intercultural: Crisis y refundación de la Educación Teológica (La Paz, Quito: Plural editories/CLAI-Sinodal/Universidad Carlos III, 2011). At the time of writing, Tramas was available for free, accessed February 9, 2016, http://www.serviciospt.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Libro-Tramas-pedagogicas.pdf. Swiss in origin, Prieswerk is married to a woman from Nicaragua and has lived for close to 40 years in Latin America, where he has been deeply involved in theological education, first in Bolivian schools, and then in institutions he founded and led, the Centro de Teología Popular, the Instituto Superior Ecuménico Andino de Teología, ISEAT, and finally Servicios Pedagógicos y Teológicos (SPT).
out to fulfill, and depicts examples of the missional impact of the program in social-ethical terms.

The Educational “Warp” of CETI: Analysis of the “State of Affairs”

Indigenous Latin American communities are known for their beautiful, colorful weavings. Matthias Prieswerk illustrated theological education as one such weaving, in which theological and educational commitments and articulations are distinct from each other but come together to form a single cloth. The analysis of a program of theological education demands that these strands be unraveled:

In the loom of Latin American theological education, the pedagogical warp is often unnoticed or confused with the theological weft. It is for this reason that we want to shed light on the shape, consistency and colors of these pedagogical strands.

In order to focus on the “pedagogical warp,” Prieswerk proposed two complementary “hermeneutics” of theological education: one is a reading from the outside in and the other, from the inside out. This chapter is organized along

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3 Prieswerk, Tramas Pedagógicas, 13.

4 Ibid. All translations by author.

5 Ibid., 31.
the lines of the first of these hermeneutics, which he denominates “the state of affairs,” and seeks to unravel the educational strands of CETI as well as to assess the impact of the program in missional and social ethical terms.6

Prieswerk identified four points of entry for an interpretation of the “state of affairs” of a theological formation program. The following sections characterize CETI from each of those points of entry.

![Figure 2. Points of entry for the analysis of a theological formation program.](source)

6 The theological strand has been portrayed in previous chapters, particularly Chapter Two.
A Look at CETI in Relation to the Context

The guiding question for this section is: How did CETI relate to the broader social, cultural realities of Latin America in the late twentieth century? In order to respond, consideration is given to the relationships of CETI with established churches, with institutions of higher education, and with the broader society.⁷

1. Ecclesial ties

CETI as an organization did not fit tidily into any one denominational tradition, nor was it officially linked to any particular church. CETI creators, administrators, and faculty represented churches as diverse as Baptist, Mennonite, Brethren, Christian Reformed, Presbyterian, Methodist, Christian Missionary Alliance, and Pentecostal denominations, among others. What they all shared was a radical evangélico stance in relationship to Christian Scripture and context.⁸ Consequently, the CETI curriculum drew on the Bible and sources

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⁷ These correspond to Prieswerk’s entry point D’.

⁸ “Radical evangelical” is a term applied to Christians who sought to remain faithful to Scriptures and, at the same time, incarnated in the Latin American socio-political reality. See Evangélicos and Radical Evangelicals in Definitions, Chapter One.
from varied traditions, appealed to people from very diverse churches, promoted interdenominational dialogue, and fostered ecumenical unity and collaboration.⁹

Relationships were strengthened particularly with three local congregations: The Baptist church in which Catalina and René Padilla and Mervin Breneman served on the pastoral-ministry team; the central Methodist church where Master’s students in Buenos Aires met monthly; and the independent Korean Chung Ang church, where the non-degree program took shape and grew. None of these churches, however, exercised any authority over the Academic Council nor determined in any way the objectives or programs of CETI.

2. Relationship to institutions of higher education

Although CETI gained recognition from the Asociación de Seminarios e Instituciones Teológicas (ASIT) in 1995, as most Latin American theological institutions of the day, it had no formal, state regulated accreditation during the period studied. This condition granted CETI significant independence, along with the inevitable burden of responsibility to maintain high standards even

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⁹ For more on the unifying impact of CETI, see section Leaven in the Dough, below.
without external monitoring. At the same time, CETI faculty also taught in long-standing institutions of theological education or universities, and in this way kept abreast of developments in their fields. Finally, “there was no sense of competition with theological institutions” given that CETI was small, relatively unknown, and the programs were designed primarily for the laity, and for people who had no access to traditional centers of higher education.  

3. *Attitude toward society and context*

Rejection, indifference or engagement were the three alternatives Prieswerk suggested characterize the general stance assumed by an organization of theological education in relation to the broader society.  

Given its unequivocal commitment to transformation, CETI very intentionally reflected the last of these. Rather than seeking to isolate students in an ecclesiastical ghetto, CETI purposed to “Integrally form students so that they may respond with Christian maturity to the ethical and ideological demands, problems and dilemmas they confront in the  

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exercise of their profession.” In order to respond ethically to those realities, students had to be exposed to them and gain the critical tools necessary not only to understand the context but also to apply the skills of their particular field for the transformation of that reality in light of the vision of God’s Reign granted by Scripture. For this purpose, the CETI team was challenged to create educational models that “respond to the ecology of the world,” in other words, to all its social, political, and cultural dimensions.

A succinct exploration into some curricular content illustrates the transformative engagement promoted by CETI. When the prevailing societal model regarding work was one of competition and unquestioning acceptance of class differentiation, and when churches tended to nourish a dichotomy between “Christian ministry” and “secular work,” the CETI courses in the unit on Work questioned those models and expectations. Students were prompted, through readings, Bible study, and class discussions, to exercise their profession as a

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Christian vocation “with a true sense of service.” Similarly, regarding the realm of family life, when machismo and patriarchy marked social, familial, and ecclesiastical relationships, depriving women of dignity, respect, and opportunity, and sometimes justifying outright violence against women and children, the CETI curriculum – both the course material on Family and the modeling of the faculty and their marriages – encouraged students to confront those patterns with the Biblical portrayal of humankind created in God’s image, the call to love of neighbor, and the exhortation to mutual submission.

In sum, regarding the relationship with the broader context, CETI creators were intentional about their personal and institutional situatedness in a radical evangelical reading of the Latin American reality of the late twentieth century. This choice was coherent with that of the contextual theology movements that had generated the organization. The educational program was also explicitly directed toward that Latin American context, and sought to serve as a means to further the liberative intentions of those movements. Success in the educational

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14 “Comunidad Kairós – Retiro de Fin de Año 7-8 diciembre, 1998.”

15 The course outline and reading list of the CETI Básico Modules on Work and Family are illustrative of the means CETI creators sought to transform socio-cultural patterns they deemed incompatible with Kingdom values.
endeavor was measured, in the mind of the CETI creators, not in relation to knowledge acquired or orthodoxy, but rather in relation to orthopraxis, the missional, ethical outliving of their faith in relation to the pressing issues of their context.

A Look at CETI from an Institutional Perspective

Another lens through which CETI can be analyzed is an institutional one, which demands consideration of the formal relationships, administrative structure, and financial solidity of the organization and its programs.\(^\text{16}\)

1. Institutionality and accountability to churches

The nature of an institution of theological education is strongly determined by the relationships it sustains with the churches it serves.\(^\text{17}\) In contrast with church-bound seminaries, CETI was organized as an ecclesiastically autonomous expression of an interdenominational movement. As such, it was politically free to determine its objectives, name faculty, and appoint leadership. The Academic

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\(^{16}\) This corresponds to Prieswerk’s entry point C’.

\(^{17}\) Prieswerk, *Tramas Pedagógicas*, 40.
Council was at liberty to design its own curriculum, develop courses, and trace its theological orientation. Administratively, the Council had latitude to seek funding and allocate resources as they chose.

This freedom, however, came at a cost. Although conceptually and relationally CETI was not an “orphan” institution, and its theological and pedagogical perspectives and commitments reflected those of its communities of origin, there was no institutional accountability even to those very movements. CETI did report periodically to the Kairós board; however, this board was often composed by members of the CETI Academic Council. Meanwhile, the relationship with the Latin American Theological Fellowship was only brokered informally through the personal affiliation of several people, but no official partnership agreement was ever signed. As a consequence, as the years went by, and leadership both in the FTL and in Kairós changed, the link between both became more tenuous and resided more in the imagination of CETI leaders than in effective collaboration.

2. Institutional models

Regarding institutional models in theological education, Prieswerk contrasted the “seminary model,” in which the educational institution is focused on
providing leadership for the specific church it serves, and the “university model,” which is ruled by government laws pertaining to private education.\textsuperscript{18} In a review of “historic models,” Sidney Rooy categorized the latter model as “scholastic,” dependent on university professors and centered on theological systems.\textsuperscript{19} He compared this one to the “catechetical model,” which was focused on the preparation of church members for a life of faithful witness, the “monastic model,” concentrated on the clergy, and the “seminary model,” which began during the Reformation as popular education but soon narrowed into pastoral formation.\textsuperscript{20}

Although not restricted to one specific church structure but rather serving the radical evangelical movement within Latin America, CETI represented a modified seminary model. Study plans were determined, designed and re-designed internally. Resources were managed by the Academic Council, within \textit{Kairós}, the organization that housed CETI until 2011. Administration had a

\textsuperscript{18} Prieswerk, \textit{Tramas Pedagógicas}, 43-44.


\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
certain “homespun” nature, “based on trust and good faith, with all the risks that entails.” Obvious in the documents and testimonies was the social capital built through time by the creators of CETI: they were women and men recognized and appreciated for their commitment, their talent, their knowledge, and their approachability. CETI was the first program of Kairós, and it remained strong even through times of upheaval in the broader organization. Evidence of this was the recommendation of external evaluators that Kairós double the proportion of general funds allocated to CETI because “it is the most promising of the entity’s programs.” At the same time, an analysis of the CETI reports to the Kairós Board during the years studied also reveals the precarious nature of the project, particularly because it rested on the shoulders of very few people and mostly on those of Catalina Feser Padilla, who served as Dean for almost twenty

21 Matthias Prieswerk’s term matches the testimony of Ana Zeromsky, secretary of CETI in its initial stage. Ana Zeromsky, e-mail message to author, February 9, 2015; and Prieswerk, Tramas Pedagógicas, 43.

22 Prieswerk, Tramas Pedagógicas, 43.

23 “Estudio Integral de Asesoramiento, Mateo-Arn & Asociados. Fundación Kairós: Análisis institucional” (Buenos Aires, Diciembre 2000), 34. This study was funded by Tear Fund UK and Ireland. According to René Padilla, the consulting firm did not conclude its work of helping Kairós develop a strategic plan. René Padilla to Kairós staff (Buenos Aires, April 1, 2004). In 1995, CETI was allocated an 8% of the Kairós administrative budget, with the rest destined to Eirene (8%), Misió Magazine (10%), Publications (25%), Kairós Center (29%), Community Development (8%), Day-Care (12%). “Kairos Financial report, April-July 1996.” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires).
years. She was backed financially by the Latin America Mission while the rest of the Academic Council worked as volunteers, and there was only one paid staff person who worked a mere 10 hours a week. In light of this, recommendations from external evaluators prioritized strengthening the administrative structure for sustainability.

3. Institutional dependence

The weakest feature of theological education in Latin America, according to Prieswerk, is its theological and economic dependence. In financial terms, CETI was no exception. It was heavily subsidized, and only a very small proportion of total costs was covered by student fees. During the phase studied, not one of the creators of the program nor its faculty were paid by CETI. Most of them served in missionary capacity and received salaries from their respective boards with money raised among churches and friends: Mervin Breneman, René and Catalina Padilla served with the Latin America Mission; Sidney Rooy, with Christian

24 The Padillas shared a single missionary salary although they both worked full time.


26 Prieswerk, Tramas Pedagógicas, 44.
Reformed World Missions; Elvira and Eduardo Ramírez, with Scripture Union.

Others supported themselves through their professions: Miguel Zandrino as a biochemist, Elsie Romanenghi as a university professor, Richard Zandrino as a psychiatrist. Nowhere in the accounting records found was consideration given to the extremely significant financial contribution made by these mission agencies or by individual staff/faculty members.

Funding for operations also rested most significantly on donations. For instance, a 1998 financial report to the Kairós Board registered total CETI expenses (which included secretary stipend, transportation, office expenses, printing, and a contribution to the general administration) at U$S 8,327.49. Income (which included donations, student fees, and sale of material) only added up to 7,475.45. The difference was made up with the balance of 1997,

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when CETI had received a “generous donation” from the World Council of Churches.\textsuperscript{29} Meanwhile, in an effort to attract and retain students by keeping the studies financially accessible, fees were kept to a minimum, follow-up for those who did not pay was feeble,\textsuperscript{30} and an inordinate amount of time was spent to tailor payments to the very particular situations of students. As this table indicates, detailed cost estimates were drafted for each person requesting information even before enrollment.

In light of the precarious financial picture of CETI, the report of the external consultant included the following recommendations: CETI administration should reconsider the pricing of courses; move towards digitizing material in order to send virtually and eliminate mail expenses; seek administrative support; and step up promotion in hopes of enrolling more students.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{29} “Memorandum-Agenda de reunion del 7-6-97.”

\textsuperscript{30} Estudio Arns, 18. A student recalled, “It was difficult to make payments from a distance. And they never insisted that we pay!” Leticia Pérez, e-mail to author, December 20, 2014.

\textsuperscript{31} Estudio Arns, 35
Table 4. Cost for CETI Programs, 2002-2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COST OF MASTER’S</th>
<th>COST OF LICENTIATE(^{32})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002 to Ayacucho, Perú(^{33})</td>
<td>2004 to Quito, Ecuador(^{34})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registration</td>
<td>$20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic cost/unit</td>
<td>$15 x 40 units= $600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thesis</td>
<td>$120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost materials</td>
<td>$15 x 40 units= $600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postage</td>
<td>$12 x 40 units= $480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1820</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCES: Juan Carlos Carrasco, CETI Dean, letters to potential students. See n. 31-33.

In financial terms, in sum, CETI was institutionally weak. In relation to theology, however, it was far from dependent on outside sources. Certainly, CETI creators drew on the stores of their European and US-American theological formation; yet their articulations were strongly marked by their intentional situatedness and by the expressed telos of their theological endeavor, both of which committed them to Latin America. Although transnational in their gaze,

\(^{32}\) “Estimated cost of Licentiate CETI,” signed by Juan Carlos Carrasco, 2005. Although this record falls outside the bounds of this study, it is included as an evidence of how late in the development of CETI administrative costs were included in the budgeting for student fees.

\(^{33}\) Letter from Juan Carlos Carrasco to a potential student, Ayacucho, Peru. 2002

\(^{34}\) Letter from Juan Carlos Carrasco to Daniel Macias, Quito, Ecuador, 5/8/2004

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and linked to mission agencies, these leaders comprised a community of theologian-practitioners not bound to agendas devised in some foreign country but instead dedicated to generating contextual theology and to fostering the educational processes that would further relevant missional presence within Abya Yala.

A key factor contributing to this theological independence, was the nature of the mission agencies to which these leaders were linked, and of the relationship these radical evangelicals sustained with their sending churches. The Latin America Mission (LAM), the mission board that sponsored Catalina and René Padilla as well as Mervin and Donna Breneman, was founded in 1921 by Harry and Susan Beamish Strachan in Costa Rica as the Latin America Evangelization Crusade, and took its current name in 1938.35 Identifying as an “international community of men and women who work to encourage, assist and participate with the Latin Church in building his Church in the Latin world and beyond,”36 the LAM was unique at the time in its appreciation of Latin American


initiative, its affirmation of the leadership and initiative of "national missionaries," and its willingness to partner with pre-existing ministries within Latin America instead of only creating its own. Accordingly, the relationship of the Padillas and Brenemans with LAM was a respectful one that did not involve directives sent from North to South and was mostly reduced to channeling personal financial support from churches and donors and ministry funding—mainly from Europe—for Misión magazine and for the construction of the Centro Kairós.

Sidney and Mae Rooy, in turn, were sent to Argentina in 1966 by Christian Reformed World Missions (CRWM), the mission board of the Christian

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37 “National missionaries” is a term applied to native Latin Americans in contrast to expatriate missionaries. LAM specifically invited “graduating international students to work in their home country.” “We value the contributions of the Latin American church, and are involved in the Latin Missions movement from Latin America. National missionaries (not only English-speaking North Americans) are welcome to join the LAM after being accepted and raising the necessary support.” “Overview,” Latin America Mission, accessed December 12, 2015, http://www.urbana.org/ns.ms.agency.overview.cfm?RecordId=240.

38 C. René Padilla, e-mail to author, April 20, 2016. “LAM truly had very little to do with the ministry of Kairós. The main contribution was serving as an institution that channeled the financial support from churches (mainly the Blue Church) and individual donors (especially Bob and Peggy Carlson).” Padilla recognized the support received from LAM Director, Mike Berg, in the incorporation of Orientación Cristiana, a 501c3 entity that made possible the receipt of donations. He also highlighted the efforts of recent Director Steve Johnson in strengthening the partnership between LAM and Kairós and securing funding for the publication of Ondina E. González and Justo L. González, Historia del Cristianismo en América Latina. (Buenos Aires: Kairós, 2012). C. René Padilla, e-mail to author, April 20, 2016.
Reformed Church of North America. Although he had been assigned to teach at ISEDET, an interdenominational institution, and did so from 1970 onwards, Sidney was never required to ask permission for his involvement with Kairós and CETI. “This was unnecessary because the Board trusted me regarding the use of my time and supported my educational work.” He was open about his involvement and presented reports in writing to CRWM every three months and personal updates to the Board and the churches every few years. Moreover, he was entirely free to set his priorities without specific approval or any prescription regarding the theological perspectives he had to promote.

Neither in the case of the CETI leaders supported through the Latin America Mission, nor in the case of the Rooys, sent by Christian Reformed World Missions, was CETI considered a foreign agency initiative or official priority. Instead, these missionary couples, along with the other national leaders who generated CETI, enjoyed freedom to trace their own theological and pedagogical course.

39 On CRWM, see Chapter One n. 161 and n. 171. Initially invited to teach at ISEDET, Sidney requested time in the country in order to learn the language and gain the approval of the local church before taking on a teaching role. CRWM allowed this, so he began his ministry with a pastoral assignment in the Patagonia before moving to Buenos Aires. See Sidney and Mae Rooy: Bridge-builders, in Chapter Three.

40 Sidney Rooy, e-mail to author, April 24, 2016.
In sum, as an institution, CETI was financially very fragile: the work was concentrated on a very small and overworked team, none of whose members was dedicated exclusively to the program, and finances depended mostly on missionary support and occasional donations with no guarantee of continuity. CETI’s strength, however, lay in its strong and explicit belonging to the Latin American movements that engendered, nurtured, and promoted the misión integral vision. In that sense, it had a conceptual home as well as much freedom from outside constraints.

A Look at the CETI “Actors”

The analysis of a theological education initiative includes considerations regarding the “actors,” the people involved in education process: students, faculty, and administrators. Prieswerk called for particular consideration to be given to the diversity—or lack thereof—reflected in the make up of the educational body.  

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41 Prieswerk, *Tramas Pedagógicas*, 45-53. This section corresponds to Prieswerk’s B’ point of entry for analysis.
1. Students

Given the broad diversity of students involved in theological education in Latin America, Prieswerk utilized metaphors to describe the various groups represented, none of which were mutually exclusive: “pastors and future pastors” were people with personal vocation and/or support from their church or denomination; “apprentices” were people who conceived of studies as training like that of athletes; “professionals and workers” were people who were not seeking formal Christian ministry but desired to strengthen the connection between their faith and their work; “mystics” were on a spiritual search; “militants” aimed to complement their action with reflection, for work in the church and in social movements; “philosophers” were more centered on theological concepts than on the practice of faith; “researchers” were attracted to theology more because of the impact of the religious field on society and culture than because of personal faith or commitment to a Christian community; and, finally, “vagabonds” were people who studied as “mining for gold” in response to their existential questions.⁴²

⁴² Prieswerk, Tramas Pedagógicas, 46-47.
CETI students fit more than one of these characterizations. Both the expressed focus of CETI and the actual composition of the student body during the decades studied included mostly pastors, professionals/workers, and militants seeking deeper theological formation for ministry in the church and society. CETI reports, promotional material, and correspondence with potential students all transmitted the double-pronged focus on church leadership and lay people.

More than degrees, what CETI offers is leadership formation: for churches, it helps leaders/pastors to connect theology to the real needs of people; for the laity, it contributes a biblical and theological basis for their service in the church and in society.43

Meanwhile, Master’s and Licenciatura student rosters revealed a broad diversity, both in church tradition and in occupations, and rosters of CETI Básico students included far more pastors along with manual laborers and small-business people in addition to people with university degrees. In both programs, it was evident that CETI reached the sectors of the church for which the program had been designed.44

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43 “Memoria Annual y Balance General del 1/1 al 31/12/1998,” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires).

44 More on student profiles under Diversity, below.
2. Faculty

CETI faculty represented a combination of the all the categories identified by Prieswerk, although not necessarily his definitions of these groups. As previously mentioned, many of the founders were “missionaries” in that they received monetary and logistical support from North-Atlantic mission boards. However, the frequent denotation of the term “expatriate” does not strictly apply to them since some were of Latin American origin, and those who were not had spent most of their adult years in Latin America, and had been intentional in their incarnation in the local context of the day and in locating their practice of doing theology within it. Several of the CETI faculty also served as “pastors” and “preachers;” yet for none was that their single occupation. All of them could have identified as “theologian-researchers,” although only some of them had formal theological studies and not one of them would have reduced their role in CETI to the “transmission of content.” Given their personal mentorship of

45 Prieswerk, Tramas Pedagógicas, 47-49.

46 Even though the term “expatriate” is a neutral one, and refers to a person living in a country other than that of their citizenship, within Latin America it frequently has a negative overtone and is attributed to people who operate out of a foreign paradigm and impose their standards and expectations on local people.

47 See Transnational Belonging in Definitions.
students, all CETI faculty took on the role of “spiritual leaders,” accompanying students in their walk of faith. The term “facilitator,” one who “focuses on the knowledge and experiences of students and seeks to build bridges with the new content of the course,” described the self-understanding of their role on the part of all CETI faculty. Some of them obviously excelled more than others in the role of “pedagogue,” a person conscious of learning processes, who builds didactic tools, and articulates content with intentional methodology. The term “prophet” could also be attributed to the CETI faculty during the years studied: they envisioned the need for transforming the commitment of students and fostering the participation of the church in social causes. The involvement in society was to be grounded in a vision of the Kingdom of God and not on partisan or even narrowly defined proselytizing interests. Finally, the category that least fits the self-understanding or the reported assessment of CETI faculty is the one of “doctrinal guardian,” a person who seeks to retain the purity of a given denomination. To begin with, CETI creators hailed from many different church traditions and they did not necessary see eye-to-eye on all theological matters.48

48 For example, reflective of their distinct traditions, Anabaptists René and Catalina Feser Padilla, along with Donna and Mervin Breneman differed strongly with Sidney and Mae Rooy regarding whether baptism should be for infants or for confessing believers.
This, however, was not a hindrance to their joint work. Instead, and thanks to their membership in CETI’s communities of origin, they shared some core theological perspectives, and each was free to contribute from the stores of his or her tradition to the content of the courses without demanding student adhesion to any particular creed or doctrinal affirmation.

3. Administrators

Prieswerk identified three major types of administrators in the theological education scene of Latin America: “church functionaries,” placed by the denomination; “business people,” who emphasized system efficiency and profit; and “empirical or homespun” administrators, who function on a family model, in which administrative functions are not clearly differentiated from the educational, pastoral, and political ones. CETI administration during the years studied embodied the last of these types. Relationships were built on trust, and many assumptions regarding management were left un-articulated. The very same small team designed material, established policy, taught, and managed the program. Records indicate the existence of an Academic Council from 1982

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49 Prieswerk, Tramas Pedagógicas, 49-50.
onward, yet no provision was made for purely administrative functions. Inordinate degrees of responsibility were eventually left in the hands of Dean Catalina Feser Padilla, whose pleas for support staff pervaded CETI reports for well over a decade. It was not until March of 1989 Silvia Chaves was hired for 10 hours a week as academic secretary, managing correspondence, files and databases.

An official *Kairós* document, “Internal rules and regulations,” exemplified the lack of discrimination between educational and administrative functions within CETI, which persisted throughout the period studied. As described in

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51 Said Feser Padilla in 1990, “The year finished and we have not been able to find a solution to the basic problem of CETI, ie, the need for one or two people who can dedicate more time to this ministry, the potential of which has been demonstrated by the great interest on the part of evangelical professionals to relate their faith with their professional practice and their daily lives.” “Memoria anual y balance general correspondiente al cuarto ejercicio finalizado el 31 de diciembre de 1990,” *Kairós* papers (Buenos Aires). Translation mine. Similar statements were found in “Informe CETI Septiembre de 1995,” and in “Plans. Kairos Foundation Annual Report 1997,” among others. Editorial notes on CETI study guides in Catalina Feser Padilla’s handwriting revealed yet another responsibility added to the burden of work she bore. In addition to overall curricular design, teaching, mentoring, and managing the growth of the program, she even gave time to copy-editing proofs of the study guides. For example: “Sociedad – CETI Básico – Estudio a Distancia o Semipresencial- Buenos Aires, 2003,” *Kairós* papers (Buenos Aires). Although Spanish was Catalina’s second language, learned only as an adult, her proficiency in written Spanish was “impeccable,” and “Kairós never had a better editor.” Elsie Romanenghi de Powell, interview by author, August 5, 1999; and Samuel Escobar, interview by author, Valencia, Spain, June 14, 2015.

52 “Reglamento interno 10/98,” *Kairós* papers (Buenos Aires).
this document, the Academic Council was to be composed of Christians committed to the purposes of CETI, who demonstrated an effort to integrate their faith with all areas of knowledge, were proficient in their professional field, and had seminary or university education. This Council was responsible for developing study material, evaluating student work, and supervising the overall progress of CETI. It was also tasked to invite other people committed to the purposes and methodology of CETI to become part of the Council. It was to meet at least twice a year for coordination, evaluation, and planning. The Dean was to coordinate the Academic Council and was tasked to implement Council decisions and supervise the postage of materials, as well as manage the relationship with students, general correspondence, program evaluation, and representation with associations and partner agencies in other countries. In addition, the Dean was responsible for the economic viability of CETI (budget, donor relations, and consultation with general Kairós administration) and the daily functioning of CETI: reports, relationships, contacts, etc. Finally, the Academic Secretary would take care of correspondence with students and prospective students, collaborate in the revision of material, maintain a record of CETI stock, update files, databases, and student registration, and register and circulate the minutes of the Academic Council.
Although it falls outside the time bounds of this study, and does not refer exclusively to CETI, the 2003 assessment of Kairós by Ian and Juliana Horne, funded by Tear Fund UK, deserves comment because it reveals the general institutional context within which CETI was run and which inevitably affected the administration of the program.\textsuperscript{53} The evaluation carried out by these Latin Link missionaries reinforced some of the discoveries of the analysis made in 2000 by Arns and Mateo. According to this report, the lack of formal and written organizational planning and budgeting processes created urgencies and dispersion, and did not allow for proper program evaluation. Frequently Kairós embarked on new projects without increasing personnel, which led to overworked staff and unmet goals. Internal communication was weak and undermined trust. Overreliance on the influence and contacts of René Padilla for donations led to financial unsustainability. Although both studies identify CETI as the most robust of Kairós’ programs, these very same administrative weaknesses plagued CETI during its first twenty years of ministry and limited its consolidation and growth within Argentina and beyond.

4. Diversity

An analysis of all the actors involved in theological education demands consideration of the diversity represented. Prieswerk highlighted differences in gender, social-economic condition, generation, and culture.\textsuperscript{54} On several of these counts, CETI constituted an exception in the Latin American scene. In relation to gender, Prieswerk notes, “For historic, cultural and theological reasons, theological education bears a heavy patriarchal, male, and machista legacy, as do churches and theology in general.”\textsuperscript{55} As already noted, the first Academic Council of CETI, during the time the program was run out of Villa María, was totally male in its composition. Women like Ana Zeromsky and Michelle Sommerille contributed only as secretaries or assistants. However, once CETI was incorporated into Kairós, (in which, from early on, women like Elsie Romanenghi Powell and Catalina Feser Padilla had been members with equal standing as the men), a few women were included in the leadership, as course designers (Elvira Ramírez), and as visiting scholars (Nancy Bedford, and Analía

\textsuperscript{54} Prieswerk, Tramas Pedagógicas, 50-53.

\textsuperscript{55} Prieswerk, Tramas Pedagógicas, 51.
Bachor). Even though most courses were taught by men, original faculty members Mervin Breneman, Sidney Rooy, and Richard Zandrino left Argentina, while René Padilla travelled often and was dedicated to other matters. Consequently, the on-going course design and teaching load fell back on the two pioneer women, Romanengui Powell and Feser Padilla, and particularly on the latter, who, in addition to teaching, served as CETI Dean. Regarding the student body, on average through the years, one third of the Master’s and Licentiate students were women.

Social-economic condition is revealed by the type of work in which people are involved, which, in turn, is based on their level of schooling. The following, non-exhaustive listing points to the broad diversity present among CETI Master’s and Licentiate students. Work and professions represented were journalism, architecture, chemistry, accounting, electronics, teaching, agronomy, kinesiology, research, home-making, pastoral work, graphic art, law, house-cleaning, interior decoration, seminary teaching, editorial work, forensic

56 In addition to those mention, women in Kairós leadership during the period studied include Andrea Ernie, Silvia Chaves, Carolina Lari, Graciela Radulich, Manuela Kauer, Gladys Amador, Viviana Montón, Madelle Hatch, and Aracelli Novo.

57 For example, in 2002, out of 324 students registered, 104 were women “Alumnos 14-11-2002,” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires). In 2003, out of 404 students, 155 were women.
chemistry, library administration, forest ranging, nutrition, music, land
surveying, economy, social work, building, language therapy, psychology,
nursing, and psychiatry, and other medical professions. Overall, the non-degree
programs of CETI were accessed by people with less formal education, including
grass-roots and bi-vocational pastors with little to no theological formation,
although rosters indicated that people with university degrees also participated.

Another form of diversity present in the student body of CETI was that of
church tradition. CETI Master’s students were drawn from denominations as
distinct as Nazarene, Independent, Pentecostal, Brethren, Baptist, Assemblies of
God, Iglesia Evangélica Peruana, Unión Evangélica Argentina, Congregational,
Reformed, Christian Missionary Alliance, Lutheran, Anglican, Methodist,
Mennonite, Presbyterian, Cristiana Evangélica, Unión Misionera Evangélica,
Iglesia Cruzada Cristiana, Templo Bíblico, Catholic, New Covenant Fellowship,
Bethel Centroeuropean, and a variety of other independent and Pentecostal
churches.

Prieswerk did emphasize the value of generational diversity and
intergenerational engagement in education. He avered that “many structures,

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educational models and cultures” of theological education did not respond to the needs and expectations of younger people.\footnote{Prieswerk, Tramas pedagógicas, 51.} During the years studied, CETI Master’s managed to reach younger and older university and seminary graduates, mostly through the promotion disseminated by Misión Magazine, and appealing to the natural constituency composed of students and graduates of the Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos and the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana across the sub-continent and beyond. These transnational communities were rich in cultural diversity, and their members hailed from countries as distinct as Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Uruguay, Venezuela, the United States of America, Spain and England.\footnote{Based on the study of 10 student rosters during the period studied.} Though further research is required in order to confirm the following, students’ surnames and cities of residence also appeared to indicate that several CETI students were more strongly indigenous than \textit{mestizo}.\footnote{Mestizo or \textit{ladino} is applied to people and communities resulting from the intermingling of indigenous and European blood in Abya Yala. Surnames do not offer information pointing to the involvement of Latin Americans of African descent.} However, given the format of the CETI
Master’s as a centralized distance program in which students interacted intensely with their tutors but had little to no engagement with one another, the potential of student diversity for stretching people’s understanding was lost. In contrast, the study circles of the “basic” CETI programs, as well as the face-to-face gatherings offered to Master’s and Licenciatura students, did allow for rich exchange between people with very different backgrounds and life experiences, and offered faculty the necessary input for them to tailor content and methodology to particular groups.62

In sum, the actors of CETI represented a broad diversity in terms of gender, culture, ethnicity, and denomination. While the richness of this diversity among the creators and faculty marked the breadth of the CETI course material,

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62 In my estimation, seeds were being sown even in those early years for the development of “interculturality,” and for overcoming “hegemonic, self-legitimizing, and self-centered” epistemologies, processes Prieswerk presented as essential if theological education is to serve in today’s world. Prieswerk, Tramas pedagógicas, 52. These challenges CETI has been facing head on in recent years through incursions into narrative theologies and theopoetics. The Association for Theopoetics Research and Exploration defines Theopoetics as “an emphasis, style, and positive concern for the intersection of theology with imagination, aesthetics, and the arts, especially as it takes shape in ways that engender community affirming dialogue that is embodied in nature and transformative in effect. It is not an alternative to theology as such, but an orientation to the doing of theology that gives greater attention to form, genre, and the methods of theological reflection.” “Theopoetics,” accessed February 25, 2016, http:Theopoetics.net on. Although CETI’s explorations in this regard fall outside the bounds of this study, see “The actors: intercultural communities” in Chapter Six.
it did not reach its full potential in the case of the degree students because of the natural limitations of distance education at the time.\textsuperscript{63}

A Look at CETI’s Formation Programs

Having considered CETI from the perspective of the broader context, of its institutional character, and of the actors involved, the focus now rests on the heart of CETI, its formation programs.\textsuperscript{64} This section is organized around the seven dimensions of CETI’s \textit{propuesta formativa}, following Prieswerk’s framework: 1. Degrees and modes of formation; 2. Theological points of reference; 3. Pedagogical points of reference and resources; 4. Relationship to the sciences; 5. Objectives of the formation and type of graduates; 6. Other areas; 7. Other resources.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{63} Since the period studied, the scenario has radically changed with the spread and access of virtual communication and learning platforms that allow cross-fertilization between students which in the 1980s and 1990s could only be achieved in face-to-face encounters.

\textsuperscript{64} “Formation programs” is my translation of Prieswer’s term \textit{“propuesta formativa.”}

\textsuperscript{65} Prieswerk, \textit{Tramas pedagógicas}, 53-63.
1. Degrees and modes of formation

During the period studied, CETI’s Academic Council responded to the needs and opportunities they identified within Argentina and, later, to the broader context of the Latin American world. They first offered Licenciatura and Master’s degrees, in a hybrid mode which combined distance education with occasional Jornadas de estudio gatherings and monthly in-person discussions in some cities. CETI later developed a non-degree program, alternately denominated Basic, Diploma, or Certificate, which took place in study circles guided by facilitators. Towards the end of the 1990s, the small CETI team began scanning and uploading to a digital site the study guides and reading material for all three programs in order to make them available online to study circles within Argentina and across Latin America.

2. Theological points of reference

According to Prieswerk, rarely do theological education programs make explicit reference to their theological foundations.\textsuperscript{66} Still, by analyzing the course offerings and content, he proposes an external categorization in which the

\textsuperscript{66} Prieswerk, \textit{Tramas pedagógicas}, 54.
following perspectives may combine or contrast: “fundamentalist” perspectives; “denominational, moralist, Biblicist” ones; “pragmatic, proselitist” ones; “erudite, scientific” ones; and “contextual, transforming, ecumenical, and intercultural” ones.

In contrast to Prieswerk’s general assessment, and not surprisingly given the intentional self-theologizing of the communities within which CETI was birthed, CETI promotional material, internal reports, and study guides abound in theological language and articulation. Of Prieswerk’s categories, CETI most closely fits the last: CETI set out to offer theological formation that was contextual, transforming, ecumenical, and intercultural. Concerns regarding the Latin American context were a significant motivation for the creation of the program as the following citations from CETI founders express:

The social, political, religious and economic complexities of the day confronted the group that founded CETI with one clear need: the formation of Christian professionals who would exercise their profession, integrating their faith with the complex reality of their context.

We intentionally sought to offer biblical formation that was relevant to the current situation of military dictatorship, social unrest, suffering of the

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67 For instance, the yearly Prospecto during the years studied always included a section on Marco Teológico (theological framework).

poor, hyperinflation, torture, disappearances, silence on the part of the churches, and concern among university students.69

The creators of CETI sought to respond to their context with the express intent of transforming it. They wanted their educational processes to contribute to “social change inspired in the values of the Reign [of God].”70 They shared a clear commitment: “We commit… to doing all within our reach for people of all ages to appropriate the Gospel of the Kingdom of God… This appropriation means promoting social transformation in favor of increased freedom.”71

In addition to being contextual and to having transformation as its telos, CETI was ecumenical in terms of church relations: creators, administrators, faculty, and students hailed from many different denominations and confessions. Bound together by a common vision of God’s Reign, they did not employ their teaching as a means to recruit adepts to their particular tradition but rather to further their shared radical evangelical commitments. Finally, given the diverse origin of its founders, CETI was the product of intercultural exchange.72 To what

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69 Mervin Breneman, skype interview by author, January 13, 2015.

70 Prieswerk, *Tramas pedagógicas*, 56.


72 See Transnational Belonging, in Chapter One.
extent CETI served as a promoter of cultural awareness and engagement beyond the original team is difficult to assess, particularly because the distance mode of education did not allow for direct exchange between students.

The theological underpinning of CETI was offered by the movements that engendered the program and made known through the courses as well as through the on-going consultations, seminars, conferences, and publications of the CIEE, the FTL, and Kairós, made available to CETI students.

3. Pedagogical points of reference and resources

Pedagogical considerations are “the Cinderella” of theological education in Latin America, often implicit or absent in program articulations, according to Prieswerk. On the surface, CETI does not appear to be an exception. Although pedagogical concerns feature centrally in the reflection and publications of the communities that engendered the program, the pedagogical undergirding of the program is not prominently expressed in the study materials offered to students. For example, the yearly Prospectos contain sections orienting students and prospective students to the Academic Council, as well as to the background of

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Prieswerk, Tramas pedagógicas, 57.
CETI, its purposes, theological framework, academic requirements, and course program; yet none explain the educational framework. Deeper research, however, uncovers affirmations and orientation to students that are not couched in technical pedagogical jargon yet reveal the educational commitments upon which the program is built.

a. Educational currents. Prieswerk identified as “traditional and banking” the form of theological education prevalent in Latin America. The attribution of the term “banking” to education was pioneered by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire to describe a style of education in which students passively receive and mechanically repeat the content offered them while their attitudes, capacities, actions, social interaction, and political action remain unaffected. This model of education guarantees the maintenance of the status quo because it is disengaged from the real life experience of the learner and has no transformative intent.

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74 Prieswerk, Tramas pedagógicas, 57.

In contrast to this model, and in spite of the fact that this current was not explicitly identified in CETI study guides or promotional material, the influence of Paulo Freire, and what has come to be known as popular and critical education was obvious in the programs. Students were told that their studies would be fruitful to the extent that they actively engaged with the ideas offered by the readings and with their context; that the program challenged them to examine their pre-conceived ideas and evaluate the new concepts; that they were not expected simply to repeat ideas but to build on them critically in

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76 Might the omission of Paulo Freire’s name or specific jargon, such as “banking,” “critical consciousness,” or “conscientization,” have been intentional given the reticence in traditional evangelical circles to appear sympathetic to left-wing political stances and the associated theologies of liberation? Although CETI materials did not mention Freire explicitly, publications related to the program did. For example, Daniel Schipani’s books, *El Reino de Dios y el Ministerio Educativo de la Iglesia*, and *Teología del Ministerio Educativo: Perspectivas Latinoamericanas*, both published by Nueva Creación, cited and built on Freire extensively. Schipani advocated for forms of theological education which are marked by 1. A deep analysis of the real life situation of the people being served; 2. Open dialogue in which the contribution of all participants is valued and power dynamics are challenged; and 3. Freedom for the Holy Spirit and the Bible to speak to all participants and not only to facilitators/teachers. Daniel Schipani, *Teología del Ministerio*, 157. Also, many articles published in *Kairós al Día* and *Iglesia y Misión*, dedicated significant sections to pedagogical considerations along similar lines.

77 Freire identified this examination as “problematization” of knowledge, a process of problem posing rather than problem solving. Peter Mayo, *Echoes from Freire for a Critically Engaged Pedagogy* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2003), 10. Wilfredo Weigandt reminisced, “CETI pushed me to try things out and evaluate my own work. It forced me off balance and I had to find new places of equilibrium… That’s the way I learned…” Wilfredo Weigandt, e-mail to author, February 12, 2015.
dialogue with others, offering personal perspectives grounded in their experience; that learning would only occur when they lived in light of the new ideas, and brought new questions from their lives and communities to the learning environment for further critical assessment and committed action.

All these guidelines were coherent with a Freirian perspective, in which education was conceived as a “consciousness raising” process, one in which “group participants” were to actively engage, bringing to bear their experience and pre-existing knowledge into the “dialogue” of the “cultural circle,” in a constant back and forth between that experience and knowledge and the new material and new content brought in by the “debate coordinator.” Students were respected as active proponents and participants, and the educator’s role

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79 Documents like “Bienvenida a CETI” and “Directrices para la preparación de los trabajos de cada unidad en el programa de licenciatura y maestría de CETI,” February 2, 2002, Kairós papers (Buenos Aires).

80 Samuel Escobar succinctly summed up the new vocabulary promoted by Freire in which “debate coordinator” replaced the term “professor,” “group participant” took the place of “student,” “class” became “dialogue, and “school” became a “cultural circle” in which all learn and teach with active participation that generates new, communal ways of thinking. Samuel Escobar, “Paulo Freire,” 85.
was considered to be less that of the know-it-all expert and more that of a facilitator of the learning-provoking, “problem-posing” interaction. The value of expert knowledge was not disregarded, but it was brought in when called for in appropriate dialogue with the lived experience of the learners who were capable actors rather than passive recipients in the learning process. Learning was understood to occur, then, when knowledge/content was set in dialogue with life experience, in other words, through praxis. Progress in this model was measured by the capacity of the learner to act upon the new knowledge in ways that transformed his or her reality. Far from an instrument of oppression and maintenance of unjust structures and relationships, education was conceived as a means for people to gain critical awareness of their condition and join forces to create the necessary social and political change. These pedagogical commitments

81 Paulo Freire proposed “problem posing education” as a contrast to “banking education.” Paulo Freire, Pedagogy, 67 and ff. For him, educators in cultural circles need not be specialized personnel, although they do need to be “possessed by a new vision of the educational task,” appropriate to the method and by the required educational attitude. Samuel Escobar, “Paulo Freire,” 85. This educational paradigm requires a deep conversion, a “profound rebirth.” Paulo Freire, Pedagogy, 47.

82 In a helpful review of the key contributions of Paulo Freire to education, Peter Mayo clarified a Freirian definition of praxis: “a process whereby learners and educators obtain a critical distance from the world they know to perceive it in a different and critical light,” “reflection on one’s world of action for transformation.” Peter Mayo, Echoes from Freire for a Critically Engaged Pedagogy (New York: Bloomsbury, 2003), 10, 14.
filtered through all CETI materials and constituted the framework for the entire educational endeavor.

b. Curriculum, course plan, and areas. Prieswerk distinguished between “curriculum,” a synthesis of the entire educational project which includes goals, methodology and content, and “course plan,” a descriptive list of the courses that compose the program. He classed as “exceptional” the Latin American theological education program that had an organized curricular design, and he affirmed that most of them “suffer from inertia” and find it extremely difficult to change their curricula, which often carry “a strong colonial burden”.

CETI’s curriculum was honed in an iterative process by an interdisciplinary team intent on responding to the challenges of their context with the tools granted them by experience, their education, and their transnational belonging. By breaking away from traditional curricular areas, they designed a fresh curricular alternative, carefully organized around areas of life, family, work, church and society. Because the entire proposition was *sui generis*, in the initial stages there was no possibility of inertia, and because of the

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83 Prieswerk, *Tramas pedagógicas*, 57-58.
founders’ conscious situatedness within Latin America and Argentina in particular, it would be difficult to detect colonial vestiges. However, the enormity of the task they laid out for themselves and the shrinking human resources available to tackle it meant that, in later years, course content and bibliography began to lose the cutting edge relevance of the initial stages. Although by the 2000s the curricular proposal could still be considered innovative within the broader, rather conservative scenario of theological education in Latin America, new social and cultural concerns like gender theory, postcolonial and post-modern hermeneutical approaches, the surge of neo-Pentecostalism and others, rarely found their way into the program. Vigilant updating would have required an academic and administrative structure that CETI simply did not have at its disposal at the time; and this constituted a major limitation of the program with the passage of time.

c. Evaluation and grading. Few Latin American theological education institutions have clearly established protocols for evaluation of students’ learning, so grading systems end up being arbitrary. Prieswerk highlighted the

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84 Juan José Barreda, e-mail to author, December 10, 2014.
importance of establishing evaluation processes that are “permanent, interactive and inclusive.” All the CETI Master’s and Licentiate Prospectos of the years studied included sections on Evaluation, which explained the grading system and the criteria applied, namely, “the depth of the work, the degree of critical reflection, and the level of integration with practical life.” Diversity in student competences was respected by the option for oral evaluation. However, none of these areas were broken down in terms of percentages. Neither did I find any evidence of faculty orientation regarding the grading system. Meanwhile, the study guides for the certificate level included a “Final exam,” which typically was “open book” and dedicated to helping students produce a concrete output based on the class that could be used in other settings. However, nowhere in the material was there any indication to the circle facilitator regarding grading. This might be evidence that the CETI designers shied away from quantifiable

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85 Prieswerk, Tramas pedagógicas, 58-59.

86 For example, the Final Exam for the course on Church invited students to imagine that they had been asked to teach a group of young people who were new to the church about the nature and mission of the church so that they might understand and live out the mission in their daily lives. They were told to state the general objective and to design three classes, including objectives (what you want the class to achieve), topics, content (what are you going to teach, detail) and method (how are you going to teach? A bible study? A debate?). “Guide to Church,” Módulo Iglesia-CETI (Buenos Aires: CETI, 2001), 46.
measurements in favor of more process-focused evaluations, particularly oriented toward concrete life applications of learning that are far less measurable than content-focused testing. Honing a system of assessment might have required resources that the overworked group did not have.

4. Relationship to the sciences

Prieswerk portrayed the relationship of theological education with the various sciences as very diverse in Latin America. Overall, in his opinion, the dominant epistemology was still markedly Eurocentric. He described the engagement with the so called “hard sciences” as merely “incipient.”87 The founders of CETI were scholars in many fields, including biochemistry and psychiatry, alongside people involved in philosophy, history, Bible, anthropology, and theology. Represented among them was a broad base of ways of knowing and interpreting the world and Scripture, and this, in turn, led to the inclusion of extremely varied sources in the CETI reading list.88 This interdisciplinary bent made CETI a welcome space

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87 Prieswerk, Tramas pedagógicas, 59-60.

88 Course material included the work of literary figures of the day like Leopoldo Marechal, and Gabriel García Márquez; intellectuals like Jacques Ellul and Eduardo Galeano, sociologists and anthropologists; theologians as diverse as Severino Croatto, Gordon Fee, Juan Ruiz de la Peña, Esteban Voth, Jürgen Moltmann, Wilfredo Weigandt, John Stott, John Yoder, Leonardo Boff, Howard Snyder, Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, Sidney Rooy, Juan Stam, Jürgen Habermas, Jon
for people who did not necessarily classify themselves as theologians and might never have taken up traditional theological studies.

As a matter of fact, the first stated objective of CETI pointed precisely to interdisciplinarity: “Develop students’ capacity to reflect on the relationship between biblical teaching and human disciplines, between Christian faith and all the areas of life.” Consistent with the communities which birthed it, the CETI pioneers conceived of and promoted the doing of theology as the building of bridges among scripture, tradition, the disciplines, and lived experience. Although none of the CETI courses explicitly addressed interdisciplinarity, the entire educational endeavor was an expression of the following characterization: “Theology in Latin America is an eminently interdisciplinary exercise,” yet still a rather “undisciplined interdisciplinary theological discourse.” In CETI, the capacity for “self-theologizing” was strengthened through communal reflection

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Sobrino; historic figures like Thomas Aquinas, Calvin, Luther, Romero, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Also, documents from the Vatican, the World Council of Churches and Lausanne, among others; movies like The Name of the Rose, Pink Floyd: The Wall. Lyrics of tangos, and rock themes.


90 Antonio Maspoli de Araújo Gomes, Teologia: Ciencia e profissão (Fonte Editorial, 2007), 154.
on a missional presence which informally drew on the tools of many disciplines. Even so, the conceptual articulation and tools for more formal interdisciplinary work remained a growth area for CETI.

The work of Wilfredo Weigandt, an architect who graduated from the CETI Master’s in 2002, exemplified the interdisciplinary nature of the program, as well as its missional matrix and intent. Building on his studies and professional practice as an architect, Weigandt wrote his dissertation on “The resurrection of Jesus Christ as a paradigm for the recycling of all things.”\(^9\) Additionally, inspired by his CETI studies, Weigandt employed his architectural skills to revamp a building as part of a social project among marginalized indigenous people in Southern Argentina.\(^2\) He also co-founded an organization dedicated to working with children whose parents were in jail, and he designed and constructed the building for the “Amparo” home on municipal land in Córdoba.\(^3\)


\(^2\) Wilfredo Weigandt, e-mail to author, December 21, 2015. This was part of a larger project for bilingual Spanish-Mapuche education headed up by Graciela de Celis and Luis Pérez Seggiaro.

\(^3\) Ibid.
Upon graduation, Weigandt became part of the CETI faculty, and taught until 2011, encouraging new students not only to acquire knowledge, but especially to bring their faith to bear on the ethical exercise of their professions for the transformation of their society. Given the quality of his work, chapters of his thesis were included as bibliography in the curricular area of Work. When asked about the contribution of CETI to his capacity to do theology, Weigandt highlighted the hermeneutical process fostered by CETI, which he defined as

The approach to the biblical text which had room for the text, the background of the reader, the openness to the Spirit in community… the continual, enriching and natural movement between Bible and culture, culture and Bible, which allowed me to ‘feel at home’ as a disciple of Christ in my culture.

In a similar vein, other alumni comment, “Because it fosters deep love for the Word of God and interaction with the Latin American context, CETI gave me tools to face the challenges of contemporary life through individual and communal theological reflection.”  

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94 Further reports on the projects of CETI students and alumni can be found in student registries currently housed at José Mármol 1734, Florida 1602, Buenos Aires, Argentina, and on the Kairós website, accessed May 18, 2016, www.kairos.org.ar.

95 Wilfredo Weigandt, e-mail to author, February 12, 2015.

96 David Casaretto, e-mail to author, February 8, 2015.
disciplines of human knowledge, and not in a doctrinal bubble.”

“The program helped me ‘land the Bible’ and allow it to enter into dialogue with my reality as woman, who is young and a follower of Jesus, in a continent that wavers between inequality and violence, and hope.”

“The simple choice to make me think about Church, Society, Family and Work gave me a new framework for my theological endeavour, along with openness to new authors and new concerns.”

“Because of my personality and my previous studies (Chemistry) I never would have been able to study in traditional seminaries. I always felt CETI was designed to my measure! It helped me grow in studying the Bible, in reading, thinking, believing, and living out my faith.”

In all these cases, a contribution of CETI was the re-casting of the theological endeavour as an interdisciplinary activity connected to life. Since the questions grappled with were not restricted to those related to right belief and religious practice but rather embraced matters of right living for the common good, the CETI formation drew on all sciences, human, social, and natural, and critically

97 David Nacho, interview by author, San José, Costa Rica, November 19, 2014.

98 Maria Alejandra Andrade, e-mail to author, February 25, 2015.

99 Ziel Machado, e-mail to author, January 30, 2015.

100 Beatriz Buono, skype interview by author, December 10, 2014.
assessed their input in light of a biblically inspired vision of God’s kingdom and God’s justice.

5. Objectives of the formation, and type of graduates

Since often the goals of theological formation programs in Latin America were not clearly defined, the best way to discover them was to review the profile of the graduates.101 Prieswerk classified graduates in four major categories: pastors, people involved in diverse ministries within and beyond the church, theologians, and successful leaders. In the case of CETI, although it began with graduate programs directed to university graduates and people with theological degrees, it later incorporated the certificate level. With this program, the profile of the students changed to incorporate a broader base of people with less formal education. The objectives of the programs, nonetheless, never varied substantially. Internal and external communication during the period covered by this study consistently identified CETI as an integrated educational program dedicated to interdisciplinary theological reflection for integral mission in which the agenda was set by the demands of the context in light of Biblical teaching.

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101 Prieswerk, Tramas pedagógicas, 60.
and the output was measured in ethical terms. The program intended to affect all
dimensions of students’ lives: the interrelated theological, ethical, educational
and missional dimensions, as this 1998 statement of objectives expresses:

1. Develop students’ capacity to reflect on the relationship between biblical teaching and human disciplines, between Christian faith and all the areas of life. [Interdisciplinary theological dimension].
2. Integrally form students so that they may respond with Christian maturity to the ethical and ideological demands, problems and dilemmas they confront in the exercise of their profession. [Social-ethical dimension].
3. Deepen the Christian commitment of students and help them discover and develop their gifts and ministries in the context of their church. [Educational dimension].
4. Promote the articulation of evangelical thought that will serve as a referent for professional vocational practice, with a true sense of service. [Missional praxis].

6. Other areas

Under this heading, Prieswerk presented other areas related to the social, educational, and theological endeavor. He listed practicums and internships on

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102 “Comunidad Kairós – Retiro de Fin de Año 7-8 diciembre, 1998,” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires). (Italics and bracketed sections inserted by author). These objectives were repeated in several other documents, including “Prospecto 2000-2001,” Kairós papers (Buenos Aires). The various dimensions of learning to which these objectives point are distinguished for the sake of analysis, although both conceptually and practically, they are tightly woven together. The first of these objectives was explored earlier in this chapter. The educational dimension is analyzed in this first section and developed further in the second part, which explores the missional-social-ethical impact of the CETI programs.
the one hand, and research on the other. Regarding the first, since CETI students were never extracted from their site of life and work, and since the pedagogical process fostered was one that constantly demanded reflection on action in order to nourish more intentionally transformative action, the practical engagement was built into the learning process and did not need to be especially designed as a separate activity. Students were sent into their neighborhoods with questionnaires; they were made to design classes for their church group based on their learnings; they were expected to bring questions back to the course grounded on their field research and experience in their local faith communities, families and neighborhoods.

Regarding research, the CETI listings did not include a course designed for those matters. In the documents that offered guidelines for writing papers and theses for CETI’s Licentiate and Master’s, a brief section offered practical recommendations for “compiling information,”¹⁰³ and for organizing a personal filing system for managing research material, bibliographical notes, articles, and

¹⁰³ “Directrices para la preparación de trabajos escritos en el programa de licenciatura y maestría de CETI, Abril 3, 2000,” CETI papers (Buenos Aires). This guide was included along with all courses.
other reading material. However, no broader orientation about research methodologies and tools seems to have been given in spite of the fact that students’ capacity in that field could not be assumed, given the lack of such orientation in most undergraduate programs in Latin America.

7. Other resources

The final dimension Prieswerk considered as part of an institution’s educational offerings had to do with support resources: didactic material (textbooks, programmed material, audiovisual resources), library, and publications. In this regard, CETI founders designed detailed didactic material for the Basic program that included for each unit a Marco de Referencia (Framework), Objetivos (Objectives), Metodología (Methodology), Lista de Materiales (Readings), and Guías de estudio (Study guides). This same pattern was followed for all four units of all four modules of all four areas (Church, Work, Family and Society).

CETI naturally leaned on the production of the communities within which it was generated. A full range of Kairós and FTL publications worked in tandem

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104 “Sugerencias para organizar su archivo personal,” CETI papers (Buenos Aires, February 18, 2002). A guide was included along with course guides for all students.
105 Prieswerk, Tramas pedagógicas, 62-64.
with CETI to provide the conceptual framework for the program. These included magazines like \textit{Certeza, Misión, Iglesia y Misión,} the \textit{FTL Boletín Teológico,} and books published by \textit{Ediciones Certeza, Nueva Creación, Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana,} and \textit{Ediciones Kairós,} all directed, at different times, by René Padilla. Permission for copying and distributing was easily granted by people within the inner circle of CETI friends, FTL, and CIEE members. Along with the choice to promote a certain theological and missiological vision and to foster transformative social engagement, this practical issue surely explains the inclusion of so many of those readings in the program. (See Table 5 for an example drawn from CETI Unit 4.3.1.).

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Writings contained in unit “The integral mission of the church”}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
AUTHOR/DOCUMENT & AFFILIATION & PUBLISHER \\
\hline
Juan Stam & FTL member & Ediciones Kairos \\
Norberto Saracco & FTL member & Ediciones Kairos \\
Sidney Rooy & FTL member & Ediciones Kairos \\
René Padilla & FTL member & Nueva Creación \\
Edesio Sánchez Cetina & FTL member & Nueva Creación, Ediciones Kairos \\
Esteban Voth & FTL member & Ediciones Kairos \\
Mariano Avila Arteaga & FTL member & Ediciones Kairos \\
Mervin Breneman & FTL member & Ediciones Kairos \\
Darío López & FTL member & Ediciones Kairos \\
Samuel Escobar & FTL member & Ediciones Kairos \\
Nancy Elizabeth Bedford & FTL member & Ediciones Kairos \\
Catalina F. Padilla & FTL member & Ediciones Kairos \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}
The same unit also included Roman Catholic sources (an article by José
Comblin; *Ad Gentes*, a Vatican document; “*Una iglesia evangelizadora, inculturada y
misionera,*” a document of CELAM II), along with Protestant-ecumenical sources
(an article by Emilio Castro; and two documents of the World Council of
Churches: “*Misión y Evangelización: una afirmación ecuménica,*” “*Declaración de
Stuttgart*”). This reveals intentionality on the part of designers to expose their
students to a broad base of ecumenical perspectives.

The CETI team was keenly aware that students would not necessarily
have access to libraries in their home towns. So making this material available to
them entailed typing hundreds of pages of reading material for each of the study
areas, carefully labeling them, and crediting sources, photocopying and mailing
packets to all the students along with the study guides.

In sum, the educational programs of CETI were coherent with the
expressed intent of its creators. Although the educational philosophy was not
publicly articulated, the methodology and materials employed were designed to foster the doing of theology by nurturing interdisciplinary dialogue, awakening questions, and engaging students in critical reflection on their context in light of biblically informed faith for the sake of transformation.

The Social-Ethical Impact of CETI: Formation Nourishing Transformation

The impact of CETI is best assessed in light of its stated objectives and the ideals laid out by its proponents. One of the stated objectives of CETI was: “To integrally form students so that they may respond with Christian maturity to the ethical and ideological demands, problems and dilemmas they confront in the exercise of their profession.” Another was: “To promote the articulation of evangelical thought that will serve as a referent for professional vocational practice, with a true sense of service.”106 Resisting traditional discipline siloing, the communities that generated CETI understood that the outworking of theological endeavour was to be measured in missional-social-ethical terms. Consequently, CETI defined its educational ministry as one that “conscientizes Christians and churches about

integral mission and the commitment they have with the poor so that they may
carry out concrete action in society and get involved in community ministry.”

The missional agenda included confronting local and global economic, social,
political, and ecological concerns according to the areas of competence and
opportunity available to the graduates.

The following sections round off the analysis of CETI. More narrative than
analytical, they complement the first part of this chapter by illustrating 1) The way
in which CETI acted as “leaven in the dough (the social-ethical impact);” and 2)
The “source” of that impact in the understanding of the CETI community.

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107 “CETI. Formulario de presentación,” Form presented to Eugenio Araiza, director of
AMEXTRA. Kairós papers (Buenos Aires, September 11, 2003). The term “conscientize” is
derived from Freire’s term conscientização, the process by means of which people gain awareness
of their social, political, and economic situatedness within the broader context, and take action for
change. See Chapter Three of Freire, Pedagogy.

108 The metaphor points to the multiplying effects of leaven. Gospel writers quote Jesus telling his
first followers that the Kingdom of God acted as leaven in bread (Matthew 13.33; Luke 13.20-21).
Carlos Mondragón used the phrase in the title for a book in which he reviewed the social impact
of early Protestant-evangelical intellectuals in Latin America. Carlos Mondragón. Like Leaven in
the Dough: Protestant Social Thought in Latin America, 1920-1950 (Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh
Leaven in the dough: A Sampling

The following stories, drawn mostly from the author’s experience implementing CETI in El Salvador, depict the impact of CETI formation on the life, ministry, and family of some pastors and lay people as a biblically grounded program of social-ethical formation. These examples illustrate, yet do not seek to prove the efficacy of CETI’s social impact in any universal or definitive way.

According to Carlos Park, after studying with CETI, the pastors that studied at Chung-Ang, in Buenos Aires, changed the way they carried out their church services and began to show responsible concern about the teaching ministry. They also began to look beyond their congregation, to the broader context, and to use their church buildings not only for evangelistic campaigns but also for social service in their neighborhoods.

Lilibeth Contreras de Castro was a journalist who worked in the radio of Misión Cristiana Elim, a Pentecostal mega church in San Salvador, El Salvador.

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109 Although many of these narrations fall outside the period covered by the bulk of this study, they are included for two reasons: 1) Because of the fact that I was close to the outworking of CETI in El Salvador, the impact of the program in that country was far more accessible to me than stories from other countries in which CETI was implemented. 2) These stories illustrate the impact of CETI’s non-degree program since the curriculum designed in Buenos Aires was used in El Salvador as in many other countries.

110 Seoung (Carlos) Park, interview by author, Buenos Aires, August 30, 2015.
Along with a capable team, she ran the radio programming, which consisted of evangelistic sermons and Pentecostal music that catered principally to church members. Once they had walked together through the four units of CETI, however, the radio production team gained a completely new understanding of the vocation of a Christian radio. Lilibeth was freed up to do responsible investigative journalism, for which she was awarded national prizes. The radio forum she runs to this day includes topics like immigration, human rights, violence prevention, care of creation, and others related to the contextual challenges of El Salvador, all from a biblical perspective. “If the good news does not speak into these issues,” she asked, “is it really good news?” Another Elim’s media staff member, Dalila Araiza, founded Pax Noticias, a digital magazine which, since early 2012, has published news and opinion pieces with the purpose of “promoting social peace” in El Salvador.111 “The publication seeks to inspire readers and awaken their passion for the defense of life, peace and justice in our Salvadorean context so marked by death, violence and injustice.”112 Although

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these women and their teams were often criticized by church members for whom evangelism was defined narrowly as inviting people to convert to Jesus Christ and settle their eternal destiny, they had the support of the leadership of the Elim Telecorporación. After his formation with CETI, the late Carlos Ardón, director of Elim media ministries, said, “We now believe that we had a one sided perspective of the Great Commission. Instead of mere evangelism, we are now seeking to impact society, to change conditions, to talk about the values of the Kingdom of God.”

Meanwhile, also as a result of his CETI formation, Pedro Landaverde, a pastor of a middle-class church, requested a transfer into La Iberia, one of the most violent neighborhoods in El Salvador, a community so dominated by the gangs that the army posts itself at the entry and exit points but does not enter it. Pedro explained that CETI broke his “other-worldly paradigm” and granted him a whole new cosmovisión for life and ministry. According to the new vision, making Jesus the Lord of our lives must mean more than just personal morality—it must extend outward into all aspects of life, it must be

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114 Pedro Landaverde, skype interview by author, February 2, 2015. The Spanish cosmovisión is best translated “world and life view.”
concerned with justice in all spheres of life, and it must be about bringing shalom to all people whether they officially become Christians or not.\footnote{Pedro Landaverde cited by Timothy Wadkins, letter to Eliberto Juárez (Canisius College, Buffalo, New York, July 1, 2011).}

With the support of his church, Pedro began befriending the gang members, and opened a detergent factory and a bakery so they could be employed more meaningfully than through the gangs. Through his work, young people and their families were granted the opportunity to belong to a productive and welcoming community and so to break the cycle of ruling violence.

One last story illustrates how CETI served as leaven in the dough of the Salvadoran church by challenging \textit{machismo}, and breaking stereotypical male-female role expectations in the family.\footnote{According to Elizabeth Brusco, North American social scientists and journalists coined the term “machismo” based on the Spanish word “macho.” She used it to refer to “the complex of male behaviors” that include “excessive drinking, violence against women, chronic infidelity, abdication of family responsibilities, and a general identification with the world of the street rather than with the home.” Elizabeth Brusco, “The Reformation of Machismo: Asceticism and Masculinity among Colombian Evangelicals,” in \textit{Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America}, ed. Virginia Garrard-Burnett and David Stoll (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 156.} Sofía stood up front with the other graduates. She was proud to have completed all four modules of CETI. Her husband sat in the audience with their three children.

Oscar and I started the course together, and studied the modules on Church and Family. But then the group decided to change the meeting time to Sunday morning, before our church service. It was obvious to me that I would have to stay home and get breakfast for the family and

\footnote{According to Elizabeth Brusco, North American social scientists and journalists coined the term “machismo” based on the Spanish word “macho.” She used it to refer to “the complex of male behaviors” that include “excessive drinking, violence against women, chronic infidelity, abdication of family responsibilities, and a general identification with the world of the street rather than with the home.” Elizabeth Brusco, “The Reformation of Machismo: Asceticism and Masculinity among Colombian Evangelicals,” in \textit{Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America}, ed. Virginia Garrard-Burnett and David Stoll (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 156.}
prepare the children for church. But Oscar confronted me: “Have you not learned anything in CETI?” he pressed. “As a pastor, I have many more opportunities to learn and grow than you do.” End result? He stayed home every Sunday and, before heading to church to lead the service, he bathed and dressed the children, gave them breakfast, and took them to church while I attended the CETI class. I have to say: CETI has changed our family life. We now share many more of the chores, and we enjoy our children together.117

Both through the course material and through the personal modeling and mentoring of women like Catalina and Elsie, among others, CETI modestly contributed shifting gender politics in the spaces it influenced.118

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117 Elizabeth Brusco contrasted the achievements of Western feminism with those of evangelical Protestantism in Latin America. “Evangelical Protestantism… seeks to redress underlying gender inequalities. That it accomplishes this through the transformation of males as well as female roles is the key to its effectiveness. This is an achievement that Western feminism, despite its mighty labors, cannot claim to have achieved to the same degree.” Elizabeth Brusco, “The Reformation,” 152. In a similar vein, René Padilla said, “Women need to be liberated from the oppression imposed on her by machismo. That is true. But it is also true that she needs to be liberated from her own internalized machismo or from her reactionary feminism: to be liberated to take the place she is owed as a co-inheritor of the Kingdom. Truly, what is needed is that both women as well as men be freed from all forms of selfishness in order to establish a new relationship with their neighbors—be they men or women—and to enjoy the ‘life in abundance’ for which Jesus died and rose from the dead. Neither machismo nor feminismo are ultimate realities: The only reality is God’s purpose of making all things new through the Son, Jesus Christ. And it is in that reality, which is manifested anticipatedly in the family and church that lives according to the values of the Kingdom, that our hope lies.” C. René Padilla, Discipulado y Misión—Compromiso con el Reino de Dios (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Kairós 1997), 198. (Translation by autor).

118 In reviewing the influence of evangelical church on Latin America society, David Martin said: “(It) renews the innermost cell of the family and protects the woman from the ravages of male desertion and violence. A new faith is able to implant new disciplines, reorder priorities, counter corruption and destructive machismo, and reverse the indifferent and injurious hierarchies of the outside world. Within the enclosed haven of faith, a fraternity can be instituted under firm leadership, which provides for release, for mutuality and warmth, and for the practice of new roles.” David Martin, Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1993), 284.
Of course, not Lilibeth, nor Dalila, Carlos, Pedro, Sofía, nor any of the other hundreds of men and women, church leaders and pastors of Misión Cristiana Elim would have been impacted by CETI formation if it had not been for the initiative of their General Pastor, Mario Vega. Shaped by the Jesuit education he had received in high-school and in the Universidad Centroamericana (UCA), by his Pentecostal experience, and by Reformed theology through the “Back to God Hour” radio programming, Vega was burdened from his youth by the reality of his country and by questions regarding the role of the church in the midst of reigning poverty, inequality, and violence. In 1977, through René Padilla’s book El Evangelio Hoy, Vega became acquainted with the work of the recently founded FTL. In the FTL writings he discovered a socially committed theology that echoed with his concerns and “a spirituality that moves us to transform our reality.” His sense of “at-home-ness” within this radical

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119 The Back to God Hour (today Back to God Ministries International) is the radio and television ministry of the Christian Reformed Church in North America. See http://backtogod.net.


122 Mario Vega, “My Theological Pilgrimage.”
evangelical theological strand only increased when in the early 2000s, after a couple of decades of pastoral work in the rapidly growing *Elim* church, he met Ruth Padilla DeBorst, an FTL leader, who was then serving as a missionary with Christian Reformed World Missions and *Semillas de Nueva Creación*, a ministry dedicated to resourcing the local Christian community for integral mission.\(^{123}\)

In *Semillas*, Vega found friends, solid books, and, eventually, a trustworthy ministry partner for the theological formation of the hundreds of pastors for whom he was responsible. Previous to their encounter, Padilla DeBorst had been using CETI material for the formation of local reformed-line

\(^{123}\) An unpublished 2002 report from *Semillas de Nueva Creación* included the vision and mission of this small NGO, begun in 2001 through the work of staff of Christian Reformed World Missions, Christian Reformed World Relief and the Back to God Hour: “We yearn to see in El Salvador churches, partners and communities transformed by the Gospel of Jesus Christ and expressing in all dimensions of life signs of the Kingdom of God: love, justice, peace and hope. As Seeds of New Creation, under God’s grace, we walk with people, churches, Christian organizations and communities, accompanying them in the development of gifts and capacities, discovering and strengthening their Christian identity and evangelistic calling, and serving as catalysts of gathering, exchange and mutual support so that all of us may more integrally carry out our mission in El Salvador. In summary, we are dedicated to training leaders as Integral Missionaries.” The document continued to flesh out how that mission was to be carried out: “Seeds of New Creation carries out its mission through lay-leader and pastor training, networking, facilitating partnerships through ministry networks, promoting the use of Christian literature, and through a ‘ministry house.’ This “Seeds House” hosts the offices of several associated ministries, and it is also open for use by other groups. The house has often welcomed, on the very same day, groups as distant ideologically as a network of conservative evangelical pastors and a diaconal training course run by radical (left leaning) Lutherans. The network for Integral Mission facilitated by Seeds of New Creation brought together for training and fellowship, Christians who would never have sat in the same room, let alone prayed together or envisioned working jointly.”
churches and of several leaders of the Movimiento Universitario Cristiano (MUC), the IFES-affiliated student movement in El Salvador. So when Vega shared his frustration with the irrelevance of the theological education offered by traditional seminaries in the country, Padilla DeBorst offered him the CETI curriculum along with a warning, “You need to study this seriously because it will shake your church and make people uncomfortable. It will cause you trouble!” A resolute Vega returned a week later, ready to launch the program with the pastors of all the Elim districts, saying, “This is precisely what we need! And that is why I called on you!”

The plan was drafted for the already trained MUC leaders to serve as facilitators of the CETI curriculum developed in Argentina. A National Council was formed under the auspices of Semillas de Nueva Creación to guarantee that the program would remain interdenominational, and a partnership agreement was signed with Kairós for the implementation of CETI Básico. The program was formally launched in August of 2005 with pastors from Elim, the Iglesia Centroamericana, Campamento de Dios, Asambleas de Dios, Iglesia Reformada, Iglesia de Dios, and Tabernáculo Bíblico Bautista, among others.124 The opening session

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featured a woman preacher, the first ever to exposit Scripture in an auditorium full of pastors—all male. Another woman, Karla Ramos, led one of the two groups of pastors that met in the *Elim* in Santa Ana. By the following year, study circles were meeting in several cities across the country. A particularly emblematic group was the one in Quetzaltepeque, which brought together an unlikely mix of church leaders, including Roman Catholic catechists alongside Lutheran, Pentecostal and *Centroamericana* ministers. These religious leaders, who had previously preached against one another, grew in mutual respect and eventually began to collaborate in social projects in their town.

Back in the central *Elim* church, in Santa Lucía, Soyapango, Mario Vega required the entire radio staff to study the whole four modules and granted them

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125 Miriam de Castro affirmed that she recalled every last word spoken that day by Ruth Padilla DeBorst. For her, as for many *Elim* women, that was a momentous occasion and opened up a whole new understanding of their role as women in the church. Miriam de Castro, e-mail to author, March 2, 2015. I still remember my own amazement when, after the meeting was over, Pastor Vega said, with a twinkle in his eye, “I didn’t tell you before. But now I can: This is the first time a woman has ever preached in front of men in *Elim!*”

126 Karla Ramos expressed her insecurity about the fact that pastor Vega would often stand outside the window of the room where she was facilitating CETI. “Maybe he doesn’t trust me because I am only a young woman. Why doesn’t he check on Gerardo Reyes’ group?” When I broached the topic with Vega, he laughed, “I listen because I love the way she leads, and I learn so much! If I went into the room, the group dynamics would change, and I surely do not want that!” Karla Ramos, informal conversation with author, ca. May 2005. Ramos has been working in different capacities for over a decade and currently travels to different Latin American cities and towns, opening CETI Certificate circles.
three hours a week for two years in order for them to take the courses with facilitator Eliberto Juárez. In time, study circles incorporated lay leaders and women “who often became even more productive and committed than the pastors.”

Although there was resistance, and some church leaders rejected the ecumenical and wholistic emphasis as non-biblical, and eventually an entire Elim district broke out of the mother church because of disagreements with the integral mission perspective, Mario Vega celebrated the diverse initiatives born thanks to the formation offered by CETI. Among them were more solid biblical preaching, ministry among HIV victims, recycling of waste, job training for gang members in violent communities, and a network of lawyers committed to serving the most marginalized communities. Vega has personally used his high profile as the pastor of one of the largest churches in the world, with around 100,000 members, to advocate for justice and peace-building initiatives in the midst of escalating violence. He explained, “It is not enough just to preach the gospel and give aid to the poor. We must speak out against and attempt to change those conditions that cause poverty.”

127 Mario Vega, “My Theological Pilgrimage.”

The “Source” of Change in the Understanding of the CETI Community

Consistent with the vision of the FTL and Kairós pioneers, the social ethical commitments inspired by CETI were grounded on a biblical vision of the Kingdom of God rather than resulting from overtly partisan political ideology.

Researcher Timothy Wadkins, professor at Canisius College, a Jesuit school in Buffalo, NY, compared the social impact of Pentecostalism and that of the Roman Catholic Comunidades Eclesiales de Base en El Salvador (CEBES) linked to liberation theologies. He referred to the latter as groups that “prioritize political and social conscientization, and place less emphasis on the more subjective processes of prayer or reliance on the supernatural,” while, in contrast, Pentecostal “individualized rituals of community building such as prayer, Bible reading…, personal testimony, and prayer…,” which might be considered socially alienating, actually serve as “micro acts of democracy.”

Over time… what begins in conversion and is sustained in the context of such deeply rooted communities of faith and personal piety, could lead to the kinds of social organization that have the power to rise up against injustice, overturn the submissive, status quo politics of traditional Christianity, and lay the foundation of democratic participation and social change.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Timothy Wadkins, “Getting Saved,” 46. Wadkins’ work is representative of what Samuel Escobar denominates “a new generation of social scientists working at the micro level [who] have
In a conversation with this author in 2004, key CEBES leader, Father Armando Márquez Ochoa, Executive Director of the service branch of the base communities, Fundación Hermano Mercedes Ruíz (FUNDAHMER), pointed to the necessity for Christian social ethics to be grounded in biblical theology. In the early 2000s, Semillas had brought together the Red de Misión Integral, a broad-based ecumenical network of church and agency leaders, in order to foster formation, collaboration, communion, and capacity-building for a meaningful presence in the midst of the challenges of a country torn apart by civil war, inequality, emigration and political polarizations. People from extremely diverse church traditions and perspectives met monthly around the theme “Incarnating the Kingdom of God here and now.” Topics included agriculture and the use of the land, economics and social inequality, gender roles, education, and immigration, all in a search to gain a realistic understanding of the contemporary

brought to light the transforming nature of the spiritual experience offered by these churches.” According to Samuel Escobar, popular Protestant-evangelical-pentecostal churches “have become alternative societies that create a closed world where people are accepted and become actors, not on the basis of what gives them status in the world but of the values that come from their vision of the kingdom of God.” Samuel Escobar, “A Missiological Approach to Latin American Protestantism,” International Review of Mission 87, no. 345 (April 1998): 170.

situation and to confront it with the biblical vision of how things should be, in order to then devise appropriate ethical responses. The gatherings were informal and there was ample opportunity for participants to voice their views openly. Unaware that in the group there were people from the CEBES, some of the conservative evangelicals present spoke in derogatory terms of Monseñor Romero and “those left-leaning Catholics.”131 The CEBES participants appeared undaunted, and continued attending the gatherings. When I approached Father Armando, thanking him for not giving up on the group, and asked what motivated them to return in spite of the judgmental expressions, he explained,

When our movement began, we engaged with the issues of our context out of the vision for God’s Kingdom which we gained by studying the Bible in community. In time, some of us “ideologized,” lined up with certain political fronts, and some of us “technified,” became experts in community development. We lost the source. And here we are regaining it. 132

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131 Monseñor Oscar Arnulfo Romero, the Roman Catholic Archishop of El Salvador during the Salvadorean civil war was murdered under government instruction on March 24, 1980, while he was officiating mass. He is popularly upheld as a martyr for justice because of his outspoken denunciation of government and army abuses. His beatification in May 23, 2015 by Pope Francis paved the way for his canonization as a Roman Catholic saint. “Francis: Beatification of Oscar Romero is a cause for great joy.” Catholic Herald, May 25, 2015, accessed October 5, 2015, http://www.catholicherald.co.uk/news/2015/05/25/francis-beatification-of-oscar-romero-is-a-cause-for-great-joy.

At the core of transformation, in his understanding as in that of the FTL and CETI pioneers, was a community rallied around the vision of the Kingdom of God gained through the responsible study of Scripture and of reality, and expressing that vision in concrete action for the common good. This understanding brought together progressive Roman Catholics and evangélicos whose denominational affiliation or doctrinal tradition might have kept them apart.¹³³

Based on years of research in El Salvador, Wadkins attributed much of the credit for the “social consciousness” of Elim and the way its leaders “prophetically apply the gospel to El Salvador’s crushing social reality,” to “a careful reading of the gospels and the somewhat quiet influence of the… Latin American Theological Fraternity,”¹³⁴ and the CETI program:

In their two year training program they emphasize what they call integral ministry—an emphasis on God’s comprehensive, incarnational intention of not leaving any human and any corner of the earth untouched by his love,

¹³³ This narration is not meant in any way to be deprecating of the CEBES but rather all the contrary. It serves to illustrate the effect of putting Christian Scriptures in the hands of common people, whose social consciousness is awakened as the Bible is studied in community. This renewal occurs irrespective of church tradition.

¹³⁴ Timothy Wadkins to Eliberto Juárez (Canisius College, Buffalo, New York, July 1, 2011).
thus integrating every aspect of life into the redemptive message of good news.\textsuperscript{135}

For Mario Vega, Christians are called to imitate Jesus’ attitude and mission through their lives. Christian mission derives from the gospel itself. Announcing the good news of the Kingdom of God means incarnating Jesus’ attitude and practice dedicated to integrating into society the people who were marginalized in his day, prostitutes, tax collectors, lepers.\textsuperscript{136} The integration of theology, mission, and ethics promoted by CETI undergirds Mario Vega’s pastoral and prophetic ministry in El Salvador and that of the hundreds of pastors and lay leaders formed by the program.

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid. In addition to the work already cited, see Timothy Wadkins, “Pentecostals and the New World Order in El Salvador: Separating, Consuming and Engaging,” in \textit{Spirit and Power: The Growth and Global Impact of Pentecostalism}, ed. Donald E. Miller, Kimon H. Sargeant, and Richard Flory (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); “Pentecostal Power,” \textit{Christian Century} (November 14, 2006): 26-29; and \textit{From the Blood of the Martyrs to the Baptism of the Spirit: Cultural Change and Religious Renaissance in Modern El Salvador}, especially Chapter 7, “Engaging Culture,” forthcoming (Baylor University Press). The impact of this radical evangelical program and network is portrayed here because of the focus of the study. In no way is this highlight meant to devalue the significant contribution of the CEBES as a parallel liberation movement from within the Roman Catholic Church.

Conclusion

The Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios funneled the theological and pedagogical understandings and commitments of the communities within which it was generated into educational programs available to pastors and lay people in the late twentieth century in Latin America. The two strands, theological and pedagogical, were mutually reinforcing: the designers of CETI sought to situate the program within a liberative and world-transformative educational and theological framework grounded in a biblical view of the Kingdom of God.

“Theological education has as its goal the Kingdom of God and God’s justice. Consequently, it must be oriented to the integral renovation of the learner and his/her context.”

Within this theological framework, CETI aimed to awaken consciousness and nourish social transformation while also allowing the critical engagement in transformation to nourish formation, thus generating an on-going praxis cycle, in which formation resulted in transformation and vice-versa.

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137 “Educación Teológica para todo el pueblo de Dios,” Kairós al Día (Buenos Aires, Marzo 1990): 1. The article continued to explain the core values of any theological education program that seeks to be faithful to that vision and relevant to the context. 1) The agenda must be set by the people seeking formation; 2) Theological education is for all people and demands a dynamic, dialogical, contextual and communitarian methodology, with deep respect for the autochthonous language, values, and art; 3) More opportunities need to be created for women to be formed theologically as co-inheritors of God’s grace; 4) New alternatives of theological education need to be devised that cater to all Christians in the exercise of their vocation (students, professional and business people, politicians, farmers, union workers and so on).
Overall, the vision was ambitiously idealistic given the slim capacity of the CETI team. The departure of core team members from Argentina and the multiple occupations of key figures weakened CETI’s capacity to live up to its tall calling. Although the programs had grown out of the relationships, visions, and commitments of the broad FTL community, there was little evidence of CETI drawing on the on-going production of this community or on the people that became a part of it beyond the pioneers, even though new generations of professionals could have expanded the faculty pool, contributed to the needed update of the bibliography and course guides, and expanded the curricular areas into new ones to include explorations in gender, race and ethnicity in the face of exploitation of afro and indigenous populations, reconciliation and conflict resolution in the face of violence, and art and politics, for example. Most of the work was concentrated on very few people and administrative and financial structures were feeble and confused with the academic ones. No provision appeared to have been made for sustainable consolidation of the programs, for instance, through alliances with more formal institutions of higher learning, such as universities or seminaries. The absence of budgetary planning and the lax follow-up on tuition payments weakened the financial base of the organization. Even making allowances for the limitations in communication in a pre-internet
era, it is not far-fetched to conclude that all these factors obviously limited the reach of this small and revolutionary educational effort.

In spite of the limitations, however, the CETI programs did open up pathways of discovery for people, who were granted tools for the praxis of doing and living theology for integral mission in context. Women and men who otherwise might not have had access to theological formation were encouraged to be and become, to think and do, to read and write the word and the world.138 Teachers and students were conceived as “co-intent on reality,” as “subjects, not only in the task of unveiling that reality, and thereby coming to know it critically, but in the task of re-creating that knowledge”139 and acting upon it, rather than simply submitting to things as they were. This transformative conception rested on the biblical anthropology sustained by the CETI designers, according to which all people have access to God’s saving love, are called to offer all they are as an act of worship, and carry out a priestly function in the world: “Service to God is a responsibility and privilege of the ‘common and ordinary’ members of the


139 Freire, Pedagogy, 56.
church, the ‘laity’ dedicated to God ‘in the world’.” Grounded in this understanding, the small CETI team was bold and free enough to release the formation process they had generated to partners across Latin America so that it could multiply far beyond their limited reach.

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140 René Padilla. “A professional in the congregation,” Kairós al Día (Buenos Aires, Octubre 1990): 1. CETI creators took seriously the Reformation tenet of the “priesthood of all believers” emphasized also by Roland Allen at the beginning of the twentieth century. This priest of the Church of England mourned the religious and racial pride of Western mission endeavors: “We have not understood that the members of the Body of Christ are scattered in all lands, and that we, without them, are not made perfect.” Roland Allen, Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1962), 143. He decried the Western self-sufficiency that bred paternalism and denied the new churches an equal standing in Christian fellowship and mission: “Want of faith has made us fear and distrust native independence. We have imagined ourselves to be, and have acted so as to become, indispensable.” And this attitude not only denotes disrespect toward Christians in other lands, “it is not a question merely of our faith in them: it is more a question of faith in the Holy Ghost.” (Ibid.). For Allen it all boils down to a lack of faith, not merely in the churches of the rest of the world but in the very Holy Spirit who has birthed, sustained, and enlisted them for God’s mission.
The concept and practice of misión integral was articulated by radical evangelical communities within Latin America and shared by like-minded people from other regions of the world, who together created the International Fellowship of Evangelical Mission Theologians (today International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation, INFEMIT) in the early 1980s. Eventually, in 2011, and in order to further this integral missional agenda, INFEMIT adopted the Certificate program of the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios. Under the title Faith and Life, the CETI Certificate is being adapted and utilized in very diverse contexts beyond Latin America; and plans are underway for an INFEMIT sponsored Master’s in Interdisciplinary Theological Studies for Integral Mission for students from across the globe.¹ These developments beg the questions, “What about CETI explains its potential for theological formation for integral mission in contexts other than the one within which it was originally designed? Why is it

¹ Faith and Life contextual versions were based on the original CETI Certificate materials as they stood by the end of the period studied.
being considered a generative model for evangelical communities in the twenty-first century in places beyond Latin America?” The ambiguous use of “constructing” is intentional. It serves as a present participle, in reference to the object “theological formation.” In that sense, the chapter offers reflections for the on-going conception and design of integral mission processes. The word also serves as an adjective attributed to “theological formation.” In this sense, the chapter considers the ways in which the endeavor of theological formation constructs knowledge, community, discipleship and transformation.  

A response to those questions, grounded in the history of CETI, occupies this concluding chapter. First, a summary is presented of the antecedents and the historical development of CETI as outlined in the dissertation. Then, the current global reach of CETI is depicted, followed by a summary of the characteristics which I propose make CETI a generative model of constructing theological formation.² The final section both delineates some of the critical questions I suggest must be addressed as CETI grows within Latin America and is adapted to new contexts, and points to possible areas for further constructive work in the

² The ambiguous use of “constructing” is intentional. It serves as a present participle, in reference to the object “theological formation.” In that sense, the chapter offers reflections for the on-going conception and design of integral mission processes. The word also serves as an adjective attributed to “theological formation.” In this sense, the chapter considers the ways in which the endeavor of theological formation constructed knowledge, community, and transformation.
juncture of evangelical mission theology and formation for integral missional Christian presence in the world.³

Doing Theology from Life and for Life: A Review

This dissertation uncovered the process by means of which a theological formation program was constructed by a group of transnational, radical evangelical friends within Latin America for the sake of integral mission in that context. At the same time, it explored some ways in which the process of theological formation constituted a constructive endeavor, which engendered not only knowledge, but also community, ethical discipleship, and integral transformation.

Chapter One introduced the research, outlined the path to be followed by the dissertation, and defined key concepts utilized. Chapter Two presented the Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos and the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana, communities of meaning-making which: 1) emphasized local

³ The critical questions presented are derived from my understanding of the history of CETI and its current developments and are offered from my perspective as a missiologist and as coordinator of INFEMIT’s Networking Team. No attempt is made to propose an all-encompassing theological or missiological analysis of the future of CETI, a worthwhile task to be tackled at some other point with greater historical perspective.
initiative and autonomy in a search for relevance in the Latin American scene; 2) nourished a sense of community and fostered friendship as the matrix for doing theology; and 3) conceived theological reflection as an endeavor that engaged all areas of life, knowledge and practice, and promoted interdisciplinary discipleship for the sake of integral mission and transformation.

Chapter Three explored the scenario of Protestant-evangelical theological education available within Argentina during the late twentieth century as well as the real existing communities within which CETI was born, the Escuela Bíblica de Villa María and the Comunidad Kairós, along with their educational commitments and practices. The chapter closed with brief biographical annotations regarding key actors in the creation of CETI. Chapter Four then honed in on the development of the CETI programs, portraying the key role of Catalina Feser Padilla and highlighting the changes undergone as the core team and the contextual demands shifted during the twenty years from its creation until 2002. Chapter Five offered a theological, pedagogical, and institutional analysis of CETI along with narrative accounts which served as a sample of its missional, ethical impact during the period studied and beyond.

The programs of the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios were generated in a particular place in a particular time of history by a particular set of
people. As explored, the curriculum grew out of radical evangelical communities and was intentionally designed to empower Christians to engage in integral mission in response to contextual challenges of the late twentieth century within Latin America. Yet, and despite its specific origins, CETI was adopted in 2011 by the International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation (INFEMIT) for implementation in a variety of contexts. The central question that occupies this concluding chapter emerges from an analysis of CETI, its history, and the theo-missiological commitments of its communities of origin: What lies at the core of CETI, offers it integrity, and contributes to its generative potential for theological formation for integral mission in Abya Yala and beyond?

The Global Reach of CETI: A Description

*misión integral* beyond Abya Yala

The expansion of CETI beyond Latin America was facilitated by the previous acceptance of the paradigm of *misión integral* by the global evangelical mission movement. This paradigm, articulated by radical evangelical communities

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4 CETI as a community and a curriculum underwent several transitions since 2002, and has continued to grow within Latin America. Those more recent developments, however, fall outside the scope of this dissertation.
within Latin America in the mid to late twentieth century, the Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos and the Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana, made its way into the the world-wide evangelical movement from the mid-1970’s onward. The most intentional proponents of integral mission were the theologians, missiologists, and practitioners who founded the International Fellowship of Evangelical Mission Theologians in the early 1980’s and those who followed in the same vein since then, creating the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies in 1982, and re-activating the global network as the International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation in 2010. Scores of regional and global consultations have furthered this vision, as have publications like those of Regnum, and the journals Transformation, Journal of African Christian Thought, the Journal of Latin American Theology: Christian Reflections from the Latino South, among others. Local experiences of integral mission practice have given the vision tangible expression. Educational institutions have been founded in order to shape an integral understanding of the gospel and mission among

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5 See Chapters One and Two.

pastors and church leaders. Given its commitment to nourish inter-cultural friendship and cross-regional learning, through the years INFEMIT has sponsored site visits and exchange between members. INFEMIT as an organization as well as its members and associated institutions have partnered with a broad diversity of global networks and institutions. For instance, INFEMIT members have served through the years on the Theology Working Group of the Lausanne Movement, on the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches, on the board of the American

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7 In addition to the Comunidad Kairós, and among others are El Centro Evangélico de Misiología Andino-Amazonónica (CEMAA) in Lima, Perú, under the leadership of Rubén (Tito) Paredes; the Centro de Capacitación Misionera (CCM) in La Paz, Bolivia, under the leadership of Marcelo Vargas; Akrofi-Christaller Institute (ACI) in Akropong, Ghana, under the leadership of Ben Quarshie and Mary Gillian Bediako; the Institute for Studies in Asian Church and Culture ISACC, in Manila, Philippines, under the leadership of Melba Maggai.

8 Consultations were held in different cities of the global south like Mexico City, Bangkok, and Osijek, Croatia. Exchanges included Kwame Bediako’s visits to CEMAA as well as visits of Tito Paredes and Marcelo Vargas to Akroffi Christaller University in Accra, Ghana.

9 Especially notable was the contribution of two-third world theologians and missiologists to the consultation processes leading up to Lausanne III. Among them, Marcelo Vargas and Ruth Padilla DeBorst from Latin America. Under the leadership of Christopher J. H. Wright, the Working Group focused for three years on the theme “The Whole Church taking the Whole Gospel to the Whole World.” For a review, see Christopher J H. Wright, "Whole gospel, whole church, whole world: we must believe, live and communicate all that makes the Christian message staggering comprehensive good news." Christianity Today 53, no. 10 (October 2009): 30-33.

10 Tito (Rubén) Paredes served from 1992 until the time of writing. Tito Paredes, e-mail to author, August 10, 2016.
Society of Missiology,\textsuperscript{11} as staff of development agencies like Tear Fund and World Vision International,\textsuperscript{12} and as senior scholars of the Overseas Ministries Study Center.\textsuperscript{13} In addition, INFEMIT serves as the Theology Working Group of Micah Global, contributing mission theology to over 600 members of this global evangelical network, which was created in 2001 order to further the integral mission agenda globally.

The vision and relationships promoted by INFEMIT served as natural conduits for the global spread of the CETI Certificate in the second decade of the twenty-first century.

The Spread of \textit{Faith and Life}

Aware of the value of the CETI curricula, its transformative impact on pastors, church leaders, and Christians in many professions, the International Fellowship


\textsuperscript{12} Rene Padilla presided Tear Fund UK from 1997 until 2009; Valdir Steuernagel, a Brazilian theologian and member of the FTL, served as Board Member, Director of Christian Commitments and Theologian at Large of World Vision International (WVI), and Ruth Padilla DeBorst was Director of Christian Formation and Leadership Development for WVI (2011-2014).

\textsuperscript{13} The roster of senior scholars of OMSC includes people like Samuel Escobar, René Padilla, Wonsuk Ma, and Ruth Padilla DeBorst, all associated with INFEMIT.
for Mission as Transformation adopted the CETI Certificate as one of its central programs. In 2011, and through a tri-partite agreement among CETI, INFEMIT and World Vision International (WVI), the curriculum was translated into English. Several INFEMIT members then participated as international “dialogue partners” in the FTL Continental Congress, CLADE V, in San José, Costa Rica (July 2012), and met with the CETI team after the event. During 2013, consultations were also held in Oxford, UK; Arusha, Tanzania; and Bangkok, Thailand, in order to expose key leaders to the curriculum and recruit them for the generation of contextual versions. Regional Working Groups composed of INFEMIT members and World Vision staff began adapting what has come to be called *Faith and Life*, using the original as a framework and drawing on local bibliography and case studies in order to address the issues of their particular contexts.

Beyond Spanish speaking Latin America, contextual versions of *Faith and Life* are currently being used in Brazil, Romania, Albania, Zambia, South Africa, and in remote areas of China, among other places. The design of these versions has not followed a singular pattern, and the curriculum implemented varies significantly from place to place. The Brazilian version, titled *Vida e Missao*, was initially produced by educators of the *Iglesia Bautista Agua Branca*, in Sao Paulo,
under the leadership of Robinson Jacintheo, and is now reaching far beyond through several church and mission networks. In the case of Eastern Europe, a Working Group, composed of World Vision staff Gabi Achim, Danut Manastireanu, and Ekaterina Papadhopuli, and INFEMIT members Corneliu Constantineanu and Marcel Macelaru met several times and generated an English version which incorporated Orthodox prayers and bibliography from their region. They also abbreviated the sessions so that they would fit into the time allotted to Christian formation by World Vision national offices. They then had the curriculum translated into Albanian and Romanian for use in those countries.

The production process of the Chinese version followed a very different route. Edmond Lam, a World Vision staff member who works in inland China, participated in the CETI induction sessions of 2012 and 2013 and determined that the curriculum would be extremely helpful for his educational work in interfaith groups dedicated to community development. Based on the English version, an Asia Working Group prepared a suggested outline which was approved by CETI. With the support of Paul Lau and World Vision Malaysia, Lam translated

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14 Among these, the Viña Church and Misión Alianza Noruega.
the material of the module of Faith and Work into Chinese.\textsuperscript{15} Since then he has been implementing a uniquely Chinese version in rural Area Development Programs (ADP) of World Vision, for “discipleship and faith mentoring for Christians and for serving locals who are interested in Christianity.”\textsuperscript{16} Regarding other Asian countries, ADP’s across India used the material on Faith and Work, and WV Philippines is planning to test the material in their ADPs.\textsuperscript{17}

*Faith and Life* entered Zambia when, having been exposed to the CETI curriculum, Bible Society Director Mishek Nyrenda found it responded to the discipleship needs of his large local congregation in Lusaka. Along with other leaders from several African countries, he met with the CETI team a couple of times and he then launched the program, “adapting as I went along.”\textsuperscript{18} Yet a different model is the one being developed in Cape Town, South Africa, by René August and Caroline Powell, staff members of the Christian NGO, The

\textsuperscript{15} Paul Lau, e-mail to author, July 4, 2016.

\textsuperscript{16} Edmond Lam, e-mail to author, May 11, 2016. Lam reported that “participants enjoy the open discussion atmosphere and the richness of the reading material and they want more.”

\textsuperscript{17} Ajit Hazra, Director - Faith and Development; South Asia and Pacific Region, e-mail to author, July 1, 2016.

\textsuperscript{18} Mishek Nyrenda, e-mail to author, April 2, 2016.
Since they are running *Faith and Life* for young people from the local communities in which they work, much of the bibliography is being replaced by YouTube videos as a means to provide input for the doing of theology from life and for life.

The CETI Certificate curriculum will surely undergo other alterations in form and content once the group that is taking shape under the leadership of Christian Reformed Home Missions staff in the United States begins production of a version for that context. And one can only imagine the variants that will arise when the group of interested Christian aboriginal leaders from Australia begin adapting and using the curriculum in their communities.

Natural questions following the description of the spread of CETI Certificate around the world are: “With so many insertions, deletions and overall variations, what is the integrity of the *Faith and Life* curriculum?” “How can these programs even be identified as contextual versions of one same original curriculum?” Some might even ask, “How do CETI and INFEMIT maintain control over the formation processes that are being generated around the

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world?” The following analysis of the core of CETI both responds to these questions and explains the generative value of CETI.

**The Core of CETI: Theo-Missiological and Pedagogical Commitments**

Although CETI included certain content areas as does every educational program, what lay at the critical core of CETI as a community and as a curriculum was not mainly content. CETI was not a packaged curriculum available simply to be translated and replicated as it crossed borders. The integrity of the program, instead, rested on certain interwoven theo-missiological understandings and pedagogical commitments that both determined its nature and explained its generative potential. These understandings and commitments established the point of departure, the content, the intent, and the actors in the theological formation process. Among the distinctive features of CETI, this study has dwelt on the *doing* of theology in response to context, a radical evangelical perspective, an integral mission intent, and a focus on the formation of all Christians for mission through interdisciplinary dialogue, communal design, and implementation.

First, CETI was generated contextually and invited people to *do* theology, not simply to *learn* theology. The program was born from the intentional self-
theologizing of members of the *Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana* and *Kairós*. Recognizing that all theology inevitably bears the marks of the particular historical matrix within which it is generated, the creators of CETI were intentional in their analysis of and engagement with the Latin American reality. They allowed that context to significantly influence the educational agenda. Since they conceived of the doing of theology as an endeavor *from* and *for* life, they sought to empower students to grapple with the questions posed by their context in light of Scripture and Christian tradition, to live in light of the responses, and to face new questions, in an on-going praxis cycle of Christian living. At the same time, the creators of CETI were not bound by a simplistic contextualism that would have reduced the sources drawn from to ones generated within Latin America. Instead, they drew broadly from the stores of global Christianity and the social sciences.

Second, CETI embodied and promoted a radically evangelical, trans-denominational stance in relation to Scripture and tradition. CETI creators sustained a deep respect for the authority and relevance of the Biblical text while at the same time exhibiting humble recognition regarding the complexities of interpretation. Operating out of a broad theology of the Reign of God rather than within any narrowly defined denominational current, they also affirmed general
revelation, included in the curriculum bibliography from multiple Christian and general sources, and fostered the active participation of Christians from diverse traditions. In addition, CETI promoted interdisciplinary inquiry. Students were encouraged to apply the questions, knowledge, perspectives, and methods from their disciplines and from their life experience to the doing of theology and the ensuing missional practice.

Thirdly, for the creators of CETI, the vocation of theological inquiry was not simply pursued in order to build knowledge but rather to strengthen the vision and capacity of all the people of God to live out the whole gospel in all areas of life, in other words, to carry out integral mission. Consequently, both in content and in form, CETI programs sought to bridge both the conceptual and the practical divides between clergy and lay people, the sacred and the profane, personal piety and social engagement, and so to involve participants in an ongoing revision of their values and practices in family, work, society, and church life.

In accord with these theological and missiological understandings were the pedagogical commitments and the concurrent methodologies that lay at the core of the CETI community and programs. For the CETI creators, critical, liberative educational models available at the time cohered with the Reformation
emphasis on the priesthood of all believers. Within this stance, students were respected as active proponents and participants, and the educator’s role was considered to be less that of the ultimate expert and more that of a facilitator of learning-provoking interactions. The value of expert knowledge was not disregarded, but was brought in when called for and in appropriate dialogue with the lived experience of the learners who were recognized as capable actors rather than passive recipients in the learning process. Learning was understood to occur when knowledge/content was set in dialogue with life/experience, in other words, through praxis. Progress in this model was measured by participants’ critical awareness of reality in light of Scripture and their critical reading of Scripture in light of their reality as well as by their capacity to join forces in order to act upon the new knowledge in ways that transformed that reality for the common good.

In sum, what held the CETI Certificate together, and constituted the substantive offering out of Latin America to Christian faith communities in other parts of the world, was a set of interwoven theological, missiological and educational understandings, commitments, and methods. CETI and INFEMIT stood in no need to maintain control over the final curricular content as *Faith and Life* versions were being produced. Contextual versions could take on a life of
their own and still be conceived as expressions of the same formation program as long as the following conditions held: 1) Those contextual versions fostered communal processes by means of which women and men were granted the necessary tools for them to do theology, to build bridges between Word and World not merely at conceptual levels but through faithful living, and they were prompted to take the reflection on their lived experience back to the learning circle, thus contributing to the on-going construction of the formation process; and 2) The entire process was directed toward the embodiment of the mission of God in relation to the ethical challenges of particular contexts. In the CETI model of theological formation for integral mission, Christian beliefs (theological and missiological) are directed toward consistent ways of living (missional and ethical) through the embodied practices of a learning community.

Critical Considerations Looking Forward

The questions that were critical in the inception and growth of CETI within Abya Yala remain current as the program is updated in Latin America and contextual versions are created and implemented around the world. Theological and missiological understandings as well as the missional-ethical intent require compatible pedagogical postures. Key areas of concern are: 1. Who
is involved in the formation process? 2. What forms of formation grant tools for believers to “read” both reality and Scripture in such a way that they can imagine, embody, and affect integral transformation in the midst of the challenges of their local and global context? And finally, 3. Into what story is a particular program of theological formation inviting participants to cast their personal and communal stories? This final section is organized around these concerns and poses further questions and proposals for the design of theological formation for integral mission based on the history of CETI.\(^\text{20}\)

1. The Actors: Intercultural Communities

One of the most significant contributions of CETI to theological formation processes beyond Abya Yala is its appreciation of the missional vocation of all the followers of Jesus in all realms of life, and its commitment to nourish that communal calling through praxis-focused education. The issue at stake here is who is formed theologically for integral mission. Without devaluing the academic formation of scholars who can uncover new avenues of research and understanding, or the pastoral formation of people who serve the church in

\(^{20}\) It is my hope these questions and proposals will be taken into account by the groups responsible for the generation of contextual versions of CETI around the world.
formal roles, CETI sought to build learning communities of believers who lived out their faith in markets and board rooms, in homes and streets, in laboratories and schools, and so on.

Radical evangelicals understand God as the triune Community-of-love, composed of discrete and differentiated members bound together by love. This “intercultural Community” reaches out in love beyond itself in creation, salvation and recreation. Within this conception, human beings, created in the image of the God-Community, are both made by community and constituted for community within the creation community. Concurrent with this theological understanding is the missiological one: the Missio Dei is carried out by the community of followers of Jesus, diverse in nature yet characterized by loving relationships and by reaching out beyond itself into all realms of existence by all

21 Costas, Liberating, 149.

22 José Míguez Bonino also affirmed that the Trinity was bound together in constant “missionary dialogue.” José Míguez Bonino, Faces of Latin American Protestantism (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 141.


it is, does, and says. Such a community acknowledges that each and every member is gifted and empowered by the Holy Spirit for his or her missional vocation. The lived, missional-ethical outworking of these understandings is the existence of communities of unlikely belonging, solidarity, inclusion and creation care which are truly liberative. Says Orlando Costas:

> We know that liberation is “evangelical” when it tears down the structures that perpetuate divisions among peoples, among men, women and children, and between the human family and nature –divisions that promote hate, hostility and resentment, instead of love, well-being and freedom.”

Christian communities reflect the image of the intercultural Community-of-Love when, following the example of Jesus and inspired by the Spirit, they value the diverse cultures present, legitimize multiple ways of knowing represented, trace routes for mutual enrichment without suppressing any one of them, and live respectfully alongside others in a pluralist society. More on “interculturality” in the next section.

Full recognition of God’s communal and diverse image in humanity should engender respect for all people as worthy actors in learning processes and a commitment to “synergogy,” the joint construction of programs, knowledge

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26 More on “interculturality” in the next section.
and missional practice.\textsuperscript{27} I propose that the main tool for this construction is dialogue -- interpersonal, interdenominational, interdisciplinary, intercultural, and inter-generational. Although the contributions of experts and the knowledge stores of Christian tradition must be appreciated, so must the perspectives and experience of believers who bring other forms of knowledge. Finally, the intended outcome of theological formation should move beyond individual advancement to the consolidation of witnessing communities that embody liberative missional practices.

I suggest that if theological formation programs seek to maintain relevance in the midst of fragmented, violent and unequal societies, they would do well to explore the following: How close are those programs to the broad base of the church in mission? In what ways are they catering to the needs of the non-ordained and non-scholars so that the entire life of the believing community serves its missional vocation? How are they intentionally constructing themselves as truly intercultural communities of belonging and meaning-making for all their participants? This is a particularly acute challenge when programs are offered online and faculty and students hail from different locations. Further

\textsuperscript{27} McKinney, “Evangelical Theological Higher Education,” 166.
yet, in what ways are theological formation programs engendering, nurturing, and involving people in real existing communities? Might they be more intentional in partnering with the few but growing initiatives of intentional Christian community cropping up alongside institutional churches so that students can experience life in community as part of their formation? What are these programs doing to include diverse actors, including faculty, administration, and students; church, seminary, and community people; and especially women, non-academics, and indigenous people, not only in learning but in the actual construction of their curricula? In what ways are distinct cultural perspectives being affirmed and brought to the table for mutual enrichment? In the face of massive human displacement and the breakdown of the traditional family, in what ways are theological formation programs contributing to the self-understanding and action of churches as welcoming communities of belonging and inclusion? How are theological formation programs countering dominant values of the global market economy, such as competition and individual achievement, and furthering instead the understanding and practices of communal solidarity within the faith communities and contributing to their agency as community builders outside their own circles?
2. Forms, Tools, and Goals: Intercultural, Transformational Praxis

At the core of evangelical faith is the trust that God loves the world so much that God entered history and became human. The radical affirmations of the first followers of Jesus were that, contrary to the Greek philosophical conception of love as a pure, abstract idea, love was embodied in the person of a Judean man of the first century who entered the world to serve especially the marginalized of his day. In Orlando Costas’ words, in Christ, God “does not transcend the predicament of human history by avoiding its perils but, rather, by taking upon himself the infirmities and corruption of deformed humanity.”28 The theological understanding of Incarnation has shocking missiological implications regarding the place and the means of mission. God’s mission does not aim at extracting the believing community from the world but rather at embedding it in the midst of historical situations, and particularly in the experience of the oppressed.29

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28 Costas, Christ Outside, 11.

29 Ibid.
Evangelical Christians believe that Jesus is God’s love in human form. Jesus is both medium and message. Similarly, the gospel is an incarnated message; it creates a new human community, and “that new human community is itself part of the gospel to be proclaimed...The manner in which we witness to the gospel must be consistent with its content.” The church participates in God’s transformative mission to the extent to which it embodies God’s love by the power and the sending of the Spirit.

The theological, missiological, and ethical understanding of Incarnation demands pedagogical commitments that are consistent with that perspective. At stake here is what form of education will nurture the embodiment of the Christian message in particular locations and in a globalized world. If theological formation is to empower faith communities to live out the gospel in relation to the particular challenges of the context in order to effect transformation, it will need to go beyond delivering content and affecting merely the cognitive

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31 Vinoth Ramachandra, The recovery of Mission – beyond the pluralist paradigm (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmann, 1996), 270.
understanding of participants. It must engage those communities in public practices coherent with their beliefs. In order for this to occur, for these practices to be both faithful to the story of God’s love as revealed in Scripture and relevant to the context within which that story is lived out, formation must grant participants the tools necessary for “double reading.” Students will need to hone the ability not only to read Scripture and tradition, but also to read their context and analyze the complex socio-economic, political, cultural, economic, and ecological realities in which they are called to serve Monday through Sunday. Without this capacity, they will remain powerless to confront the issues on the ground with the resources granted by their faith. Tools for a full fledged “double reading” include the critical analysis offered by the social sciences as well as by suspicion, art, intuition, memory, and reflection on experience,\(^{32}\) ways of knowing often less appreciated. The acquisition of these tools is not an end in itself, but rather a means for gaining greater understanding of how society

works, how certain social, cultural, and religious practices are sustained by and contribute to the abuse of power, and for devising strategies for change.\textsuperscript{33}

The natural next question relates to how these tools are acquired, and points to curricular design. Far more than a simple listing of courses destined to the production of knowledge, curriculum is an “environment-producing discipline: disciplined praxis.”\textsuperscript{34} Building on the contributions of ‘knowledge-producing disciplines” such as educational philosophy, psychology, sociology and history, curricula shape the most appropriate educational environment “to facilitate the students’ functional use of the knowledge content.”\textsuperscript{35} Learning environments need to be tailored to the ends pursued.

If a theological formation process seeks, as CETI did, to alter the power structures in families, churches, communities, and nations, combat patriarchy and hierarchy, contribute to more just and equitable societies, and engage people

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\textsuperscript{33} See Susan Adams, \textit{Toward a Reshaped Church}, 62. She proposed the development of a “feminist consciousness” as the aim of feminist education. Ibid., 61. Expanding her proposal, and building on Freire, I believe that theological formation should be for \textit{critical consciousness}, aimed at awareness and transformation of power relations.

\textsuperscript{34} Samuel Rowen, “Accreditation, contextualization and the teaching of mission,” in \textit{Missions and Theological Education in World Perspective}, ed. Harvie M. Conn and Samuel F. Rowen (Farmington, MI: Associates of Urbanus, 1984), 147.

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., 148.
in the urgent care of creation, then the educational process itself must model the desired scenario. As important as course content in the curricular design is the environment created. Necessary questions include the following: Do teaching/learning practices foster mutual respect and service between all participants and erase the value judgments discriminating between those who “know” and those who “don’t know?” Do those practices encourage collaboration rather than competition and flatten the playing field between people whom society might classify as more valuable or less valuable? Are the contributions of women and minorities esteemed as much as those of other sectors in the educational processes? Do faculty and administration model humility, the thrill of life-long learning, love of God, love of others, and love of creation as they interact with one another and with students? Does the program take into serious account the reality, needs, and goals of the students as they engage in God’s mission in their particular contexts rather than imposing irrelevant content on participants? Does the overall design and that of each course intentionally provide for praxis, the meeting of reflection and action with the goal of on-going obedience and integral transformation? In sum, is the educational environment such that all participants are spurred to do theology in context, to actively generate local theologies, and to live in light of them?
Of course, given the extent of today’s globalization, any given locality today is “rarely monocultural.”36 Both within and beyond Latin America, the intensified movement of people; the expanding reach of technology and commerce; the ensuing cultural and religious exchange, all complexify the dynamic relationship between local realities and global flows.37 In light of this, contextual theological formation demands attention to “interculturality,” and “transcontextuality,”38 the encounter and exchange between people with diverse


38 Patricia Mata Benito explains that the notion of interculturality developed initially in the fields of anthropology and education in the late twentieth century, and since then has extended its use into other disciplines, particularly in circles of post-colonial exploration. According to Mata Benito, the term contrasts with “multiculturality,” which rests on cultural differentiation, presupposes defined identities, and contributes to stereotyping according to nationalities, territories, religions, languages and so on. “Interculturality,” instead, focuses on diversity, change, and complexity as individuals create, recreate and share within a cultural environment. “Interculturality moves away from a descriptive approach of cultures to analyze how the cultural manifests itself by means of its social and communicative uses.” Patricia Mata-Benito,
stories and worldviews, as well as to the power issues involved that might allow some voices to be heard and others to be disregarded in the formation process.

Interdisciplinary reflection on cultural diversity (present within Abya Yala ever since waves of European conquistadores and colonizers both imposed themselves on local inhabitants and brought enslaved Africans to these shores) and its implications for the doing of theology and the practice of mission have been on the agenda of the communities that birthed CETI since their early years.\(^{39}\) However, only recently has a more generalized and deeper reflection...
been taking place within the FTL regarding the power dynamics that have legitimized the dominance of Euro-mestizo populations and the marginalization of indigenous and African-originated people even within radical evangelical communities. There is a growing awareness of the way these dynamics have deprived women and men of non-European extract in Abya Yala of an equal standing in the doing of theology, and efforts are being made to reverse this trend.40

As Christian groups around the world generate contextual versions of CETI, intentional consideration needs to be given to interculturality, ensuring that not only content, but also the form and methodology, are respectful and

papers on Gospel and Culture presented by Tito Paredes and Fernando Quicaña (134-156), papers on Cultural Diversity in Latin America, presented by Key Yuasa, Ruth Padilla de Eldrenkamp, Moisés Colop and Daniel King (318-336); the summative “Declaración de Quito: Todo el evangelio desde América Latina para todos los pueblos” (855-861); and “Declaración de Otavalo” (865-966) (Buenos Aires: Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana, 1993).

40 Ever since the 2008 FTL Consultation on Identity, Indigeneity and Interculturality (Aranjuez, Bolivia, 2008) and especially since the months leading up to CLADE V (San José, Costa Rica, 2012), a thematic study group of the FTL, “Identidad, indigeneidad e interculturalidad,” has been leading the FTL in theological reflection along these lines. The most recent continental consultation and Assembly of the FTL (Lima, June 23-25, 2016) involved indigenous people in several panels; conversations deepened during a workshop on interculturality; and Eva Morales, a Bolivian woman of indigenous background was named President of the Fellowship. The “Tres I” group is currently embarking on an ambitious project of “Indigenous Memory,” patterned after the Dictionary of African Christian Biography under the leadership of Jocabed Solano and Drew Jennings, in consultation with Jonathan Bonk.
affirming of varied modes of interaction and learning. Formation processes must facilitate

equitable coexistence, interaction, exchange and dialogue between cultures within a broader process of transformation of economic, social and political relationships… [so that] subjects of different cultures express, share, re-signify and together produce beliefs, understandings, interpretations and actions, without renouncing their particular identity.41

Central questions are: Do the educational processes generated contribute to truly equitable exchange between people of diverse cultural situatedness? In recognition of the “glocal” nature of most contexts in our globalized world, in what ways are the lessons of intercultural encounter learned in particular local contexts being offered to communities in other contexts? What is being done so that discoveries and resources from particular locations – and especially from places other than the North Atlantic— are made available to the world evangelical movement?42 Local and global changes demand more than mere

41 Prieswerk, Contrato intercultural. Crisis y refundación de la Educación Teológica (Plural, CLAI, Visión Mundial, Universidad Carlos III: La Paz, Quito, San José, Madrid), 250. (Question mark inserted by author).

42 Andrew Walls posits that “the whole history of the church belongs to the whole church;” so although the histories of the Southern continents are clearly of special concern to the churches, the peoples, and the scholars of those areas, they are not an exclusive possession or interest. He calls for “first rate instrument making,” that can undo the long-established “colonialism of information” through the production of works of reference, collected editions, dictionaries of scholarship, and the collection of primary source material of Southern Christianity, a process made possible now by “modern methods of date storage and transfer” which make “large-scale cooperative work easier to handle than ever before.” Andrew F. Walls, “Structural Problems in
cosmetic adjustments or the inclusion of a smattering of writings authored by Two-Thirds World leaders in course bibliographies. In order to develop a “theology which is faithful to God’s revelation, missionally motivated, and appropriately contextual to the twenty-first century,” theological educators from North and South, East and West need to engage in and promote a “bifocal way of seeing” which includes respectful appreciation of and commitment to voices, issues, resources, and needs which are both local and global. Wilbert Shenk’s reflections regarding the writing of church history are fully applicable to the design of theological formation processes:

We are at the point where every Christian community ought to be able to perceive and affirm its relationship with every other Christian community around the globe…. Regional expressions of Christian faith must be granted parity and be understood on their own terms in order that the integrity of the whole might be demonstrated…. Every account that parochializes the history of the church suppresses the full truth. We need, then, models and methodologies that will help us elucidate the truth of the whole.

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Mission Studies,” International Bulletin of Missionary Research 15, n. 4 (October 1991), 146, 151 and 152. A hopeful initiative in this direction within Latin America is the recently articulated Repositorio Cristiano Interinstitucional (REPCI), managed by the Fundación Universitaria Seminario Bíblico de Colombia.

43 Wilbert R. Shenk, Foreword, in Globalizing Theology: Belief and Practice in an Era of World Christianity, ed. Craig Ott and Harold A. Netland (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 11.

So theological formation for responsible incarnation demands expanding horizons beyond local-contextual theologies for mutual renewal, a fuller theology, and more just living in relation to global challenges such as the forced movement of people and ecological degradation.\textsuperscript{45} In the case of CETI, the seeds for inter-contextual theologizing were sown by the pioneers, thanks to their transnational identity and connections.\textsuperscript{46} Today, through linkages established by the International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation, theologian practitioners from Latin America, Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, the South Pacific, and the North Atlantic are making available to one another the thought and experience generated in their particular contexts for use in other contexts which are increasingly more multi-ethnic and hence demand intercultural skills and insights if theological formation is to be relevant.

\textsuperscript{45} See Craig Ott, “Conclusion: Globalizing Theology,” in Globalizing Theology: Belief and Practice in an Era of World Christianity, ed. Craig Ott and Harold A. Netland (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 314-316. Current global trends, for example the forced movement of people (migration, internally displaced people, deportation, and millions seeking refuge) cannot be addressed through narrowly local strategies and demands trans-contextual theologizing as well as action.

\textsuperscript{46} “Latin American missiology is contextual, but responds to new global Christian realities and offers new conceptualizations to rethink relationships with Earth and other religions... Latino missiology’s contribution in this new age of multilateral post-colonial mission comes from the integration of reflection and action, paving the way for true interdependence and authentic partnerships in the global church.” Sherron George, “Constructing Latin American Missiology: How the Holistic Perspective Overcame Traditional Stereotypes,” in The Reshaping of Mission in Latin America, ed. Miguel Alvarez (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2016), 35.
Monthly Networking Team meetings allow for mutual support and inter-cultural exchange between INFEMIT leaders. Meanwhile, publications, social media, conferences, and consultations like the annual Stott-Bediako Forum co-sponsored by INFEMIT and the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies further broaden the circle of cross-fertilization. INFEMIT also co-sponsors the Global Church Project, a compilation of video recordings of Majority World and educational resources developed by Australian Graham Hill.47 Finally, INFEMIT members have contributed to multiple volumes of the Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series, the monumental legacy of Wonsuk Ma during his leadership of the Oxford Center for Mission Studies.

Having considered the interrelated theological, missiological and pedagogical commitments regarding who is involved in the pedagogical process and what forms of formation grant them the necessary tools, we finally turn to considerations regarding the broader story into which I propose theological formation must seek to invite participants to cast their personal and communal stories.

3. The Integral Community Story: “Indwelling” the Story of God’s Work

The creators of CETI sought to contribute to integral transformation within Abya Yala, so they were not satisfied with strengthening the cognitive understanding or knowledge base of participants. Instead, they conceived of their task as one of engaging believers in an on-going process of interpreting their personal and communal stories in light of the broader story of God’s work in the world which, in their understanding, spans from Creation to Re-creation. This conceptualization concurs with the epistemological shift that took place in certain intellectual circles during the last third of the Twentieth century. As part of a broader paradigm shift away from the grip of modern scientism on all fields and forms of knowledge, some theologians and philosophers began calling for and exploring new epistemologies, new ways of seeing and knowing both Scripture and reality. They sought to overcome what they viewed as the artificial distinction between intellect and imagination, “scientific thinking and poetic, or religious or humane thinking.”

Uncomfortable with hermeneutical theories that

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48 See, for example, Juan Stam, Las Buenas Nuevas de la Creación (Grand Rapids, MI: Nueva Creación, 1994), a required CETI reading.

disrespected the literary forms of the Bible and abstracted from it philosophical systems of thought, they proposed alternative, narrative approaches.⁵⁰

Among these thinkers was Lesslie Newbigin, someone who significantly influenced the creators of CETI.⁵¹ He challenged the modern—and to him artificial—distinction between the world of facts and the world of values. He followed Michael Polanyi, affirming that “There is no knowing without believing, and believing is the way to knowing.”⁵² Drawing on Peter Berger’s “plausibility structures,” he argued that the scientist—religious or secular—as well as the Christian builds on and within certain faith commitments and traditions which are adhered to personally and are, at the same time, held “with universal intent,” as “public truth.”⁵³ For him, the tradition Christians insert

⁵⁰ See the work of Paul Ricoeur, Hans Frei, Robert Alter, and Stanley Hauerwas. Although the proposals for theological formation here presented are grounded in a narrative reading of Scripture and of context, no attempt is made to overview narrative hermeneutical approaches, which vary significantly in scope of claim and application. Useful in understanding narrative theology is Stanley Hauerwas, and L. Gregory Jones, eds., Why Narrative? Readings in Narrative Theology (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1997).

⁵¹ See Transnational Belonging in Chapter One.


themselves into “is that of witness to the action of God in history, action which reveals and effects the purpose of the Creator.”  Thus, Christian faith is not only a matter of “dwelling in a tradition of understanding; it is a matter of dwelling in a story of God’s activity, activity which is still continuing” as God reveals God’s self and God’s saving purposes for the world. Consequently, “The business of the missionary and… of the Christian church… is to challenge the plausibility structure in the light of God’s revelation of the real meaning of history.” This challenge will take place, said Newbigin, “through the witness of a community which… indwells the story the Bible tells” and approaches the Bible “not to understand the text but to understand the world through the text.”

Since life is “enstoried” in nature, and “people come to know, understand and make sense of the social world” through narrativity, “by locating themselves or being located within a repertoire of emplotted stories,” every community

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55 Newbigin, Ibid., 51, 87. (Italics mine).

56 Newbigin, Ibid., 96.

57 Newbigin, Ibid., 97, 98.
inevitably narrates and believes and lives out some story. Many meaning-making stories are available to people in our globalized world. Richard Hughes delineates some that have marked US-American self-understanding and action in the world: the myth of the chosen nation; the myth of nature’s nation; the myth of the Christian nation; the myth of the millennial nation; the myth of the innocent nation. In his view, when these stories are absolutized, they justify all sorts of injustices.

In contrast to those prevailing stories,

The primary story from which Christians derive their sense of what the world is like and of who they are is the story of God in Christ reconciling the world to himself (2 Corinthians 5.19) ...Our deepest truest identity is thus discovered in the biblical narrative, not the so-called foundational narratives of this or that culture or this or that nation”

Within this narrative paradigm, Word (Christian Scripture and tradition) and World (current reality) are brought together when a believing community

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60 VanHoozer, “‘One Rule,’” 113.
recognizes itself as imbedded within the story of *Missio Dei* and lives into that story, and not others, within its historical context.

Through the lens of a narrative missional hermeneutic, the writings of the Bible are conceived as the product and witness of God’s mission: “The Bible renders to us the story of God’s mission through God’s people in their engagement with God’s world for the sake of the whole of God’s creation.”61 That same lens allows believing communities to view current local and global social, political, economic, cultural and ecological realities not as immutable and final but as malleable and transitory and hence susceptible of being transformed in light of the grand story of the Community-of-Love. Beyond seeing, “Christians demonstrate their understanding of the biblical script… not through academic treatises and commentaries but through their individual and corporate lives. Christian speech and action are forms of performative knowledge.”62 In sum, Making the biblical story one’s own is a specific act entailing specific commitments… Christians are those who experience in Jesus Christ reconciliation with their Maker. Christians are those who believe certain things, live a certain kind of life, align themselves with a specific community.63


62 VanHoozer, “‘One Rule,’” 112.

63 Gary Comstock, “Truth or Meaning: Ricoeur versus Frei on Biblical Narrative,” *Journal of*
Latin American evangelicals built on Segundo’s original articulation of the hermeneutical circle, but differed in the authoritative value they attributed to Scripture. For them, the narrative rendition of the hermeneutical spiral necessarily involved awareness of historical situation and of the interpreter’s presuppositions; a faith-filled interaction with Scripture; accessible theological articulation; and a life of obedience. I propose that programs of theological formation consistent with the narrative hermeneutics here expressed will seek to foster communal processes by means of which participants do theology with the goal and expectation that God’s Spirit will imbed their lives and context within the larger narrative, for the transformation of their context towards the common good.

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Conclusion

Underlying the study of the Centro de Estudios Teológicos Interdisciplinarios lies the assumption that theological formation has a significant role to play in a world scene in which civilizations are clashing and merging, in which violence is escalating, in which natural resources are being depleted, and especially in which vulnerable communities are bearing the brunt of climate change. A key question, however, is what forms of theological education will be relevant to current local and global realities and empower Christian communities to engage with those issues out of the stores of their faith?

This dissertation has presented CETI as a generative form of theological formation that is contributing to Christian communities re-casting their stories in light of the Biblical story for responsible presence in the world. Although it was constructed by a group of radical evangelical friends within Latin America towards the end of the twentieth century, CETI contained within it the potential for theological formation for integral mission in other contexts. This potential radicated in the contextual commitments of its creators, which, along with their radical evangelical posture, did not preclude, but rather allowed them to build on, the rich stores of their transnational friendships and learnings. CETI constitutes an offering out of Latin America to Christian communities around the
world. Is is not a tightly-bound, pre-set program to be translated and utilized, but rather a pedagogical and theo-missional provocation for the generation of contextual formation processes that contribute to people re-casting their stories and engaging in integral mission for the common good.
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Ruth Padilla DeBorst
Apartado 349-1002 • San Jose, Costa Rica
Phone: +1 (786) 617-7027 • E-Mail: rpadilladeborst@gmail.com

Education

PhD  In Progress. Missiology and Social Ethics. Boston University, Boston, MA
MA  Interdisciplinary Studies. Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL, 1987
BEd  Linguistics and TESL. Lenguas Vivas, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1984

Work history - Educational leadership

CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS TEOLOGICOS INTERDISCIPLINARIOS
Provost
Oversee creation and implementation of academic priorities, working closely with Board, Faculty and Staff to strengthen the learning community at Master’s and Certificate levels within Latin America and global projection through the International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation.

OVERSEAS MINISTRIES STUDY CENTER
Senior Scholar in Residence

WORLD VISION INTERNATIONAL
Director of Christian Formation and Leadership Development
Global position based in San Jose, Costa Rica
Designed and implemented processes and material for Christian formation, orientation, and spiritual nurture of staff and partners focused on the integration of theology in relief, development, and advocacy work

CHRISTIAN REFORMED WORLD MISSIONS
Leadership Developer
Latin America-wide work, based in San Jose, Costa Rica
Create and direct the work of the Institute for the Promotion of Christian Higher Education in Latin America: Nurture Christian scholarship and transformative commitment on the part of faculty, professionals and institutions of higher education in the region.
Theological educator/ Leadership trainer
Based in Quito, Ecuador; Buenos Aires, Argentina; San Salvador, El Salvador
Build capacity and systematize training and networking experiences for integral ministry in El Salvador.
Direct the Center for Interdisciplinary Theological Studies in El Salvador, which provides training to several hundred church leaders and pastors from five denominations.
Foster relations between El Salvador ministries and global Christian community, such as Langham Partnership International, and the Letra Viva publishers network.
Consult with the Latin America CRWM Directors in the development of a comprehensive Central America Strategy for training and networking based on a reformed world and life view.

Leadership trainer/Student minister
Serve as a member of the Regional team of the Comunidad Internacional de Estudiantes Evangélicos (International Fellowship of Evangelical Students in Latin America).
Train staff and student leaders in the 20 member movements.
Coordinate regional publication and communication program, training national leaders in these areas.
Direct and represent Ediciones Certeza Publishing House.
Contribute to global student ministry through publishing, teaching and speaking internationally.

UNITED BIBLE SOCIETIES
Bible Translator
Based in Miami and Quito
Member of the Translation team of the Reina-Valera 1995 Bible, text input and language style consistency.

EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF CHICAGO
Teacher in Hispanic Ministry Training Center
Based in Chicago
Taught Spanish, Latin American culture and principles of cross-cultural communication to priests and lay Episcopal leaders.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA
SANTA TERESITA HIGH SCHOOL
Teacher of English as a Second Language
Based in Buenos Aires
Taught English to high-school and University students.

PROFESORADO EN LENGUAS VIVAS
Supervisor of Practice Teaching in TESL
Based in Buenos Aires
Supervised practice teaching of graduating students.

Teaching Experience

- “Latin American Theology and Ministry” CETI – Regent College Master July 2016
- “Narrative Theology and Life,” A course in the CETI Masters April 2016
  “Sacred Activism: Mission for the Whole People in a Fractured World” Course at Regent College, Vancouver, Canada July 2014
  Haciendo teología desde la historia personal (Doing theology through personal narratives). A course in the CETI Masters August 2013; January 2014
  “Doing Theology with Mary” intensive class taught at Annual Amahoro Africa Gathering, Bujumbura, Burundi May 2012
  “Equilibrio y plenitud en la vida profesional” (Balance and fullness in professional life) Graduate Conference, International Fellowship of Evangelical Students, Guatemala December, 2011
  “Care of soul and sacred activism” class taught at Mars Hill Graduate School, Seattle, WA. November 2008

Leadership, speaking, organizing, training

TEACHING, SPEAKING and LECTURING 1998-present
- Keynote speaker, Bible Expositor, Lecturer

426
- Series of 6 Interdisciplinary Theological Conferences, CIEE, Quito, Ecuador (July 2016).
- Series of Bible Expositions at Baptist World Mission Conference, Wisconsin (July 2016)
- “Integrity in Church and Society,” plenary at FTL Consultation on Corruption, Lima, Perú (June 2016).
- “Theological Formation for Integral Mission,” plenary address at American Society of Missiology, Minneapolis, MN (June 2016)
- “Integrity in Leadership for Theological Education,” Inaugural consultation of the ecumenical Global Forum of Theological Educators, Dorfweil, Germany (May 2016).
- “Theological Formation from and for Life,” intensive course at The Warehouse, Cape Town, South Africa (January 2016).
- “Living Scripture missionally between and across cultures,” Keynote at Living Scripture Missionally Conference, Calvin Theological Seminary (November 2015).
- “Fighting the Fist and the Sovereign, Slain Lamb,” Keynote at Micah Global Triennial Conference, Lima, Perú (September 2015).
- “Un Replanteo Bíblico Urgente: Iglesia, Misión y Creación,” Keynote at Lausanne Latin America Creation Care Conference, Pisak, Perú (September 2015).
- Interview as ecumenical guest at the Jubilee Celebration of Evangelisches Missionswerk in Deutschland, Hamburg, Germany (June 2015).
- “New frontiers in Mission” at Consultation celebrating 45 years of the Latin American Theological Fellowship, Sao Paulo (June 2015)
- “Making things right” Bible expositions at Surrender, Melbourne, Australia (March 2015)
- Seminar: “Theological Formation off the Grid” week long at OMSC (March 2015)
- Keynote address at Hope College Global Christianity Conference (January 2015)
- Keynote at Partnership in Mission of the Church of England, Swanick, UK (November 2014)
- “Let me weep: the gift of lament” at Summer Institute, Duke Center for Reconciliation (June 2014)
- “Living for the King; waiting for the King” at Christ at the Checkpoint, Bethlehem (April 2014)
- “The Faith Effect: Choose life!” in Adelaide, Melbourne and Sidney, Australia (September, 2013
- “Standing up against violence, poverty and injustice: getting your church unstuck and stuck” in Laidlaw College, Auckland, New Zealand (September 2013)
- “The God of the weathered face: Following Jesus in the Latino World” presented at On the threshold: World Christianity at our Door, Regent College, Vancouver (July 2013)
- “What can the Two-Thirds World teach the West Theologically?” Moule Day Lecture, Ridley Hall, Cambridge, UK (June 2013)
- “Why don’t you simply translate and apply?” Faculty Forum, Asbury Theological Seminary, Lexington, KY (May 2013)
- “Subversive Belonging: Living in between”, InHabit Conference, Seattle, WA (April 2013)
- “A shocking invitation” and “Infuriating inclusion” at Stop Hunger, Micah Network Conference, Germany (October 2012)
- “Where is God when people suffer?” Micah Network Triennial, Switzerland (September 2012) and Nairobi (July 2009)
- “Para qué sirve la utopia” (For what is utopia useful?) Inaugural address CLADE V, Congreso Latinoamericano de Evangelización, San Jose, Costa Rica (July 2012)
- “Women and men in the kingdom of God” at Annual Amahoro Africa Gathering, Burundi (May 2012)
- “Digging into fertile earth” John Stott Memorial Service, St Paul’s Cathedral, London, UK (January 2012)
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- “Open secret: God with us” University of the Cape, Cape Town, South Africa, October 2010
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- “Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace” at Uniting General Committee, World Communion of Reformed Churches, Grand Rapids, MI June 2010.
- “Jesus moves into our neighborhood: do we have the eyes to recognize him?” Urbana, St Louis, Missouri, December 2009.
- “God’s earth and God’s people: relationships restored”; “Living creation-community in God’s world today”; “A new heaven and new earth: creation community restored” Micah Network Triennial Consultation on Creation Care and Global Warming, Nairobi, July 2009.
- “Misión integral” series taught at Foro Jovem de Misao Integral, Brasilia, Brazil, March 2009.
- “Espiritualidad y liderazgo” (Spirituality and leadership) series taught at Nehemiah Center National Consultation, August 2008.
- “A call to confession” at Sea-to-Sea Convocation of the CRCNA, Denver, CO, July 2008.
- “Comunidad, inmigración y misión” at Latin American Theological Fellowship Consultation, Pasadena, CA, March 2008.
- “From Empire to community” at conference on Jesus and Political power, First Presbyterian Church Berkeley, Berkeley, CA, November 2006.
- Other lectures at IFES Assemblies, and Wheaton College, Baylor University, Kings College, Calvin College, NY City Seminary, IJM Prayer Gathering among others

INFEMIT 2006-present
Facilitator of Networking Team
Lead in the reactivation and growth of the International Fellowship for Mission as Transformation, coordinating a global team for the annual Stott-Bediako Forum and publications.

LATIN AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL FELLOWSHIP 1992-present
Leader, speaker, President, General Secretary and Board member
Lead a dynamic theological/missionlogical movement with chapters across the Latin American world. Organize, participate and speak at continent-wide Congresses (CLADE III, CLADE IV, CLADE V) and various regional consultations. Reorganize and reactivate chapters around the continent and beyond.

PUBLISHERS NETWORK OF LATIN AMERICA – LETRA VIVA
Founding member, organizer, trainer 1996-2001
Co-found network, bringing together Christian publishers in Latin America for training and collaboration.

BOARD LEADERSHIP

Director Ediciones Certaza Unida Publishing House 1995-present
Council Member Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization Latin America 2007-2010
Member Steering Committee Theology Working Group, Lausanne Committee World Evangelization 2007-2010
President Latin American Theological Fellowship 2004—2008
Board Member International Justice Mission 1999—2006
Council Member Oxford Centre for Mission Studies 2004-present
Council Member Micah Challenge Latin America 2003-2005
Langham Partnership International Member Latin America Council 2002-2011

Publications/editorial

- “Citizenship and Presence: Living Trinitarian Community in Bethlehem and Beyond” (Forthcoming, Regnum INFEMIT).
- “At the table their eyes were opened’: Mission as Renouncing Power and Being Hosted by the Stranger” International Bulletin of Missionary Research, Oct 2015, Vol 39 Issue 4, pp. 198-202.
• “Introduction to the participant’s guide” Journal of Latin American Theology, 7 no 1 2012, pp. 7-10.
• “God’s earth and God’s people: relationships restored” Journal of Latin American Theology, 5 no 1 2010, pp. 6-17
• “Living creation-community in God’s world today” Journal of Latin American Theology, 5 no 1 2010, pp. 56-72.
• “El Evangelio de la Avaricia”, Lausanne Global Conversation, Didaskalo Files on www.lausanne.org, 2010
• “Scrabble, injustice, and me,” Journal of Latin American Theology, 1 no1 2006, pp. 6-25.

**Interests/involvements**

• Engaged in community living in Casa Adobe, Costa Rica, as a member of an intentional community that seeks to live into God’s Kingdom and God’s justice with one another, with the broader local and global community, and with the rest of creation
• Doing theology for life in community for faithful living in the world
• Writing, reading, hiking, diving